



GLOBAL HISTORIES OF EDUCATION



The Transnational in the History of Education

Concepts and Perspectives

Edited by
Eckhardt Fuchs
Eugenia Roldán Vera

palgrave
macmillan

Global Histories of Education

Series Editors

Diana Vidal

University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil

Tim Allender

University of Sydney, NSW, Australia

Eckhardt Fuchs

Georg Eckert Institute for International

Textbook Research

Braunschweig, Germany

Noah W. Sobe

Loyola University Chicago

Chicago, IL, USA

We are very pleased to announce the ISCHE Global Histories of Education book series. The International Standing Conference for the History of Education has organized conferences in the field since 1978. Thanks to our collaboration with Palgrave Macmillan we now offer an edited book series for the publication of innovative scholarship in the history of education. This series seeks to engage with historical scholarship that analyzes education within a global, world, or transnational perspective. Specifically, it seeks to examine the role of educational institutions, actors, technologies as well as pedagogical ideas that for centuries have crossed regional and national boundaries. Topics for publication may include the study of educational networks and practices that connect national and colonial domains, or those that range in time from the age of Empire to decolonization. These networks could concern the international movement of educational policies, curricula, pedagogies, or universities within and across different socio-political settings. The ‘actors’ under examination might include individuals and groups of people, but also educational apparatuses such as textbooks, built-environments, and bureaucratic paperwork situated within a global perspective. Books in the series may be single authored or edited volumes. The strong transnational dimension of the Global Histories of Education series means that many of the volumes should be based on archival research undertaken in more than one country and using documents written in multiple languages. All books in the series will be published in English, although we welcome English-language proposals for manuscripts which were initially written in other languages and which will be translated into English at the cost of the author. All submitted manuscripts will be blind peer-reviewed with editorial decisions to be made by the ISCHE series editors who themselves are appointed by the ISCHE Executive Committee to serve three to five year terms. Full submissions should include: (1) a proposal aligned to the Palgrave Book Proposal form (downloadable here); (2) the CV of the author(s) or editor(s); and, (3) a cover letter that explains how the proposed book fits into the overall aims and framing of the ISCHE Global Histories of Education book series. Proposals and queries should be addressed to bookseries@ische.org. Preliminary inquiries are welcome and encouraged.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/15390>

Eckhardt Fuchs · Eugenia Roldán Vera
Editors

The Transnational in the History of Education

Concepts and Perspectives

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Eckhardt Fuchs
Georg Eckert Institute for
International Textbook Research
Braunschweig, Niedersachsen
Germany

Eugenia Roldán Vera
Department of Educational Research
Center for Research and Advanced
Studies (Cinvestav)
Mexico City, Distrito Federal, Mexico

Global Histories of Education

ISBN 978-3-030-17167-4

ISBN 978-3-030-17168-1 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer
Nature Switzerland AG 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: © ideabug/DigitalVision Vectors/gettyimages

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

The ISCHE *Global Histories of Education* book series was launched in order to advance innovative historical scholarship that analyzes education within a global, world or transnational perspective. The International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) has organized conferences and provided a forum for international collaboration among historians of education since 1978. By initiating a book series that publishes both edited volumes and monographs, ISCHE aims to deepen, extend, and promote the historical study of education around the globe.

The present volume is an ideal inaugural book for the series. It brings together a luminary group of accomplished historians, all of whom grapple with ways in which the “transnational” has figured in education. One important contribution of this volume is that it directs our attention to the very ways—across time and space—that people have thought of educational policies and practices as mobile and connected outside of or beyond local spaces. Like “globalization,” the “transnational” is much more than a static reality of the modern world. It has become an animating concept and a mode of observation and self-reflection that has powerfully informed educational actors in many parts of the world, arguably for some time. As the editors propose, if a “transnational turn” has been introduced in historical scholarship over the last decade or two, we ought both to examine the sociocultural project that this itself represents and to explore the analytic insights that can be garnered by applying a transnational approach or perspective to various projects within the history of education.

As the chapters here show, engaging in global histories of education is no easy task. It can require wide-ranging linguistic competence, multi-sited archival research, and at times considerable fortitude in order to eclipse the traditionally framed history of education narratives that so often rely on the nation-state or reified concepts of class, race, gender, and culture. The challenge is to understand mobilities and connections without foreclosing their dynamism, multiplicity, and uncertainty within stabilized, truncated categories of historical analysis.

Planned future volumes in the ISCHE *Global Histories of Education* book series will extend this endeavor in exciting ways. We will be publishing work that examines the role of educational institutions, actors, and technologies as well as pedagogical ideas that for centuries have crossed regional and national boundaries. While encouraging approaches that move beyond the more established national framework, we remain flexible and open to a wide range of ways in which to accomplish this. Readers can expect work that explores educational networks and practices that connect national and colonial domains, as well as work that ranges in time from the age of Empire to that of decolonization. These networks might concern the international movement of educational policies, curricula, pedagogies, or institutions within and across different sociopolitical settings. The “actors” under examination might include individuals and groups of people, but also educational apparatuses such as textbooks, built environments, and objects seen from and situated within a global perspective. We see the present volume as a promising first step in this direction.

São Paulo, Brazil
Sydney, Australia
Braunschweig, Germany
Chicago, USA

Diana Vidal
Tim Allender
Eckhardt Fuchs
Noah W. Sobe

To Ana, Andrés, and Len

CONTENTS

- 1 Introduction: The Transnational in the History of Education** 1
Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs
- 2 The Transnational and Transcultural: Approaches to Studying the Circulation and Transfer of Educational Knowledge** 49
Christine Mayer
- 3 Day Nurseries in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: The Challenge of the Transnational Approach** 69
Dorena Caroli
- 4 Conversations About the Transnational: Reading and Writing the Empire in the History of Education** 101
Rebecca Rogers
- 5 Transnationalism and the Engagement of Empire: Precursors of the Postcolonial World** 125
Tim Allender

6	Adaptations of Adaptation: On How an Educational Concept Travels from the Heartlands to the Hinterlands	151
	Elsie Rockwell	
7	Analyzing Toru Dutt's Oeuvre Today: How a Transnational Literary-Educational Case from Colonial India Can Enrich Our Conception of Transnational History	179
	Barnita Bagchi	
8	Temporalities and the Transnational: Yoshi Kasuya's Consideration of Secondary Education for Girls in Japan (1933)	201
	Joyce Goodman	
9	(De)Constructing the Global Community: Education, Childhood and the Transnational History of International Organizations	231
	Damiano Matasci and Joëlle Droux	
10	Transnational as Comparative History: (Un)Thinking Difference in the Self and Others	261
	Thomas S. Popkewitz	
	Index	293

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Tim Allender teaches at the University of Sydney, Australia. He is a specialist in colonial and imperial history, with a particular interest in India. Among his recent publications is his monograph *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820–1932* (2016), which appeared in the Manchester University Press series *Studies in Imperialism* and won the Anne Bloomfield book prize for the best History of Education book published between 2014 and 2017 (History of Education Society, UK). Further recent publications include his co-edited book *Historical Thinking for History Teachers* (2019) and collaborative publications on the recasting of femininity in educational settings, and digital and photographic imagery in history. He is also writing a new monograph on European religion and colonial India.

Barnita Bagchi is Senior Lecturer in Comparative Literature at Utrecht University, The Netherlands. She is a Life Member of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, and recently held a British Academy Visiting Fellowship at Lancaster University, UK. She has published widely on utopia, histories of transnational and women's education, and women's writing in Western Europe and South Asia. She directs the Utrecht Utopia Network. Her articles and chapters have appeared in volumes such as *A History of the Indian Novel in English* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and in journals such as *Paedagogica Historica*, *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, *Women's History Review*, *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film*, *Open Library of the Humanities*, and *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*.

Dorena Caroli is Associate Professor at the University of Macerata, Italy since 2014, teaching the history of education and children's literature. Her recent published works include *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie soviétique, 1917–1937* (2004) and *Per una storia dell'asilo nido in Europa fra Otto e Novecento* (2014), which was translated into English under the title *Day Nurseries and Childcare in Europe, 1800–1939* (2017). She is currently developing a project about the history of primers and textbooks in the Russian *émigrés* schools.

Joëlle Droux is Senior Lecturer in History of Education at the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Geneva. Her current fields of research are the history of international child welfare movements, and social and humanitarian networks during the twentieth century, as well as the long-term evolution of Swiss child and youth welfare policies. Her publications include *Enfances en difficulté: De l'enfance abandonnée à l'assistance éducative (1892–2012)* (2015) and, co-edited with Rita Hofstetter, *Border-Crossing in Education: Historical Perspectives on Transnational Connections and Circulations* (2017).

Eckhardt Fuchs is Director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research and Professor for History of Education/Comparative Education at the Technische Universität Braunschweig, Germany. He has worked in a variety of academic institutions and served as a visiting professor in Sydney, Umeå, Tokyo, and Seoul. His research interests include the global history of modern education, international education policies, and textbook development. He has published several books and more than 100 articles and chapters on these issues including *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education* (2014), co-edited by Barnita Bagchi and Kate Rousmaniere, or *Textbooks and War: Historical and Multinational Perspectives* (2018), with Eugenia Roldán Vera. He served as president of ISCHE from 2012 to 2015.

Joyce Goodman is Professor of History of Education at The University of Winchester, UK, *chercheure associée* at the Centre de recherche sur les gens sociaux (CERLIS), past president of the History of Education Society, UK, honorary life member of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), and former editor of *History of Education*. Her research focuses on women educators,

internationalism, and empire. Her current book project is entitled *Women Comparative Educators and Social Change, 1834–1960*. Previous books include *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World* (2014), with James Albisetti and Rebecca Rogers, and *Women and Education: Major Themes in Education* (2011), in four volumes, with Jane Martin. For further information on Joyce's research, see www.joycegoodman.org.uk.

Damiano Matasci holds a Ph.D. from the University of Geneva and L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), Paris. He is currently SNF Ambizione Fellow at the University of Lausanne. His research interests include global, international, European, and African history from transnational and transimperial perspectives, with a focus on education. His main publications include *L'école républicaine et l'étranger. Une histoire internationale des réformes scolaires en France (1870–1914)* (2015) and “Une ‘UNESCO africaine’? Le Ministère de la France d’Outre-mer, la coopération éducative intercoloniale et la défense de l’empire, 1945–1957” (*Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations*, 2018).

Christine Mayer is Professor Emeritus of Theory of Education and Gender at the University of Hamburg, Germany. Her current research focuses on the relationship between educational thoughts and gender anthropology as well as on the transcultural circulation and transfer of educational ideas and practices. She was a long-standing member of the Executive Committee of ISCHE and is a member of the editorial board of *Paedagogica Historica*, of the international advisory board of *History of Education Review*, and of the international advisory council of *Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione*. Recent publications include *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive* (2014), with Marcelo Caruso, Thomas Koinzer, and Karin Priem, and the article “Education Reform Visions and New Forms of Gymnastics and Dance as Elements of a New Body Culture and ‘Body Education’ (1890–1930)” (*History of Education*, 2018).

Thomas S. Popkewitz is Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. His research covers the fields of curriculum studies, the political sociology of education, and cultural history and considers the systems of reason in schooling that produce the paradox of exclusion and abjection in efforts to include. His current research explores international

assessments of education and educational research to identify practical and useful knowledge as a strategy of change that, ironically, inscribes principles of stability and social/cultural divisions. His publications include *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (2013) and *Critical Analyses of Educational Reform in an Era of Transnational Governance* (2018), co-edited by Elisabeth Hultqvist and Sverker Lindblad.

Elsie Rockwell is Emeritus Researcher at the Department of Educational Research of the Center for Research and Advanced Studies (Cinvestav) in Mexico City. She has published extensively in several languages on her research in history and anthropology of education. She received the Clavijero Award from the Instituto Nacional de Historia y Antropología in 2007 and the Spindler Award from the American Anthropological Association in 2013. Recent publications include *Comparing Ethnographies: Local Studies of Education across the Americas* (2017), with Kathryn Anderson-Levitt, and several articles in *Paedagogica Historica*.

Rebecca Rogers is Professor of History of Education at Université Paris Descartes in France and a member of the research laboratory Centre de recherché sur les gens sociaux (CERLIS). Specialist in the history of French girls' education, her recent interests span the history of coeducation, colonial history, the history of research in education, the historiography of women's history, the history of education, and, more recently, transnational history. Her publications include *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (2005), and *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-century Algeria* (2013). In addition to serving on the boards of the journals *Histoire de l'éducation* and *Paedagogica Historica*, she was the president of ISCHE between 2015 and 2018.

Eugenia Roldán Vera is Professor of History of Education at the Department of Educational Research of the Center for Research and Advanced Studies (Cinvestav) in Mexico City. Her work deals with the history of education in Mexico and Latin America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially the history of textbooks, transnational dissemination of educational models, history of concepts in education, and the ritual and performative aspects of schooling. She is author of *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence* (2003), co-editor

with Eckhardt Fuchs of *Textbooks and War: Historical and Multinational Perspectives* (2018), and more than 60 book chapters and articles published in specialized journals, including *Paedagogica Historica*, *Comparative Education*, *Comparativ*, *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, and *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*. She is currently director of *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación*.



Introduction: The Transnational in the History of Education

Eugenia Roldán Vera  and *Eckhardt Fuchs*

The Concept of the Transnational

The aim of this book is to open up a critical space for reflection on the concepts and categories associated with the description of the transnational realm and their uses in the history of education: How these concepts and categories have emerged and developed historically, how they influence and direct the way we do research, and how we can gain a better sense of their theoretical and methodological contours so we can obtain the full benefit of research that goes beyond a specific locality or nation-state as a unit of analysis.

E. Roldán Vera (✉)

Department of Educational Research, Center for Research
and Advanced Studies (Cinvestav), Mexico City, Mexico
e-mail: eroldan@cinvestav.mx

E. Fuchs

Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research,
Braunschweig, Germany
e-mail: fuchs@gei.de

© The Author(s) 2019

E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History
of Education*, Global Histories of Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_1

Our point of departure is the assumption that the language we use to talk about reality not only describes that reality but it is constitutive of it. That is, when we talk about the international arena, the global sphere, or the transnational space, we are not simply describing something that exists; we are making an experience of reality intelligible and simultaneously constructing an abstraction of that reality. Concepts are mechanisms through which we articulate and mobilize the experience of reality; they are words that condense a large number of experiences and, in becoming abstract, create a broader space of signification.¹ Some concepts develop a further level of abstraction and become analytical categories in the social sciences; the articulation of a number of ideas into concepts gives direction to the way in which we define our object of study and conduct research.

We take as the premise of the history of political and educational languages the assumption that language constitutes the set of rules of a historically given system of thought, rules which determine what is possible—and what is not possible—to perceive, discuss, and analyze in relation to a certain topic.² In line with this premise, we commence by asking: Since when has it been possible to think about a transnational realm, and how? When and why did we begin to think “transnationally” or “internationally” in education? What related concepts do we use to speak of that realm that lies beyond the nation, and what do they evoke? What historical and historiographical conditions make it possible for us to think that researching the transnational is possible?

We also take from conceptual history and historical semantics the assumption that concepts carry layers of past meanings which may overlap in their different uses by various actors.³ We acknowledge that the abstract character of concepts permits their transferral across geographic places, disciplines, and academic cultures, and that in the process of their transfer their meanings change, as a number of studies on “traveling” or

¹Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

²Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); John G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Daniel Tröhler, *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

³Koselleck, *Futures Past*.

“nomadic” concepts have shown.⁴ Are we, then, referring to the same “transnational” or “international” today as were our predecessors in the interwar period or in the 1970s? How much of those early meanings does our present use carry? Are we speaking of the same “transnational” whether we are in Calcutta, Naples, or Dakar? To what extent is our current experience of the transnational articulated in concepts that were shaped by experiences of a different time and place, and how does that divergent experience, entailing as it does a “distance,” affect communication?

The abstract, social, and historical character of concepts makes them necessarily ambiguous, polysemic, and open to disagreement and debate. If we take into account the performative component of language,⁵ we see that the meanings of concepts are also affected by the fact that they are invoked for different purposes, in the service of different agendas, within different theoretical or political frameworks, and in dialog with specific interlocutors. This notwithstanding, concepts remain “the tool of intersubjectivity”: “they facilitate discussion on the basis of a common language.”⁶ Not because they mean the same for everybody, but precisely because they evoke many different things, superimposed on a shared substrate, which makes academic discussion possible. The intention of this volume is therefore to historicize and problematize the very categories we use in our research on a history of education that extends beyond the nation as a unit of analysis. Accordingly, in this introductory chapter we first examine the emergence of what is known as the “transnational history of education” in the confluence of discourses and concepts on international education and the transnational research project in the historical sciences (2). We then present an overview of recent transnational research in the history of education, considering areas of study as well as theoretical and methodological approaches (3). Finally, we discuss the ways in which the chapters that constitute this book challenge our current conceptualizations of the transnational, its concepts and methodologies (4).

⁴Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*. Green College Lectures (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Olivier Christin, ed., *Dictionnaire des concepts nomades en Sciences humaines* (Paris: Métailié, 2010).

⁵John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

⁶Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities*, 22.

A Transnational History of Education: Between International Education and Transnational Historical Research

If we turn our attention to the terms used to describe—and thus construct—a “transnational reality,” we need first to differentiate between two distinct spheres of reference which are built into what we nowadays call a “transnational approach” to the history of education. The first of these is a discourse on education which emerged at the dawn of the nineteenth century and which utilized the terms “international” and “internationalism.” “International,” a hundred and thirty years ago, referred to the sphere of the state and its foreign policy *vis-à-vis* other states; the concept of “international education” first appeared at the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century and has continued to dominate the semantics of national and global discourses on education to this day. The second sphere of reference we can associate with a transnational history of education is a research approach. In recent years, the use of a transnational perspective in the history of education has enabled us to describe phenomena that transcend national scales, yet have not been primarily perceived as “transnational” by those who experienced them. This perspective has pointed us to other dimensions of educational processes. What follows will provide a brief history of the discourse and concepts related to these two spheres of reference.

The Discourse on “International Education”: A Field of Research Emerges

The development of a discourse on internationalism is closely linked to the emergence of nation-states and the processes of their modernization which began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both the adjective “international” and the noun “internationalism” can be traced back to the eighteenth century, although the terms did not appear in French and English dictionaries until the final third of the nineteenth century.⁷ From its emergence, the term “internationalism” covered a range of meanings, all related to a realm of relations among nations. First, it referred to the limits of national and state-defined spheres of

⁷John C. Faries, *The Rise of Internationalism* (New York: Gray, 1915).

and claims to sovereignty in the context of the regulation of relations between states. Second, it was part of the discourse of the workers' movement. Third, it has been attached as an epithet to an era characterized by international relationships that since the second half of the nineteenth century have been increasingly intertwined, relations fostered by both intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.⁸ And fourth, the term appeared in academic discourses reflecting the academics' view of themselves as members of an "imagined community"⁹ sharing a consensus that international cooperation was a normative condition of the generation and circulation of knowledge. A conception held sway of science, in regard to its societal effects, as fundamentally in the service of humanity's advancement and the development of communication and harmony among nations.¹⁰ This academic universalism, with its implication that academic research was "international," assumed the existence of a unique universalist methodology, regarded academic research as an abstract means to the attainment of universal knowledge and general progress—but not as a practical activity or a social institution—and presumed that the abstract value of "internationality" represented the actual and non-negotiable basis upon which academics conducted their work.

⁸See "Internationalism, Internationality, Internationalize," *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., vol. 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1124; Daniel Laqua, *The Age of Internationalism and Belgium, 1880–1930: Peace, Progress and Prestige* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Peter Friedemann and Lucian Hölscher, „Internationale,“ in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 3, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 367–397; Volker Rittberger and Bernhard Zangl, *Internationale Organisationen—Politik und Geschichte*, 3rd rev. ed. (Opladen: Springer, 2003); John Boli and George M. Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁹Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

¹⁰Robert Fox, *Science Without Frontiers: Cosmopolitanism and National Interests in the World of Learning, 1870–1940* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2016); W. Boyd Rayward, ed., *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2014); Paul Forman, "Scientific Internationalism and the Weimar Physicists: The Ideology and Its Manipulation in Germany After World War I," *Isis* 64, no. 2 (1973): 150–180; Gabriele Metzler, *Internationale Wissenschaft und nationale Kultur: Deutsche Physiker in der internationalen Community 1900–1960* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

The internationalist discourse on education which arose at the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century was likewise marked by a dominant normative tone. In Germany, the concept of a “world education”¹¹ was developed on the assumption that the universal aspiration of education to uphold the values of humanity made one unified global theory and practice of education possible. This theory, articulated in the context of the Hague Peace Conferences, called for universal education in the spirit of peace and harmony among the peoples of the world and drew enthusiastic agreement particularly from left-wing and reformist educators of the 1920s, who believed that a successful implementation of an international education was possible only within the context of the League of Nations or in accordance with its aims.¹² In this view, the primary task of international education and the international relationships which undergirded it consisted in educating upcoming generations in the spirit of peace and accord among peoples.

A related discussion revolved around the revision of textbooks and peace education in the classroom as the basis for international education; these issues were also central to the discussion among history teachers on subject-specific educational methods. This combination of international education with a League of Nations-oriented educational approach founded on pacifism and reformist/progressive pedagogies attracted criticism from Weimar-era conservatives who rejected the system of the Treaty of Versailles and the postwar world order.¹³

The concept of “educational internationalism” encompassed a general humanitarian mission at whose core was the assumption that the “right” kind of education had the same universal basic principles in all nations and for the whole of humankind. It was in this spirit that Franz Kemény, writing in 1914, described the two objectives of *l’enseignement internationale*: “a) le but *utilitaire* consiste en ce qu’on profite des institutions étrangères pour les progrès des son propre pays; b) le but *éthique* se résume dans l’abolition de l’isolement et des frontières culturelles pour y établir un rapport plus fréquent entre les peuples et un échange plus multiple de leurs produits spirituels.” For Kemény, “la confirmation

¹¹Oskar Kobel, “Weltpädagogik,” *Die Neue Erziehung* 1 (1919): 729–733.

¹²Otto Tacke, “Die Vorbereitung der Aufnahme Deutschlands in den Völkerbund durch die Schulen,” *Die Neue Erziehung* 6 (1924): 449–452.

¹³Paul Oestreich, “Pädagogischer Internationalismus?” *Die Neue Erziehung* 13 (1931): 528–530.

pédagogique de l'enseignement international est donné par l'idéal suprême de l'éducation même: par la *humanitas*.”¹⁴ The abstract notion of humanity and cosmopolitanism which appears in these ideas made reference to an Enlightenment agenda; this movement to revive the cosmopolitan spirit of the pre-modern age was an attempt to counteract the negative impact of the practices of modern industrial nations and thus to prevent wars. The means for achieving this mission of humanity-centered education consisted in teachers delivering education for peace. These ideas arose simultaneously and relatively independently in both Europe and the USA.¹⁵

In connection with international education as a concept oriented toward advocacy for peace and development, a field of research on international education came into being, largely related to that of comparative education. The emergence of these connected fields is usually located in early nineteenth-century France. In the 1810s, Marc-Antoine Jullien described the science of education as arising from the comparison of statistical information produced by the governments of various countries on funding for education, student enrollment, numbers of teachers, and other aspects of education systems. In 1808, César Auguste Basset had called for scholars “who were free from national preconceptions” to observe education outside France “with the intention of making recommendations for the French education system.”¹⁶ A century later, the creation of the International Bureau of Education in Geneva (1925), and then of UNESCO (1945), gave material form to that aspiration to systematic production and collection of educational data from all over the world, driven by the assumption that such collection would promote international awareness and understanding among countries. By the mid-twentieth century, “international education” referred to research on “‘other’ education systems, policies, practices and philosophies” outside the Anglo-Saxon and Western European geographic

¹⁴Franz Kemény, *L'enseignement international: Histoire, état actuel, avenir* (Ostende: Bureau international de documentation éducative, 1914).

¹⁵See the entry “International Education,” *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, rev. ed., ed. William W. Brickman and Walter S. Monroe (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 617–627.

¹⁶Michael Crossley and Keith Watson, *Comparative and International Research in Education: Globalisation, Context and Difference* (London: Routledge Falmer, 2003), 14.

realm, particularly in developing countries.¹⁷ The American and British societies on comparative education each added the term “international” to their names in 1968 and 1983, respectively, in an effort to bridge the gap between scholars working on education in industrialized societies and those researching education in developing nations.¹⁸

The field of “comparative and international education” was thus indebted to the premise that there were some universal, humanitarian values that all nations could inculcate through education for the advancement of peace; this paradigm partly fed the assumption that countries could learn from one another in terms of educational policies and philosophies, and that the latter could be transplanted from one context to another to advance development because, ultimately, all were in different stages of the same path towards civilization or modernization.¹⁹ This paradigm and the related assumptions have become much less explicit and have undergone considerable critique in the past three decades, with the focus in the field increasingly turning to the cross-cultural transmission of educational knowledge and to the political, social, and economic implications of trends toward internationalization in education (partly as a reaction to the previous, universalist assumptions).²⁰

The concept of globalization has played a key role in the theorization done in the field of comparative and international education over the last two decades. Whereas, as we will discuss in the next section, globalization tends to be seen as the progressive advance of international interconnectedness and the transnational convergence of educational organization and exchange, some scholars have called for the field to pay attention to the context-dependent way in which we theorize globalization in education. Reflecting on the important role that “educational discourse plays in

¹⁷Angela W. Little, “International and Comparative Education: What’s in a Name?” *Compare* 40, no. 6 (2010): 845–852.

¹⁸Mark Bray, “Comparative Education and International Education in the History of Compare: Boundaries, Overlaps and Ambiguities,” *Compare* 40, no. 6 (2010): 711–725.

¹⁹Gita Steiner-Khamsi, “Re-framing Educational Borrowing as a Policy Strategy,” in *Internationalisierung: Semantik und Bildungssystem in vergleichender Perspektive*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 57–89; Yvonne Hébert and Ali A. Abdi, *Critical Perspectives on International Education* (Rotterdam, Taipei: Sense Publishers, 2013).

²⁰Although the label “international education” is still dominant, some have begun to use “supranational education” to describe this type of research. See Javier M. Valle, “Supranational Education: A New Field of Knowledge to Address Educational Policies in a Global World,” *Journal of Supranational Policies of Education* 1 (2013): 7–30.

shaping the educational reality of the present-day world,” and informed by Luhmann’s sociology of knowledge, Jürgen Schriewer has argued that the way in which we theorize about education is a “self-referential reflection of society’s particular subsystem of education pursued *within* that system.”²¹ Educational theorizing is thus “rooted in and determined by the varying contextual conditions, the particular problems and issues, and the distinct intellectual traditions and value systems characteristic of its respective system of reference and the related context of reflection.”²²

Transnational Historical Approaches

Whereas “internationalism” has long been a field of research within political sciences, especially with regard to international regime studies, it was not until the end of the twentieth century that the term “transnational” found its way into historical research, especially in the context of the debates about world and global history in the USA. The aim driving the term’s introduction, a desire to call into question the traditional focus of academic history on processes relating to nation-states, did not, of course, necessarily endow the concept with a value-free status. The concept of the “transnational” has a shorter history than that of the “international” and has also suffered significant semantic displacements. It was coined in the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century: The now-famous essay “Transnational America,” written by the radical intellectual Randolph Bourne in 1916, used the term to refer positively to the diversity of backgrounds among the American population (what we these days call “multiculturalism”), celebrating US exceptionalism in the concert of the nations of the world.²³ The term then expanded to the realm of private law (as “transnational law”) in the 1950s and to economics in the 1970s, here referring in particular to the sphere of action of multinational corporations, a sphere without national jurisdiction, not subject to the control of any sort of government body. Non-governmental organizations adopted the term in the

²¹Jürgen Schriewer, “Globalisation in Education: Process and Discourse,” *Policy Futures in Education* 1, no. 2 (2003): 271, 276. See also Jürgen Schriewer, ed., *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, 3rd rev. ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009).

²²Schriewer, “Globalisation in Education,” 276.

²³See Randolph S. Bourne, “Trans-national America,” *The Atlantic*, July 1916, accessed March 29, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1916/07/trans-national-america/304838/>.

1980s. In the 1990s, it made its way into the educational field, where “transnational education” has come to signify the provision of (higher) education study programs or educational services by institutions located in one country to students in another country.²⁴ In all these fields, the term “transnational” is not necessarily neutral. It can be associated with either a celebration of some form of intercultural intermingling or with the condemnation of an expanding economic agenda that rides roughshod over local and national structures and does not recognize national jurisdiction.

What has been termed the “transnational turn”²⁵ has brought about major developments in historical scholarship in the past two decades.²⁶ “Transnational history” emerged in the context of processes of economic and political integration, beginning in the final third of the twentieth century, which have raised questions of supranational governance, territoriality, and sovereignty beyond, or as an extension of, the nation-state. These questions have led to a transformation of the ways in which we construct our objects of study.²⁷ Supranational entanglements and networks have given rise to the construction of analytical strategies that lie beyond national narratives, often invoking interdisciplinary procedures that connect perspectives from history, social science, and economics. Taking as its point of departure the dissolution of a hierarchical spatial order geared toward the nation-state, the proliferation of social and political actors, and the plurality of space in which they operate, the

²⁴Council of Europe, “Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education (Adopted by the Lisbon Recognition Convention Committee at Its Second Meeting, Riga, 6 June 2001),” accessed March 29, 2017, http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/recognition/Code%20of%20good%20practice_EN.asp.

²⁵Patricia Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–439.

²⁶Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte* (Göttingen, Stuttgart: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Christopher Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–1464; Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2013).

²⁷Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, “Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization,” *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 149–170.

neologism “globalization” has emerged to define the dialectical process of re- and de-territorialization, thus forming the point of departure for recent trends in global and transnational history.²⁸

“Transnational history” tends to be differentiated from “international history,” which, while long-established, is usually pursued in the context of diplomatic history, with a focus on state or other institutionalized actors. “Global history” and “transnational history” are often used as synonyms, yet they tend to differ in the ways in which they deal with space and territoriality. “Global history” raises questions referring to a supranational realm, such as global governance and sovereignty; it de-territorializes the nations and redefines space, creating regional or local units of analysis that go beyond and outside the boundaries of the nation-state. This understanding of the “global” enables the application of this approach to an increasing number of historical periods, from ancient times to the so-called “history of globalization” in the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. “Transnational history,” while it also refers to a history that crosses boundaries and considers state and non-state actors (as opposed to “international history,” which is based on state or institutionalized stakeholders), is spatially more restricted: It does not deconstruct the nation—it presupposes its existence, and it studies its development as a global phenomenon—but it contextualizes it in a set of translational relations, entanglements, and dependencies. This means that the term “transnational” tends to be applied mostly to the modern world order of nation-states rather than to early modern or pre-modern societies.²⁹ As Ian Tyrrell has noted, transnational history in the USA has been considered as both less and more than global history in the sense “that not all history across national borders is global or the product of

²⁸Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*; Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor, “Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-national History, Transnational History—Definitions,” in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, ed. Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor (New York: Routledge, 2004), xi–1; Olaf Bach, *Die Erfindung der Globalisierung: Entstehung und Wandel eines zeitgeschichtlichen Grundbegriffs* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013).

²⁹Richard Drayton and David Motadel, “Discussion: The Futures of Global History,” *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (2018): 1–21; Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds., *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education* (New York: Berghahn, 2014); Ariadna Acevedo and Susana Quintanilla, “La perspectiva global en la historia de la educación,” *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa* 14, no. 40 (2009): 7–11.

globalization, but all – at least for modern history – is transnational.”³⁰ More recently, “entangled history” (a term better established in English than the previous *histoire croisée* or “shared history”) has increasingly come to the fore to describe a way of doing history which not only examines supranational multi-directional flows, but also reflects on and makes explicit the (entangled) conditions in which historians construct their transnational objects of research.³¹

The dissolution of the spatial order has led global and transnational historians to make use of five different kinds of narratives, often combining more than one at a time: (1) Narratives of *divergence* show how processes derived from the same origin have diversified across time and space; (2) narratives of *convergence* describe how phenomena taking place in distant places were substantially similar, or have become so over time; (3) narratives of *contagion* focus on the transfer or spread of phenomena and processes across national borders; (4) narratives of *systems* seek to explain the patterns in which social and historical structures interact with and mutually influence one another³²; and (5) narratives of *entanglement* attempt to show the continuous influence exerted by transnational actors, phenomena and processes upon the dynamics of the “national.”

Research on transnational or global history often takes globalization and the dissolution of national boundaries as clearly defined processes. However, some historians have begun to question whether that “interconnectedness” experienced at the wake of the twenty-first century might not be as radical or long-lasting as once thought. Although this is often exemplified with the return of nationalist discourses—such as Donald Trump’s “America first,” the campaign in favor of Brexit, or the resurgence of xenophobia in the face of migration in many parts of the world—other historians would argue that this is a reaction against globalization itself.³³ In any case, critical voices have questioned the extent to which that dissolution of national boundaries that gave such impetus

³⁰Ian Tyrrell, “Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice,” *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009): 453–474.

³¹Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Penser l’histoire croisée: Entre empirie et réflexivité,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 1 (2003): 7–36.

³²Pamela K. Crossley, *What Is Global History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

³³For an overview of some of the recent arguments for and against global history, see the discussion between Richard Drayton and David Motadel with Jeremy Adelman and David Bell published in Drayton and Motadel, “Discussion: The Futures of Global History.”

to transnational historical perspectives is not a historical fact, but rather part of the construction of globalization as an object of study. As Daniel Tröhler has duly pointed out: “The crucial epistemic question remains as to whether processes like globalization can be described analytically at all, or how far sociology or history themselves contribute to the construction of their own object that is allegedly simply being described.”³⁴

Building on Tröhler’s critical insight, in this book we intend to make explicit the inevitable entanglement of historical “reality” with the concepts used to describe it and in particular with the categories we employ to construct specific objects of study. This volume is, above all, an effort of self-reflexivity, of reflection on what historians of education actually do, with the aim of contributing more appositely to shaping the emerging field of transnational history of education.

Research on the Transnational History of Education

The last three decades have seen the production of a significant number of studies on the history of education which focus on transnational aspects of the field. The range of concepts and analytical categories proposed has been varied, and not all authors have explicitly employed the “transnational” label to describe what they do. As Rebeca Rogers suggests in this volume, the “transnational” in historical educational research is not necessarily an approach or a methodology, but rather a vantage point, a perspective, or a “posture.” It is our purpose to observe and de-naturalize the concepts and analytical categories used in that “posture” and point to the ways in which they direct, constrain, and make research fruitful.

In the following overview of current trends in recent work on the transnational history of education, we argue that what we nowadays call “transnational history of education” carries layers of meaning that both refer to, often reacting against, a long-term normative discourse about international education and reference a research project on transnationalism in the historical sciences which not only describes but is also tempted to construct the globalized and connected world to which it refers.³⁵ We do not pretend to offer a comprehensive revision of the literature;

³⁴Tröhler, *Languages of Education*.

³⁵Eckhardt Fuchs, ed., “Transnationalizing the History of Education,” special issue, *Comparativ* 22, no. 1 (2012); Joëlle Droux and Rita Hofstetter, eds., “Internationalisation in Education: Issues, Challenges, Outcomes,” special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 50,

instead, we present an overview of the areas of research in which the transnational approach has been fruitful and of the theoretical and methodological approaches thus deployed. After this, we will outline the chapters that constitute this book, whose authors reflect on the concepts and categories they use in their own transnational educational research, to the end of identifying the extent to which their rich empirical research is indebted to or already challenging the discourses and categories of international education and transnational historical research.

Principal Research Areas

International Interactions and Networks of Educators

This research might represent histories which trace the travels and international connections of prominent educators. Drifting away from the traditional notion of “educational impact” in other regions, these studies take into consideration the ways in which other contexts affected the pedagogical proposals of the figures they examine.³⁶ Framed along narratives of contagion and entanglement, these studies tend to be more celebratory than critical of the blurring of boundaries. While they reflect on the specificity of the sociocultural contexts in which educators operate, they tend to stress the differences in the specific transformations and adaptations of their ideas, thus reacting against the assertion of internationally consistent validity or standardization in educational values. (See also Mayer and Goodman in this volume.)

Colonial and Imperial Histories of Education

The traditional focus of colonial histories used to be on the dissemination of knowledge and education from the metropolis to the colonies,

nos. 1–2 (2014); Noah W. Sobe, “Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 93–107.

³⁶An example is Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jürgen Schriewer, *The Global Reception of John Dewey’s Thought: Multiple Refractions Through Time and Space* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Eckhardt Fuchs, “Children’s Rights and Global Civil Society,” *Comparative Education* 43, no. 3 (2007): 393–412.

implicitly assuming a narrative of how a universally valid Western canon of knowledge and values crossed borders. However, recent research acknowledges the power dynamics at work in the dissemination of knowledge and the local agency that reacts against, transforms, and participates in the construction of educational knowledge. Scholars have therefore turned their attention to the entanglement and mutual relationships of influence between colonizers and colonized, especially in studies on education within the British, French, and Belgian empires, less so in the Portuguese and Spanish contexts.³⁷ Moreover, this research acknowledges “vernacular” epistemologies in direct critique of the paradigm of the universality of educational knowledge.³⁸ (See also Rogers, Allender, Bagchi, and Rockwell in this volume.)

³⁷Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, *Education and Colonialism* (New York: Longman, 1978); Daniel Lindmark, ed., *Education and Colonialism: Swedish Schooling Projects in Colonial Areas, 1638–1878* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2000); Clive Whitehead, “Overseas Education and British Colonial Education 1929–63,” *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 561–575; Harald Fischer-Tiné, “National Education, Pulp Fiction and the Contradictions of Colonialism: Perceptions of an Educational Experiment in Early-Twentieth Century India,” in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission, Cultural Ideology and British India*, ed. Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Anthem, 2004), 229–247; Ana Isabel Madeira, “Framing Concepts in Colonial Education: A Comparative Analysis of Educational Discourses at the Turn of the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century,” in *Identity, Education and Citizenship: Multiple Interrelations*, ed. Jonas Sprogøe and Thyge Winther-Jensen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 225–238; Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007); Tim Allender, “Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India, 1813–1919,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 707–722; Jana Tschurennev, “Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in the Early Nineteenth Century India,” in *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development*, ed. Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann (London: Anthem, 2011), 93–124; Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600; Joyce Goodman, Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, “‘Empires Overseas’ and ‘Empires at Home’: Postcolonial and Pransnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 695–706; Rebecca Rogers, *A Frenchwoman’s Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

³⁸Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

The International Formation of Educational Science

This category encompasses studies dealing with the way in which education became a professional discipline, with emphasis on congresses, journals, and international academic and professional institutions.³⁹ Some studies examine in particular the emergence and development of international organizations their promotion of educational models and ideals throughout the world, often historicizing the ways in which the paradigm of universal education came into being.⁴⁰ Others show how objects of the research carried out by educational science have been constructed at the crossroads between international trends and local concerns.⁴¹

³⁹Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2004).

⁴⁰Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen, eds., *UNESCO Without Borders: Educational Campaigns for International Understanding* (London: Routledge, 2017); Eckhardt Fuchs and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., “Internationale Bildungsorganisationen als Global Players in Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik,” special issue, *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 52, no. 2 (2007); Eckhardt Fuchs, “All the World into the School: World’s Fairs and the Emergence of the School Museum in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and the Materiality of Education*, ed. Martin Lawn (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009), 51–72; Eckhardt Fuchs, “The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209; Eckhardt Fuchs, “Multilaterale Bildungspolitik und transnationale Zivilgesellschaft: Universitätsbeziehungen in der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in *Politik in der Bildungsgeschichte—Befunde, Prozesse, Diskurse*, ed. Gisela Miller-Kipp and Bernd Zymek (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2006), 101–116; Eckhardt Fuchs, “Der Völkerbund und die Institutionalisierung transnationaler Bildungsbeziehungen,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 54, no. 10 (2006): 888–899; Jason Beech, “Redefining Educational Transfer: International Agencies and the (Re)Production of Educational Ideas,” in *Identity, Education and Citizenship: Multiple Interrelations*, ed. Jonas Sprogøe and Thyge Winther-Jensen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 175–196; Phillip W. Jones and David Coleman, *The United Nations and Education: Multilateralism, Development and Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2005); Joyce Goodman, “Working for Change across International Borders: The Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 1 (2007): 165–180; Joyce Goodman, “Women and International Intellectual Co-operation,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 3 (2012): 357–368; Deirdre Raftery, “Teaching Sisters and Transnational Networks: Recruitment and Education Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century,” *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 717–728.

⁴¹Jürgen Schriewer and Carlos Martínez, “Constructions of Internationality in Education,” in *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*, ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004), 29–53; Marcelo Caruso, “Within, Between, Above, and Beyond: (Pre)Positions for a History of the Internationalisation of Educational Practices and Knowledge,” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 1 (2014): 10–26.

Institutional Histories

These studies focus on the internationalization of school models and curricula, universities and the non-formal education sector, comparing these across countries. Whereas some of these studies stress the convergence of trends in a manner rather celebratory of a Western program of liberal individualism and citizenship⁴²; others, while acknowledging the “global” character of such institutions, question overarching narratives about single (functional, symbolic) causes for their establishment and development.⁴³ (See also Caroli in this volume.)

Diffusion of Pedagogical Knowledge

This is probably the most common form in which research on the transnational history of education appears. In recent years, diffusion studies have placed much greater emphasis on processes of translation, appropriation, and adaptation of pedagogical knowledge in a range of local contexts.⁴⁴ In this, and drifting away from simplistic narratives of contagion, they have challenged the very idea of “diffusion,” looking instead for

⁴²For example, Francisco O. Ramirez, David Suárez, and John W. Meyer, “The Worldwide Rise of Human Rights Education,” in *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, ed. Aaron Benavot and Cecilia Braslavsk (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 35–52.

⁴³Marcelo Caruso and Eugenia Roldán Vera, “Pluralizing Meanings: The Monitorial System of Education in Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 6 (2005): 645–654; Daniel Tröhler, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, eds., *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century: Comparative Visions* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Eugenia Roldán Vera, “Para desnacionalizar la historia de la educación: Reflexiones en torno a la difusión mundial de la escuela lancasteriana en el primer tercio del siglo XIX,” *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* 1, no. 2 (2013): 171–198, accessed March 29, 2017, <http://www.somehide.org/numero-2-2013.html>; Jürgen Schriewer and Marcelo Caruso, eds., “Nationalerziehung und Universalmethode: Frühe Formen schulorganisatorischer Globalisierung,” special issue, *Comparativ* 15, no. 1 (2005).

⁴⁴Aaron Benavot and Cecilia Braslavsk, *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007); Eugenia Roldán Vera and Marcelo Caruso, eds., *Imported Modernity in Post-colonial State Formation: The Appropriation of Political, Educational and Cultural Models in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007); Marcelo Caruso et al., eds., *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive* (Köln: Böhlau, 2014); Jenny Collins and Tim Allender, eds., “Knowledge Transfer and the History of Education,” special issue, *History of Education Review* 42, no. 2 (2013).

alternative categories such as “hybridity,” “enculturation,” or the creation of “transnational educational spaces.” This last approach proposes a view of the transnational as a realm of the construction of temporary spaces of transnationality through personal networks, the reception of models from elsewhere, institutional cooperation, and the creation of international fora.⁴⁵

Gender Studies

Recent publications in the field of gender research have emphasized transnational relationships, those of transfer and exchange, and mutual influences, thus leading them to focus on new actors and spaces.⁴⁶ (See also Bagchi and Goodman in this volume.)

⁴⁵ Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, eds., *Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Eckhardt Fuchs, Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, and Christian Ritz, eds., *Regionen in der deutschen Staatenwelt: Bildungsräume und Transferprozesse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2011); Catherine Burke, Peter Cunningham, and Ian Grosvenor, “‘Putting Education in Its Place’: Space, Place and Materialities in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (2010): 677–680; Roy Lowe and Gary McCulloch, “Introduction: Centre and Periphery—Networks, Space and Geography in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 457–459; Martin Lawn, ed., *An Atlantic Crossing? The Work of International Examination Inquiry, Its Researchers, Methods and Influence* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2008); Christine Mayer and Ian Grosvenor, eds., “Transnational Circulation of Reform Ideas and Practices: The Example of the Experimental and Community Schools (Versuchs- und Gemeinschaftsschulen) in Hamburg (1919–1933),” special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 5 (2014); María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: The Case of the Project Method, 1918–1939,” *Pedagogica Historica* 45, nos. 4–5 (2009): 599–614; Caruso, *Zirkulation und Transformation*; Ralf Koerrenz, Annika Blichmann and Sebastian Engelmann, *Alternative Schooling and New Education: European Concepts and Theories* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018); Steffi Koslowski, *Die New Era der New Education Fellowship: Ihr Beitrag zur Internationalität der Reformpädagogik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2013).

⁴⁶ Joyce Goodman, “‘Their Market Value Must Be Greater for the Experience They Had Gained’: Secondary School Headmistresses and Empire, 1897–1914,” in *Gender, Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Experience*, ed. Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin (London: Woburn Press, 2002), 175–198; Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Román, eds., *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Rebecca Rogers, “Congregações femininas e difusão de um modelo escolar: Uma história transnacional,” *Pro-Posições* 25, no. 1 (2014): 55–74; Christine Mayer, “Female Education and the Cultural Transfer of Pedagogical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 4 (2012): 511–526;

Textbook Research

Recent historical studies have focused on the transnational character of textbook production and distribution, especially examining the role of publishers and the ways in which their transnational commercial interests shape the content of education.⁴⁷ Transnational textbook comparisons also tend to react against the simplistic view that knowledge crosses boundaries thanks to its universal validity, instead pointing out that it undergoes a number of adaptation, both in the (literal and figurative) translation of textbook content and in the process of teaching itself.

Theories and Methods

Research on the transnational history of education in the areas identified above makes implicit or explicit use of a number of theoretical insights, which we summarize in this section. Whereas mainstream transnational historical research is not highly theorized, transnational research on the history of education is more theoretically laden, mainly because of its closeness to the field of education research. This closeness also means that the theoretical approaches in use in transnational educational research came into being within the social sciences, such as sociology, political theory, and cultural studies, from which vantage point the field of education is usually reflected upon. To what extent do these theories carry layers of meaning drawn from the normative discourse on international education? What contextual considerations have influenced the ways in which they construct the objects of research they aim at describing? Do they stem from a celebratory narrative of the blurring of boundaries derived from the connotations of a transnational commercial or political agenda? Or are they a reaction against the belief that educational knowledge can hold universal validity in different parts of the world?

Tim Allender, *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820–1932* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Deirdre Raftery and Marie Clarke, eds., *Transnationalism, Gender and the History of Education* (London: Routledge, 2017); Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smith, eds., *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks, 1900–1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁴⁷Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Eugenia Roldán Vera, *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

World System Theory—World Culture—World Society

Three “systemic” theoretical approaches dominate much of the way transnational history and a transnational history of education have been done in recent years.⁴⁸ The first of these, World System Theory, is a historically grounded theory asserting that the arrangement of the modern world as found at the onset of transatlantic capitalism in the sixteenth century gave way to the emergence of a world economy which is a system in itself and which constitutes a transnational/global level of causation.⁴⁹ The theory posits this world system as marked by an international division of labor unregulated by any political structure, which divides countries into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral according to the function they have in the production and consumption of goods and in the capitalization and production of technology. Countries are connected by relations of economic dependence, and boundaries are crossed by the economic forces at work (by means of commercial shipping, troops, expanding markets, and so forth). World system historical approaches place their primary emphasis on the process of networking, the dissolution of boundaries, and the awareness of the world as located in an international system determined by economic forces. Adherence to this framework has produced a number of works on the diffusion of rationalized models of modern schooling by government agencies or missionaries throughout empires.⁵⁰ Moreover, world system approaches assert that, in dissolving boundaries, transnational/global economic relations produce wealth and poverty, rich and poor countries, providers and consumers; part of their remit is to cast light on the divergent trajectories taken by the different participants in the system. This framework was of significance to the formulation of economic “dependency theories” which influenced the conceptualization of education in the developing world during the 1970s and also the writing of some histories of education.⁵¹

⁴⁸Marcelo Caruso, “World Systems, World Society, World Polity: Theoretical Insights for a Global History of Education,” *History of Education* 37, no. 6 (2008): 825–840, accessed March 29, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600802158256>.

⁴⁹Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

⁵⁰See the references provided in Caruso, “World Systems,” 829.

⁵¹See Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay Co., 1974).

“World Culture” is a macrosociological and culturalist theory that presupposes that there is a cultural, global order/model based on the origins of Western societies, the characteristics of which are universalism, individualism, progress, rationalism, and world citizenship. The theory further suggests that this model enjoys universal validity, that the cognitive construction of its objectives is global in nature, and that it is promoted and disseminated by transnational organizations and “enacted” by nation-states. A further tenet of this theory is its linking of the origin of mass education systems all over the world to the dissemination of the nation-state model and the need to (ritually) create and educate citizenry that would endorse it. Part of the “world culture” as thus proposed is a “grammar of education,” valid worldwide, the establishment of which was accompanied by a uniform institutional development all over the world. This would explain the isomorphism we see in educational structures, institutions, and discourses in most countries around the globe.⁵²

In Schriewer’s view, “world culture” is a semantic construction “not completely disconnected from structures predominant in the international arena.”⁵³ Tröhler considers World Culture theory to be a celebratory, linear account of globalization (the diffusion of a world culture) which, however, rather than describing a historical phenomenon, has constructed globalization as an object of study. This construction has taken place on the basis of epistemological premises set in a distinct, historical “language of education”⁵⁴ deriving from Max Weber’s thesis on the Protestant ethic, which assumes that the most secularized Protestant values have spread all over the world since the end of the Second World War at the latest (see below, Languages and concepts).

Finally, Niklas Luhmann’s theory of World Society conceives of society as an overarching world system inside of which there are numerous

⁵²See, for example, Frank J. Lechner and John Boli, *World Culture: Origins and Consequences* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005; repr., Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008); Xue Li and Alexander Hicks, “World Polity Matters: Another Look at the Rise of the Nation-State Across the World, 1816 to 2001,” *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 3 (2016): 596–607; Thomas S. Popkewitz, “Globalizing Globalization: The Neo-institutional Concept of a World Culture,” *National Society for the Study of Education* 108, no. 2 (2009): 29–49; Jürgen Schriewer, ed., *World Culture Re-contextualised: Meaning Constellations and Path-Dependencies in Comparative and International Education Research* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁵³Schriewer, “Globalisation in Education,” 277.

⁵⁴Tröhler, *Languages of Education*.

smaller systems (groups, communities, institutions, nations), interconnected by complex processes of communication transcending national borders and articulated around specific functional subsystems such as the economy, justice, religion, politics, and education.⁵⁵ In this conception, each system or subsystem has the capacity to reproduce and reform itself on the basis of its own history, tradition, and values. Yet there are specific historical moments at which the system's internal points of reference appear inadequate to achieve certain aims, which inadequacy leads the actors to seek solutions in references external to the system (i.e., in other systems). These references are then re-contextualized and internalized to the point at which the external elements of these models are erased and appear as indigenous. Jürgen Schriewer has developed a corresponding "theory of externalization" specific to the educational realm⁵⁶ which has influenced the production of some history of education works.⁵⁷

Postcolonial Theory and Subaltern Studies

Postcolonial theories—in their Asian, African, and Latin American variants—stand for a critique of the ethnocentric concept of modernity. They assert that the processes of development of capitalism, industrialization, secularization, and anthropocentrism which began around the sixteenth century were not a European creation subsequently "diffused" to the rest of the world via Europe's imposition of itself in military, commercial, or cultural terms. Rather, in the postcolonial view, modernity was the product of the interaction of Europe with the peoples that the European powers were conquering and subjugating. In this respect,

⁵⁵Niklas Luhmann and Karl Eberhard Schorr, eds., *Zwischen System und Umwelt: Fragen an die Pädagogik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996).

⁵⁶Jürgen Schriewer, "Vergleich als Methode und Externalisierung der Welt: Vom Umgang mit Alterität in Reflexionsdisziplinen," in *Theorie als Passion: Niklas Luhmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Dirk Baecker et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987), 629–668.

⁵⁷Jürgen Schriewer and Carlos Martínez, "¿Ideología educativa mundial o reflexión idiosincrática? El discurso pedagógico en España, Rusia (Unión Soviética) y China del siglo XX," *Revista de Educación* 343 (2007): 531–557; Florian Waldow, *Ökonomische Strukturzyklen und internationale Diskurskonjunkturen: Zur Entwicklung der schwedischen Bildungsprogrammatis, 1930–2006* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007).

slavery and genocide are not “aberrations” of modernity, but integral parts of it.⁵⁸ Postcolonial and subaltern studies criticize the alleged “universality” of Western concepts related to the production of knowledge, such as “culture,” “tradition,” “history,” and “lack of history.” This critique finds these concepts, coined in the process of interaction with non-Western societies, to distort, obscure, and fail to represent those societies in the process of their attempted description or explanation.⁵⁹ The historical methods of postcolonial theory consist in paying attention to the various actors’ place of enunciation, deconstructing the concepts and categories used to describe colonial reality, and attempting to retrace the strategies of cultural survival employed by peoples subjected to the violent rule of other powers. However, as Tim Allender has noted, in emphasizing the construction of the colonized subject, subaltern studies tend to efface the role and presence of the Europeans in colonial territories, especially after their independence.⁶⁰

Postcolonial and subaltern critique, and the historiography of education that engages it, positions itself politically against discourses of globalization or transnationalism that blur the asymmetry of power relations between colonizers and colonized or accept *prima facie* models of cultural transfer operating from “more advanced” to “less advanced” societies in the world. Further, these approaches reject the universal validity of norms and values (including educational ones) and set as their main agenda the deconstruction of those norms and values that have been ingrained in previous political and historiographical discourse.⁶¹

⁵⁸Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

⁵⁹Vanita Seth, *Europe’s Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500–1900* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Enrique D. Dussel, *1492: El encubrimiento del otro: Hacia el origen del ‘mito de la modernidad’*: Conferencias de Frankfurt, octubre de 1992 (Santafé de Bogotá: Ediciones Antropos, 1992).

⁶⁰Allender, *Learning Femininity*.

⁶¹Seth, *Subject Lessons*; Eugenia Roldán Vera, “Export as Import: James Thomson’s Civilizing Mission in South America,” in *Imported Modernity in Post-colonial State Formation: The Appropriation of Political, Educational and Cultural Models in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Eugenia Roldán Vera (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), 231–276.

Networks

A number of network-related methods in the social sciences stand on Emil Durkheim's premise that the world is made up of relations in the first instance and of individual entities in the second. Network approaches examine relationships among actors (individuals, organizations, or institutions), identify the patterns they follow, and study the impact of those patterns on processes of social change. Actor-network theory and social network analysis are specific methodologies which attempt to operationalize the network concept and which have been used in the study of transnational phenomena in education. The former considers that social relations are articulated in networks of people and objects that spread across space regardless of political boundaries; both people and objects constantly interact with and affect one another, and in that sense, they have agency within the network.⁶² The latter visualizes social relations as a network of links (friendship, economic relationships, information flows, and so on) among individuals and organizations and on this basis identifies the structure of the network of links (their degree of centrality, density, mediation) and the patterns of relations that exist among the actors (closeness, mediation, connectivity, transitivity). Both types of network analysis reject explanations based solely on categorical attributes of the actors, such as class, class consciousness, political affiliation, religious belief, ethnic background, or gender; instead, they construct explanations derived from the patterns of relations established among the actors, which are to an extent independent of their will, beliefs, and values. Network methods are useful in understanding, inter alia, social change, information flows, and the diffusion of educational innovations and models.⁶³

⁶²Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Tara Fenwick and Richard Edwards, eds., *Researching Education Through Actor-Network Theory* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); Hans-Ulrich Grunder, Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon and Peter Metz, eds., *Netzwerke in bildungshistorischer Perspektive* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2013).

⁶³Eugenia Roldán Vera and Thomas Schupp, "Bridges over the Atlantic: A Network Analysis of the Introduction of the Monitorial System of Education in Early-Independent Spanish America," *Comparativ* 15, no. 1 (2005): 58–93; Grunder, *Netzwerke in bildungshistorischer Perspektive*; Eckhardt Fuchs, ed., *Bildung international: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2006); Eckhardt Fuchs, "Networks and the History of Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 185–197; Eckhardt Fuchs, Daniel Lindmark and Christoph Lüth, eds., "Informal and Formal Cross-Cultural Networks in History of Education," special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007).

Since networks do not respect national boundaries, network approaches tend to blur those boundaries more emphatically than others. However, by abstracting context and the class, culture, and intentionality of the actors, they tend to efface the dynamics of asymmetrical power between regions and groups. Moreover, network approaches require a substantial and consistent corpus of data, something not always possible in historical research. This has led to loose usage of the concept of the “network” as a metaphor for the interconnectedness of subjects without the harnessing of a strong empirical basis which might give the network or its study an explanatory power.⁶⁴

Lending and Borrowing

Methodologies focused around the concepts of lending and borrowing are evidently a reaction to the paradigm of the universal validity of educational knowledge and values and the narratives of convergence of educational processes; this response articulates itself in attention to the process of their adaptation into local contexts. Drawing on Schriever’s theory of externalization, Gita Steiner-Khamsi has characterized the “lending and borrowing” process as comprising three consecutive phases: reference to an external model (externalization), local modification of the latter (re-contextualization), and gradual metamorphosis into a native model (internalization). These phases are otherwise describable as active reception, implementation, and indigenization.⁶⁵ David Phillips, meanwhile, has divided “borrowing” into four phases: cross-national attraction, decision, implementation, and internalization/indigenization. The first phase refers to the external impetus and social contexts for processes of transfer. In the second phase, participants respond to this impetus through various stages of decision-making; then, the third phase integrates foreign models into the native system. Ultimately, in the fourth phase, this integration has progressed

⁶⁴Eugenia Roldán Vera and Thomas Schupp, “Network Analysis in Comparative Social Sciences,” *Comparative Education* 42, no. 3 (2006): 405–429.

⁶⁵Gita Steiner-Khamsi, ed., *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*, with foreword by Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004); Steiner-Khamsi, “Re-framing Educational Borrowing as a Policy Strategy.”

far enough for the formerly external model to be considered part of the local system.⁶⁶ This concept has recently been expanded to include unintentional processes of transfer or “silent borrowing.”⁶⁷ Robert Cowen opens up a vista beyond education policy; his differentiation between *transfer*, *translation*, and *trade* potentially incorporates a wide range of types of transfer and attempts to reconcile the analysis of transfer with that of contexts.⁶⁸ The first two of these concepts work well from a history of education standpoint, but Cowen’s transfer model, despite its use by education sociologists and comparatists, is yet to be explicitly applied to historical phenomena.

Languages and Concepts

Probably the most recent transnational perspective in the history of education, the history of languages in education derives in part from the history of political languages and the history of concepts and historical semantics. Its proponents suggest that languages are specific frameworks or patterns of thinking/talking/writing about the educational, which are transnational and which refer in a more or less implicit way to religious-political ideals.⁶⁹ The number of such languages of education is limited; Tröhler identifies two which have endured from the eighteenth century to the present day: Swiss Calvinism, based on a view of education for the formation of community values, linked to classical republicanism, and German Lutheranism, whose emphasis is on the humanist concept of *Bildung* as self-cultivation and individual development.

Other approaches in this respect prefer to focus on the history of specific educational concepts, looking at the ways in which the vocabulary

⁶⁶David Phillips, *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004).

⁶⁷Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Florian Waldow, eds., *Policy Borrowing and Lending in Education* (London: Routledge, 2012); Johanna Ringarp and Florian Waldow, “From ‘Silent Borrowing’ to the International Argument—Legitimizing Swedish Educational Policy from 1945 to the Present Day,” *Nordic Journal of Studies in Education Policy* 2, no. 1 (2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/nstep.v2.29583>.

⁶⁸Robert Cowen, “Acting Comparatively upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities,” *Oxford Review of Education* 32, no. 5 (2006): 561–573; Florian Waldow, “Die internationale Konjunktur standardisierter Messungen von Schülerleistung in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts und ihr Niederschlag in Deutschland und Schweden,” *Jahrbuch für Pädagogik* 22, no. 1 (2010): 75–86.

⁶⁹Tröhler, *Languages of Education*.

we use to talk about education developed new meanings during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries within a framework of transnational relations, and at how these layers of meaning affect how we talk about education in our day.⁷⁰

Cultural Transfer, Histoire Croisée, Shared History

The “cultural transfer” approach, proposed primarily by French scholars in the field of German studies,⁷¹ addresses processes of mutual exchange and influence and ultimately the ability of these processes’ objects to change under observation, in the context of the nation-state.⁷² It has undergone further developed since its inception, now focusing on the concept of “transfaire,” that aims to study “symbolic and technical instruments that are produced and reproduced *by* circulation.” In so doing, this approach attempts a new mode of exploring connections, concomitances, and interdependencies by putting a spotlight “on modalities of ‘*trans-action*’ [transfaire]” and “processes of translation and co-production of normative vehicles and of the fabric out of which politics is made. Thinking in terms of interrelations is central to this endeavour, in order to avoid that the idea of incommensurable regions be reintroduced under the guise of ‘transfer’.”⁷³ Such an approach is close to the concept of *histoire croisée* proposed by Werner and Zimmermann,

⁷⁰Eugenia Roldán Vera, “La perspectiva de los lenguajes en la historia de la educación,” *Ariadna histórica: Lenguajes, conceptos, metáforas* 3 (2014): 7–14, accessed March 29, 2017, <http://www.ehu.es/ojs/index.php/Ariadna/issue/view/1008>; Dave Trotman, Helen E. Lees, and Roger Willoughby, eds., *Education Studies: The Key Concepts* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018).

⁷¹Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988).

⁷²Some works on history of education published in the German- and French-speaking worlds have followed this approach. See, for example, Thomas Koinzer, *Auf der Suche nach der demokratischen Schule: Amerikafahrer, Kulturtransfer und Schulreform in der Bildungsreformära der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2011); Mayer, “Female Education”; Alexandre Fontaine, *Aux heures suisses de l'école républicaine: Un siècle de transferts culturels et de déclinaisons pédagogiques dans l'espace franco-romand* (Paris: Demopolis, 2015).

⁷³See <http://transfaire.hypotheses.org/transacting>, frontpage, last accessed January 21, 2019, brackets in original.

which seeks to investigate dissymmetrical relations and the way in which events evolve and change through entanglement.⁷⁴

While fruitful for research on the history of education, transfer-based approaches show much reliance, as Noah Sobe has critically pointed out, on “narrowly conceived comparative strategies” that require the researcher “to stop the flow of time so that a cross-sectional object can be stabilized and discerned.” In Sobe’s view, this leads to the construction of artificial objects of research which do not take into account “the transformations, continuities and discontinuities between possible pasts, presents, and futures.”⁷⁵

Norm Cycle

This approach focuses on the development and juridification of norms,⁷⁶ emphasizing primarily the actor level, the relevant organizational structures, and the effects of these processes. However, the existence of norms tells us nothing about the actual behavior of the actors; the operational level of research on norms segregates these two aspects.

Finnemore/Sikkink have developed a three-stage model of the “life cycle” of norms in order to explain the process of international norm development and implementation. The following case-study analysis is based on this model, which addresses the norms that set the standards for the appropriate behavior of governments. The model differentiates between “norm emergence,” “norm cascade,” and “norm internalization.”⁷⁷ In the first of these three phases, concepts of norms emerge, usually originating from specific regional or national contexts and from the formulation of specific rights which do not in themselves imply a setting of norms but are initially ideas or “cognitive commitments”⁷⁸ stemming from individuals who formulate them on account of their life

⁷⁴Werner, “Penser l’histoire croisée.”

⁷⁵Sobe, “Entanglement and Transnationalism,” 100; Fontaine, *Aux heures suisses*.

⁷⁶Martha Finnemore, “International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy,” *International Organization* 47, no. 4 (1993): 565–597; Martha Finnemore, “Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology’s Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 50, no. 2 (1996): 325–347.

⁷⁷Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917.

⁷⁸Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

situations and experiences. Ideas only transform into norms when they give rise to collective expectations regarding certain behaviors. “Norm entrepreneurs”—individuals and organizations—seek to move a critical mass of politicians and/or governments to accept these new norms. If they reach this critical mass and thus the “tipping point,” they proceed toward the second phase, the “norm cascade.” This stage is far less dependent on the national contexts of norm production, as during this stage the norms spread out to further states, with “norm followers” emulating the “norm leaders.” Ultimately, in the third phase, the norms are internalized, codified in legal systems, and thus become a natural component of political activity. The crucial actors in the design and dissemination of these models, the mediators between the development of norms and their political implementation in international relations, are international state and non-state organizations.⁷⁹

As is historical research in general, the transnational approach to the history of education in particular is a growing field with a large variety of topics that employs a wide range of different methodical instruments and theoretical frameworks. The overview given in the previous part of this chapter represents only a brief glance at the vast amount of new research and makes no claim to provide a comprehensive report on all the research that has been done over the past decade. A closer look at the chapters that comprise this volume will confirm that the history of education has much to gain from a perspective that goes beyond national histories of education in taking into account the interdependencies between actors, institutions, and concepts throughout history. However, the idea of such a new “transnational paradigm” also calls for our self-reflection as a discipline. The fourth part of this chapter raises central questions this self-reflection might include, alongside summarizing the constituent chapters of this book with regard to the concepts and methods used by their authors.

The Transnational Under the Magnifying Glass

The contributors to this volume, participants in a workshop on “The Concept of the Transnational” held at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education in Istanbul in 2015, were asked to reflect on the way in which they do transnational history of education.

⁷⁹Fuchs, “Children’s Rights.”

All eminent scholars whose work has incorporated a transnational perspective for a long time were asked to consider a number of questions: What concepts are used to describe the transnational and where and when were they coined? What narratives and what methodologies dominate in colonial and non-colonial transnational historical educational research? When did they emerge and for what particular objects of study? Do they work for other objects of study as well? Can we talk of experiences of transnationality in a period previous to the late twentieth century? Do narratives or theoretical frameworks of convergence still aim at identifying “universal” processes and values in education? Do narratives of contagion seek “lessons” from elsewhere, models that have been successfully transplanted from one time and place to other contexts—or, alternatively, do they attempt to explain why that transplantation “failed”? Do our studies of transfer that look for “deviation” from a certain “norm” in the history of education (exceptionalism, alteration of models, production of variations) rest on an implicit, Enlightenment-based assumption that education is a universal good, that education is suitable of being rendered universal because we are all on different stages of the same path towards a common civilization? To what extent do “entangled narratives” of colonial situations serve to highlight the multi-directionality of processes of educational transfer or to obscure the dynamics of power between colonizers and colonized? How does the development of a “transnational” conceptual framework contribute to a political endorsement of the dissolution of national boundaries and social sovereignty? Does this play into the hands of any form of economic agendas? And have transnational historical approaches actually succeeded in conceptualizing the transnational as a level of causation?

The papers presented by the authors, later reworked to become the chapters of this book, focus on different topics and aspects of the field. Most chapters combine conceptual and analytical observations with empirical research, in varying degrees of balance between both aspects. Some of them are dense historiographical and conceptual discussions of the transnational approach in a given subfield, illustrated with examples (Mayer, Allender, Rogers, Popkewitz), whereas others build their discussion largely around a particular case study, introducing specific transnational perspectives (Bagchi, Caroli, Rockwell, Droux and Matasci, Goodman). Several of them implicitly or explicitly historicize the emergence of the universal aspirations of international education (Droux and Matasci, Goodman, Rockwell); others explore how the transnational

vantage point can offer novel ways of doing history of education, with respect, for example, to the history of empires (Allender, Rogers). Some chapters problematize the development of certain research approaches in particular contexts, such as cultural transfer, and examine their suitability for other geographic areas (Mayer); others explore the analytical value of new categories related to the transnational, such as vernacular cosmopolitanism (Bagchi, Goodman). Some put narratives of convergence/divergence to the test (Caroli), and one chapter, provocatively, examines the very foundations of the style of reason underlying the comparative approach that enables us to do transnational history of education in the first place (Popkewitz).

The book commences with Christine Mayer's retracing of the emergence of the methodologies of cultural transfer, entangled history and *histoire croisée* in the German-speaking context. Mayer shows how the cultural transfer approach emerged from the 1980s onward in the context of German–French relations and in relation to objects of study referring to that realm, and how it then evolved to become a more reflexive methodology about the entangled ways in which historians construct their objects of study. Focusing on the circulation and transfer of educational knowledge through English–German cultural exchange in the late eighteenth century, Mayer attempts to draw on these concepts—especially cultural transfer—as methodological approaches for a transnational research perspective that might offer more than a traditional comparative analysis. In addition, by bridging these approaches, Mayer finds a way to make visible the interconnections between colonizing and colonized societies as a form of shared history.

Next, Dorena Caroli analyzes the transfer of the French model of day nurseries—*crèches*—to European countries, particularly Italy and Russia, from the time of the model's evolution in the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the 1930s. Designed to fight child mortality, the original day nurseries were medical-pedagogical spaces popularized through scientific networks, journals, and international conferences; it was only after child mortality declined that they acquired the additional character of educational spaces. In any case, the model underwent major changes in dependence on the objectives and ideologies of each country to which it transferred. Basing her study on a comparative approach, Caroli is eventually able to conclude that, whereas the transnational transfer of the French model to Italy and Russia appears as a narrative of convergence, the ways in which that institution was tied to the science of childhood in

each of those countries tell more of a tale of diversity due to the strong national character in evidence in each case.

The following four chapters explore the conceptualization of the transnational in the history of education in imperial settings. Rebecca Rogers concentrates on the reciprocal influence between metropolis and colony, discussing some of the British and French literature on the “imperial turn.” At the center of her analysis is the role of teachers and missionaries as transnational actors whose writings provide a clear window onto the transfer of ideas—a process that is otherwise difficult to pinpoint. Rogers goes on to discuss the significance of international congresses and world fairs as places of the exchange of ideas, the acquisition of knowledge, and a broadening of perspectives in the imperial context. She advocates for an engagement of transnational perspectives in the history of empire (or of the history of education in an imperial context), suggesting that the transnational offers a more fruitful de-centered perspective than the imperial one, enabling us, for instance, to question “narratives of education and modernity that structured the nineteenth-century civilizing mission, or twentieth century modernization and human capital theories (p. 121).”

Tim Allender also questions the use of analytical categories on the basis of the colonial divide. Assessing the historiography of education in India, dominated by postcolonial theory and subaltern studies, he sees the theorization of transnationalism as unduly predicated on Western conceptions of modernity. He criticizes the traditional divide between transnational studies (exploring transferences between typically modern sovereign nation-states, including postcolonial states) and colonial studies (based on center-periphery paradigms of interchange) for creating artificially separate research mentalities for the pre- and post-independence eras of former colonial territories. In his view, transnationalism operated in both colonial and postcolonial settings and therefore represents a fruitful, open category for the exploration of India’s educational history that enables us to see both vernacular and different transnational undercurrents at play in India before and after independence. For Allender, the idea of a rupture between the colonial and postcolonial eras, alongside Western modes of theorization, Western constructions of knowledge, and their coupling of modernity and transnationalism, obstructs our view to the existence of continuities with past influences on the subcontinent. Investigating the travel, reception, and adaptation of educational ideas and practices, Allender argues that transnationalism

has always been part of India's history; positioning himself against universalist notions of the spread of Western knowledge, he also shows how Indians selectively appropriated some aspects of it (such as medical knowledge) and not others.

Elsie Rockwell traces a particular educational concept—"adapted education"—that emerged in the context of imperial France, casting light on that concept's emergence in the interplay between metropolis and colony. French colonial schooling was led by French colonial educators strongly influenced by early European ethnological conceptions of the cultural evolution of "other races." Contradictory interpretations and implementations of adapted education are evident in reports from Morocco and French West Africa, where France set up separate school systems for the *indigènes*, yet strongly promoted French-language instruction and the pedagogies of the "mainland." Rockwell also touches upon the way in which the concept of adaptation made its way back to the French "mainland" and was invoked in relation to teaching the rural population there. Rockwell's chapter shows clearly that the nation as a unit of analysis is not useful in the case of imperial or colonial histories of education, which, however, is not to suggest that French colonial education can be framed as a narrative of convergence. While colonial education had pretensions of universality and uniformity (e.g., postulating the value of education in the French language and the French literary canon), it did not meet with uniform implementation across colonial borders, rather being tailored to the colonies in accordance with notions of inferiority and the economic exploitation of the colonial subject (and the rural subject in the heartland).

Barnita Bagchi turns her attention to the ways in which people in the past actually experienced the transnational. This experience, she argues, is not a phenomenon of the late twentieth century; indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century the British empire was providing a highly intense experience of a global world, with trade, migrant workers, communications, and elites from the British colonies traveling across all parts of the empire and beyond while simultaneously mobilizing notions of nationhood. Bagchi's chapter explores the social relations and networks that create a transnational space in examining the multicentric histories and educational trajectories of Indian-born Toru Dutt (1856–1877), a young writer-in-the-making before her death at the age of twenty-one. She analyzes Dutt's transnational educational history, playing out between the local and the global, and the transnational quality of her writing.

Key to Dutt's life and oeuvre were her friendships with British and French women, which contributed to her understanding of the European culture and aesthetics that influenced her work. Bagchi also uses the concepts of imperial, critical, and vernacular cosmopolitanism to illustrate the way in which Dutt participated in those networks and transnational spaces, and argues that our conceptualization of the transnational needs to take account of cosmopolitanisms.

Exploring the transnational in the Far East, Joyce Goodman likewise activates a notion of vernacular cosmopolitanism, drawn from the work of Homi K. Bhabha, to study the networks in which the Japanese educationist Yoshi Kasuya participated. Goodman finds Yoshi's consideration of secondary education for girls in Japan to be underpinned by her *Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls in England, Germany, and the United States* (1933), suggesting that Yoshi configures a cultural model of modern Japanese womanhood entangled with elements of Western womanhood. This becomes especially apparent via an investigation of the various concepts of temporality that play into Yoshi's configuration. Goodman argues for an account of Yoshi's educational thesis that focuses not on transnationalism only, but on the entanglement of nation, internationalism, and transnationalism.

In a self-reflective piece on the discourses dominant in education, Joëlle Droux und Damiano Matasci study the emergence of education as a field for international intervention via analysis of the international networks of actors from governmental and non-governmental organizations in the interwar period and the 1950s. They show how the fields of education and child development emerged in the convergence/tensions between a quest for universalism (the belief in education as a universal good) and the development of national educational policies on the basis of national (or imperial) traditions and identities. They consider the obstacles, conflicts, and tensions facing the implementation of these policies, which limited the structuring power of international organizations in the internationalization of educational initiatives. In addition to the League of Nations, Droux and Matasci take into account the International Labour Movement/Organization, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and, for the period after 1945, UNESCO, as agents of a "global community." They highlight the complex system of interactions between individual and collective stakeholders, state authorities, and non-state and international organizations,

pointing to the advantages of a transnational perspective in bringing to the fore subjects and mechanisms previously considered marginal.

Finally, Thomas Popkewitz' chapter seeks to destabilize the way in which transnational objects of study are constructed in comparative educational research. Popkewitz investigates the analytical categories of "context" and "archive" as inscriptions of a particular ordering of time in cultural practices and of a realism that erases differences in its modes of comparing. Via his critical examination of the ahistorical and transcendental ideas of context and archive, he offers a different strategy of comparison, a History of the Present, which entails engaging in the systems of reason that construct difference and, at the same time, dissolving the causality of the present and disrupting the continuum and hierarchy of values that differentiate the self and the other. He questions the very system of reasoning that considers educational comparison across geographic spaces possible. His alternative proposal is to reformulate the transnational comparative history of education as a study of the systems of reason that make possible the construction of the objects of study of the discipline (and also the idea of comparison itself) as well as comparing the different systems of reason that are at stake when the objects of schooling travel.

Taken together, the chapters offer new insights into the historical situatedness of the concepts and categories we use in our transnational histories of education. Although none of them would endorse a universalist paradigm in education, most of them, in reflecting on phenomena of the transfer, adaptation, and transformation of educational knowledge and considering the role of agents, networks, and institutional transformations, are still responding critically to that early twentieth-century belief in the possibility of educating the world in common, shared, transplantable values and in the construction of a universal science of education driven and directed by a humanitarian mission. The contributors to this volume further tend to reject narratives of convergence that would point to the standardization of education, even when studying the internationalization of a particular educational model, as does Caroli. Instead, the chapters presented here suggest the emergence of other important trends in the way we conduct transnational historical research in education, construct our objects of study, and incorporate our self-reflection about the semantic constitution of the field.

First, we note a healthy self-reflexivity about the processes by which education itself was constituted as a field of international intervention,

about the historical construction of the language used to describe educational processes, and about the rationality through which comparative educationalists construct their objects of research. The chapters by Droux and Matasci, Rockwell, and Popkewitz in this volume are pertinent and strong examples. Second, there is a distinct trend toward thinking about educational topics in history in a relational manner. On the one hand, as all chapters on the history of education in imperial settings suggest, the study of multi-directional interplay between colonies and metropolis, to the end of understanding educational processes that affected all parts of an empire (in different ways), has proven a more fruitful approach than traditional diffusionist accounts. On the other hand, as Goodman suggests, the interplay between the national, international and transnational scales may have strong explanatory powers when observed in relation to agents moving across borders. This relational approach has—to move to a third trend—led some historians of education to look for categories that do better justice to the phenomena they want to describe. Trying to get away from artificially constructed objects of study, some historians of education have begun to criticize, for example, the analytical potential of the colonial/postcolonial or colonial/metropolitan divides. As Allender and Rogers argue, the more de-centered transnational approach offers a better lens through which we might see more clearly educational phenomena of the past.

Finally, various chapters in this volume point to the need for attention to the ways in which people in the past actually experienced the transnational. Focusing on how they described and made sense of the crossing of borders, oceans, cultures, temporalities, and languages may be highly relevant to our understanding of the very processes of transnationalism in education that are at stake in our research. To aid this understanding, as Bagchi and Goodman demonstrate, the use of other conceptual categories, such as “vernacular cosmopolitanism,” may be helpful.

Throughout this introductory chapter, we have argued that a historical-conceptual examination of the discourse and categories we use to talk about a transnational history of education may help us uncover the assumptions—be they hidden or explicit—that underlie our constructions of our transnational objects of research. Although the self-reflective exercise conducted by the contributing authors suggests that the transnational history of education is now enjoying some degree of maturity, we would argue that there is still a considerable journey to be undertaken. Following the examples of “adaptation” and “transnationalism,” we

suggest that we could go deeper in our awareness about the historicity, situatedness, and polysemy of the concepts and categories we use, such as “hybridity” and “cosmopolitanism.” In particular, we should listen closely to the terms that people in the past used to make intelligible their own experiences of what we these days call “transnationalism.” Moreover, we could explore further the interpretive potential of a de-centered transnational approach in constructing objects of research that go beyond not only the national scale but also the extant fixed colonial or imperial frameworks. Further, as Sobe has pointed out, the challenge remains “to recognize the interaction between the historically constituted temporalities we study and the temporalities produced / imposed by the tools and methods we use to conduct these studies”; this is an issue, which we have not tackled here, that affects much comparative historical research in its tendency to “fix” its comparative units in time.⁸⁰ In any case, an invitation to open a dialog between the premises that underlie our theoretical proposals and the way we do empirical research appears a central outcome of this volume and calls us to expand the horizons of our research designs.

Bibliography

- Acevedo, Ariadna, and Susana Quintanilla. “La perspectiva global en la historia de la educación.” *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa* 14, no. 40 (2009): 7–11.
- Allender, Tim. “Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India, 1813–1919.” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 707–722.
- Allender, Tim. *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820–1932*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Altbach, Philip G., and Gail P. Kelly. *Education and Colonialism*. New York: Longman, 1978.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Austin, John L. *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Bach, Olaf. *Die Erfindung der Globalisierung: Entstehung und Wandel eines zeitgeschichtlichen Grundbegriffs*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013.

⁸⁰Sobe, “Entanglement and Transnationalism,” 100.

- Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds. *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post) Colonial Education*. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Bal, Mieke. *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*. Green College Lectures. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Bayly, Christopher A., Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed. "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History." *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–1464.
- Beech, Jason. "Redefining Educational Transfer: International Agencies and the (Re)Production of Educational Ideas." In *Identity, Education and Citizenship: Multiple Interrelations*, edited by Jonas Sprogøe and Thyge Winther-Jensen, 175–196. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Bellenoit, Hayden J. A. *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007.
- Benavot, Aaron, and Cecilia Braslavsk. *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2007.
- Boli, John, and George M. Thomas, eds. *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Bourne, Randolph S. "Trans-national America." *The Atlantic*, July 1916. Accessed March 29, 2017. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1916/07/trans-national-america/304838/>.
- Bray, Mark. "Comparative Education and International Education in the History of Compare: Boundaries, Overlaps and Ambiguities." *Compare* 40, no. 6 (2010): 711–725.
- Bruno-Jofré, Rosa, and Jürgen Schriewer. *The Global Reception of John Dewey's Thought: Multiple Refractions through Time and Space*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Burke, Catherine, Peter Cunningham, and Ian Grosvenor. "'Putting Education in Its Place': Space, Place and Materialities in the History of Education." *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (2010): 677–680.
- Carnoy, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: David McKay Co., 1974.
- Caruso, Marcelo. "Within, Between, Above, and Beyond: (Pre)Positions for a History of the Internationalisation of Educational Practices and Knowledge." *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014): 10–26.
- Caruso, Marcelo. "World Systems, World Society, World Polity: Theoretical Insights for a Global History of Education." *History of Education* 37, no. 6 (2008): 825–840. Accessed March 29, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600802158256>.

- Caruso, Marcelo, and Eugenia Roldán Vera. "Pluralizing Meanings: The Monitorial System of Education in Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 6 (2005): 645–654.
- Caruso, Marcelo, Thomas Koinzer, Christine Mayer, and Karin Priem, eds. *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*. Köln: Böhlau, 2014.
- Charle, Christophe, Jürgen Schriever, and Peter Wagner, eds. *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*. Frankfurt: Campus, 2004.
- Christin, Olivier, ed. *Dictionnaire des concepts nomades en Sciences humaines*. Paris: Métaillé, 2010.
- Clavin, Patricia. "Defining Transnationalism." *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–439.
- Cohen, Deborah, and Maura O'Connor. "Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-national History, Transnational History—Definitions." In *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, edited by Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, xi–1. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Collins, Jenny, and Tim Allender, eds. "Knowledge Transfer and the History of Education." Special issue. *History of Education Review* 42, no. 2 (2013).
- Cortina, Regina, and Sonsoles San Román, eds. *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Council of Europe. "Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education (Adopted by the Lisbon Recognition Convention Committee at Its Second Meeting, Rīga, 6 June 2001)." Accessed March 29, 2017. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/recognition/Code%20of%20good%20practice_EN.asp.
- Cowen, Robert. "Acting Comparatively upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities." *Oxford Review of Education* 32, no. 5 (2006): 561–573.
- Crossley, Michael, and Keith Watson, *Comparative and International Research in Education: Globalisation, Context and Difference*. London: Routledge Falmer, 2003.
- Crossley, Pamela K. *What Is Global History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.
- Del Mar del Pozo Andrés, María. "The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: The Case of the Project Method, 1918–1939." *Paedagogica Historica* 45, nos. 4–5 (2009): 561–584.
- Drayton, Richard, and David Motadel. "Discussion: The Futures of Global History." *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (2018): 1–21.
- Droux, Joelle, and Rita Hofstetter, eds. "Internationalisation in Education: Issues, Challenges, Outcomes." Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014).

- Dussel, Enrique D. *1492: El encubrimiento del otro: Hacia el origen del 'mito de la modernidad': Conferencias de Frankfurt, octubre de 1992*. Santafé de Bogotá: Ediciones Antropos, 1992.
- Encyclopedia of Educational Research. "International Education." *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. Rev. ed., edited by William W. Brickman and Walter S. Monroe, 617–627. New York: Macmillan, 1950.
- Espagne, Michel, and Michael Werner, eds. *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988.
- Faries, John C. *The Rise of Internationalism*. New York: Gray, 1915.
- Fenwick, Tara, and Richard Edwards, eds. *Researching Education Through Actor-Network Theory*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Finnemore, Martha. "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy." *International Organization* 47, no. 4 (1993): 565–597.
- Finnemore, Martha. "Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism." *International Organization* 50, no. 2 (1996): 325–347.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917.
- Fischer-Tiné, Harald. "National Education, Pulp Fiction and the Contradictions of Colonialism: Perceptions of an Educational Experiment in Early-Twentieth Century India." In *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission, Cultural Ideology and British India*, edited by Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann, 229–247. London: Anthem, 2004.
- Fitzgerald, Tanya, and Elizabeth M. Smith, eds. *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks, 1900–1960*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Fontaine, Alexandre. *Aux heures suisses de l'école républicaine: Un siècle de transferts culturels et de déclinaisons pédagogiques dans l'espace franco-romand*. Paris: Demopolis, 2015.
- Forman, Paul. "Scientific Internationalism and the Weimar Physicists: The Ideology and Its Manipulation in Germany After World War I." *Isis* 64, no. 2 (1973): 150–180.
- Fox, Robert. *Science Without Frontiers: Cosmopolitanism and National Interests in the World of Learning, 1870–1940*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2016.
- Friedemann, Peter, and Lucian Hölscher. „Internationale.“ In *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. Vol. 3, edited by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, 367–397. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982.

- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "All the World into the School: World's Fairs and the Emergence of the School Museum in the Nineteenth Century." In *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and the Materiality of Education*, edited by Martin Lawn, 51–72. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, ed., *Bildung international: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen*. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2006.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Children's Rights and Global Civil Society." *Comparative Education* 43, no. 3 (2007): 393–412.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Der Völkerbund und die Institutionalisierung transnationaler Bildungsbeziehungen." *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 54, no. 10 (2006): 888–899.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Multilaterale Bildungspolitik und transnationale Zivilgesellschaft: Universitätsbeziehungen in der Zwischenkriegszeit." In *Politik in der Bildungsgeschichte—Befunde, Prozesse, Diskurse*, edited by Gisela Miller-Kipp and Bernd Zymek, 101–116. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2006.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Networks and the History of Education." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 185–197.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, ed. "Transnationalizing the History of Education." Special issue. *Comparativ* 22, no. 1 (2012).
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, and Jürgen Schriewer, eds. "Internationale Bildungsorganisationen als Global Players in Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik." Special issue. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 52, no. 2 (2007).
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, and Annkatrin Bock, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, Daniel Lindmark, and Christoph Lüth, eds. "Informal and Formal Cross-Cultural Networks in History of Education." Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007).
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, and Christian Ritzi, eds. *Regionen in der deutschen Staatenwelt: Bildungsräume und Transferprozesse im 19. Jahrhundert*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2011.
- Goodman, Joyce. "'Their Market Value Must Be Greater for the Experience They Had Gained': Secondary School Headmistresses and Empire, 1897–1914." In *Gender, Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Experience*, edited by Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin, 175–198. London: Woburn Press, 2002.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Women and International Intellectual Co-operation." *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 3 (2012): 357–368.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Working for Change Across International Borders: The Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 1 (2007): 165–180.

- Goodman, Joyce, Gary McCulloch, and William Richardson. “‘Empires Overseas’ and ‘Empires At Home’: Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education.” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 695–706.
- Grunder, Hans-Ulrich, Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon, and Peter Metz, eds. *Netzwerke in bildungshistorischer Perspektive*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2013.
- Hébert, Yvonne, and Ali A. Abdi, *Critical Perspectives on International Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2013.
- Iriye, Akira. *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Iriye, Akira, and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Jones, Phillip W., and David Coleman. *The United Nations and Education: Multilateralism, Development and Globalization*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Kemény, Franz. *L’enseignement international. Histoire, état actuel, avenir*. Ostende: Bureau international de documentation éducative, 1914.
- Kobel, Oskar. “Weltpädagogik.” *Die Neue Erziehung* 1 (1919): 729–733.
- Koerrenz, Ralf, Annika Blichmann, and Sebastian Engelmann. *Alternative Schooling and New Education: European Concepts and Theories*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018.
- Koinzer, Thomas. *Auf der Suche nach der demokratischen Schule: Amerikafahrer, Kulturtransfer und Schulreform in der Bildungsreformära der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2011.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Koslowski, Steffi. *Die New Era der New Education Fellowship: Ihr Beitrag zur Internationalität der Reformpädagogik im 20. Jahrhundert*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2013.
- Kulnazarova, Aigul, and Christian Ydesen, eds. *UNESCO Without Borders: Educational Campaigns for International Understanding*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Laqua, Daniel. *The Age of Internationalism and Belgium, 1880–1930: Peace, Progress and Prestige*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lawn, Martin, ed. *An Atlantic Crossing? The Work of International Examination Inquiry, Its Researchers, Methods and Influence*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2008.

- Lechner, Frank J., and John Boli. *World Culture: Origins and Consequences*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005. Reprint. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.
- Li, Xue, and Alexander Hicks. "World Polity Matters: Another Look at the Rise of the Nation-State Across the World, 1816 to 2001." *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 3 (2016): 596–607.
- Lindmark, Daniel, ed. *Education and Colonialism: Swedish Schooling Projects in Colonial Areas, 1638–1878*. Umeå: Umeå University, 2000.
- Little, Angela W. "International and Comparative Education: What's in a Name?" *Compare* 40, no. 6 (2010): 845–852.
- Lowe, Roy, and Gary McCulloch. "Introduction: Centre and Periphery— Networks, Space and Geography in the History of Education." *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 457–459.
- Luhmann, Niklas, and Karl Eberhard Schorr, eds. *Zwischen System und Umwelt: Fragen an die Pädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996.
- Madeira, Ana Isabel. "Framing Concepts in Colonial Education: A Comparative Analysis of Educational Discourses at the Turn of the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century." In *Identity, Education and Citizenship: Multiple Interrelations*, edited by Jonas Sprogøe and Thyge Winther-Jensen, 225–238. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Mayer, Christine. "Female Education and the Cultural Transfer of Pedagogical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century." *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 4 (2012): 511–526.
- Mayer, Christine, and Ian Grosvenor, eds. "Transnational Circulation of Reform Ideas and Practices: The Example of the Experimental and Community Schools (Versuchs- und Gemeinschaftschulen) in Hamburg (1919–1933)." Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 5 (2014).
- Metzler, Gabriele. *Internationale Wissenschaft und nationale Kultur: Deutsche Physiker in der internationalen Community 1900–1960*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
- Middell, Matthias, and Katja Naumann. "Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization." *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 149–170.
- Mignolo, Walter D. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Möller, Esther, and Johannes Wischmeyer, eds. *Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.
- Oestreich, Paul. "Pädagogischer Internationalismus?" *Die Neue Erziehung* 13 (1931): 528–530.
- Ossenbach, Gabriela, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, eds. "Lost Empires, Regained Nations: Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America (1870–1970)." Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011).

- Ossenbach, Gabriela, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés. "Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda." *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600.
- Oxford English Dictionary. "Internationalism, Internationality, Internationalize." *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Vol. 7, 1124. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Pernau, Margrit. *Transnationale Geschichte*. Göttingen and Stuttgart: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.
- Phillips, David. *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*, Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004.
- Pocock, John G. A. *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. First published 1971 by Atheneum (New York).
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. "Globalizing Globalization: The Neo-institutional Concept of a World Culture." *National Society for the Study of Education* 108, no. 2 (2009): 29–49.
- Rafferty, Deirdre. "Teaching Sisters and Transnational Networks: Recruitment and Education Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century." *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 717–728.
- Rafferty, Deirdre, and Marie Clarke, eds. *Transnationalism, Gender and the History of Education*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Ramirez, Francisco O., David Suárez, and John W. Meyer. "The Worldwide Rise of Human Rights Education." In *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, edited by Aaron Benavot and Cecilia Braslavsk, 35–52. Dordrecht: Springer, 2007.
- Rayward, W. Boyd, ed. *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque*. Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2014.
- Ringarp, Johanna, and Florian Waldow. "From 'Silent Borrowing' to the International Argument—Legitimizing Swedish Educational Policy from 1945 to the Present Day." *Nordic Journal of Studies in Education Policy* 2, no. 1 (2016). <http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/nstep.v2.29583>.
- Rittberger, Volker, and Bernhard Zangl. *Internationale Organisationen—Politik und Geschichte*. 3rd rev. ed. Opladen: Springer, 2003.
- Rogers, Rebecca. *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Rogers, Rebecca. "Congregações femininas e difusão de um modelo escolar: Uma história transnacional." *Pro-Posições* 25, no. 1 (2014): 55–74.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia. *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

- Roldán Vera, Eugenia. “Export as Import: James Thomson’s Civilizing Mission in South America.” In *Imported Modernity in Post-colonial State Formation: The Appropriation of Political, Educational and Cultural Models in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, edited by Marcelo Caruso and Eugenia Roldán Vera, 231–276. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia. “La perspectiva de los lenguajes en la historia de la educación.” *Ariadna histórica: Lenguajes, conceptos, metáforas* 3 (2014): 7–14. Accessed March 29, 2017. <http://www.ehu.es/ojs/index.php/Ariadna/issue/view/1008>.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia. “Para desnacionalizar la historia de la educación: Reflexiones en torno a la difusión mundial de la escuela lancasteriana en el primer tercio del siglo XIX.” *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* 1, no. 2 (2013): 171–198. Accessed March 29, 2017. <http://www.somehide.org/numero-2-2013.html>.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia, and Marcelo Caruso, eds. *Imported Modernity in Post-colonial State Formation: The Appropriation of Political, Educational and Cultural Models in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia, and Thomas Schupp. “Bridges Over the Atlantic: A Network Analysis of the Introduction of the Monitorial System of Education in Early-Independent Spanish America.” *Comparativ* 15, no. 1 (2005): 58–93.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia, and Thomas Schupp. “Network Analysis in Comparative Social Sciences.” *Comparative Education* 42, no. 3 (2006): 405–429.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. *Transnational History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Schriewer, Jürgen, ed. *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*. 3rd rev. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Schriewer, Jürgen. “Globalisation in Education: Process and Discourse.” *Policy Futures in Education* 1, no. 2 (2003): 271–283.
- Schriewer, Jürgen. “Vergleich als Methode und Externalisierung der Welt: Vom Umgang mit Alterität in Reflexionsdisziplinen.” In *Theorie als Passion: Niklas Luhmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Dirk Baecker, Jürgen Markowitz, Rudolf Stichweh, Hartmann Tyrell, and Helmut Willke, 629–668. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987.
- Schriewer, Jürgen, ed. *World Culture Re-contextualised: Meaning Constellations and Path-Dependencies in Comparative and International Education Research*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Schriewer, Jürgen, and Carlos Martínez. “Constructions of Internationality in Education.” In *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*, edited by Gita Steiner-Khamsi, 29–53. New York: Teachers College Press, 2004.

- Schriewer, Jürgen, and Carlos Martínez. “¿Ideología educativa mundial o reflexión idiosincrática? El discurso pedagógico en España, Rusia (Unión Soviética) y China del siglo XX.” *Revista de Educación* 343 (2007): 531–557.
- Schriewer, Jürgen, and Marcelo Caruso, eds. “Nationalerziehung und Universalmethode: Frühe Formen schulorganisatorischer Globalisierung.” Special issue. *Comparativ* 15, no. 1 (2005).
- Seth, Sanjay. *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Seth, Vanita. *Europe’s Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500–1900*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Skinner, Quentin. *Visions of Politics*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Sobe, Noah W. “Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education.” In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 93–107. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita, ed. *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*. With foreword by Thomas S. Popkewitz. New York: Teachers College Press, 2004.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita. “Re-framing Educational Borrowing as a Policy Strategy.” In *Internationalisierung: Semantik und Bildungssystem in vergleichender Perspektive*, edited by Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, 57–89. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita, and Florian Waldow, eds. *Policy Borrowing and Lending in Education*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Tacke, Otto. “Die Vorbereitung der Aufnahme Deutschlands in den Völkerbund durch die Schulen.” *Die Neue Erziehung* 6 (1924): 449–452.
- Tröhler, Daniel. *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Tröhler, Daniel, Thomas S. Popkewitz, and David F. Labaree, eds. *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century: Comparative Visions*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Trotman, Dave, Helen E. Lees, and Roger Willoughby, eds. *Education Studies: The Key Concepts*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Tschurennev, Jana. “Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in the Early Nineteenth Century India.” In *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development*, edited by Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann, 93–124. London: Anthem, 2011.

- Tyrrell, Ian. "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice." *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009): 453–474.
- Valle, Javier M. "Supranational Education: A New Field of Knowledge to Address Educational Policies in a Global World." *Journal of Supranational Policies of Education* 1 (2013): 7–30.
- Waldow, Florian. "Die internationale Konjunktur standardisierter Messungen von Schülerleistung in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts und ihr Niederschlag in Deutschland und Schweden." *Jahrbuch für Pädagogik* 22, no. 1 (2010): 75–86.
- Waldow, Florian. *Ökonomische Strukturzyklen und internationale Diskurskonjunkturen: Zur Entwicklung der schwedischen Bildungsprogrammatik, 1930–2006*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.
- Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Penser l'histoire croisée: Entre empirie et réflexivité." *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 1 (2003): 7–36.
- Whitehead, Clive. "Overseas Education and British Colonial Education 1929–63." *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 561–575.



The Transnational and Transcultural: Approaches to Studying the Circulation and Transfer of Educational Knowledge

Christine Mayer

Introduction

Cross-border ideas and objects have shifted into the focus of historiographical research over the past few years, informed by postcolonial approaches, new cultural theory and history, cultural anthropology, and transnational and transcultural exchange relationships and movements. These recent trends, which are aligned with a new, broader, sense of going about history, can by and large be classified as “transnational history” and “cultural transfer studies.” Despite their occasional differences, in their frame of reference they share an opposition to familiar histories and particularly national historiographies. With their new subjects, practices, and explanatory strategies they are— as Michael Geyer puts it—“part and parcel of a shifting sense of history or,

C. Mayer (✉)

Faculty of Education, Department of General, Intercultural and International Comparative Education, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany
e-mail: christine.mayer@uni-hamburg.de; mayer.christine@t-online.de

© The Author(s) 2019

E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History of Education*, Global Histories of Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_2

perhaps more properly, of an shifting sense of what historians accept as legitimate subjects and methods.”¹

Even though these approaches have been addressed in the field of educational historiography in the last few years,² most research to date has been conducted within national contexts, although the transnational and transcultural exchange and circulation of educational knowledge has a long history. Examples of the latter are not only the classics of educational philosophy by John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, which enjoyed a transcultural impact through early and numerous translations, but also less prominent works whose transfers and interconnections were lost in a process of “nationalizing” pedagogical knowledge, often providing, however, key stimuli for the dynamic development of modern education. The exchange and circulation of pedagogical ideas, concepts, practices, and experiences took place through different historical eras and across different political and cultural spaces. We can observe periods of denser, more intense exchange, mainly at times when the quest for new ideas, models, patterns, and examples took on a particular urgency. The exchange of pedagogical knowledge thus increased dramatically in

¹Michael Geyer, review of *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, ed. Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz, *H-Soz-Kult*, October 11, 2006, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/rezbuecher-8227>.

²Cf. e.g. Eugenia Roldán Vera, *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: The Case of the Project Method, 1918–1939,” *Pedagogica Historica* 45, nos. 4–5 (2009): 561–584; Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600; Eckhardt Fuchs, ed., “Transnationalizing the History of Education,” special issue, *Comparativ* 22, no. 1 (2012); Christine Mayer, “Female Education and the Cultural Transfer of Pedagogical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 4 (2012): 511–526; Joelle Droux and Rita Hofstetter, “Internationalisation in Education: Issues, Challenges, Outcomes,” special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 1–2 (2014); Christine Mayer and Ian Grosvenor, eds., “Transnational Circulation of Reform Ideas and Practices: The Example of the Experimental and Community Schools (Versuchs- und Gemeinschaftsschulen in Hamburg [1919–1933]),” special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 5 (2014); Marcelo Caruso et al., eds., *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive* (Köln: Böhlau, 2014); Alexandre Fontaine, *Aux heures suisses de l'école républicaine: Un siècle de transferts culturels et de déclinaisons pédagogiques dans l'espace franco-romand* (Paris: Demopolis, 2015).

the second half of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the expansion and changes in the book market, the growth of dedicated journals, and especially the numerous translations of topical writings. Another area in which transnational exchange and the circulation of educational concepts, models, practices, and experiences were of great importance was the development of modern education systems and the emergence of national mass schooling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Further, educational reform movements emerging around the turn of the twentieth century and the euphoric global discourse on a *New* or *Progressive Education* in the 1920s and 1930s fostered a process of global interrelations and formations in the field of education. Individual writers, organizations, and formal networks as well as international journals, congresses, educational journeys, teacher exchanges, and international studies, but also personal, informal contacts and relationships all functioned as intermediaries of transnational exchange and educational transfer.

The questions arising in this context—how such transfer and circulation took place, what educational debates they gave rise to, and how concepts and practices from different cultural contexts were transferred and adapted into the national/local discourse—have received only scant attention from research to date. Recent developments in transnational, global, and transfer history (*Transfergeschichte*) have produced new approaches (such as the concept of cultural transfer, connected, shared, or entangled history often referred to as *histoire croisée*) as extensions or alternatives to the traditional international comparative history. The methodological debates in (German) historical science and the approaches of a transnational, transfer, and entangled history (*Verflechtungsgeschichte*) as has emerged in historical research forms one part of the background to the following thoughts while the other is rooted in my own research perspective, primarily informed by cultural transfer studies. In this contribution, I will inquire as to the inspiration and ideas the new historiographical approaches can provide for exploring the transnational and transcultural dimensions in the history of education. First, I will attempt to frame what we mean by transnational history. Then, I will take a closer look at methodical approaches open to a transnational research perspective, particularly cultural transfer studies and *histoire croisée*. Finally, I will provide an example of how cultural transfer analysis proceeds from my own research.

Transnational History as a Research Perspective

In historical scholarship, transnational history is not understood as a new paradigm but as a research perspective built on the various degrees of interaction, connection, circulation, and intersection which transcend national borders.³ A concept of space that is accorded a dynamic function in transcending boundaries instead of being limited to its specific geopolitical implications or the territory of a nation-state is key to this endeavor. However, transnational history is not a uniform approach, but a set of complementary and overlapping methodologies (a “de-provincialised historiography”⁴) with a “sense of openness and experimentation.”⁵ Subject, research question, and interest continue to determine approach and method. Accordingly, the methodologies and analytical tools deployed vary. Nor is there any agreement on a universal definition of the term “transnational.” We find many different and contradictory purposes and definitions in various publications, often depending on the author’s culture and context.⁶ Nonetheless, not least due to the semantic power of the term, transnational history offers a terminological frame of reference as a real alternative to the dominance of a national, Eurocentric historiography and can function as an umbrella term for a number of approaches intended to “overcome national, territorially closed narratives in favor of locating historical developments, actors and spaces within an interconnected ‘global history.’”⁷ This broad-based understanding of what transnational historiography is can also be seen in the rationale of the forum *geschichte.transnational*. This platform provides a wide range of discussions, publications, and information on the history of transcultural transfer and transnational

³Kiran Klaus Patel, “Transnationale Geschichte—Ein neues Paradigma?” *Connections: A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, February 2, 2005, accessed April 6, 2017, www.connections.clio-online.net/debate/id/diskussionen-573; Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1–12.

⁴Patel, “Transnationale Geschichte,” 2.

⁵Geyer, review of *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, 1.

⁶For a detailed treatment, see Saunier, *Transnational History*, 13–31.

⁷Shalini Randeria and Regina Röhmbild, “Das postkoloniale Europa: Verflochtene Genealogien der Gegenwart—Einleitung zur erweiterten Neuauflage,” in *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, 2nd ext. ed., ed. Sebastian Conrad, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Röhmbild (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013), 9.

interconnectedness in Europe and the world.⁸ The conceptional range of transnational history has been pointed out by Kiran K. Patel. To him, it represents a research perspective that “follows up on the various degrees of interaction, connection, circulation, intersection and interweaving that reach beyond the nation state,”⁹ but within whose framework “the nation continues to play a very important relational role.”¹⁰ Accordingly, by Patel’s definition transnational history encompasses everything “that is beyond (and sometimes also on this side) of the national, but also is defined by it – be it in that it is supported by the national or distances itself from it, that it constitutes the national in the first instance or that it consists of mutual dynamic construction processes between the national and the transnational,” though this does not mean “that the transnational can be dissolved into its national components.”¹¹ Understood in this fashion, transnational history is unlimited in its sectorial scope, but should be limited temporally to the later modern era (the eighteenth century onward) in which a modern understanding of the nation emerged and became a significant factor in the thinking and acting of the historical actors.¹² Pierre-Yves Saunier takes a similar view in setting the boundaries of transnational history within the past 200–250 years.¹³ Thus, transnational history can be understood to mean a research perspective that—as the prefix “trans” indicates—provides a frame of reference for *relational* approaches to history across boundaries. It focuses on approaches that look at transgressions and transmissions of any kind, follow interaction, connection, circulation, and interweaving of any kind, and relativize the national perspective without banishing the category of nation from their mental horizon. Even though this understanding of transnational history is still very broad, it already shows contours that can help limit the inflationary use of the term and combat an essentialist view of nationhood.

⁸“geschichte.transnational,” H-Soz-Kult and Clio-online, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net>.

⁹Patel, “Transnationale Geschichte,” 1.

¹⁰Ibid., 2.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., 3.

¹³Saunier, *Transnational History*, 11.

Cultural Transfer Studies and *Histoire Croisée* as Methodical Approaches of a Transnational Research Perspective

If this section focuses primarily on the two approaches described above, it is primarily because we have, by now, seen several studies on cultural transfer that not only demonstrate the importance of exchange processes and interconnections even from a perspective of global history, but also allow us insights into the structure of the transfer process itself.¹⁴ However, we must bear in mind that other concepts and research strands have developed in parallel with cultural transfer studies. Some of these also aim to understand transnational and transcultural exchange relationships, though theirs is a different perspective, as exemplified in the work of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, for example, who laid the foundations of connected history,¹⁵ or the shared or entangled history approach (*Verflechtungsgeschichte*), known in Germany chiefly through the work of Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria.¹⁶ Links to these approaches are also found in *histoire croisée* as developed by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann.¹⁷ The methodological ideas of what constitutes transnational or transcultural historiography differ considerably, however. The concept developed by Saunier, for instance, methodologically develops a broad and varied transnational agenda that aims at a creative, curiosity-fueled advance on the basis of a wide range of different methods, methodological inspirations, and sources to be rearranged or even newly discovered.¹⁸

¹⁴Matthias Middell, "Kulturtransfer und transnationale Geschichte," in *Dimensionen der Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Hannes Siegrist zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Matthias Middell (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007), 56, 58.

¹⁵Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges and Explorations in Connected History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁶Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, eds., *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2002); Angelika Epple, Olaf Kaltmeier, and Ulrike Lindner, eds., "Entangled Histories: Reflecting on Concepts of Coloniality and Postcoloniality," special issue, *Comparativ* 21, no. 1 (2011).

¹⁷Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung: Der Ansatz der *Histoire croisée* und die Herausforderungen des Transnationalen," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 4 (2002): 607–636.

¹⁸Saunier, *Transnational History*, 117–134.

By contrast, the concept of cultural transfer has much more distinct theoretical and methodological boundaries. It is based on an understanding of culture that rejects the idea of homogenous identities and closed national cultures and instead postulates a broad, polycultural definition reflecting the constructedness of the reference points within a given historical and territorial space. The study of *transferts culturels* goes back to an approach formulated in the mid-1980s by German-language scholars of the *Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS) in a specific research context and in engagement with comparative history.¹⁹ One of their main points of criticism of the traditional comparative method, systematic comparison, was that by postulating discrete units, it ignored the historical nature of its objects, their relations and interconnections, and thus the degree to which they were involved in producing and constructing these units themselves. By contrast, cultural transfer studies seek to overcome entrenched national perspectives by focusing on the processual nature of cultures and nationalities. “Contacts, transfers, relations in this case do not just represent links or commonalities between different ensembles, but refer to a type of interconnectedness that reshapes these ensembles themselves, rewrites their identities.”²⁰ The interdisciplinary debate over the relationship between comparison and transfer and the differences and similarities between these methodical concepts that began in German academia in the mid-1990s has resulted in a much deeper reflection and more thorough understanding of the methodological problems involved.²¹ The early view of comparison and transfer research as polar opposites has given way to a more balanced perspective

¹⁹Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, “Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des CNRS,” *Francia* 13 (1985): 502–510; Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l’espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988).

²⁰Werner and Zimmermann, “Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung,” 613.

²¹On this debate cf. e.g. Werner and Zimmermann, “Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung,” 609–614; Johannes Paulmann, “Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer: Zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 267, no. 3 (1998): 649–685; Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., *Vergleich und Transfer: Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003); Catharine Colliot-Thélène, ed., “Europäische Komparatistik und darüber hinaus,” special issue, *Eurostudia: Revue transatlantique de recherche sur l’Europe* 4, no. 2 (2008).

that recognizes transfer research as dependent on comparison as a “basic operation” that “necessitates and permits the appropriation of ‘foreign’ cultural elements.”²² At the same time, comparative approaches now recognize transfers as key to explaining convergences and divergences between objects of comparison.²³

A key objective of cultural transfer studies is not to explore contrasts or develop a balance of comparisons, but to analyze transfers and the multiple relationships and intertwinings between and within geographic and cultural spaces. The focus of its analysis is placed on the movement of material objects or persons, ideas and concepts that impact material culture as well as the symbolic constellation between cultures. Forms of interaction and mingling (*métissage*) are given particular attention.²⁴ This goes hand in hand with a change in viewing the relationship between “donor” and “recipient” cultures. The needs and context governing cultural reception are moved into focus along with the question of which goods are chosen for transfer and how they are adapted into the receiving culture.²⁵ Proceeding from the assumption that “constellations of thoughts and practices do not spread of their own accord, but must be actively carried by intermediaries,”²⁶ it further looks at these facilitators of cultural transfers. It is thus above all the mechanisms and processes of transmission and the individuals or groups functioning as intermediaries that are emphasized in an analysis of cultural transfer.

The original *transferts culturels* approach developed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner has undergone significant changes. Research questions have expanded to study tri- and multilateral transfer

²²Middell, “Kulturtransfer und transnationale Geschichte,” 61.

²³Hartmut Kaelble, “Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?” *Connections: A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, February 8, 2005, accessed April 6, 2017, www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-574; also published as “Herausforderungen an die Transfergeschichte,” *Comparativ* 16, no. 3 (2006): 7–12.

²⁴Matthias Middell, “Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik—Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis,” *Comparativ* 10, no. 1 (2000): 18–20; Michel Espagne, “Kulturtransfer und Fachgeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften,” *Comparativ* 10, no. 1 (2000): 42–61.

²⁵Middell, “Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik,” 20–21.

²⁶Michel Espagne, “Die Rolle der Mittler im Kulturtransfer,” in *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbruch. Frankreich—Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, vol. 1, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink et al. (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997), 310.

constellations from European as well as global perspectives,²⁷ and asymmetries in the power and influence of different territories have been reflected more thoroughly.²⁸ Originating from an internal European research perspective, the approach gained valuable insights especially from shared or entangled history which, influenced by postcolonial studies, not only looked at relations, transfers, and intercrossings between distant countries, thus moving the focus away from Europe, but also highlighted the special nature of transfer relationships and the interconnections of colonizing and colonized societies as a form of divided history.²⁹ This was possible on the assumption that an entangled history approach (*Verflechtungsgeschichte*) enables historians to “cross national and cultural boundaries and view the exchange and flow of ideas, institutions and practices as the point of departure for a historical analysis” that should open their viewpoint “to the unequal texture and nature of the modern world that can also be read as resulting from the different impact of colonial encounters on different spheres of social life.”³⁰

Important stimuli for the further development of cultural transfer concepts came from Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann with their *histoire croisée* approach which, similar to *entangled history*, refers to the manifold transnational interconnections underlying both material and immaterial transfer processes. The approach that emerged

²⁷Cf. e.g. Michel Espagne, “Transferts culturels triangulaires à l’époque des Lumières: Paris—Berlin—Saint-Petersbourg,” in *Französische Kultur—Aufklärung in Preußen*, ed. Martin Fontius and Jean Mondot (Berlin: Berlin Verlag Spitz, 2001), 55–68; Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, “Trilateraler Kulturtransfer,” in *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im ‘Ancien Régime’*, ed. Günter Berger and Franziska Sick (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2002), 81–97; Sandra Pott and Sebastian Neumeister, eds., *Triangulärer Transfer: Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland um 1800* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006); Matthias Middell, ed., *Cultural Transfers, Encounters and Connections in the Global 18th Century* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2014).

²⁸Matthias Middell, “Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransferforschung: Vom bilateralen Beispiel zu Beiträgen für eine globale Geschichte,” *Eurostudia* 4, no. 2 (2008): 1–2; Michael Werner, “Zum theoretischen Rahmen und historischen Ort der Kulturtransferforschung,” in *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Michael North (Köln: Böhlau, 2009), 18–19.

²⁹Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, “Geteilte Geschichten—Europa in der postkolonialen Welt,” in *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, 2nd ext. ed., ed. Sebastian Conrad, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Römhild (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013), 32–49.

³⁰Randeria and Römhild, “Das postkoloniale Europa,” 18.

from a critical reflection of cultural transfer studies has not only served to advance it, but has added significant new perspectives. The seminal article, which has been translated into several other languages,³¹ is frequently cited, albeit often without any closer engagement with the proposed approach. Like entangled history, *histoire croisée* proceeds from the assumption that the units that are subject to intercrossing (*Verflechtung*) are not historical givens, but themselves historical constructs whose connecting texture depends on thematic and contextual conditions. Further, the intercrossings that emerge, normally in asymmetric constellations, are themselves analyzed as part of the history of transcultural entanglement. Werner and Zimmermann go beyond the approach of entangled history in that they are less concerned with “intercrossing as a new object of study” than with “the production of new insight from a constellation that is in itself interwoven.”³² *Histoire croisée* looks at this dimension at the different levels of the research process. At the level of the object, these are phenomena of interconnectedness that are found in each specific object of research. A second level looks at the connections that emerge in the course of transfer processes between objects already interconnected. These are distinguished from a third level, at which we find intercrossings constructed by the observer. Thus, *histoire croisée* sees the study itself as a form of intercrossing based on the assumption that factors within the person of the researcher (such as the observer position, traditions of the discipline and academic culture) guide their perspective on the objects studied.³³ Reflexivity thus becomes a major question of the analysis.

Despite this high degree of “reflexive reassurance,” *histoire croisée* views itself as an object-centered process that looks at specific objects and

³¹Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Penser l’histoire croisée: Entre empire et réflexivité,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 1 (2003): 7–36; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.

³²Werner and Zimmermann, “Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung,” 609.

³³Michael Werner, “Maßstab und Untersuchungsebene: Zu einem Grundproblem der vergleichenden Kulturtransfer-Forschung,” in *Nationale Grenzen und internationaler Austausch: Studien zum Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa*, ed. Lothar Jordan and Bernd Kortländer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 103; Werner and Zimmermann, “Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung,” 618–620.

persons, deriving from these the boundaries of its contextualisation.³⁴ Conceptually, it looks to “constellations of multilateral relations” (*multilaterale Beziehungsgeflechte*) including large numbers of actors communicating with each other at different levels and in various directions, thus creating a network of interwoven mutual relations³⁵ that, according to Werner, can no longer be adequately captured by applying the simple model of a transfer. The methodical approach of *histoire croisée* offers valuable insights into the history of education, especially since we frequently study constellations of multilateral interactions in the field. One example would be the numerous activities, interactions, and intercrossings in the context of the New Education Fellowship and its many efforts to spread the ideas, concepts, and practices of a *new* education across national borders. The ensemble of multilateral interconnectedness is visible at many levels here. These range from different initiatives and programs in various countries and their connections, local institutions, and actors and their own exchange relationships, the respective traditions, and concepts of education and their interweavings, to different educational policies and school systems. No doubt the approach of *histoire croisée* holds valuable potential for reflection that can sensitize us to multilateral constellations of intercrossings long underappreciated in cultural transfer studies and can provide a basis for a reflected self-understanding for researchers in the field. Adequately realizing this complex methodological program empirically is likely to pose a challenge, however.

On Analyzing Culture Transfer Processes

According to Matthias Middell, the approach of cultural transfer studies “compared to other concepts, in particular those that do not go beyond theoretical ambitions, ... [has] the advantage of facilitating the empirical analysis of how, when and why such transfers occurred.”³⁶ The study of cultural transfers and the insights it offers can therefore be viewed as

³⁴Werner, “Zum theoretischen Rahmen,” 20.

³⁵Ibid., 19.

³⁶Matthias Middell, “The Search for a New Place for the 18th Century in Global History Narratives,” in *Cultural Transfers, Encounters and Connections in the Global 18th Century*, ed. Matthias Middell (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2014), 19.

an “inspiring foundation” for a transnational and global historiography.³⁷ By now, numerous examples of research based on cultural transfer paradigms exist. Whereas early work focused, for historical reasons, on Franco-German cultural relations,³⁸ the growing popularity of transfer studies has led to a broadening of the field in recent years. We find mainly interdisciplinary research on transfer relationships within and outside Europe looking at a wide range of eras and geographic regions.³⁹ The realization that exchanges often take place in triangular relationships—developed under the influence of *histoire croisée*—has also led to simplistic initial concepts of studying bilateral relations between two countries broadening to encompass multilateral transfers. Many writings show how the different steps of a transfer process can be explored and the mechanisms underlying cultural transfers uncovered from a methodological perspective. In this model, cultural transfer studies frequently take place in three steps.⁴⁰ The first usually addresses how contact with another culture came about and what interests, motives, and reasons guided the interaction. The second step consists mainly of an analysis of the intermediaries (people, media and channels of communication, etc.) and their role and function in the decontextualization of the transferred concepts, a central precondition for the transfer and import of material,

³⁷Middell, “Kulturtransfer und transnationale Geschichte,” 56.

³⁸Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink et al., eds., *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbruch: Frankreich—Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 1997); Michel Espagne and Matthias Middell, eds., *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine: Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ext. ed. (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1999).

³⁹E.g. Rudolf Muhs, Johannes Paulmann, and Willibald Steinmetz, eds., *Aneignung und Abwehr: Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien* (Bodenheim: Philo Verlagsanstalt, 1998); Gregor Kokorz and Helga Mitterbauer, eds., *Übergänge und Verflechtungen: Kulturelle Transfers in Europa* (Bern: Lang, 2004); Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakulhun, eds., *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003); Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, Uwe Steiner, and Brunhilde Wehinger, eds., *Europäischer Kulturtransfer im 18. Jahrhundert: Literaturen in Europa—europäische Literatur?* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003); Wolfgang Schmale, ed., *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2003); Helga Mitterbauer and Katharina Scherke, eds., *Ent-grenzte Räume: Kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart* (Wien: Passagen Verlag, 2005); Barbara Schulte, ed., “Transfer lokalisiert: Konzepte, Akteure, Kontext,” special issue, *Comparativ* 16, no. 3 (2006).

⁴⁰On methodological framework cf. Middell, “The Search for a New Place,” 19–20.

intellectual, or symbolic cultural elements into the receiving culture. The third step of transfer analysis looks at the recontextualization and at how the receiving culture deals with its newly acquired cultural elements. This aspect is of great importance as “[p]rocesses of intermediating and perception are followed by the transformation of the appropriated cultural element into something that appears as an original of the perceiving culture under consideration.”⁴¹ However, any analysis following this methodological framework must bear in mind that transfers do not occur in isolation but “refer to former mutual interactions and perceptions of the other,”⁴² linked with a greater system of relations and interconnections that are created in the course of every transfer process.

I will now provide a brief sketch of an example to demonstrate that methodical concepts and insights into the exchange and circulation of ideas, concepts, objects, and practices in the history of education can be usefully derived from cultural transfer studies. It is based on a case study of how educational ideas emerging from a particular cultural space are transferred and adopted into another, with the example of the Anglo-German cultural exchange relations that facilitated the transfer of John Burton’s book *Lectures on Female Education and Manners* of 1793.⁴³

Looking at the first step in the transfer process, we find that, in late eighteenth-century Germany, while there was a growing interest in improving the hitherto neglected field of female education, hardly any works by German educators addressed the issue. Readers turned primarily to older French works of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In England, by contrast, works on women’s education emerged from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. As cultural exchange between Germany and England began to intensify in the second half of the century, well-known education writer, playwright, and translator Christian Felix Weiße (1726–1804) played a central role as intermediary. Along with his many other activities, he was the editor of the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, a journal targeting an interested lay public by offering an overview of

⁴¹Ibid., 20.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³In detail: Mayer, “Female Education”; Christine Mayer, “Zirkulation und Austausch pädagogischen Wissens: Ansätze zur Erforschung kultureller Transfers um 1800,” in *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*, ed. Marcelo Caruso et al. (Köln: Böhlau, 2014), 29–49.

European cultural and literary life through numerous book reviews and reports. The majority of works reviewed were English. His importance as an intermediary initiating cultural transfers is shown by the fact that he was not only a competent and productive translator (especially of literature on female education), but also had a wide personal network of contacts with correspondents and local booksellers in Leipzig. His person exemplifies the many interconnections that were related to translation work at the time, especially when we regard books not solely as a cultural good, but also recognize their role as a commodity. Burton's two-volume work *Lectures on Female Education and Manners* appeared in an illustrated German translation by Weiße in 1795 and a 2nd edition in 1798/1799. By 1799, a pirated copy of the German translation had also been published in Vienna, which suggests that it also saw distribution in southern Germany as well as Eastern Europe. In addition, the original book was reprinted in large numbers in the USA and in Ireland. Its rapid spread shows that transfer constellations here, too, were multi-lateral and interconnected and that interest in improving female education was embedded in a global context differentiated by social, cultural, and religious differences as well as pedagogical traditions. However, any study of cultural transfer must also ask why, under certain circumstances, some transfers did not take place. Joachim Heinrich Campe's extremely successful *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter* (Fatherly advice for my daughter) of 1789, for example, was translated into several languages but not into English, unlike other works by the same author.

An important aspect of the second step in a transfer analysis—examining the process of de- and recontextualization—is the translation and reinterpretation of passages that occur either unconsciously or deliberately when a text is adapted into a different recipient culture. The eighteenth century not only saw a rise in the number of translations, but also a shift in their style away from a literal rendering toward a freer transposition that prioritized capturing the content and meaning of the original while adapting it to German-language usage through reinterpretations and a shifting of contextual references. To Weiße and his contemporaries, “intelligibility” was an important criterion when judging translations. This meant that a foreign text was adapted extensively to make it as easily accessible as a German original to the reader. He brought his rendering of Burton's *Lectures* closer to contemporary German style by deliberately crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries. Such a translation process

causes texts to change their cultural frame of reference, and significant transformations occur in the course of their de- and recontextualization.

At the heart of the third step stands the question as to how John Burton's work was adopted and localized in the pedagogical discourse of the receiving culture. References to Burton's book are found in the various editions of Niemeyer's *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* (first edition 1796), a widespread reference work that would influence pedagogical thought in Germany well into the mid-nineteenth century, as well as in encyclopedias. It was also reviewed in a number of papers and referred to in contemporary bibliographies and materials designed for teacher training. This illustrates that journals, newspapers, and encyclopedias not only played an important role as mechanisms and intermediaries of exchange processes, but also that they were key to the recontextualization of the cultural elements exchanged into the receiving culture.

It is not easy to ascertain how Burton's book was integrated into the receiving culture's contemporary pedagogical discourse or how his views on education blended with it in the sense of *métissage*. There are indications that only those parts of Burton's concept were adopted that could link directly to the ideas held by the recipients or that corresponded to local discourses. However, we also find evidence of mixing in the various editions of Niemeyer's *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*. Burton's views are visible not only in his expanded concept of education for "daughters of the educated classes," but also in the justifications advanced for female education in principle, which shift toward supporting the English model. Nonetheless, clear differences in pedagogical views remain. While the dominant pedagogical tradition in the German-speaking states still widely assumed a fundamental anthropological difference between the sexes, Burton's thinking was guided by the idea of assimilating them, a project that is reflected in his educational schemes. In Germany, however, the concept was not widely adopted.

The study of cultural transfer shows that it relies on comparative elements, especially with regard to the given social and cultural context. Without the ability to locate positions within this, transfer analyses are hardly possible, as interpretative connections can only be traced in reference to their conceptual space. Burton's concept of education ties into specific traditions of education in the English-speaking world, and his use of the term "education," which included processes of self-education, was considerably broader than the corresponding German term, *Erziehung*,

used to translate it. His understanding of *female education* already included areas that would only later be semantically captured in German by the term *Bildung*. Studying cultural transfer thus allows us to break open national patterns of educational thought through placing them in historical contexts, tracing their interconnections, and to gain an understanding of the complex relationships, intercrossings, and circulations in pedagogical space.

Conclusion

Transnational history as a research perspective and its relational approaches relativizing national perspectives, such as cultural transfer studies or *histoire croisée*, offer opportunities to broaden the research perspective of history of education beyond its current boundaries, which are still very much defined by national viewpoints. They provide theoretical and methodological concepts with which to venture in new directions, to explore new research questions and innovative research constellations, or to use new source material. In so doing, they not only help expand and correct traditionally national narratives, but also become the foundation on which to develop new insights and explanations. That transnational and transcultural approaches have a home in the history of education is underlined by the example of cultural transfer analysis presented above. The researcher must select the most fitting approach and method for each case depending on the subject, the research question, and the epistemological interest.

Bibliography

- Caruso, Marcelo, Thomas Koinzer, Christine Mayer, and Karin Priem, eds. *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*. Köln: Böhlau, 2014.
- Colliot-Thélène, Catharine, ed. "Europäische Komparatistik und darüber hinaus." Special issue. *Eurostudies: Revue transatlantique de recherche sur l'Europe* 4, no. 2 (2008).
- Conrad, Sebastian, and Shalini Randeria, eds. *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2002.

- Conrad, Sebastian, and Shalini Randeria. "Geteilte Geschichten—Europa in der postkolonialen Welt." In *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. 2nd ext. ed., edited by Sebastian Conrad, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Röhnhild, 32–49. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013.
- Del Mar del Pozo Andrés, María. "The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: The Case of the Project Method, 1918–1939." *Pedagogica Historica* 45, nos. 4–5 (2009): 561–584.
- Droux, Joelle, and Rita Hofstetter. "Internationalisation in Education: Issues, Challenges, Outcomes." Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014).
- Epple, Angelika, Olaf Kaltmeier, and Ulrike Lindner, eds. "Entangled Histories: Reflecting on Concepts of Coloniality and Postcoloniality." Special issue. *Comparativ* 21, no. 1 (2011).
- Espagne, Michel. "Die Rolle der Mittler im Kulturtransfer." In *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbruch: Frankreich—Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*. Vol. 1, edited by Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Rolf Reichardt, Annette Keilhauer, and René Nohr, 309–329. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997.
- Espagne, Michel. "Kulturtransfer und Fachgeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften." *Comparativ* 10, no. 1 (2000): 42–61.
- Espagne, Michel. "Transferts culturels triangulaires à l'époque des Lumières: Paris – Berlin – Saint-Petersbourg." In *Französische Kultur—Aufklärung in Preußen*, edited by Martin Fontius and Jean Mondot, 55–68. Berlin: Berlin Verlag Spitz, 2001.
- Espagne, Michel, and Matthias Middell, eds. *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine: Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. 2nd ext. ed., Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1999.
- Espagne, Michel, and Michael Werner. "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des CNRS." *Francia* 13 (1985): 502–510.
- Espagne, Michel, and Michael Werner, eds. *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988.
- Fontaine, Alexandre. *Aux heures suisses de l'école républicaine: Un siècle de transferts culturels et de déclinaisons pédagogiques dans l'espace franco-romand*. Paris: Demopolis, 2015.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, ed. "Transnationalizing the History of Education." Special issue. *Comparativ* 22, no. 1 (2012).
- Fuchs, Thomas, and Sven Trakulhun, eds. *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850*. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003.

- Geyer, Michael. Review of *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, edited by Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz. *H-Soz-Kult*, October 11, 2006. Accessed April 6, 2017. <http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/rezbuecher-8227>.
- H-Soz-Kult, and Clio-online. "geschichte.transnational." Accessed April 6, 2017. <http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net>.
- Kaelble, Hartmut. "Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?" *Connections: A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, February 8, 2005. Accessed April 6, 2017. <https://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-574>. Also published as "Herausforderungen an die Transfergeschichte." *Comparativ* 16, no. 3 (2006): 7–12.
- Kaelble, Hartmut, and Jürgen Schriewer, eds. *Vergleich und Transfer: Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003.
- Kokorz, Gregor, and Helga Mitterbauer, eds. *Übergänge und Verflechtungen: Kulturelle Transfers in Europa*. Bern: Lang, 2004.
- Lüsebrink, Hans-Jürgen. "Trilateraler Kulturtransfer." In *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im 'Ancien Régime'*, edited by Günter Berger and Franziska Sick, 81–97. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2002.
- Lüsebrink, Hans-Jürgen, Rolf Reichardt, Annette Keilhauer, and René Nohr, eds. *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbruch: Frankreich—Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997.
- Mayer, Christine. "Female Education and the Cultural Transfer of Pedagogical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century." *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 4 (2012): 511–526.
- Mayer, Christine. "Zirkulation und Austausch pädagogischen Wissens: Ansätze zur Erforschung kultureller Transfers um 1800." In *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*, edited by Marcelo Caruso et al., 29–49. Köln: Böhlau, 2014.
- Mayer, Christine, and Ian Grosvenor, eds. "Transnational Circulation of Reform Ideas and Practices: The Example of the Experimental and Community Schools (Versuchs- und Gemeinschaftsschulen in Hamburg [1919–1933])." Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 5 (2014).
- Middell, Matthias, ed. *Cultural Transfers, Encounters and Connections in the Global 18th Century*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2014.
- Middell, Matthias. "Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransferforschung: Vom bilateralen Beispiel zu Beiträgen für eine globale Geschichte." *Eurostudia* 4, no. 2 (2008): 1–11.
- Middell, Matthias. "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik—Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis." *Comparativ* 10, no. 1 (2000): 7–41.
- Middell, Matthias. "Kulturtransfer und transnationale Geschichte." In *Dimensionen der Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Hannes*

- Siegrist zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Matthias Middell, 49–73. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007.
- Middell, Matthias. “The Search for a New Place for the 18th Century in Global History Narratives.” In *Cultural Transfers, Encounters and Connections in the Global 18th Century*, edited by Matthias Middell, 7–43. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2014.
- Mitterbauer, Helga, and Katharina Scherke, eds. *Ent-grenzte Räume: Kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart*. Wien: Passagen Verlag, 2005.
- Muhs, Rudolf, Johannes Paulmann, and Willibald Steinmetz, eds. *Aneignung und Abwehr: Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien*. Bodenheim: Philo Verlagsanstalt, 1998.
- Ossenbach, Gabriela, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés. “Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda.” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600.
- Patel, Kiran Klaus. “Transnationale Geschichte—Ein neues Paradigma?” *Connections: A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, February 2, 2005. Accessed April 6, 2017. www.connections.clio-online.net/debate/id/diskussionen-573.
- Paulmann, Johannes. “Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer: Zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts.” *Historische Zeitschrift* 267, no. 3 (1998): 649–685.
- Pott, Sandra, and Sebastian Neumeister, eds. *Triangulärer Transfer: Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland um 1800*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006.
- Randeria, Shalini, and Regina Römhild. “Das postkoloniale Europa: Verflochtene Genealogien der Gegenwart: Einleitung zur erweiterten Neuauflage.” In *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. 2nd ext. ed., edited by Sebastian Conrad, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Römhild, 9–32. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013.
- Roldán Vera, Eugenia. *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. *Transnational History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Schmale, Wolfgang, ed. *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*. Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2003.
- Schmidt-Haberkamp, Barbara, Uwe Steiner, and Brunhilde Wehinger, eds. *Europäischer Kulturtransfer im 18. Jahrhundert: Literaturen in Europa—europäische Literatur?* Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003.
- Schulte, Barbara, ed. “Transfer lokalisiert: Konzepte, Akteure, Kontext.” Special issue. *Comparativ* 16, no. 3 (2006).

- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges and Explorations in Connected History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Werner, Michael. "Maßstab und Untersuchungsebene: Zu einem Grundproblem der vergleichenden Kulturtransfer-Forschung." In *Nationale Grenzen und internationaler Austausch: Studien zum Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa*, edited by Lothar Jordan and Bernd Kortländer, 20–34. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995.
- Werner, Michael. "Zum theoretischen Rahmen und historischen Ort der Kulturtransferforschung." In *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, edited by Michael North, 15–25. Köln: Böhlau, 2009.
- Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity." *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.
- Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Penser l'histoire croisée: Entre empirie et réflexivité." *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 1 (2003): 7–36.
- Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung: Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderungen des Transnationalen." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 4 (2002): 607–636.



Day Nurseries in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: The Challenge of the Transnational Approach

Dorena Caroli

Introduction

This chapter aims to adopt a transnational research perspective on the emergence and development of the originally French institution of the *crèche*, the first childcare institutions for very young children, which were attended by infant children of married mothers from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. They complemented the existing secular children's homes, which mostly admitted children born to unmarried women and were more numerous in Catholic countries, being relatively rare in Protestant and Orthodox societies. Instituted in Paris in 1844 by Firmin Marbeau (1798–1875), the *crèche* model spread to the major European countries. Various languages each rendered the French expression in a distinctive manner: as the institution known as *presepe* in Italian and the semantically similar *Kinderkrippe* in German, *day nursery* in English, and

D. Caroli (✉)

Department of Educational Sciences, Cultural Heritage and Tourism,
University of Macerata, Macerata, Italy

e-mail: dcaroli@racine.ra.it; dorena.caroli@unimc.it

© The Author(s) 2019

E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History of Education*, Global Histories of Education,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_3

jasel in Russian. These translations were, of course, closely linked to the theoretical ideas behind, and practical realization of, assistance to mothers and early years education within the context of childcare systems and of each broader cultural, political, and institutional setting. In the countries listed above, the history of the day nursery is closely connected with the science of childhood, again its specific national orientation manifesting in its name (*puériculture* in France, *Pädiatrie* in Germany, *nip- iologia* in Italy—whose proponents attempted to spread it to Spain and Argentina—and *pedologiya* in the Soviet Union). These sciences of childcare drew from intensive cultural transfer that in the Soviet Union and in Italy ceased with the advance of a putatively scientifically based nationalism during the rule of communist and fascist totalitarian regimes until the aftermath of the Second World War.

The history of day nurseries is one of the least studied topics within the history of early years education, which primarily focuses on the various forms of preschool institution (*infant schools, salles d'asile* or *Kindergarten*),¹ investigating their national particularities or approaching their study with a combination of transnational and comparative perspectives.² The lack of specific research on day nurseries is principally due to the fact that, in the first century of their existence, these institutions were vaguely defined establishments, more charitable than educational in nature, in which physicians played a dominant role in the education both of staff and of those mothers who required assistance in transitioning to their new role. In fact, the medicalization of day nurseries and the prominent role of medical staff in their operation made them not “educational spaces” like schools, but rather “medical-pedagogical spaces”

¹Jean-Noel Luc, *L'invention du jeune enfant au XIX^e siècle: De la salle d'asile à l'école maternelle* (Paris: Belin, 1997); Blythe S. F. Hinitz and V. Celia Lascarides, *History of Early Childhood Education* (New York: Falmer Press, 2000); Roberta L. Wollons, *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Laurence Wayne Prochner, *A History of Early Childhood Education in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 2009); Harry Willekens, Kirsten Scheiwe, and Kristen Nawrotzki, *The Development of Early Childhood Education in Europe and North America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

²Kaspar Burger, “Entanglement and Transnational Transfer in the History of Infant Schools in Great Britain and Salles d'asile in France, 1816–1881,” *History of Education* 43, no. 3 (2014): 304–333; Dorena Caroli, *Day Nurseries and Childcare in Europe, 1800–1939* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

or, perhaps, “schools for mothers” like other welfare services that arose in late nineteenth-century France (*consultations*, *dispensaires*, and the so-called *gouttes de lait* or “drops of milk”). The new childcare practices that these institutions sought to spread were principally targeted toward supporting the fight against child mortality.³

The study of the history of these special educational institutions calls for a complex methodological approach because of their particular caregiving and medical nature, over and above their educational role. I intend here, with a particular eye to the under-researched status of the topic to date, to combine two approaches in order to study more effectively the various phases through which the dialectics of these childcare practices’ transfer passed in a range of European contexts, carried by welfare traditions and the medical culture around early childhood. This combined methodological approach, with a considerably heuristic emphasis, has proved fruitful in the work of Kaspar Burger on the history of infant schools and *salles d’asile*.⁴ It is an unavoidably comparative approach, and the adoption of the transnational perspective is likewise a virtual necessity, offering as it does a richer and broader picture of the process of internationalization undergone by these particular medical and pedagogical institutions during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century in the context of a widespread desire to improve living conditions for children in general and infants in particular. The historian Hugh Cunningham argues that, “by the early twentieth century ‘an international infant welfare movement of truly immense dimensions’ already existed, with additional organizations in Denmark, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.”⁵

From the late nineteenth century onward, it is possible to observe a process of modernization in childcare, whose roots lay in ideals of charity

³Anna F. La Berge, “Medicalization and Moralization: The Crèches of Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 1 (1991): 65–87; Catherine Rollet-Echalier, *La politique à l’égard de la petite enfance sous la III^e République*, with a preface by Alain Girard (Paris: Institut National d’Études Démographiques-Presses Universitaires de France, 1990), 353–363.

⁴Burger, “Entanglement and Transnational Transfer.”

⁵Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995).

and philanthropy. It involved contextualizing the life of the newborn in the perspective of national demographics, alongside a political will to preserve the traditional familial gender roles in child-rearing under the supervision of qualified staff. The result was the establishment of services that in the postwar period were absorbed in various European countries by the social support systems of the emergent welfare state.

A transnational perspective on educational research is one of the most recent challenges to historiographical practice, with many scholars already using this approach to enrich their interpretation of changes in the history of education.⁶ The history of day nurseries, which in most European countries evolved along broadly similar trajectories, is far more recent than the history of schools. The phenomena driving and accompanying the transfer progress of this institutional model—its educational methods, its underlying scientific theories, and the training of its staff—are more marked during the first century of these institutions' existence, when their key mission was to combat child mortality, before they turned to educating poor mothers in good parenting in order to ensure that small children would develop properly. In the final decade of the nineteenth century, the *crèche* was one of many types of childcare institution covering early childhood, such as *consultations*, *dispensaires*,

⁶Eckhardt Fuchs, "Bildungsgeschichte als internationale und Globalgeschichte: Einführende Bemerkungen," in *Bildung international: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006), 7–25; Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209; Eckhardt Fuchs, "History of Education Beyond Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship," in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 11–26; Eckhardt Fuchs, "Transnational Civil Society and the Rights of Children in the Twentieth Century," *Comparative Education* 43, no. 3 (2007): 393–412; Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfer and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600; Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Styles and Reason: Historicism, Historicizing, and the History of Education," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1–26; Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, "Introduction," in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 1–8.

and *gouttes de lait*.⁷ As Hugh Cunningham observes, “concern about the infant mortality was international and the solutions proposed differed only at the margin; and yet the motivations for action, and the structures of campaigns differed quite substantially from one country to another.”⁸

Compared with nationally centered narratives that analyze the creation of these institutions and their international spread, the application of a transnational concept is particularly heuristic. This is just as relevant in the scientific sphere as in education, since internationalization acts as a guarantee of universal progress and a common good for humanity. The transnational concept allows us to answer questions similar to those posed with regard to nineteenth-century “educational spaces” (i.e., primarily schools),⁹ in regard to which we can also identify aspects of incipient social policy in the period before the advent of the welfare state.

My approach will therefore attempt, starting from a national narrative of the French *crèche* model, to go in search of the crucial elements of transnational history which allow us to illuminate the “convergences and divergences” of national cases.¹⁰ From a methodological point of view, the concept of the transnational reinforces the comparative approach applied here by enabling us to identify the influence of foreign models, such as the history of social control and abandonment of juvenile delinquency in Russia,¹¹ as well as casting light on the complexity of international transfer as a phenomenon. The following sections will explore four principal aspects of the topic:

1. The evolution of the French institutional *crèche* model and the historical conditions that gave rise to its transfer;
2. The process of that transfer, through state or private institutions, periodicals, and the *Exposition Universelle d'art et d'industrie* of 1867;

⁷Rollet-Echalier, *La politique*, 353–363.

⁸Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 155.

⁹Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, “Transnationale Bildungsräume—Koordinaten eines Forschungskonzepts,” in *Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion*, ed. Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 7–20.

¹⁰Pamela K. Crossley, *What Is Global History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

¹¹Dorena Caroli, *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie soviétique (1917–1937)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004).

3. Possible entanglements between the general model and its particular cases;
4. The role in the institution's development of scientific theories on early childhood and of their national connotations.

These elements are intertwined, merging national narratives that seek to highlight those elements of transnational transfer which relate particularly to the history of this institution. The precise manner of the French *crèche* model's implementation in other European countries is subject to a series of cultural, social, and economic variations; the latter are of prime significance, due to one of the primary functions of these institutions being the enablement of women's labor, alongside the nutrition of infants via artificial or scheduled and supervised breastfeeding. If we attempt to assess the elements of convergence and divergence manifested during the transnational transfer of these institutions with respect to the original French model, we will find almost complete convergence in some European contexts as regards the types of *crèche* established. The transnational dimension provides us with a better understanding of this shared economic transformation relating to women's work, its protection and its relationship with personal life in the family, the "core unit of the State."¹²

The mode of transfer relating to the translation of foreign cultural models to the national context deserves attention due to the presence of genuine institutional innovation in this context. Whether promoted by individuals, the state or private institutions, such innovations cast light on facets of the transfer or the borrowing of an institution founded for infants into another national setting, as well as on the role of specialist scientific networks and of the elite in spreading the relevant culture of childhood within these institutions. We might categorize them, with Möller and Wischmeyer, as "temporary transnational 'educational spaces' constituted in the form of personal networks, media representation or debate in the media, institutional cooperation, and through the creation or use of international forums. The transnational communication thus brought into being showed various

¹²Gisela Bock, "Pauvreté féminine, droits des mères et États-providence," in *Historie des femmes en Occident*, vol. 5, *Le XX^e siècle*, ed. Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot, and Françoise Thébaud (Paris: Plon, 1992), 381–409.

different levels of intensity, and similarly was variously more or less targeted and more or less sustained.”¹³

Transnational transfer of the *crèche* concept took place via scientific and academic networks, journals, and international conferences, principally dedicated to the fight against infant mortality.¹⁴ Adopting a transnational perspective on this process allows us to understand “the interdependence and interconnection of national histories,” as Christophe Charle has suggested,¹⁵ although it is not always possible to determine the extent to which the interconnections and entanglements which have been noted in the case of infant schools and *salles d’asile* were reciprocal in nature.¹⁶

Developing a transnational account of the transfer of the *crèche* concept necessitates a consideration of the differences in scientific theories of early childhood, and of their roles, from country to country. Scientific traditions of the time included childcare, pediatrics, *nipiologia*, and pedology. Despite their shared goal, to change, modernize, and improve the care of infants, they retained their national, on occasion nationalistic, particularities and emphases. In the case of Italian *nipiologia* and Soviet pedology, unexpected and even unimaginable instances of transfer in conceptions of early childhood took place, producing very different results in the educational practices adopted in day nurseries in each country. In Italy, *nipiologia* primarily centered on hygiene within custodial institutions; in Russia, pedology (*pedologiya*) concerned itself with educational establishments. These distinct national or nationalistic traits were manifested likewise in the training given to staff on handling infants in the *crèche* or in various welfare institutions, despite the transfer of an Anglo-Saxon model.

Another aspect that requires exploration is the progressive transformation of the *crèche* into an educational institution. The transnational approach which highlights this process offers an interpretation of the transfer of *crèches* to some European countries (and will ideally expand its

¹³Möller and Wischmeyer, “Transnationale Bildungsräume,” 8.

¹⁴Catherine Rollet-Echalier, “La santé et la protection de l’enfant vues à travers les Congrès internationaux (1880–1920),” *Annales de démographie historique* 1 (2001): 97–116.

¹⁵Christophe Charle, “Histoire globale, histoire nationale: Comment réconcilier recherche et pédagogie?” *Le Débat* 175, no. 3 (2013): 60–68.

¹⁶Burger, “Entanglement and Transnational Transfer.”

reach beyond Europe), but it runs the risk of presenting a “top-down” history which pays too little attention to the social interventions that took place in each distinct national process of implementation. However, as long as this narrative also digs down into social and daily life, that risk can be limited. It is in the on-the-ground applications of theory and practices of education, in the analysis of the cultural and social specificities relating to “convergences and divergences” between national cases, that the local dimension can reveal itself. We must also consider mothers and children who were supposed to benefit from the scientific discoveries and economic transformation that were the driving forces behind this institution. Indeed, the everyday practices contributed to a common evolution of these institutions (which progressively lost the function of assisting mothers with breastfeeding). This analysis of the history of these institutions, as distinct from that of schools, will reveal the traces they bear. As Thomas S. Popkewitz argues: “Society, the family, the child, and community are also placed in systems whose parts interrelate through processes whose past become the precursors and mediators of the present and if, properly understood, provide direction for organizing the future.”¹⁷

The Birth and Development of the *Crèche* in France

The Exposition *crèche* has received a large number of visitors. It has introduced the institution to many foreigners, and also to many French who did not know of its existence. Not a single objection was raised; approval was unanimous. The A.A. Crown Prince of Prussia, A.A. Prince Imperial, [was] accompanied by his governor, General Frossard, who wanted to write in the register [of visitors] a testimonial of just satisfaction [...] The Exposition-*crèche* has been open only eighty-two days, a minute in eternity! But the good that it has produced will last as long as humankind. For six months it has disseminated [information about] the child’s needs and the power of early education, more enlightenment than that which could be produced in twenty-three years. Indeed, the French *official statistics* considers the absence of breastfeeding, premature weaning, artificial nutrition, the carelessness of wet-nurses, inadequate attention to cleanliness and practical hygiene with regard to infants, as among the main causes of child mortality, which averages at 17% in the first year [...].¹⁸

¹⁷Popkewitz, “Styles and Reason,” 8.

¹⁸Michel Chevalier, *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris. Tom XIII, groupe X, classes de 89 à 95* (Paris: Imprimerie administrative de Paul Dupont, 1868), 71–72.

Thus wrote Philippe Pompée in his report for the international judging panel of the *Exposition universelle d'art et d'Industries* (1867), commenting on the *crèche* which had been set up within the 1867 Paris *Exposition* as an institutional model for early childhood education.¹⁹ The institution of the *crèche* had existed for over twenty years at this point and had already begun its journey of transferal all over the world; the image it presented at the 1867 exhibition confirmed its effectiveness in early childhood education. But why was there a *crèche* at a universal exhibition? And how had such institutions arisen? In the course of the nineteenth century, they had come to represent an alternative to orphanages, in both France and Italy, and had also extended their scope in serving as temporary childcare facilities for children who had living, married parents rather than being the exclusive preserve of orphans and “children of sin” born outside wedlock.²⁰ Of course, the *crèche* was a real innovation compared to the secular children’s homes with the “revolving door” that allowed women to anonymously abandon their illegitimate children. At this time, France, as is well known, was highly aware of the needs of children from infancy onward, thanks largely to Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Émile ou de l’éducation* (1762) and the rediscovery of the benefits of breastfeeding, the subsequent restructuring of the system of mercenary wet-nursing, and the attention paid to the development of infant childcare—*puériculture*—during the nineteenth century.²¹

The first *crèche* for infants was opened on November 14, 1844, by the French jurist Firmin Marbeau (1798–1875), in Paris’ rue Chaillot. Initially, it was to accommodate only children of married parents whose mothers were servants in cities or factory workers and therefore unable to stay at home to care for their children. Breastfeeding by the mother and vaccination were prerequisites of admittance. The first *crèche*, as Firmin Marbeau noted in his treatise *Des crèches, ou moyen de diminuer la misère en augmentant la population* (1845), needed very little: “twelve cots, some chairs, some small armchairs, a crucifix and a noticeboard

¹⁹Chevalier, *Exposition universelle*; Klaus Dittrich, “Experts Going Transnational: Education at World Exhibitions during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of Portsmouth, 2010), <http://hdl.handle.net/10993/9697>.

²⁰David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

²¹Fanny Faÿ-Salloy, *Les nourrices à Paris au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Payot, 1980).

displaying the regulations.”²² The proposal underlying its foundation, to increase the population by fighting infant mortality, met with immediate acclaim. Marbeau also described the structure of the institution, the role of the physician within it, and the tasks of the staff—the *berseuses*—who took care of the children. The structure of the nurseries was simple; they were usually divided into two rooms for unweaned infants and weaned children, respectively, with the former group remaining in the *crèche* for much of the time, while the older ones learned to walk and in some cases were engaged in play. Children, once they had been vaccinated, could attend the *crèche*, arriving at five o’clock in the morning and being taken home by their mothers at eight in the evening. The mothers were obligated to attend the *crèche* in accordance with a schedule to breastfeed their children.²³

Marbeau’s initiative saw an immediate and rapid spread of *crèches* in Paris and in other French cities. In 1846, he founded the *Société des crèches*, which aimed to support the opening of *crèches* in the Department of the Seine. In the same year, he began to issue the *Bulletin des crèches*, which appeared until 1859, discussing the experiences of the first *crèche* and presenting news on their rapid development in French cities.²⁴ The socialist Jule Delbrück, in *Visite à la crèche-modèle: et rapport général adressé à M. Marbeau sur les crèches de Paris* (1846), publicized and critiqued conditions in the first Parisian *crèche*. His visit found that *crèches* did not have enough space for the infants due to a lack of suitable accommodation and trained personnel, were neither well lit nor colorful, and there were no cagebirds. There was also a lack of staff, and those present lacked tenderness when bathing the infants and attending to their cries of hunger; the rooms were makeshift and the *berseuses* were simply women who were mothers and who were instructed in their duties by doctors.²⁵

²²J. B. Firmin Marbeau, *Des crèches, ou moyen de diminuer la misère en augmentant la population*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1845), 40.

²³Marbeau, *Des crèches*; La Berge, “Medicalization and Moralization”; Rollet-Echalier, *La politique*, 87–97; Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 13–23.

²⁴La Berge, “Medicalization and Moralization.”

²⁵Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 23–30.

The increasing use of female labor, including a number of trades that required women to work away from home,²⁶ made these institutions a genuine innovation, although they immediately provoked heated debate on whether mothers had an obligation to breastfeed as well as on a number of other matters, such as attendance by children of different ages, the distance between the workplace and the *crèche*, a lack of trained staff, and the deterioration noted in children's health and condition over weekends.²⁷ Although the *crèche* did not always meet with approval, it largely received appreciation, reflecting and confirming as it did the predominant role of physicians in securing infant health. During the nineteenth century, many physicians were able to specialize in *puériculture* (pediatrics). One publication was particularly important in this regard: the physician Alfred C. Caron's *Puériculture, or the Science of raising children hygienically and physiologically* (1866) (*La Puériculture, ou la Science d'élever hygiéniquement et physiologiquement les enfants, par A. Caron*).²⁸

During the first two decades of their existence, being charitable institutions, *crèches* suffered from the limited assistance budgets provided by French public administrations. The Minister of the Interior himself objected to the recognition of *crèches* as "institutions of public utility to be permitted to receive and manage donations and legacies" complying the query of the Parisian public assistance administration (*assistance publique*).²⁹ In the course of the nineteenth century, in 1862 and 1897, respectively, two reforms were carried out which sought to regulate the administrative aspects of the institutions' operation, their control by the *prefect*, and the ratios of staff to children.

The first reform, in 1862, placed *crèches* under the protection of the Empress Eugenie. It stated their remit as to offer "hygienic and moral care for children under three years of age," regulated their opening, placed them under the control of the *prefect*, equated them with the *salles d'asile* in the French national education system, and stipulated that there should be eight cubic meters of air per child. Also included in the decree were changes to the minimum age for staff (21 years), the introduction of an aptitude certificate for both secular and religious

²⁶Joan W. Scott, "La travailleuse," in *Histoire des femmes en Occident*, vol. 4, *Le XIX^e siècle*, ed. Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (Paris: Plon, 1991), 419–444.

²⁷Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 39–44.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 30–39.

²⁹La Berge, "Medicalization and Moralization," 68.

personnel, and regulation of staff ratios. Children were to receive a daily visit to the doctor. The Ministry of the Interior approved higher subsidies. The 1862 decree also provided for the opening of private *crèches*. The subsequent secularization of educational institutions during the 1870s, sought to oust religious organizations from educational institutions, did not completely succeed.³⁰

The results of these first reforms were visible at the *Exposition Universelle d'art et d'industrie* held from April 1 to November 3, 1867, where the *Société des crèches* set up a *crèche* for women working at the exhibition, complete with a board of directors, a women's committee, and a physician. Since children were absent on Sundays, the *crèche* in Paris provided "well dressed children and two *berseuses* to look after them." Pompée described the merits of this institution, which followed Pestalozzi's pedagogy as set out in the *Livre des mères* (1803), stating "we cannot begin early enough with guiding the development of children's intellectual capabilities." He then went on to describe the *poupponnière*, a horseshoe-shaped, enclosed infant walker created by Jules Delbrück for feeding weaned infants, and the "little diligence," a contraption to aid children's early attempts at walking and invented by Marbeau for the development of motor activities.³¹

The transnational transfer of the *crèche* was already a significant phenomenon by the time the institution was showcased at the *Exposition universelle*. *Crèches* came into being in 1847 in Russia and Belgium (and in the Antilles in the same year); in 1849 in Austria and Mexico; in 1850 in England, Italy, and China; in 1851 in Romania and Turkey; in 1852 in Germany and Portugal; in 1855 in Spain; in 1856 in Sweden; and in 1859 in Denmark.³² Some of these cases, namely England and Germany, have been studied³³; others represent fertile ground for the identification of further convergences and divergences from a transnational

³⁰Catherine Bouve, *L'utopie des crèches françaises au XIX^e siècle: Un pari sur l'enfant pauvre. Essai socio-historique* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 2, 167–172.

³¹Chevalier, *Exposition universelle*, 71–72.

³²C. Thévenin, "Histoire de l'Institution des Crèches" (PhD diss., University of Paris, Paris: Bonvalot-Jouve, 1907), 60–64.

³³Vicky Randall, *The Politics of Child Daycare in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 18–44; Jürgen Reyer and Heidrun Kleine, *Die Kinderkrippe in Deutschland: Sozialgeschichte einer umstrittenen Einrichtung* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus, 1997); Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 189–223, 225–249.

perspective. The internationalization of *crèches* as one of a range of measures seeking to reduce child mortality came about thanks to the International Congresses for the Protection of Children, which took place between 1883 and 1913.³⁴ At the *Congrès international d'hygiène et de démographie*, held in Paris from August 4 to 10, 1889, the doctors M. M. Landouzy and Napias proposed a means of training future staff via the attachment of *crèches* to elementary schools so that the staff could go there to learn the principles of childcare.³⁵ Some European countries adopted this idea in the implementation of staff training for the establishments.

In 1897, while the *crèche* was spreading internationally, a second reform was introduced in France, giving prefect the prerogative of establishing *crèches* and the right to close them during epidemics. The reform revised the minimum amount of space to be allocated to each child (three meters in surface area and nine cubic meters of air) and the duties of staff in more detail, as well as devoting special attention to hygiene matters. Scientific advances in the wake of discoveries such as those of Pasteur had led to increasingly strict stipulations in this area. The reform encompassed regulations on the hygiene of the premises and the linen used prohibited the use of the dip tube bottle due to the deadly potential of microbes lurking in the tube; Italy subsequently followed suit in banning the device. The reform, like all others, reiterated the compulsory status of vaccination and the requirement to submit a medical certificate in case of illness.³⁶

The second *crèche* reform came at a time when day nurseries were surrounded by other institutions that attempted to combat infant mortality by supplying artificial feeding to babies (*consultations*, *dispensaires*, and *gouttes de lait*). These too spread internationally and were discussed during several international symposia on *Gouttes de Lait* (Paris 1905, Brussels 1907, and Berlin 1911), which promoted the scientific exchange of ideas and the transfer of these institutions to other national contexts. Unlike their French incarnation, in other countries these institutions simply distributed milk without providing childcare.³⁷

³⁴ Rollet-Echalier, *La politique*, 391–416; Rollet-Echalier, “La santé,” 97–116.

³⁵ Thévenin, “Histoire de l’Institution des Crèches,” 103–104.

³⁶ Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 39–44.

³⁷ Rollet-Echalier, “La santé,” 97–116.

The establishment of these special services brought about the transformation and ultimate evolution of *crèches* into childcare spaces to which children were admitted throughout the day, without an obligation on mothers to attend for breastfeeding. What were known as *pouponnières*, offering daytime and nighttime assistance to mothers of newborns in need, also spread. The aftermath of the First World War gave rise to a form of transnational convergence in the various types of *crèche* that became day-care institutions, without mothers present for breastfeeding. A significant increase in day nurseries in industrial settings, where mothers could breastfeed in specially designated rooms, had already come about in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. A further reform, effected in 1924, saw the institution of the *crèche* perfecting its operation in terms of the rules governing the care provided, staff ratios, and allotted space for children aged from 10 days to 3 years; finally, natural feeding was replaced with bottle feeding, allowing mothers to devote themselves entirely to work.³⁸ In this way, then, Marbeau's original French *crèche* underwent major changes, prompted by scientific discoveries and economic interests regarding women's work, having achieved its principal objective combating child mortality.

The Transnational Transfer of the *Crèche* in Italy Between Liberal and Fascist Reforms

The French *crèche* model found implementation in other countries well before the translation of Marbeau's manual into other languages; the book was first translated into Russian in 1890 and into Italian in 1899, although these countries had introduced the *crèche* a few years after their birth in France. The first Italian *crèche* came into being in 1850 in Milan, in pre-unification Italy. This city was well known for its dense networks of religious and private charities³⁹ thanks to the activities of the philanthropist Giuseppe Sacchi (1804–1891), who encouraged the spread of the *asili di carità* (school nurseries) first set up by the priest Ferrante

³⁸ Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 48–50.

³⁹ Edoardo Bressan, "Tra pubblico e privato: La rete milanese delle istituzioni per l'infanzia," in *Welfare e minori: L'Italia nel contesto europeo del Novecento*, ed. Michela Minesso (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2010), 303–319; Edoardo Bressan, "Percorsi del Terzo settore e dell'impegno sociale dall'Unità alla Prima guerra mondiale," in *Il Terzo settore nell'Italia unita*, ed. Emanuele Rossi and Stefano Zamagni (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011), 21–81.

Aporti (1791–1858) in Cremona in 1831 and in San Martino dall’Argine in 1833.⁴⁰ Aporti in turn was inspired by the experiences of the first “infant schools” developed by the industrialist reformer Robert Owen (1771–1850) at the factories of New Lanark (Scotland) in 1816 and by the child development treatise *The infant system for developing the intellectual and moral powers of all children from one to seven years of age* (1832) authored by Samuel Wilderspin (1791–1866). Infant schools spread to England together with nursery schools, and in some cases, nursery classes were set up in existing schools.⁴¹

An announcement on the foundation of these institutions for infants was made in Genoa in 1846, on the occasion of the Eighth Meeting of Italian Scientists, where the Frenchmen Marc-Antoine Jullien (1775–1848) and Abbot Charles Fissiaux (1806–1867) described to Italian benefactors the advantages that this institution could bring to infants to the end of alleviating working-class poverty. The Italian benefactors, however, considered these institutions to be a temporary measure,⁴² inclined as they were to promote the bourgeois model of the family to the populace. Giuseppe Sacchi was present at that meeting. His work establishing these institutions for unweaned infants in Milan was assisted by doctors who were aware that the Great Milan orphanage, the Ca’ Granda, was experiencing an influx of children of married parents.⁴³ He also received a visit from French inspectors who provided guidance in setting up the *crèche* on the basis of Marbeau’s ideas.⁴⁴

In Milan, these early institutions for infants, which had already existed in Italy in factories and in the countryside, were normally known as

⁴⁰Monica Ferrari, Maria Luisa Betri, and Cristina Sideri, eds., *Ferrante Aporti tra Chiesa, Stato e società civile: Questioni e influenze di lungo periodo* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2014).

⁴¹Burger, “Entanglement and Transnational Transfer”; Hinitz and Lascarides, *History of Early Childhood Education*, 117–142; Amy Palmer, “Nursery Schools for the Few of the Many? Childhood, Education and the State in Mid-Twentieth Century England,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, nos. 1–2 (2011): 139–154.

⁴²R. Lambruschini, “Riunione del giorno 22 settembre,” in *Atti della Ottava riunione degli scienziati italiani tenuta in Genova dal 14 al 29 settembre 1846* (Genoa: Tipografia Ferrando, 1847), 132–139.

⁴³Volker Hunecke, *I trovatelli a Milano: Bambini esposti e famiglie espositrici dal XVII al XIX Secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), 274.

⁴⁴*Sulla fondazione di speciali ricoveri per bambini lattanti. Memoria di Giuseppe Sacchi* (Milan: Presso la Società degli Editori degli Annali Universali delle Scienze e dell’Industria, 1848), 18–20.

presepi (literally: “cribs”). Their transfer to Milan met with some obstacles, mainly due to a Catholic conception of the family that regarded women as responsible for raising children, alongside the influence of Pestalozzi’s romantic pedagogy representing a mythologized figure of the mother holding early education in her arms. The first *presepe*, the *Pio Ricovero per bambini lattanti*, opened in 1850. Others were set up in Milan on the basis of the *Pio Ricovero* statute of 1866, which proposed that *presepi* could also be established in factories. This development was ahead even of France, where the 1870s came and went before *crèches* opened within industrial enterprises.⁴⁵

In post-unification Italy, legislation on social assistance, and specifically the “Great Law” of 1862 on charitable institutions (*Opere Pie*), transferred the management of these charitable foundations to more autonomous local administrations.⁴⁶ In Italy, doctors promoted the *presepi*, initially at the Fourth Congress of the Italian Medical Association in Venice in 1868, but there were also entrepreneurs who created such institutions within their factories. *Presepi* opened in Pistoia, Turin and Venice, and later in Rome and Florence (1871), Como (1873), Ancona (1874), Cremona, Genoa (1874), Verona (1875), Bergamo (1878), Parma (1880), Bologna, Brescia (1881), and finally, Trieste (1885).⁴⁷

The Italian case is particularly interesting because Giuseppe Sacchi was the only philanthropist to attempt to develop methods of infant care that involved training the childcare staff (*cullatrici*) on the basis of the principles of experimental pedagogy. For early childhood education (from birth to three years of age), Sacchi, who had repeatedly criticized Fröbel’s method,⁴⁸ drew on the work of the French educator and psychologist Bernard Pérez (1836–1903). Pérez, known through an Italian

⁴⁵Lambruschini, “Riunione del giorno 22 settembre,” 132–139; Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 69–74.

⁴⁶Paolo Addis, Elena A. Ferioli, and Elena Vivaldi, “Il Terzo settore nella disciplina normativa italiana dall’unità a oggi,” in *Il Terzo settore nell’Italia unita*, ed. Emanuele Rossi and Stefano Zamagni (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011), 129–221.

⁴⁷C. Musatti, *I presepi in Italia: Proposta di nuovamente fondarne almeno uno in Venezia: Discorso letto al Veneto Ateneo il giorno 14 giugno 1877* (Venice: Prem. Stabil. Tip. di P. Naratovich, 1877), 12–14; G. Raffaelli, *La protezione del lattante* (Borgo S. Donnino: Tip. A. Mattioli, 1924).

⁴⁸S. Polenghi, “Giuseppe Sacchi,” in *Dizionario Biografico dell’Educazione 1800–2000*, vol. 2, ed. Giorgio Chiosso and Roberto Sani (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 2013), 448–449.

translation published in 1886–1887, proposed educational methods aimed at developing young children’s use of the five senses, as well as their moral and emotional education.⁴⁹

Around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the number of Italian *crèches* was limited: There were only about 40 in total, including eight in factories. However, they attracted considerable attention via the national organizations leading the fight against child mortality, the Italian Society for the Protection of Children (founded in Milan in 1880), the *Opera Pia provvidenza baliatica* (likewise founded in Milan, in 1904), and the National League for Early Childhood Protection (1912), in collaboration with the International Union for the Protection of Early Childhood (founded in Brussels in 1907), which encouraged the spread of breastfeeding. An important turning point in the movement against infant mortality came with the Crispi Law regulating *Opere Pie*, passed on July 17, 1890. Inspired by “statist and centralising” ideas, this legislation established local administrative control over the *Opere Pie* run by charitable organizations. Other *presepi* were opened by doctors specially engaged in the fight against child mortality and attentive to the French reforms: in Mantua in 1905 by the famous Ernesto Soncini (1870–1939), considered the father of Italian puericulture, and by Ernesto Tropeano (1881–1952) in the Foundling Hospital of the Annunziata of Naples, a move which stressed the role of *presepi* in the prevention of infant abandonment.⁵⁰

The activities of Ernesto Cacace (1872–1956), professor at the University of Naples, represent a particularly interesting case; as well as opening a *presepe* in Naples within the *Istituto di nipiologia* (founded in 1915), he developed a veritable science of *nipiologia* that concerned itself simultaneously with the legal protection of newborns and with childcare. He developed a new understanding of infant care, partially derived from French institutions, and devoted himself to the training of staff assigned to childcare services. In 1905, Cacace founded the *Istituto nipiogiênico* in Capua; it later became a section of the Neapolitan *Istituto di nipiologia*, whose organizational structure was very similar to that of the German *Kaiserin-Auguste-Viktoria-Säuglingsheim*, which opened in

⁴⁹ Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 106–110.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 110–118, 123–127.

Berlin in 1909.⁵¹ In 1915, he founded the first Society of *Nipiologia*, of which he was director. Until the 1930s, the *Istituto nipiologico* of Naples comprised a day nursery for infants, a milk dispensary, a school of early years hygiene, a peripatetic chair of early years hygiene, and a public maternity school.⁵² *Nipiologia* spread transnationally to Spain through the work of the Aragonese pediatrician Andrés Martínez Varga (1861–1948) and to Latin America⁵³; however, there was no childcare institution based specifically on this understanding of *nipiologia*.⁵⁴

The scientific theory of *nipiologia* drove the childcare system under Italian fascism, according to which local institutions were to incorporate several services for the protection of the mother and child. Ernesto Cacace participated in and presided over the four *nipiologia* congresses organized by the fascist regime between 1928 and 1935, which heard presentations of findings from this new science of the neonate. *Nipiologia* supplied the theoretical framework for the National Organization for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood (ONMI), founded by the fascist regime in 1925 and drawing on the Belgian model of the *Ceuvre Nationale de l'Enfance* created in 1919.⁵⁵ The Soviet childcare and maternity system, in place since 1922, may also have been a model for this organization, because the spread of communist institutions had made it known transnationally.

From the mid-1920s onward, many day nurseries opened within the care services in ONMI's local offices, which also included counseling services, dispensaries of milk, and clinics. ONMI also ran other types of day nurseries, established in factories and for peasant women in rural areas. Article 201 of the decree concerning ONMI, published on April 15, 1926, sets out some of the requirements for health and hygiene in these establishments as follows:

⁵¹Elmer Schabel, *Soziale Hygiene zwischen Sozialer Reform und Sozialer Biologie: Fritz Rott (1878–1959) und die Säuglingsfürsorge in Deutschland* (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 1995).

⁵²Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 118–123.

⁵³Maria Pilar Samper Villagrasa, “Semblanza de un pediatra ilustre: Don Andrés Martínez Vargas,” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses* 114 (2004): 345–370.

⁵⁴Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 2017.

⁵⁵Pieter Dhondt, “Social Education or Medical Care? Divergent Views on Visiting Nurses in Belgium in the Interwar Years,” *History of Education and Children's Literature* 7, no. 1 (2012): 505–522.

[I]n the *asili nido* or *presepi*, in residential homes for weaned and unweaned infants up to their third year and in sanatoriums for sickly weaned and unweaned infants and those predisposed to tuberculosis, the dormitories and other rooms accommodating the children must normally have a minimum height of three metres with a floor area of three square metres and cubic volume of nine metres for each child.⁵⁶

During the 1920s, ONMI sought to improve the training of its staff by setting up courses for healthcare workers, health visitors, school health assistants, and nannies. This type of childcare was likewise a transnational phenomenon, having been inspired by the British health visitor systems. At the end of the 1930s, within the ONMI system, *asili nido* or *presepi* were also opened in mother and baby homes, and their number increased to 167 nationally.

The progressive intrusion of *nipiologia* into childcare services and its ideological evolution became more evident when it became a colonial science: Italian doctors were to study the reactions of white and black infants in Ethiopia, which had become part of the Italian colonies.⁵⁷ After the promulgation of the Racial Laws of 1938, the discipline abandoned both developmental psychology and the child-sensitive approach.⁵⁸ Maria Montessori had been forced into exile in 1934 because of her pedagogical concept of the “sensitive child,” which sought to eliminate excessive rigidity in children’s educational development. The same fate met the psychologist Enzo Bonaventura in 1938, after the passing of the Racial Laws, due to his work on the development and maturation of infants.⁵⁹ Bonaventura’s research had been influenced by that of the American psychologist Arnold Gesell (1880–1961), author of *An Atlas of Infant Behavior: A Systematic Delineation of the Forms and*

⁵⁶Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 132–144.

⁵⁷A. Piccioli, “Difesa ed assistenza della prima infanzia nell’Impero,” *La nipiologia* 25, no. 4 (1939): 136–144; A. Piccioli, “Un nuovo campo di studi per la Nipiologia: Le popolazioni infantili native dell’Africa Orientale Italiana. Verso la creazione di una Nipiologia di colore,” *La nipiologia* 26, no. 1 (1940): 6–11.

⁵⁸Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 180–186.

⁵⁹Patrizia Guarnieri, *Italian Psychology and Jewish Emigration under Fascism: From Florence to Jerusalem and New York* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 113–154, 213–221; Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 172–180.

Early Growth of Human Behavior Patterns,⁶⁰ which described typical child development and suggested the reviewing of the educational strategies used in the day nurseries (*asili nido*).⁶¹

Nipiologia, as a science of the fascist regime, was closely interconnected with ONMI's initiatives for the protection of maternity and childhood. Only after the First World War did the *asilo nido* come to be seen as a childcare institution focusing more on baby care and hygiene than on educational methods for shaping the early development of the personality. Despite its strong ideological connotations, *nipiologia* was only renamed "preventive and social pediatrics" in 1954.

The *Crèche* in Tsarist and Soviet Russia

In rural Russia, an intense phase of *crèche* development, stemming from its transfer from abroad, occurred in 1847, predating by several decades the Russian translation of Marbeau's manual.⁶² The Russian elite had always paid attention to practices in other countries, from the first orphanages, founded in the eighteenth century, to educational models such as the philosophy of education advanced by Locke and Rousseau and new pedagogical methods, with the Lancasterian system attracting much notice. All these transfers of educational ideas and concepts from abroad enabled Russia to modernize, introducing European institutions and educational strategies.⁶³ Furthermore, the Russian tradition regarding assistance to the poor was very different from the Catholic one, and

⁶⁰Arnold Gesell, *An Atlas of Infant Behavior: A Systematic Delineation of the Forms and Early Growth of Human Behavior Patterns*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934).

⁶¹Arnold Gesell, "Monthly Increments of Development in Infancy," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 32, no. 2 (1925): 203–208; Arnold Gesell and Henry M. Halverson, "The Daily Maturation of Infant Behavior: A Cinema Study of Postures, Movements, and Laterality," *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 61 (1942): 3–32.

⁶²F. Marbo, *Prakticheskoe rukovodstvo k' ustroystvu i vedeniyu "Yaslej"*, Per. Cemsh' (Moskva: Detskaya Pomosch'/Tipografiya L. i A. Snegirevykh', 1890).

⁶³David L. Ransel, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 38–41; James Muckle, *James Arthur Heard (1798–1875) and the Education of the Poor in Russia* (Ilkestone: Bramcote Press, 2013); Dorena Caroli, "La ricezione di Rousseau in Russia e l'educazione dell'uomo libero (metà Settecento-metà Ottocento)," in *Il 'pedagogista' Rousseau tra metafisica, etica e politica*, ed. Giuseppe Bertagna (Brescia: La Scuola, 2014), 249–276.

charitable works and institutions linked to the Orthodox Church were virtually absent until the final decades of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

The transfer and establishment of the *crèche* as the form of day nursery used in rural Russia during the great harvests were initially attributable to the initiative of local governments, in particular to the physicians working for local administrations (*zemstvo*). They were conscious of the risks of leaving children alone in *izba* (log huts), often hanging from the ceiling in baskets to avoid attack by animals. In summer, the *izba* often caught fire. In the final decades of the eighteenth century, noblewomen benefactors and entrepreneurs had organized day nurseries (in Russian *detskie jasli*) for female workers in cities and factories. The first rural day nurseries, which opened for 10–15 days during harvest time, were far from Marbeau's model: They were not "educational spaces," but essentially supervision rather than care facilities, offering a minimum of care for very small children and lacking in suitable premises and trained personnel. As little as they offered, however, they represented a first step toward improving the poor hygienic conditions in which many children were raised.⁶⁵ The Imperial Decree of 1891 subsequently addressed the variety and polymorphism of childcare institutions for infants. It ruled that all infant and children's institutions were to fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Infant Care (*Vedomstvo detskikh priyutov*) under the aegis of the Institutes of Empress Maria Feodorovna (1847–1928), thus improving their organization in terms of material conditions, their staff, and their general operations.⁶⁶

Russia was like other nations which had established *crèches* in that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, it considered them a key institution in the fight against infant and child mortality, a problem particularly acute in Russia, where about 2 million babies annually died in the first weeks of life. In comparison with other European countries, such as Italy, their implementation was widespread, eventually reaching 200 in number at the outset of the twentieth century, when Russia also saw the transfer and foundation of the other French institutions of the time whose purpose was to combat child mortality, such as *dispensaires* and

⁶⁴Adele Lindenmeyr, "The Ethos of Charity in Imperial Russia," *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 4 (1990): 679–694.

⁶⁵Caroli, *Day Nurseries*.

⁶⁶N. Egorov, *Doshkolnoe i vneskolnoe obrazovanie v inostrannykh gosudarstvakh* (Petrograd: Senatskaya Tipografiya, 1917), 1–52.

gouttes de lait. Russian physicians knew of these through international congresses on infant mortality and the International *Gouttes de Lait* congresses on child protection, hygiene and infant mortality (Paris 1905, Brussels 1907, and Berlin 1911), and strove to transfer these childcare institutions from the turn of the century onward.⁶⁷ Further, the publication of the Russian translation of *Century of the Child* (1906)⁶⁸ by the Swedish feminist Ellen Key (1849–1926), which asserted that better conditions for children to grow up in could improve humankind, encouraged the adoption of reforms: The new societal attention to evolutionism triggered a general improvement in the living conditions of Russian children.

The First World War and the Revolution years shook the country. Societal recovery did not become evident until the mid-1920s, in part because the social and health policy of the new Soviet state was operating in difficult postwar conditions which complicated the implementation of state institutions. After the October Revolution of 1917, in particular during 1919, day nurseries and other services which guaranteed artificial feeding for infants were included in the section on the protection of maternity and childhood under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat for Health and Social Security. Day nurseries also came into being in factories and in cities near factories where women were employed, but in the post-Revolution years they could offer only limited childcare services. In 1922, the People's Commissariat for Health set up the State Scientific Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood and opened mother and baby homes where mothers could spend a few months after giving birth under medical supervision to be shown how to breastfeed correctly and receive instruction on the principles of childcare; the package of measures also included family checks in the mothers' homes.⁶⁹ This institutional model of maternity care may have exerted an influence on other European systems, as the sections for the protection of maternity and childhood incorporated advisory services and milk dispensaries which were also found in industries that employed female workers.⁷⁰

⁶⁷Rollet-Echalier, "La santé," 97–116; Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 258–267.

⁶⁸Swedish feminist Ellen Key's (1849–1926), *Century of the Child* (1906).

⁶⁹David L. Hoffmann, *Cultivating the Masses: Modern State Practices and Soviet Socialism, 1914–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 173–180.

⁷⁰Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 267–274.

From 1922 to 1928, the number of day nurseries increased considerably in the USSR, rising from 561 to 914, with a large spread in rural areas at harvest time. The Soviet case is doubtless particular in nature, both for the way in which it transformed day nurseries, at least in the 1920s, into educational spaces, and in how propaganda sought to encourage a perception of these institutions as an essential factor in the emancipation of women. We should note, however, that attendance rates were not very high. The issues facing these institutions elsewhere, among them epidemics, low staff skills, and staff shortages, did not spare the Soviet system. Despite this, the Soviet case stands out from the others due to the efforts of psychologists including Anna Rozental and Z. Shatova, who elaborated a theory whose purpose was to guide the organization of children's play activities, offering educational methods appropriate to different age groups and training staff in the principles of this "educational space." They argue that in this institution:

[P]arents were also to be educated in the spirit of the new socialist culture and way of life: The aim here was to balance the effect on *their* young children of two often contradictory influences (parental and institutional) and to create a common – and possibly identical – pedagogical approach to them, and to improve, insofar as it were possible in the context of the children's home lives, the health and hygienic conditions in which they were growing up. The institutions pursued this purpose partly within the institution, in the form of individual discussions or group and general meetings with parents, but also through a rotating system of mothers helping in the day nursery (*iasel*). The one-to-one talks were concerned mainly with discussing the specific approaches considered suited to each child, while the meetings illustrated general questions of a medical and educational nature and aspects of children's behaviour via lessons and talks. The staff also gave progress reports on work carried out in a given period and informed parents about plans for future work.⁷¹

The engagement of the psychologist Anna Abramovna Fayvusiovich with the contemporary debate on educational methods took place in highly ideological tones, exalting the education of an "active soldier of the socialist society of the future" through a "materialist, activist and collectivist" upbringing. The discourse, and specific interventions in it, drew

⁷¹Anna S. Rozental and Z. Shatova, *Iasli* (Moscow: Izd. Okhrana Materinstva i Mladenchestva, 1926), 75–76; Caroli, *Day Nurseries*, 274–278.

on ideas about the psychophysiological (pedological) development of infants in the context of a particular form of environmental conditioning. A treatise by Anna Fayvusiovich issued in 1929, proposing the use of methods “that can stimulate the child’s creativity to the maximum and at the same time give it the means of acquiring new skills,” stresses the need for an orderly arrangement of the child’s social and educational environment via strict division into four main age groups: 2–7 months; 7–14 months; 14 months–2 years; and 2–3 years.⁷²

The experimental psychology of the time, which arose largely in consequence of the dramatic mass phenomenon of abandoned children experienced in the 1920s, ended with the suppression of the science of “pedology” in the USSR in 1936.⁷³ As in the Italian context, the theories of infant behavioral development put forward by the American pediatrician Arnold Gesell (1880–1961) had been influential among Soviet psychologists. The suppression of pedology in Stalin’s Soviet Union saw Gesell’s work on the maturation of the child listed on the index of prohibited volumes.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, day nurseries continued to spread. As in Italy, they sprung up even in prisons and the labor camps (*Gulag*) as institutions for the children of female prisoners, albeit with conditions diametrically opposed to those required for healthy and smooth early childhood development and far removed from Marbeau’s original idea.

Finally, the Soviet models of nurseries and of maternal and child welfare circulated internationally thanks to the work of the British trade unionists Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who visited the USSR in 1936.⁷⁵ Their work influenced the welfare system drawn up by Sir William Beveridge (1879–1963) in the aftermath of the Second World War.⁷⁶ The Webbs’ work *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* listed a range of childcare institutions: the factory *crèche*, district *crèches*,

⁷²Ibid., 279–280.

⁷³Caroli, *L'enfance abandonnée*.

⁷⁴Dorena Caroli, *Cittadini e patrioti: Educazione, letteratura per l'infanzia e costruzione dell'identità nazionale nella Russia sovietica* (Macerata: Eum, 2011), 173–200; Dorena Caroli, *Per una storia dell'asilo nido in Europa tra Otto e Novecento* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2014), 79–103.

⁷⁵Sidney Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* 2 vols. (New York: Longmans, 1936), 817–846.

⁷⁶Dorena Caroli, *La protection sociale en Union Soviétique (1917–1939)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), 278–280.

evening *crèches*, “the *crèches* at the larger railway stations, so as to enable mothers visiting the city, or waiting for a train, to get through their shopping or other business, without the children suffering,” night *crèches*, *crèches* on long-distance trains, and summer *crèches* on all state farms.⁷⁷ The omnipresence of *crèches*, intended as services to benefit children and their working mothers, undoubtedly inspired the British welfare system of the post-Second World War period, helping advance the progressive emancipation of women as citizens of postwar society.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the birth and evolution of the *crèche* in France and the institution’s circulation principally in two European countries; their particular functions saw them take different trajectories, both in terms of their institutional development and in terms of the extent of their incorporation into national education systems. The combination of the transnational and comparative perspectives in this context has allowed us to see more clearly the features of the original model and the various processes of transfer that took place in Italy and Russia with regard to the *crèches*’ role. This chapter has demonstrated the importance of considering the specific relationship between transnational and comparative approaches when interpreting the processes of educational institutional modernization.

The French *crèche* acquired funding from France’s Interior Ministry after the 1862 reform. In terms of the nature and extent of state control, the Italian and Russian cases both differ considerably from the French model, as from each other. In the Italian case, the *Opere Pie* legislation of 1862 and 1890 introduced a process of nationalization and secularization of charity management. The fascist ONMI funded some day nurseries and oversaw the control of others, but only for mothers in difficulty; that is, the institutions existed as a form of public assistance, but not as a protection for women’s labor rights. In Russia, the October Revolution and the centralization of various sectors of education, health, and social care saw nurseries come under the jurisdiction of the People’s Commissariat for Health, in a manner similar to what had happened in England in 1919, as a form of protection for women’s labor; until 1936, psychologists strove to devise a pedagogy encompassing both children and their parents.

⁷⁷Webb, *Soviet Communism*, 822–825.

The French *crèche* model provided some important principles for the internal organization of these institutions as “pedagogical spaces.” We need, however, to keep in mind the two aspects involved here: education for mothers and the raising of children. We observe a general change in the first of these aspects from the original French model, which included breastfeeding, from the beginning of the twentieth century; here, Italy is the exception, as breastfeeding remained part of practice in day nurseries under fascism. In relation to the second aspect, the French model of educational methods for early childhood probably found inspiration in Rousseau’s *Émile ou de l’éducation* (1762), which emphasized the importance of the senses, and Pestalozzi’s *Livre des Mères* (1803). The Italian and Russian cases show that attempts to transform day nurseries into “educational spaces” after this evolution of the French model developed at different times. In Italy, they emerged in the late nineteenth century via the promoter of the first *presepi*; in Russia, the October Revolution represented the main starting point. In both cases, the advent of dictatorships put a stop to studies into child development psychology that would have been able to contribute to these institutions’ further emergence as “educational spaces” providing part of the process that prepares the child for compulsory education. The science of childhood, in its transnational transfer, maintained a strong national character, which, especially under totalitarian regimes, produced some entanglements between institutional and educational models. It was not until after the Second World War that the transnational realm of day nurseries became strongly characterized by a distinctly educational purpose, aimed at that time toward children and their families living in the peaceful societies of the new Europe.⁷⁸

Acknowledgements I am grateful to Prof. Nelleke Bakker and to the other participants in the workshop “The Concept of the ‘Transnational’: Approaches—Research Areas—Challenges” organized at the meeting of ISCHE held in Istanbul in 2015 by Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs, for their various suggestions and useful remarks. I would like to thank also Dr. Katherine Ebish-Burton for her valuable language editing.

⁷⁸Kathy Hall et al., *Loris Malaguzzi and the Reggio Emilia Experience* (London: Continuum International, 2010).

Bibliography

Sources

- Chevalier, Michel. *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris. Tom XIII, groupe X, classes de 89 à 95*. Paris: Imprimerie administrative de Paul Dupont, 1868.
- Egorov, N. *Doshkolnoe i vneskolnoe obrazovanie v inostrannykh gosudarstvakh*. Petrograd: Senatskaya Tipografiya, 1917.
- Gesell, Arnold. *An Atlas of Infant Behavior: A Systematic Delineation of the Forms and Early Growth of Human Behavior Patterns*. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.
- Gesell, Arnold. "Monthly Increments of Development in Infancy." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 32, no. 2 (1925): 203–208.
- Gesell, Arnold, and Henry M. Halverson. "The Daily Maturation of Infant Behavior: A Cinema Study of Postures, Movements, and Laterality." *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 61 (1942): 3–32.
- Lambruschini, R. "Riunione del giorno 22 settembre." In *Atti della Ottava riunione degli scienziati italiani tenuta in Genova dal 14 al 29 settembre 1846*, 132–139. Genoa: Tipografia Ferrando, 1847.
- Manuale del Presepe di Firmin Marbeau*. Translated by Cav. Ippolito dott. Recupito. Piacenza: Tipografia Editrice Giacomo Favari, 1889.
- Marbeau, J. B. Firmin. *Des crèches, ou moyen de diminuer la misère en augmentant la population*. 3rd ed. Paris: Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1845.
- Marbo [Marbeau], F. *Prakticheskoe rukovodstvo k' ustroystvu i vedeniyu "Yaslej"*, Per. Cemsh'. Moskva: Detskaya Pomosch' F. /Tipografiya L. i A. Snegirevykh', 1890.
- Musatti, C. *I presepii in Italia: Proposta di nuovamente fondarne almeno uno in Venezia: Discorso letto al Veneto Ateneo il giorno 14 giugno 1877*. Venice: Prem. Stabil. Tip. di P. Naratovich, 1877.
- Perez, Bernardo. *La psicologia dell'infanzia: I tre primi anni*. From the 2nd Paris edition. Italian translation by Giuseppe Molena and Enrico Trevisini. Milan: Tip. Filippo Poncelletti, 1886.
- Perez, Bernardo. *Psicologia dell'infanzia dai tre ai sette anni*. Italian translation by C. Lombroso. Milan: E. Trevisini, 1887.
- Piccioli, A. "Difesa ed assistenza della prima infanzia nell'Impero." *La nipiologia* 25, no. 4 (1939): 136–144.
- Piccioli, A. "Un nuovo campo di studi per la Nipiologia: Le popolazioni infantili 'native' dell'Africa Orientale Italiana. Verso la creazione di una Nipiologia di colore." *La nipiologia* 26, no. 1 (1940): 6–11.
- Raffaelli, G. *La protezione del lattante*. Borgo S. Donnino: Tip. A. Mattioli, 1924.
- Rozental, A., and Z. Shatova. *Iasli*. Moscow: Izd. Okhrana Materinstva i Mladenchestva, 1926.

Sulla fondazione di speciali ricoveri per bambini lattanti. Memoria di Giuseppe Sacchi. Milan: Presso la Società degli Editori degli Annali Universali delle Scienze e dell'Industria, 1848.

Thévenin, C. "Histoire de l'Institution des Crèches." PhD diss., University of Paris. Paris: Bonvalot-Jouve, 1907.

Webb, Sidney. *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* 2 vols. New York: Longmans, 1936.

History of Education, Transnationalism, Childcare and Early Education in Europe

Addis, Paolo, Elena A. Ferioli, and Elena Vivaldi. "Il Terzo settore nella disciplina normativa italiana dall'unità a oggi." In *Il Terzo settore nell'Italia unita*, edited by Emanuele Rossi and Stefano Zamagni, 129–221. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011.

Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere. "Introduction." In *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 1–8. New York: Berghahn, 2014.

Bock, Gisela. "Pauvreté féminine, droits des mères et États-providence." In *Historie des femmes en Occident*. Vol. 5, *Le XX^e siècle*, edited by Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot, and Françoise Thébaud, 381–409. Paris: Plon, 1992.

Bouve, Catherine. *L'utopie des crèches françaises au XIX^e siècle: Un pari sur l'enfant pauvre. Essai socio-historique*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.

Bressan, Edoardo. "Percorsi del Terzo settore e dell'impegno sociale dall'Unità alla Prima guerra mondiale." In *Il Terzo settore nell'Italia unita*, edited by Emanuele Rossi and Stefano Zamagni, 21–81. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011.

Bressan, Edoardo. "Tra pubblico e privato: La rete milanese delle istituzioni per l'infanzia." In *Welfare e minori: L'Italia nel contesto europeo del Novecento*, edited by Michela Minnesso, 303–319. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2010.

Burger, Kaspar. "Entanglement and Transnational Transfer in the History of Infant Schools in Great Britain and Salles d'asile in France, 1816–1881." *History of Education* 43, no. 3 (2014): 304–333.

Caroli, Dorena. *Cittadini e patrioti: Educazione, letteratura per l'infanzia e costruzione dell'identità nazionale nella Russia sovietica*. Macerata: Eum, 2011.

Caroli, Dorena. *Day Nurseries and Childcare in Europe, 1800–1939*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Caroli, Dorena. *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie soviétique (1917–1937)*. With a preface by Jutta Scherrer. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004.

- Caroli, Dorena. “Konceptiya S.S. Molozhavogo: Mezhdru istoricheskim monizmom i repressiyami pedologii (1924–1937) [S.S. Molozhavyj’s Conception: Between the Historical Monism and the Repressions of the Pedology (1924–1937)].” In *Istoriko-pedagogicheskoe znanie v nachale III tysyacheletiya; istoriya pedagogiki kak pedagogicheskaya i istoricheskaya nauka*, edited by G. B. Kornetov, 79–103. Moscow: ASOU, 2014.
- Caroli, Dorena. *La protection sociale en Union Soviétique (1917–1939)*. With a preface by Roberto Sani. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010.
- Caroli, Dorena. “La ricezione di Rousseau in Russia e l’educazione dell’uomo libero (metà Settecento–metà Ottocento).” In *Il ‘pedagogista’ Rousseau tra metafisica, etica e politica*, edited by Giuseppe Bertagna, 249–276. Brescia: La Scuola, 2014.
- Caroli, Dorena. *Per una storia dell’asilo nido in Europa tra Otto e Novecento*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2014.
- Caruso, Marcelo. “Within, Between, Above, and Beyond: (Pre)Positions for a History of the Internationalisation of Educational Practices and Knowledge.” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014): 10–26.
- Charle, Christophe. “Histoire globale, histoire nationale: Comment réconcilier recherche et pédagogie?” *Le Débat* 175, no. 3 (2013): 60–68.
- Crossley, Pamela K. *What Is Global History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.
- Cunningham, Hugh. *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*. London: Longman, 1995.
- Della Peruta, F. *Alle origini dell’assistenza alla prima infanzia in Italia*. In *Asili nido in Italia*. Vol. 1, edited by Lina Sala La Guardia and Egidio Lucchini, 13–38. Milan: Marzorati, 1980.
- Dhondt, Pieter. “Social Education or Medical Care? Divergent Views on Visiting Nurses in Belgium in the Interwar Years.” *History of Education and Children’s Literature* 7, no. 1 (2012): 505–522.
- Dittrich, Klaus. “Experts Going Transnational: Education at World Exhibitions During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.” PhD diss., University of Portsmouth, 2010. <http://hdl.handle.net/10993/9697>.
- Dixon Whitaker, Elisabeth. *Measuring Mamma’s Milk: Fascism and the Medicalization of Maternity in Italy*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Droux, Joelle, and Rita Hofstetter. “Going International: The History of Education Stepping Beyond Borders.” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014): 1–9.
- Faÿ-Sallos, Fanny. *Les nourrices à Paris au XIX^e siècle*. With a preface by Jean-Pierre Peter. Paris: Payot, 1980.
- Ferrari, Monica. “Asili, scuole per l’infanzia e ‘presepi’.” In *Patrioti si diventa: Luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell’Italia unita*, edited by Arianna Arisi Rota, Monica Ferrari, and Matteo Morandi, 71–83. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2009.

- Ferrari, Monica, Maria Luisa Betri, and Cristina Sideri, eds. *Ferrante Aporti tra Chiesa, Stato e società civile: Questioni e influenze di lungo periodo*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2014.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Bildungsgeschichte als internationale und Globalgeschichte: Einführende Bemerkungen." In *Bildung international: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs, 7–25. Würzburg: Ergon, 2006.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Transnational Civil Society and the Rights of Children in the Twentieth Century." *Comparative Education* 43, no. 3 (2007): 393–412.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Transnational Perspectives in Historical Educational Research." *Comparativ* 22, no. 1 (2012): 7–14.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "History of Education Beyond Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship." In *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 11–26. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Guarnieri, Patrizia. *Italian Psychology and Jewish Emigration under Fascism: From Florence to Jerusalem and New York*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Hall, Kathy, Mary Horgan, Anna Ridgway, Rosaleen Murphy, Maura Cunneen, and Denice Cunningham. *Loris Malaguzzi and the Reggio Emilia Experience*. London: Continuum International, 2010.
- Hinitz, Blythe F., and V. Celia Lascarides. *History of Early Childhood Education*. New York: Falmer Press, 2000.
- Hoffmann, David L. *Cultivating the Masses: Modern State Practices and Soviet Socialism, 1914–1939*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Hunecke, Volker. *I trovatelli a Milano: Bambini esposti e famiglie espositrici dal XVII al XIX Secolo*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989.
- Kertzer, David I. *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.
- La Berge, Anna F. "Medicalization and Moralization: The Crèches of Nineteenth-Century Paris." *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 1 (1991): 65–87.
- Lindenmeyr, Adele. "The Ethos of Charity in Imperial Russia." *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 4 (1990): 679–694.
- Luc, Jean-Noël. *L'invention du jeune enfant au XIX^e siècle: De la salle d'asile à l'école maternelle*. Paris: Belin, 1997.
- Möller, Esther, and Johannes Wischmeyer. "Transnationale Bildungsräume—Koordinaten eines Forschungskonzepts." In *Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion*, edited by Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, 7–20. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

- Muckle, James. *James Arthur Heard (1798–1875) and the Education of the Poor in Russia*. Ilkestone: Bramcote Press, 2013.
- Ossenbach, Gabriela, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés. “Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfer and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda.” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600.
- Palmer, Amy. “Nursery Schools for the Few of the Many? Childhood, Education and the State in Mid-Twentieth Century England.” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, nos. 1–2 (2011): 139–154.
- Perdiguero Gil, Enrique. *Salvad al niño: Estudios sobre la protección a la infancia en la Europa Mediterránea a comienzos del siglo XX*. Valencia: Seminari d’Estudis sobre la Ciència/Guada Litografia, 2004.
- Polenghi, S. “Giuseppe Sacchi.” In *Dizionario Biografico dell’Educazione 1800–2000*. Vol. 2, edited by Giorgio Chiosso and Roberto Sani, 448–449. Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 2013.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. “Styles and Reason: Historicism, Historicizing, and the History of Education.” In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 1–26. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Prochner, Laurence Wayne. *A History of Early Childhood Education in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 2009.
- Randall, Vicky. *The Politics of Child Daycare in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Ransel, David L. *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Reyer, Jürgen, and Heidrun Kleine. *Die Kinderkrippe in Deutschland: Sozialgeschichte einer umstrittenen Einrichtung*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus, 1997.
- Rollet, Catherine. “La protection de l’enfance en France: Entre traditions et modernité.” In *Salvad al niño: Estudios sobre la protección a la infancia en la Europa Mediterránea a comienzos del siglo XX*, edited by Enrique Perdiguero Gil, 29–53. València: Seminari d’Estudis sobre la Ciència/Guada Litografia, 2004.
- Rollet, Catherine. “La santé et la protection de l’enfant vues à travers les Congrès internationaux (1880–1920).” *Annales de démographie historique* 1 (2001): 97–116.
- Rollet-Echalier, Catherine. *La politique à l’égard de la petite enfance sous la III^e République*. With a preface by Alain Girard. Paris: Institut National d’Études Démographiques-Presses Universitaires de France, 1990.
- Samper Villagrasa, Maria Pilar. “Semblanza de un pediatra ilustre: Don Andrés Martínez Vargas.” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses* 114 (2004): 345–370.

- Sani, Roberto. "L'educazione dell'infanzia dall'età giolittiana alla Carta Bottai." In *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita: Dalla Legge Casati al centro-Sinistra*, edited by Luciano Pazzaglia and Roberto Sani, 239–256. Brescia: La Scuola, 2001.
- Schabel, Elmer. *Soziale Hygiene zwischen Sozialer Reform und Sozialer Biologie: Fritz Rott (1878–1959) und die Säuglingsfürsorge in Deutschland*. Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 1995.
- Scott, Joan W. "La travailleuse." In *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Vol. 4, *Le XIX^e siècle*, edited by Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot, 419–444. Paris: Plon, 1991.
- Steedman, Carolyn. *Childhood, Culture, and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860–1931*. London: Virago Camden Town, 1990.
- Werner, Michael, and Benedicte Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity." *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.
- Willekens, Harry, Kirsten Scheiwe, and Kristen Nawrotzki. *The Development of Early Childhood Education in Europe and North America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Wollons, Roberta L. *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.



Conversations About the Transnational: Reading and Writing the Empire in the History of Education

Rebecca Rogers

Introduction

The various “turns” that have marked historical writing since the 1960s reflect new ways of conceptualizing what we do: new types of sources, new analytical categories, or new methods. The “cultural” turn, for example, shifted attention away from social and economic forces while calling for studies of discourse, practices, and representation. The “spatial” turn used the insights of cultural geography introducing explorations of the materiality of place. The “imperial” turn has sought to connect studies of the metropole and the empire by emphasizing circulations between the two, while the “global” turn highlights the interconnections that have shaped the worlds within which we live. This simplistic rendering of decades of theoretical debate and innovative case studies serves as a reminder of how labels announce the ostensible production of new knowledge, but also how labeling produces conversations

R. Rogers (✉)

UMR Cerlis, Université Paris Descartes, Paris, France

e-mail: rebecca.rogers@parisdescartes.fr

© The Author(s) 2019

E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History of Education*, Global Histories of Education,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_4

that allow us to think differently, to seek out new sources, and to ask new questions. In this respect, what might be termed the “transnational” turn holds potential that this volume seeks to render explicit.

In what follows, I seek to position the imperial and the transnational within a single analytical framework exploring what this offers to the history of education. My interest lies in exploring this question for the modern period characterized by the emergence of nation-states.¹ My specific interest is in exploring the objects of empirical study as well as specific types of sources that have allowed historians of education to shift their analytical gaze and to introduce new questions thanks to an approach that is termed transnational. Rather than seeking to distinguish what characterizes a transnational approach from *histoire croisée* (entangled history), transfer history, international or global history, I will focus on how transnational perspectives have entered the conversation about modern empires in the history of education, much as Noah Sobe has sought to do for American history of education.² I begin by considering how the interest in empire within the field has introduced approaches focusing on circulations and exchanges that increasingly have been named transnational. I then turn to studies that adopt a transnational approach to the study of traveling teachers and consider how the focus on teachers, combined with an interest in exploring particular types of sources, offers new perspectives on the process of empire. A third section then focuses on transnational experiences in the context of colonial schools, arguing that attention to these experiences changes the questions we ask. Finally, in conclusion, I address the challenge of labeling the study of circulations, flows, and exchanges that characterize scholarship on the empire. Are there characteristics of a “transnational” approach that stretch across our disparate institutional and national historiographic settings and how do these challenge narratives about the ways schooling and education participated in the imperial project?

¹Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

²Noah W. Sobe, “Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 93–107.

The Imperial Turn in the History of Education: Analytical Steps Toward the Transnational

The postcolonial moment has stimulated in the last twenty years considerable scholarship on empire, which has offered grist for approaches that are called transnational.³ In particular, as scholars emphasized the importance of analyzing the effects of empire on the metropole, research increasingly explored how the two were mutually constituted. This involved an attention to movement, connections, and circulations, which produced new questions about both “home” and the colony. Catherine Hall was among the historians who most convincingly argued for such an approach. Recognized for her pioneering study with Leonore Davidoff on the role of gender in the making of the British middle class, her subsequent scholarship moved outward to consider how the empire made a difference at “home.” “What representations of empire circulated in a mid-nineteenth-century town, and, in what ways, if any, did the associated knowledge shape political and other discourses,” she asks in *Civilizing Subjects*.⁴ Her theoretical and empirical work highlighted the circulation of people and ideas, emphasizing how these circulations drew attention to the workings of race in nonconformist thinking about Englishness. Although most scholars would not peg her as an historian of education, her attention to missionaries and their role in disseminating ideas and values meant her insights were quite seductive for those of us who felt increasingly constrained by the—often implicit—national framework within which we were writing. By highlighting the transformations in Baptist missionary discourses in Jamaica in the early nineteenth century, she showed how the experiences of empire reconfigured notions of blackness and whiteness, while the practices of the patriarchal mission family inscribed gender alongside race at the heart of the missionary enterprise.⁵

³Chloé Maurel, *Manuel d'histoire globale: Comprendre le 'global turn' des sciences humaines* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2014).

⁴Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 12.

⁵Catherine Hall, “Missionary Stories: Gender and Ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s,” in *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, ed. Catherine Hall (New York: Routledge, 1992), 205–254; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Hall's challenge to the writing of British social history was not framed in the guise of transnational history, but her insights encouraged historians to question the national, in ways that are congruent with recent calls for a transnational perspective that "deepens and complicates our understanding of colonialism, the nation state and the responses of local communities, institutions and individuals."⁶

Hall's perspective challenged historians of education to look differently at what happened within schools and classrooms in the metropole. Not surprisingly given the rich vein of postcolonial scholarship in Britain, historians studying British schools were more prompt to develop this approach in their concern to understand how the *fact* of empire penetrated the schooling experience, be it through the presence of teachers who had traveled, lived, or taught outside of Britain, through the existence of an imperial culture within schools, or through the lessons of empire dispensed within classrooms. Scholarship on education in British colonies took up the challenges of an approach that rendered increasingly nuanced the nature of interactions within schools and learning environments that were conceptualized as contested spaces.⁷

In the field of the history of education, the association of empire and the transnational has emerged most strongly in the journal *Paedagogica Historica* thanks to a number of special issues.⁸ Again, it is not surprising that an international journal, linked to an international association (ISCHE—International Standing Conference for the History of Education) would be at the forefront of an approach that seeks to challenge the preeminence of the national in our historical narratives, be it through international, comparative, or transnational approaches. In 2009, for example, a special issue devoted to "Empires Overseas' and 'Empires at Home': Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education" offers a quick introduction to the diversity of contemporary scholarship through a series of

⁶Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds., *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education* (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 2.

⁷Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere, *Connecting Histories*; Tim Allender, *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820–1932* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

⁸For example, Rebecca Rogers, "Paedagogica Historica: Trendsetter or Follower?" *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 6 (2014): 717–736.

case studies. Despite the introduction to this issue, which argued that discussions of empire were moving closer toward “forms of transnational, global or world histories,” the analytical framework adopted by most of the authors in most of the articles appears, however, less transnational than postcolonial.⁹ In his conclusion to the issue, Antonio Nóvoa traces three tendencies in educational history “in the light of colonial and post-colonial issues: the reconceptualisation of space-time relations; second, the multiplication of spaces and the unfolding of times, third, the search for new zones of looking, fostering new meanings and understanding.”¹⁰ He concludes by stating that “post-colonial theories lie at the essence of our argument, in particular when ‘Europe’ functions as a silent reference for all of our history,” even if his remarks suggest approaches that might well be labeled transnational.¹¹ Indeed, this is a useful reminder that the interest in circulations, flows, and connections that underlies much work done under the label of the transnational does not necessarily dialogue easily with an interest in forms of imperial domination.

Latin American historians of education have also been at the vanguard of those engaging with the connections between empire and the transnational, exploring the effects of what happened in the process of nation-building following the end of empire. In 2011, *Paedagogica Historica* brought these issues to the forefront of an international conversation in a special issue entitled “Lost Empires, Regained Nations: Postcolonial models, cultural transfers and transnational perspectives in Latin America.”¹² The very useful introduction to this issue offers a brief genealogy of three terms—postcolonial, transnational, and cultural transfers—and proposes a definition of transnational history borrowed from the American studies specialist Micol Seigel: “Transnational

⁹Joyce Goodman, Gary McCulloch, and William Richardson, “‘Empires Overseas’ and ‘Empires at Home’: Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 699.

¹⁰Antonio Nóvoa, “Endnote,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 817.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 820.

¹²Gabriela Ossenbach and María Del Mar del Pozo Andrés, eds., “Lost Empires, Regained Nations: Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America (1870–1970),” special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–717.

history' examines units that spill over and seep through national borders. It conceptualizes categories and identities, discovers networks united by bonds stronger than social class or ideology and links narratives and experiences that transcend time and location, while it 'considers cross-national comparison as subject rather than method'.¹³ The articles assembled in this issue explore the Latin American postcolonial context through a series of case studies that highlight the interactions between these modes of conceptualization. In the process, they reveal their porosity, and hence the difficulty of labeling, but also the exciting intellectual challenges this offers scholars working on Latin America. More generally, the issue highlights the usefulness of these modes of conceptualization for non-British empires and encourages the travel of methods and theorizations across historiographic communities.¹⁴

Among British historians of education, Joyce Goodman has been one of the most active proponents of this approach through her work on secondary school headmistresses and their relations to empire. As early as 2002, Joyce Goodman drew attention to a vision of empire seen as a set of relations, implying political, cultural, and economic exchanges between metropole and colony, and she argued for the need to adopt "a transnational rather than a comparative or an international methodology."¹⁵ Through her study of the Association of Head Mistresses (AHM) in a pioneering edited volume on *Gender, Colonialism and Education*, as well as subsequent articles, she has developed a convincing case for the usefulness of a transnational method to understand how individual headmistresses experienced empire, through their travels to schools in the colonies, through their engagement in the League of Empire and

¹³Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 581; Micol Seigel, "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn," *Radical History Review* 91 (2005): 62–90.

¹⁴Antoinette Burton, "Getting Outside of the Global: Repositioning British Imperialism in World History," in *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2011), 275–292.

¹⁵Joyce Goodman, "'Their Market Value Must Be Greater for the Experience They Had Gained': Secondary School Headmistresses and Empire, 1897–1914," in *Gender, Colonialism and Education: The Political Experience of Education*, ed. Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin (London: Woburn, 2002), 188.

the Victoria League, and through the epistolary networks they formed.¹⁶ This method involves tracking the connections between teachers, integrating spatial analysis into the study of social interrelations and identities, and highlighting how travel experiences, discussions within imperial education conferences, or lessons within classrooms at ‘home’ reveal how transnationalism refracts and shapes the local.

Attention to the circulation of both ideas and persons has thus brought to light the extent to which the empire was a crucible for the forming of new professional and individual identities. Through the study of “imperial careering,” historians have drawn on the insights of cultural geographers as well as anthropologists to explore the networks that connected different colonies within the British Empire.¹⁷ Gender historians have noted that women teachers also had imperial careers, most notably as missionaries or women religious.¹⁸ The fact of imperial travel, then, has brought to light the ways schools and pedagogical ideas moved across space, encountering resistances, but also undergoing forms of adaptation that have been the focus of much scholarship. Unquestionably, the interest in networks and circulations in these studies is shared by those who have adopted transnational perspectives with enthusiasm, but only recently has the term itself entered the historical vocabulary.

Joyce Goodman defines the transnational perspective she deploys as one that examines not just the movement of reformers but also that of ideas, social movements, and institutions. Not coincidentally, I would argue, her scholarship is not solely focused on the empire. The headmistresses she studies traveled to South Africa but also to Geneva where their interlocutors were other European women teachers. The

¹⁶Joyce Goodman, “Working for Change across International Borders: The Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 1 (2007): 165–180; Joyce Goodman and Zoe Milsom, “Performing Reforming and the Category of Age: Empire, Internationalism and Transnationalism in the Career of Reta Oldham, Headmistress,” in *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks, 1900–1960*, ed. Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Smyth (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 96–120.

¹⁷David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁸Deirdre Raftery and Mary Clarke, eds., *Transnationalism, Gender and the History of Education* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

women in the interwar period who dialogued within the League of Nations' International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation were women seeking deliberately to move beyond the nation-state in their intellectual exchanges. Goodman's recourse to a transnational perspective for the study of this period is congruent not only with that of her historical subjects, but also with an increasingly voluminous historiography on non-state organizations.¹⁹

For many historians of education, however, it is not apparent that the metropole-colony nexus requires or indeed is enriched by the use of a transnational perspective, particularly given the deeply engrained empiricist and anti-theoretical tendency within the field. In France, the interest in empire is very recent and the only special issue of *Histoire de l'éducation* devoted to education in the French colonies makes no reference to the issue of transnationalism. Indeed, the authors in the issue speak very little about metropole-colony connections and the focus for the most part is on schooling in the colonies. Pascale Barthélémy's historiographic introduction to the issue notes that scholarship in France is relatively undeveloped although the public uproar about the legislators' decision that teachers should teach "the positive role of the French presence overseas" (article 4 of the law of 23 February 2005) has spurred historical work since then.²⁰ Although this article has since been abrogated, scholarship on education still remains strongly influenced by anti-colonial ideologies that are more attentive to the symbolic politics of domination and oppression than to the interflow of ideas and persons between metropole and colony.

Certainly, scholars have analyzed the circulation of emancipatory ideals among indigenous elites, the so-called *évolués*, in the context of the struggles for independence, but very few studies question how the educational experiences of empire impacted on the metropole.²¹ Indeed, Pascale Barthélémy concluded her overview of French scholarship by noting that "the question of colonial education deserves to be studied in its imperial dimension, that is to say, attentive to the circulations (of

¹⁹Joyce Goodman, "Women and International Intellectual Co-operation," *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 3 (2012): 357–368.

²⁰Pascale Barthélémy, "L'enseignement dans l'Empire colonial français: Une vieille histoire?" *Histoire de l'éducation* 128 (2010): 5–28.

²¹Françoise Blum, "Sénégal 1968: Révolte étudiante et grève générale," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 59, no. 2 (2012): 144–177.

discourses, programs of study, of teachers, of pedagogical practices, and even of pupils) between regions of the empire but also between colonized regions and the metropole.”²² For this prominent scholar of colonial education, however, transnationalism is not the term or the approach she highlights. Connected or entangled history reflects more accurately her vision of the relationship between metropole and colony, particularly given the absence of *nation-states* on one side of this equation. The introduction to a recent book on education and colonization in the French context similarly refers to global history or connected history as a prism through which to study the circulations, borrowings, and hybridizations observed in colonial educational settings.²³

In what follows, I narrow my attention to scholarship on teachers and missionaries, examining how attention to this particular set of actors offers a fruitful way to engage with transnational perspectives in the history of empire, thanks to the existence of sources that shed light on how ideas about schooling, pedagogy, and teaching practices traveled around the world.

Traveling Teachers as Transnational Actors

Historians of pedagogy have a long tradition of tracing the “influence” of educational ideas around the world. In the study of empire, ideas clearly travel, but they are notoriously difficult to pin down and their effects difficult to measure. For social historians of education, however, teachers represent a privileged object of analysis. Teachers have biographies, they move in traceable spatial patterns, they frequently write and publish about what they are hoping to accomplish, they report on what they see, and, when they travel, they often belong to networks of like-minded individuals with whom they correspond.²⁴ The schools they direct or operate within have material consistence and they interact with students whose characteristics can be studied. For scholars working on

²²Barthélémy, “L’enseignement dans l’Empire colonial français,” 27. My translation.

²³Gilles Boyer, Pascal Clerc, and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, “Introduction,” in *L’école aux colonies: Les colonies à l’éducation*, ed. Gilles Boyer, Pascal Clerc, and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2013), 5–10.

²⁴Tanya Fitzgerald and Elisabeth M. Smith, eds., *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks, 1900–1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

empire, the study of teachers offers a particularly fruitful entry into a transnational approach that sheds light on the complex interactions that existed on the ground. Given the plethora of scholarship focusing on the British Empire, here I explore scholarship primarily on the French Empire highlighting how empirical studies and the mining of specific types of sources have produced scholarship with an increasingly transnational perspective.

For over a decade, my own scholarship has looked at teachers who left the French metropole to set up schools in the colonies or elsewhere. Inspired by scholarship on the British Empire, and particularly that of Catherine Hall, I have called attention in historiographic essays and in empirical studies for the need to look carefully at traveling teachers—the enterprising schoolteachers and particularly the women religious who set up schools for girls around the world.²⁵ In my book *From the Salon to the Schoolroom* (2005), I devoted a final chapter to the laywomen and especially the teaching sisters who contributed to the French “civilizing mission,” exploring the characteristics of “French” schools on foreign soils and charting their evolution over time.²⁶ I did not use the term “transnational” in my book; rather, I sought to analyze the characteristics of what I termed a “French model of girls’ education” in its interactions with other national and cultural traditions. In the course of the nineteenth century, teachers carried this model with them to northern and sub-Saharan Africa but also to Britain and the USA. In these very different settings, teachers wrote about their “civilizing” goals in letters and bulletins, revealing successes and failures as well as the reorientation of their pedagogical mission once in contact with the ethnically and religiously diverse populations they encountered. Although postcolonial studies framed my thinking to some extent, my focus was less on the dynamics of empire than on the long-term effects of expatriation, both on teachers and their schools. Indeed, I positioned my investigation of French schools outside the metropole as one of cultural encounters,

²⁵Rebecca Rogers, “Questioning National Models: The History of Women Teachers in Comparative Perspective” (Paper, International Federation for Research in Women’s History Conference, Sydney, July 9, 2005); Rebecca Rogers, “Paedagogica Historica: Trendsetter or Follower?” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 6 (2014): 717–736.

²⁶Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005).

emphasizing the way people and educational ideas change through the experience of travel and interactions with other cultures.²⁷

The research for this final chapter of my book of 2005 drew particular attention to Catholic teaching sisters and to their extensive private archives, which historians of modern French education have long neglected. Catholic teaching religious, like Protestant missionaries, left ample traces of their encounters with the “indigenous” other, and these sources have proven particularly stimulating for historians such as Deirdre Raftery in Ireland or Marc Depaepe in Belgium, seeking to unveil the transnational and imperial dimension of the educational mission.²⁸ In the interest of furthering our own transnational discussion, I focus here on scholarship relating to the French Empire, which is often less well known than that concerning the British Empire. In particular, I highlight how attention to traveling teachers has introduced new perspectives within the history of education and empire, while also drawing attention to source materials that remain insufficiently explored. By tracking the agents who connect different school or pedagogical cultures, scholars have shown how teaching methods and schoolbooks moved from metropole to colony, how ideas about class, gender, and racial difference were modified through the experience of empire, or how teachers themselves changed their attitudes in response to their contact with indigenous populations.

Missionary teachers are obvious actors with whom to begin an exploration anchored in the sorts of questions that interest transnational historians. Fueled by the desire to “civilize” indigenous populations, missionaries set up schools, wrote textbooks, learned native languages, and at times went native themselves, shedding their European clothes and habits. But they also circulated within and among colonies, and shipped descriptions of their experiences back home. In France, the imperial educational mission of Catholic women religious has received relatively

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Deirdre Raftery, “Teaching Sisters and Transnational Networks: Recruitment and Education Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century,” *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 717–728; Raftery and Clarke, eds., *Transnationalism*; Marc Depaepe, “Writing Histories of Congolese Colonial and Post-colonial Education: A Historiographical View from Belgium,” in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 41–60.

little attention despite the numbers involved and the rich sources that have survived. The existing scholarship rarely positions itself in terms of the transnational, and yet its insights and its methods clearly contribute to a better understanding of the existence of an imperial flow of people, resources, and pedagogical ideas. As Sarah Curtis has recently argued, historians would be well advised to consider the Sisters of the Sacred Heart alongside the *Alliance Française* when considering how the French Third Republic sought to spread knowledge of French culture and language.²⁹ Historians of education have studied the development of French convent schools in the USA, but these studies eschew some of the difficult questions of the transnational approach by focusing on adaptations within the USA, without considering how contacts with the French home institution developed and changed over time. Nor do these studies take seriously what an “imperial” perspective might yield in terms of thinking about the relationship between France and the USA or Canada.

The recent publication of French missionary texts offers scholars the opportunity to pursue such questions about how French religious teachers viewed their mission in a variety of geographical settings, and how this vision changed over time. The anthologies published by GRIEM (*Groupe de Recherches sur l'Écriture Missionnaire*; Research Group on Missionary Writings), founded in 2001, offer easy access to a wealth of sources from religious archives that highlight the dynamic nature of cultural interactions depending on location and the populations encountered. Letters sent back to the Mother House, house journals describing the tribulations of setting up schools in foreign lands, as well as prospectuses from these schools, all shed light on the challenges nuns faced in their efforts to educate both indigenous and European students.³⁰ These sources also highlight the need to meld approaches that think in terms of large-scale phenomena (the organization of the civilizing mission) with

²⁹Sarah Curtis, “The Double Invisibility of Missionary Sisters,” *Journal of Women's History* 28, no. 4 (2016): 134–143.

³⁰Patrick Cabanel, ed., *Lettres d'exil, 1901–1909: Les congrégations françaises dans le monde après les lois laïques de 1901 et 1904, Anthologie de textes missionnaires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Chantal Paisant, ed., *Philippine Duchesne et ses compagnes: Les années pionnières, 1818–1823: Lettres et journaux des premières missionnaires du Sacré-Cœur aux États-Unis* (Paris: Cerf, 2011); Chantal Paisant, ed., *La mission au féminin: Anthologie de textes missionnaires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

those that examine at the local level how individuals interacted within communities, within schools, and within the classroom. In other words, the transnational approach requires historians of education both to think big and to think little if they want to move beyond the declaration that teachers carry with them ideas about education and schooling forged within a specific pedagogical context. What happened when their travels brought them into contact with other schooling contexts? How were educational objectives modified?

This is in essence what I sought to discover in the biography I wrote about Eugénie Luce, the woman who founded the first school for Muslim girls in Algiers in 1845.³¹ While positioning her initiative within the framework of what French Saint-Simonian military officers were seeking to do in Algeria, I examined at the micro-level the nature of the school she established and its evolution over time. It would be stretching the truth to claim that I saw my project as a contribution to a discussion about transnational history. Indeed, the term “transnational” only appears twice in my book—once in the introduction in reference to transnational discussions about girls’ education in Algeria and once in the conclusion in reference to the transnational feminist movement (nor does the term appear in the index). And yet I believe my approach speaks to the objectives of those who advocate a transnational approach.

To begin with, I drew on my knowledge of French primary schooling in the early nineteenth century to show how Luce used ideas forged through her experience teaching in a girls’ school in the provinces, with her acquired knowledge of the gendered cultural landscape in Algiers. In order to open her school, she drew heavily on her Saint-Simonian as well as pedagogical networks, borrowing both money and savoir faire from the two. She then founded a school whose structure and program incorporated features of a French primary school with the imperial civilizing objectives of her Saint-Simonian correspondents. Concretely, this meant she taught girls to read, write, and do arithmetic, while also introducing the study of Arabic and religious lessons from the Qur’an (taught by a female Arabic speaker). The school included lessons in needlework and embroidery—the former a mainstay of French primary schools—but from the outset these lessons had both an economic justification and an

³¹Rebecca Rogers, *A Frenchwoman’s Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

artistic justification that clearly spoke to a Saint-Simonian vision of progress through an educational experience that would allow girls to engage afterward in productive work. This position only emerged in professional schools for girls in France twenty years later. Because Luce associated school learning with productive work, she also set up savings accounts for students where she deposited the sales of their needlework, a practice that historians of education associate with Third Republic reforms. The needlework was put on show in prize-giving ceremonies (like in France) but also in universal exhibitions, where she attracted international attention, particularly from British women tourists who publicized widely both her school and the embroideries produced within it. The school itself attracted over 100 pupils and adopted the monitorial method common in large primary schools for the poor throughout the world.³²

My analysis of this school for Muslim girls situates it within a discussion about the education of the poor that spanned not only the Mediterranean but also the Channel. In studying the move from metropole to colony, I was not only influenced by the work of Catherine Hall and others, but also no doubt by the effects of my own lived experience within different institutional and national school cultures. An historian born in the USA and trained in both USA and French universities, I have now taught for over twenty years in France. The transnational approach undoubtedly holds special appeal for someone who continuously questions the specificity of national learning cultures.

The decision to pursue the traces of Luce's schools in a broader, more international setting, notably in British guidebooks, travel literature and feminist journals, in international and colonial exhibitions, and in museum collections, reflects both this personal experience and the effects of the transnational "turn" that led me to engage with new primary sources and a different set of historiographic discussions. Colonial Algeria becomes in my book the site of multiple educational conversations, between French men and women, between Saint-Simonian progressives and Arab traditionalists, between French women teachers and British feminists, but also between Anglophone and Francophone scholars of empire. Tracing these conversations revealed a history that

³²Marcelo Caruso, ed., *Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the 19th Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015).

had never been told, a history that was considerably more complex than what appears in the colonial archive.

Schooling the Indigenous “Other”: The Effects of Transnational Experiences and Conversations

Scholarship on the history of education in imperial settings has revealed the tremendous variety of schools established by Western educators: schools that targeted only Western pupils, schools that mixed Western and indigenous students, as well as schools directed toward specific categories of the “indigenous” other: Jewish or Muslim students, Arabs or Berbers, elites or the poor, boys or girls, orphans or mixed-race children. Often only careful examination of a variety of sources reveals who exactly is being taught what. Official reports about Luce’s school, for example, only referred to “Muslim” or “Moorish” girls, and yet travelers as well as inspectors noted a far broader diversity. Jewish, Berber, and Arab pupils all mingled together and at times learned French not only from their French schoolteachers but also from their European peers within the school, notably Luce’s granddaughter. The knowledge that girls from different ethnic and religious backgrounds studied, conversed, and worked together within the schoolroom contributes texture to a historiographic orientation that emphasizes colonial Algeria as a “*monde de contact*” [contact world]. In France, however, the entangled history of Algeria is not conceptualized as transnational, no doubt in part because the populations in contact are not “national.” And yet it may indeed be useful to term these analyses “transnational” as a way of encouraging intellectual dialogue across the many disciplinary, institutional, and national borders that characterize our academic lives.

In the following, I want to suggest how transnational experiences and conversations, both past and present, open up new perspectives on the schooling of indigenous students. By emphasizing the *past and present*, I am deliberately highlighting the existence of transnational sites of exchange that merit our historical attention, but also our present-day dialogues, most notably within an international journal such as *Paedagogica Historica*, or in the conferences of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education, which have done so much to bring together historians from around the world. In closing, then, I wish to turn first to a specific geographic space (the Ottoman Empire), then to a specific category of teacher (Jewish teachers from the

Alliance Israélite Universelle), and finally to the role of congresses and world fairs as sites or objects of study where transnational perspectives yield rich insights.

This is particularly evident in scholarship on the Ottoman Empire where the complexity of educational interactions has increasingly attracted historians of education seeking to move beyond a national framework. Europeanists such as myself, however, have often ignored this scholarship, having neither the language skills nor the opportunity to discover what is being done, except perhaps when the studies concern the margins of the Ottoman Empire within Europe.³³ In many ways, the call for more transnational approaches has had a stimulating effect on our scholarly conversations, as the recent publication *Connecting Histories of Education* illustrates.³⁴ Similarly, an edited collection on the “entangled education” of Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon has brought to light the importance of pushing specialists of Jewish, Muslim, or Christian missionary education to dialogue more with each other, revealing in the process the complexity of educational encounters in imperial settings.³⁵ Studies, notably on the part of art historians or architectural historians paying careful attention to local usages of educational space, have also revealed how a transnational approach brings to light new questions and renews our understanding of the way “foreign” schools altered the educational landscape for a wide range of “indigenous” students.³⁶ The imperial classroom, as Benjamin Fortna has argued, was the product of a series of negotiations between a reforming bureaucracy, private actors, and religious and secular elites. And these negotiations played themselves

³³Krassimira Daskalova, “Nation-Building, Patriotism, and Women’s Citizenship, Bulgaria in Southeastern Europe,” in *Girls Secondary Education in the Western World*, ed. James Albisetti, Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 149–164; Fabio Giomi, “Forging Habsburg Muslim Girls: Gender, Education and Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918),” *History of Education* 44, no. 3 (2015): 274–292.

³⁴Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere, eds., *Connecting Histories*.

³⁵Julia Hauser, Christine B. Lindner, and Esther Möller, eds., *Entangled Education: Foreign and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19th–20th Centuries)* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2016).

³⁶Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830–1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

out in architectural space, in school materials, and in the organization and representation of school time.³⁷

For historians interested in this sort of social and cultural complexity, the archives of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU) are a particularly promising place to pursue educational interaction through a transnational perspective. Founded in Paris in 1860, the AIU's goal was to spread "modern" education to Jews in the Middle East and southeastern Europe. A network of both boys' and girls' schools quickly developed in these areas with teachers initially recruited in Paris and then, increasingly from the schools established within various parts of the Ottoman or French Empire. Annual reports from the French AIU and the Anglo-Jewish Association (founded in London in 1871), combined with the extensive correspondence from teachers back to the French central committee, shed light on why schools were opened in certain localities, the nature of local interactions, the architectural characteristics of the school environment, the variety of educational programs established, including vocational education, and the diversity of the student clientele. In Ottoman Iraq, for example, the girls' school in Baghdad educated Muslim, Christian, and Jewish girls and was prominent in the development of vocational schooling, thus contributing to the emergence of a new modern Jewish woman.³⁸ Aron Rodrigue's pathbreaking scholarship on the politics of Jewish schooling in Turkey, while not framed within a transnational perspective, offers precisely the sort of nuanced analysis about the ways French models of schooling were instituted and then altered within the context of the Ottoman Empire that scholars have begun to explore more intently.³⁹

³⁷ Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³⁸ Jonathan Sciarcon, *Educational Oases in the Desert: The Alliance Israélite Universelle's Girls' Schools in Ottoman Iraq, 1895–1915* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017).

³⁹ Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Frances Malino, "'Institutrices' in the Metropole and the Maghreb: A Comparative Perspective," *Historical Reflections* 32, no. 1 (2006): 129–143; Joy Land, "Corresponding Women: Female Educators of the 'Alliance Israélite Universelle' (AIU) in Tunisia, 1882–1914," in *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, ed. Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 239–256.

If the traveling teachers of the AIU offer particularly promising perspectives, recent historical scholarship has pointed to the way travel and international congresses contributed to forging knowledge about the empire, with specific repercussions for the ways (national) teachers and administrators approached the schooling of indigenous others. Colonial congresses, for example, provided a transnational space where administrators, teachers, scholars, and politicians forged analytical categories with implications for educational policy decisions. These spaces were unquestionably political and went beyond the intellectual exchange of ideas. Indeed, the actors involved frequently used them to pursue national strategies (much as the PISA evaluations today fuel national reforms). This is the argument Pierre Singaravélou develops when considering the creation of the *Institut colonial international* in Brussels in 1894.⁴⁰ The institute defined its role as providing expertise for colonial administrations while facilitating transnational exchange among scholars, politicians, and high-ranking administrators. The French representatives in this transnational space were liberals with respect to colonization in France and used the expertise generated in Brussels to defend the development of courses in “comparative colonization”; these same courses offered intellectual justification for their political and especially economic interests. Singaravélou’s scholarship focuses on the intellectual and political construction of French colonial expertise, and offers another way to conceptualize how the transnational fashioned attitudes toward the indigenous “other.” Universal or colonial exhibitions were another site of international interaction where a transnational approach sheds light on the way education and empire were intertwined as nations jockeyed for recognition on the world stage, although for the moment not much scholarship on the subject exists.⁴¹

My own work, framed by decades of conversations within the fields of women’s and gender history as well as the history of education, has been more interested in seeing how the imperial project played out on the ground. Let me return once more to the example of Luce’s school in Algiers. The French colonial archives in Aix-en-Provence offered one

⁴⁰Pierre Singaravélou, “Les stratégies d’internationalisation du débat colonial et la construction transnationale d’une science de la colonisation à la fin du XIXe siècle,” *Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations* 1 (2012): 135–157.

⁴¹Martin Lawn, ed., *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and the Materiality of Education* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009).

perspective on how the colonial authorities envisioned her school, as well as insights into the way she positioned her school with respect to the Saint-Simonian program in Algeria. My story might have ended there, offering a case study of how gender structured the early years of the French “civilizing mission.” My discovery of the British feminist interest in Luce and her school, however, pushed my project in a direction that highlighted the fruitfulness of transnational approaches (even when not named as such), not only in terms of rendering the historical narrative more complex but also in terms of offering another reading of the educational past.

Briefly put, British feminists saw Luce as a heroine, combating the misogynistic prejudices of the French colonial administration and the local Arab notables. They noted with regret the closure of the school in 1861 after sixteen years of existence, but praised nonetheless the continuing practice of training girls in embroidery. While the French colonial archives contain virtually nothing about Luce’s sewing workshop after 1861, British guidebooks and British feminists continued to guide English-speaking tourists to her door and to praise the ways she trained girls to earn a living. Their way of “seeing” her, conditioned by their own national struggle to improve the professional lives of women, changed my own view of her school’s history.⁴² In other words, their vision allowed *me* to see differently, to deconstruct the message of the colonial archive, and to consider the products of her school—both the embroideries and the emergence of skilled female artisanal workers—in a different light. The transnational gaze of my historical objects led me to question my own gaze, trained within a French history of education community that has privileged studying the acquisition of language over the acquisition of skills.

Conclusion

The challenges of defining the transnational are not easy to resolve, particularly when the transnational refrains from “speaking its own name.” Although I began with a brief discussion of British imperialism, the sheer extent of scholarship on the relationship between empire, the transnational, and the global renders it daunting for a specialist of France to

⁴²Rebecca Rogers, “Telling Stories about the Colonies: British and French Women in Algeria in the 19th Century,” *Gender and History* 21, no. 1 (2009): 39–59.

enter the discussion with any confidence, even if one reduces one's gaze to scholarship focused on education. In re-reading my own scholarship, I have argued in essence that the transnational represents more a posture than a methodological approach, one that addresses a series of issues that encourage us to look beyond and between nationally defined borders, as well as to question how "national" archives can constrain the questions one raises. It is also an invitation to participate in a certain type of scholarly discussion.

Pierre-Yves Saunier has argued that the transnational approach addresses three big issues: the historicization of contacts between communities, polities, and societies; the acknowledgment and assessment of foreign contributions to the design, discussion, and implementation of domestic features within communities and vice versa; and attention to trends, patterns, organizations, and individuals that have thrived in between, across, and through polities and societies. He distinguishes this approach from global history as defined in the *Journal of Global History* as "the main problems of global change over time, together with the diverse histories of globalization."⁴³ This characterization, while useful, describes scholarship that often thrives in other guises such as in studies of the AIU teachers.

In considering the history of education through the lens of empire, the transnational approach clearly offers a way to render more complex narratives of dominance and resistance through attention to the workings of colonial schools, an attention that is sensitive to the hierarchies that underwrote the imperial project in terms of class, race, and gender.⁴⁴ As I have sought to demonstrate, however, the interest in disrupting the binary narratives of imperial conquest did not wait for the transnational turn to make its appearance. Ultimately, this suggests that we, as historians, see and label what is familiar and acknowledged in and by our institutional and national positionings. Our perspectives are anchored within constructions of knowledge that are specific to time and place. The transnational, like the global, is an incentive to move beyond this positioning. To this extent, I would argue that it represents a "way of seeing" far more than a specific set of methodological tools. And, as others have argued, it

⁴³Saunier, *Transnational History*, 3.

⁴⁴Christopher Bayly et al., "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–1464.

draws on the insights of a long history of scholarship framed in other guises. This mitigates the usefulness of a term that often appears more like a nod to what is currently fashionable. And yet in acknowledging the decentering perspective of such an approach, it encourages historians of education to more directly question narratives of education and modernity that structured the nineteenth-century civilizing mission, or twentieth-century modernization and human capital theories. To this extent, it challenges us to think beyond the empire, to acknowledge the existence of competing empires, and to question our own national positioning with respect to these questions.

Bibliography

- Allender, Tim. *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820–1932*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds. *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-) Colonial Education*. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Barthélémy, Pascale. “L’enseignement dans l’Empire colonial français: Une vieille histoire?” *Histoire de l’éducation* 128 (2010): 5–28.
- Bayly, Christopher, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed. “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History.” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–1464.
- Blum, Françoise. “Sénégal 1968: Révolte étudiante et grève générale.” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 59, no. 2 (2012): 144–177.
- Boyer, Gilles, Pascal Clerc, and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel. “Introduction.” In *L’école aux colonies: Les colonies à l’éducation*, edited by Gilles Boyer, Pascal Clerc, and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, 5–10. Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2013.
- Burton, Antoinette. “Getting Outside of the Global: Repositioning British Imperialism in World History.” In *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism*, edited by Antoinette Burton, 275–292. Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Cabanel, Patrick, ed. *Lettres d’exil, 1901–1909: Les congrégations françaises dans le monde après les lois laïques de 1901 et 1904, Anthologie de textes missionnaires*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- Caruso, Marcelo, ed. *Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the 19th Century*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015.
- Çelik, Zeynep. *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830–1914*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Clancy Smith, Julia. *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c. 1800–1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

- Curtis, Sarah. "The Double Invisibility of Missionary Sisters." *Journal of Women's History* 28, no. 4 (2016): 134–143.
- Daskalova, Krassimira. "Nation-Building, Patriotism, and Women's Citizenship, Bulgaria in Southeastern Europe." In *Girls Secondary Education in the Western World*, edited by James Albisetti, Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers, 149–164. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Depaepe, Marc. "Writing Histories of Congolese Colonial and Post-colonial Education: A Historiographical View from Belgium." In *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 41–60. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Fitzgerald, Tanya, and Elisabeth M. Smith, eds. *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks, 1900–1960*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Fortna, Benjamin. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Gioni, Fabio. "Forging Habsburg Muslim Girls: Gender, Education and Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918)." *History of Education* 44, no. 3 (2015): 274–292.
- Goodman, Joyce. "'Their Market Value Must Be Greater for the Experience They Had Gained': Secondary School Headmistresses and Empire, 1897–1914." In *Gender, Colonialism and Education: The Political Experience of Education*, edited by Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin, 175–198. London: Woburn 2002.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Women and International Intellectual Co-operation." *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 3 (2012): 357–368.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Working for Change across International Borders: The Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 1 (2007): 165–180.
- Goodman, Joyce, and Zoe Milsom. "Performing Reforming and the Category of Age: Empire, Internationalism and Transnationalism in the Career of Reta Oldham, Headmistress." In *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks, 1900–1960*, edited by Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Smyth, 96–120. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Goodman, Joyce, Gary McCulloch, and William Richardson. "'Empires Overseas' and 'Empires at Home': Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education." *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 695–706.
- Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Hall, Catherine. "Missionary Stories: Gender and Ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s." In *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in*

- Feminism and History*, edited by Catherine Hall, 205–254. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Hall, Catherine, and Sonya Rose, eds. *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Hauser, Julia, Christine B. Lindner, and Esther Möller, eds. *Entangled Education: Foreign and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19th–20th Centuries)*. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2016.
- Iriye, Akira. *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present and Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Iriye, Akira, and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Lambert, David, and Alan Lester, eds. *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careerism in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Land, Joy. “Corresponding Women: Female Educators of the ‘Alliance Israélite Universelle’ (AIU) in Tunisia, 1882–1914.” In *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, edited by Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter, 239–256. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Lawn, Martin, ed. *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and the Materiality of Education*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009.
- Malino, Frances. “‘Institutrices’ in the Metropole and the Maghreb: A Comparative Perspective.” *Historical Reflections* 32, no. 1 (2006): 129–143.
- Maurel, Chloé. *Manuel d’histoire globale: Comprendre le ‘global turn’ des sciences humaines*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2014.
- Nóvoa, Antonio. “Endnote.” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 817–821.
- Ossenbach, Gabriela, and María Del Mar del Pozo Andrés, eds. “Lost Empires, Regained Nations: Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America (1870–1970).” Special issue. *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–717.
- Ossenbach, Gabriela, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés. “Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda.” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579–600.
- Paisant, Chantal, ed. *La mission au féminin: Anthologie de textes missionnaires*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Paisant, Chantal, ed. *Philippine Duchesne et ses compagnes: Les années pionnières, 1818–1823: Lettres et journaux des premières missionnaires du Sacré-Cœur aux Etats-Unis*. Paris: Cerf, 2011.
- Raftery, Deirdre. “From Kerry to Katong: Transnational Influences in Convent and Novitiate Life for the Sisters of the Infant Jesus, c. 1908–1950.” In *Education, Identity and Women Religious, 1800–1950: Convents, Classrooms*

- and *Colleges*, edited by Deirdre Raftery and Elizabeth Smyth, 31–43. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Raftery, Deirdre. “Teaching Sisters and Transnational Networks: Recruitment and Education Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century.” *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 717–728.
- Raftery, Deirdre, and Mary Clarke, eds. *Transnationalism, Gender and the History of Education*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Rodrigue, Aron. *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Rogers, Rebecca. “Congregações femininas e difusão de um modelo escolar: Uma história transnacional.” *Pro-Posições* 25, no. 1 (2014): 55–74.
- Rogers, Rebecca. *A Frenchwoman’s Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Rogers, Rebecca. *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France*. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005.
- Rogers, Rebecca. “Paedagogica Historica: Trendsetter or Follower?” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 6 (2014): 717–736.
- Rogers, Rebecca. “Questioning National Models: The History of Women Teachers in Comparative Perspective.” Paper presented at the International Federation for Research in Women’s History Conference, Sydney, July 9, 2005.
- Rogers, Rebecca. “Telling Stories about the Colonies: British and French Women in Algeria in the 19th Century.” *Gender and History* 21, no. 1 (2009): 39–59.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. *Transnational History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Sciarcon, Jonathan. *Educational Oases in the Desert: The Alliance Israélite Universelle’s Girls’ Schools in Ottoman Iraq, 1895–1915*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017.
- Seigel, Micol. “Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn.” *Radical History Review* 91 (2005): 62–90.
- Singaravélou, Pierre. “Les stratégies d’internationalisation du débat colonial et la construction transnationale d’une science de la colonisation à la fin du XIXe siècle.” *Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations* 1 (2012): 135–157.
- Sobe, Noah W. “Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education.” In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 93–107. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.



Transnationalism and the Engagement of Empire: Precursors of the Postcolonial World

Tim Allender

In the past decade, scholars have come to look anew at the artificial dichotomies that have shaped theorization regarding transnationalism: where the colonial compared to the postcolonial world were formerly seen as two separate parts. This earlier separate approach was particularly apparent in studies concerning “non-white” former colonies in Africa and Asia, which generated separate theoretical repertoires in research. These repertoires were then unwittingly delineated further by academics working on transnational compared to earlier metropole/colonial themes. “Transnational,” in essence, became synonymous with modernity and postcolonialism: where former colonies, as a signifier of their new status as independent nations, were now able to contribute to the free-flow of ideas and practices that inhabited an apparently suddenly globalized world.

This chapter challenges this assertion and sees the concept of “transnationalism” as not being dependent on the formation of the

T. Allender (✉)
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Sydney,
Sydney, NSW, Australia
e-mail: tim.allender@sydney.edu.au

© The Author(s) 2019
E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History
of Education*, Global Histories of Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_5

modern nation-state or even a putative universal understanding of what modernity might mean. Rather, the chapter argues transnationalism crosses many boundaries regarding theory, geographical region, and in terms of time periods and power plays. I argue transnationalism, as a concept, is really examined by scholars in different ways depending on which accepted center or centers are of interest to them, and on the particular scholastic geographies that are being analyzed. The scholar is also part of this subjectivity, selectively drawing on several dimensions of interactivity that are determined in different ways depending on which domain is being studied.

To illustrate the importance of this specificity, I look more closely at the subcontinent and its long history of transnationalism. This region is understood not only by specific archival research and a different past, but also by specific postcolonial theorization that has been developed with special applicability to this part of the world.

A Colony Becoming a Nation

Regarding postcolonialism more generally, seeing a simple dividing line between a “colony” and a “nation” was understandably alluring in the middle of the twentieth century. The bitter and fresh political struggles in Asia and Africa to win freedom from the colonial yoke misleadingly reinforced the idea of rupture with earlier practices and ideas that had flowed across former colonial boundaries. Furthermore, this separateness between the pre- and postcolonial world was strengthened as former colonies were often wracked with civil unrest, if not racially inspired violence, as new nation-states were established. The histories of their “modern” transnational relations appeared to have little to do with their respective colonial pasts.

There was other rawness as well that accentuated the boundary between the colonial and the transnational world. This was from the perspective of the colonizer. The emotional wrench felt in earlier European-based metropolises, particularly Britain, was strong. Quite apart from the remnant hubris associated with directing an empire, colonial influence referenced strong cultural and social spaces in Britain that went back more than three centuries.¹ As well, “Britishness” was only slowly redefined as the tide went

¹Catherine Hall, *At Home with the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

out with the retreat of empire.² Each former colonial domain added differently to this story of relinquishment. As far as the end of the British raj was concerned, part of its contribution in this process of disengagement was expatriate mixed-European racial groups, such as de-favored Eurasians, anxiously seeking a new life and future in England. This was away from the cold limitations for them offered by a Nehruvian India, much less a Muslim-centered Pakistan and East Pakistan, or a remote Burma and Sri Lanka.³ Furthermore, the paradigm of modernity was partly a story of reconciling or covering over these ruptures, which were seen to be of solely colonial causation and therefore only battles of a rejected past.

There were theoretical consequences in this overly simplified story of contrasts between the colonial and the “modern” world. The scenario of linkages between the transnational, modernity and postcolonialism offered, by implication, a corrupted picture of an earlier separately perceived colonial scene. False dawns emerged in colonial scholarship that posited center (metropole)-periphery (colony) paradigms of interchange that seemed to best examine the colonial era, but without admitting much possibility for more multidimensionality and counterflows in this interchange or much linkage to the independence era.

However, in the past decade or so there has been some good news in finding new ways to deepen our understanding about when “transnational” phenomena are in play and when they are not, and how to theorize about both cases. Partly in response to the earlier academic impasse to which I have referred, new theorization (some of which will be examined below) has emerged that has opened up new ways to analyze the “transnational”: seeing it as a phenomenon that is operative in both colonial and postcolonial settings and even flowing across both settings. In short, this theorization blurs the former dichotomous boundary whereby historians have earlier understood a separateness of “transnational” versus “colonial” practices of transmission. Furthermore, mostly local, non-Western (usually former colonial) domains have been generative of new approaches on this key question, coming as they do from the vantage point of knowing what is authentically local and specific to their domain, compared to when outside forces have come into play.

²Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre, eds., *Britisness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007).

³This was even though Eurasians were recognized in the 1947 Indian constitution.

Asia, the Transnational and the “Modern”

Before continuing, further choices need to be made as to which local domain is being scrutinized so to get closer to what the phenomenon of transnational really means and to better understand how this concept engages differently with history in particular domains. When considering Asia in this particular frame, new configurations have come about largely through questioning the Western delineation of “modernity” itself and its associated valorizing of the “rational and secular” over the spiritual and religious. Innovative scholarship at the meta-level regarding India specifically, and Asia generally, sets up the scenario of a shifting scene of “across the border” interaction without much mindfulness about stereotyped differences in the colonial and postcolonial past.

For example, in the late 1990s, the economic historian André Gunder Frank saw European domination of Asia as merely a 300-year interlude where now, and in much earlier times, economic-power relations were reversed in favor of a normalized Asian global hegemony.⁴ On another tack, Dipesh Chakrabarty takes issue with conceptions of modernity that are dependent on the legacy of the European Enlightenment, particularly as these conceptions are unconsciously applied by scholars “... to lands far away from Europe in geography and history.”⁵ Even in Europe, María Rosa Menocal points to rich interchanges in literature and science in the medieval period, well before the Italian Renaissance three hundred years later.⁶

More than this, and specifically about the subcontinent, academics such as Ananta Kumar Giri prefer to talk about powerful “lineages of interaction” that characterize alternative transnational pathways (nested within communities involved in cross-religious trade) in history that were well-entrenched before the ascendancy of the British.⁷ Even in the

⁴André Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

⁵Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

⁶María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (London: Back Bay Books, 2002).

⁷Ananta Kumar Giri, “Within and Beyond Lineages of History: Transpositional Border Crossing of Roots and Routes, Multi-topial Hermeneutics and the Challenges of Planetary Realizations” (keynote address, Conference India Looking East: Lineages of Interactions, Southeast Asia and East Asia, Calcutta University, January 19, 2017).

heyday of the British Empire, Lakshmi Subramanian sees another phenomenon at work: the activities of newspaper editors and a rising print culture in India in constructing “Indian-ness,” beyond the Indian land-mass, by writing about transnational Indian cultural practices “overseas” in foreign lands.⁸

Furthermore, Chakrabarty tellingly reminds Western scholars that in their “aggressively secular academic discourse” (no doubt in the rush to guiltily decry Western-inspired colonialism) they struggle with analytic categories that do justice to the “real, everyday, and multiple connections” in countries such as India. These interactions are best viewed, he argues, as non-rational, and he suggests deficient Western studies on India’s modernity lack an understanding of its emotional and spiritual dimensions of knowing that had long been established well before independence in 1947. Additionally, rather than seeing India as “modern” today, warts and all, there is a flawed belief among Western postcolonial scholars that colonialism itself “stopped India from being ‘modern.’”⁹

What is significant here is that if the restricted and flawed views from the West are the only ones accepted, then there is little scope to see continuities with past influences on the subcontinent. A broader view and new conceptualizations are needed so as to better understand and contextualize the current mix of Indian cultures, religions, and governmental practices as these relate to transnationalism and the outside world.

Taking the focus away from Western foundational reasoning about the colonial and the modern transnational world comes from other theoretical and disciplinary angles as well. These angles are mostly unrelated to the economic history and philosophical historical traditions that Gunder Frank and Chakrabarty occupy. The work of sociologist Raewyn Connell in her excavation of the *Global South* also has implications for the inter-relatedness between the transnational and conceptions of modernity as the West understands these terms.¹⁰ She posits a postcolonial world,

⁸Lakshmi Subramanian, “Tamils and Greater India: Some Issues of Connected Histories,” *Cultural Dynamics* 24, nos. 2–3 (2012): 159–174.

⁹Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*, 28.

¹⁰Raewyn Connell, *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2007).

away from “metropolitan [Western] hegemonic knowledge” (aided and abetted by internet communication). This is where separate and different academic domains are engaged by indigenous and other local thinkers, to explain the modern world in alternative ways from their vantage points in non-Western settings that often do not see colonial rule as paradigmatic in a much longer story of regional histories.

Additionally, much could be said here about powerful subaltern scholarship, whose theoretical brilliance was at its high point in the late 1980s through to the mid-1990s. These scholars took the European colonizer mostly out of the story and his (only the male pronoun) text was dissected to discover the hidden voices of the oppressed, building richer stories of their life experiences, through still largely anonymous groupings of broader categorization.¹¹ These deeper and structural processes of control and oppression flow over to the national scene today, albeit with largely Indian elites now driving them.

In short, these alternative studies indicate that the formal cutting of the imperial tie, from a theoretical perspective, no longer may be a wholly logical place to mark a beginning modernity and transnationalism, at least as these terms relate to Asia and particularly India. This is even though the Western conception of “modernity” was formerly seen as a solid setting for transnational models of inquiry. For the historian of education, these are unsettling yet tantalizing undercurrents for those wishing to dissect transnationalism as a previously unproblematized academic enterprise. The new theoretical developments now allow for the recovery of trajectories and innovation within the colonial sphere, and allow for new analysis in the way transnationalism operates as a phenomenon in a global world that recently seems to have begun to turn in on itself with Brexit, Donald Trump, the refugee crisis and the rise of Islamophobia.

¹¹For a deeper reading of the upshot of the subaltern theoretical legacy see Jim Masselos, “The Dis/appearance of Subalterns: A Reading of a Decade of Subaltern Studies,” in *Reading Subaltern Studies: Critical History, Contested Meaning and the Globalization of South Asia*, ed. David Ludden (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 187–212.

Post/Colonial Education in India

As far as the history of education in India is concerned, this is a good place to start as a case in point in re-positioning how transnationalism is viewed and its position in history, even when using Western markers of change over the past 300 years and before. In a conceptual sense, there is a decoupling of transnationalism and modernity, terms that the West has seen as interrelated. Rather, the travel, reception, and adaptation of educational ideas and practices is the theme of my following analysis, and my focus is to partly explain how the precursors and trajectories flowing to and from a putative colonial center might inform new “transnationalism” meanings. Additionally, I argue that transnationalism has always been an active part of India’s many layers of history, of which British colonial rule has been only the penultimate episode, and post-1947 the last.

In fact, the layering, the overlapping, and the episodic nature of educational developments on the subcontinent, as they have connected with the global world, were probably at their most dynamic as sites of experimentation with cross-border input in the colonial era, even within the limited remit of the raj. As it turned out, such innovation was mostly not for the good of its local recipients, yet it was still transnational. There was very active racial, class, and gender exclusion operative in this era. Furthermore, there was limited application on the ground beyond the rising rhetoric and discourse that this transnational intervention sponsored in the colonial domain and which, internationally, became hallmarks of a growing superficiality and detachment by the end of the colonial era. And any real engagement of such innovation from “outside” the metropole or from other domains abroad probably hastened the departure of the colonial power itself.

However, these largely malignant transnational aspects of colonialism still had a stronger engaging element to them than in the post-1947 independent India era. For example, the imposition of mere Western education speak was directly transposed for a time from the West with the publication of India’s National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986¹² and repeated often afterward. India’s lack of resources and the lower priority given to education in preference to industrialization were partly to

¹²See “Statement made by Minister of Human Resource Development,” 1986/1992, National Council of Education Research and Training, accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.ncert.nic.in/oth_anoun/npe86.pdf.

blame for this mere transferal from the West, as impressive as it might seem for those wishing to attach the label of transnationalism to it.

So, too, could the label of superficiality be applied regarding India's response to World Bank intervention in education and other areas of governance in 1991. Yet it could also be argued that most of the impressive achievements in education after 1991 have been the result of India finding its own way (in reaction to transnationalism) regarding education, despite the crude template "solutions" of the West as a result of the 1991 intervention. In more recent times, impressive rises in literacy rates and the legal consolidation of the Right to Education (RTE)¹³ have really changed the game once more and this because central and state governments have shown greater cognizance of the cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity of India: albeit through the enduring bureaucratic maze and troubling levels of corruption that still prevail.

Consequently, these uneven realities regarding independent India render "transnational" questionable as a deliberative category in the postcolonial world, if an extended frame is not taken that establishes continuities with a lengthier past. Beneath the maelstrom of political debate around communally based independence movements, there are more significant links between the colonial and the postcolonial era which have as their genesis transnational interplay coming first from the colonial and the pre-colonial era. Here, nodal categories of engagement construct shifting epistemologies, sociologies and modes of socialization that are at play, many of which have been contributed to, and sometimes created by, influences from "abroad."

In this sense, the transnational is an operative phenomenon that embroiders but does not direct our understanding of how deeper contours were imposed or reinforced from "outside" by empire but which did not disappear with its departure. As well, non-transnational genesis, also to be illustrated below, created strong contrasts that defined powerful Indian resistance discourse that enlivened the contrast to colonial pretensions presiding over universal civilizing missions.

¹³The Right to Education (RTE) Act, implemented in 2010 in India, makes compulsory elementary education the right of every Indian child between the ages of 6 and 14. Despite problems regarding its implementation, the Act mandates that private schools reserve 25% of their enrolments for children whose parents are unable to pay fees, the cost of which is reimbursed by government.

“Educating” India

As I have already implied, Western constructions in all of this, in terms of establishing what is meant in an authentic sense by “transnational,” is an uncomfortable and enduring concern for the scholar of education in Asia. This is also because, at a theoretical level, there remains little alternative to Western modes of theorization. Even Chakrabarty acknowledges Edward Said’s *Orientalism*¹⁴ as an acceptable thematic entrée and Western scholarship that identifies Western stereotypes about Asian socio-religious and cultural spaces (though mostly apposite to the Middle East). Additionally, Sanjay Seth’s *Lessons from Schools* partly adopts the Western theorization of Max Weber (1989) and Pierre Bourdieu (1991) as the only theorization available to understand the communities of practice and colonial mentalities in raj India as they related to education.¹⁵

However, in more recent scholarship, alternative and different Indian thought contours are apparent, almost as a subtext. For example, there has been recent historical analysis by Indian historians in the early twentieth century,¹⁶ in conflict with each other but on issues separate from the imperial gaze. This work shows that embedded in this mostly Indian-inspired discourse are matters of contest between leading historical Indian figures that reveal alternative, subtextual pathways to the building of a knowledge that are different from those of the West. In this way, work such as this offers alternatives to scholars about how to escape, at least partly, our entanglements with deeply entrenched Western constructions of knowledge.

Yet what if Asian and Indian theorization had been formulated in robust ways to initiate other paradigmatic universes? How might this change our view of the “transnational”? These are important central questions for me. In a sense, after many years immersed and fascinated by the documentary records that I have found in archives around the world, there remains a nagging concern about my Western understanding of them. These documents mostly contain the Western logic known to be part of empires long past, yet I know my theorization built around them is still afflicted by these Western-theory-only shortcomings.

¹⁴Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978).

¹⁵Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹⁶Dipesh Chakrabarty, *The Calling of History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar and His Empire of Truth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Theorizing the Transnational in India and the Genius of Gandhi

Turning to mostly Western-inspired theorization concerning colonial India more directly, scholarship regarding the development of Indian education was given a fortunate head start. In essence, the contest between scholars centered on how they understood broader frames of interaction and transmission. These approaches resulted in fascinating alternative ways of seeing the transnational. Some scholars, led by Krishna Kumar, viewed deeper cultural anchors *inter alia* in this development while others such as Chris Bayly comprehended almost endless possibilities of transnational engagement.

To elaborate a little further, the prescient work of Krishna Kumar's *The Political Agenda of Education*, was nicely provocative in seeing the colonial interlude as scarcely causing a ripple on the longer-term development of educational ideas in India.¹⁷ This, the author claims, was because the subcontinent's deep philosophical, epistemological, and pedagogic traditions from ancient times were not interrupted by the British raj and again remerged in different ways after independence in 1947. While, on the other hand, Chris Bayly responded by seeing the colonial intervention as one of stronger Western engagement with pre-existing Indian political and social orders.¹⁸ Rather than as part of the machismo of British practices of ruling, he viewed this engagement as borne out of the weakness of the British power base itself. In the early nineteenth century, Bayly argued, it was necessary for the encroaching colonial power to gather information about Indians who might, at any instant, determine to resist foreign intervention as would later happen in China and Siam (Thailand). As a result, the so-called Orientalist era (1810–1834) saw profound exchanges of transnational knowledge (mostly among monotheists) occurring between East and West that consciously avoided elevating the knowledge of one side over the other. The opposing work of Kumar and Bayly (and other academics as well,

¹⁷Krishna Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonial Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi: Sage, 1991).

¹⁸Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

including Sumit Sakar¹⁹ and Hayden Bellenoit²⁰) is inescapably engaged by their view of transnationalism and the degree to which they consider it operative in the colonial period. This factor also determined which time frame they most predominantly deployed in their analysis.

Before discussing India's traditional educational past, it is worth making some direct parallels between these theorists and the transnational framing of political activists themselves, who engaged in transnational thought. In fact, resistance leaders against British rule often responded by effectively eschewing the whole Western idea of modernity and transnational transferal as a means of staking out their claim to be better aware of India's future education needs.

The most notable example of this was M. K. Gandhi's Wardha education scheme, which aimed to return learning to the village as in ancient times. Gandhi's vision for education, as a broader fare of rehabilitation and amelioration from the ravages of more recent eras, was based on small cooperative communities and the production of handicrafts and small-scale industries.²¹ It is unclear just how much Gandhi knew of the specifics of the ancient Indian education heritage, at least in the early years of his activism. Part of his work at his Tolstoy Farm and Phoenix Settlement in South Africa was to learn, as a young English-trained lawyer, about the complexities of traditional Indian community living.²² He later faced limitations, too, in his purist approach given the *realpolitik* of Muslims occupying other dominant Indian politicized spaces that needed reconciliation (mostly eventually unsuccessfully with the foundation of Pakistan in 1947) in India's emerging national story. However, his call was to purify Indian education from all transnational perversions encountered in the past 1000 years or so that had upset the community equipoise, earlier achieved through ancient, traditional, Indian learning. To further confound the colonial ethic of transnational and superior Western ethical normalizing in education, he characterized himself as projecting "a mother's

¹⁹Sumit Sarkar, *Writing Social History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²⁰Hayden Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007).

²¹K. S. Bharathi, *The Thoughts of Gandhi and Vinoba: A Comparative Study* (New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal, 1995), 135–136.

²²Robert A. Huttenback, *Gandhi in South Africa* (London: Cornell University Press, 1971), 281–282.

love” when supervising boys and girls as they were living, sleeping, and even bathing together (non-sexually) at close quarters in his ashram.²³

Not all of Gandhi’s fellow nationalists followed him down this radical traditional path regarding education. For example, G. K. Gokhale (Bombay-based, senior leader of the Indian National Congress and founder of the Servants of India Society) pursued unsuccessfully compulsory education in India in 1911, directly referencing moves to achieve this aim a generation earlier at the metropole and in many white colonial domains of empire.²⁴ Yet Gandhi’s “idiosyncratic” ideas, as the British would have it, away from the norms of an imagined global colonial civilizing education mission, were powerful enough to mobilize large sections of the Indian population and provoke Churchill to play into the nationalist cause (at least the sympathizers at Westminster) by dismissing him as a “half-naked fakir.”

Gandhi’s approach was part of the unique and powerful education heritage to which Indians could retreat—probably more so than most other non-white cultural settings under the European colonial ambit. However, beneath the strengthening nationalist cause of the 1920s and 1930s, there were other currents regarding education flowing in the opposite direction. These currents had strong linkages to the outside world. Their transnational histories were not necessarily coterminous with empire, and it is a selected analysis of the histories of both non-transnational and transnational precursors that the rest of this chapter concentrates upon.

Early Indian Epistemological Terrains: Non-transnational Precursors

India’s traditional past and its transnational engagement, regarding education, is briefly mentioned in the next section of the chapter. The examples used are scarcely exhaustive; however, they illustrate some

²³Tiruppur Subrahmanya Avinashilingam, *Gandhiji’s Experiments in Education* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1960), 21. For Hindu beliefs regarding the “right hand” worship of God as “Mother,” favoring spirituality over material prosperity, see Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World: A Psycho-analytic Study of Childhood and Society in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978).

²⁴Bal Ram Nanda, *Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1977).

of the colonial processes of engagement that established precursors for the future, and also where the dynamics of conflicting narratives between traditional and transnational mentalities were also at the center of India's struggle for independence.

Firstly, India's traditional educational space. What is immediately detectable is India's different way of building knowledge coming from its long distant past, which offers an entirely different foundation from which to measure transnational flows in the colonial era. For example, ancient Vedic texts such as the *Puranas* and the thirteenth-century *Gulistan* conflated the teaching of ethics, gardening, cosmology, astronomy, and geography in ways that were quite different to the "subject" ontologies that later organized knowledge in post-Renaissance Europe. These curriculum constellations were also closely related to the strong, religiously based learning traditions of the subcontinent. Furthermore, they represented an Indian capacity to think of parallel knowledge, particularly in fields such as astronomy, which remained a mixture of mythology and empirical research—the latter being well ahead of the "scientific" knowledge in this field held by Renaissance Europe.

There was also the issue of knowledge ownership in traditional India, especially as this ownership related to females. A uniquely Indian development was how the synergy of education and gender was negotiated and how it evolved in terms of who were identified as the traditional custodians of knowledge. Three thousand years ago, pre-Aryan tribal custom permitted matrilineal authority. This was where women as priestesses and clan heads were custodians of religiously based epistemologies. However, in the middle of the first millennium BC, the solidification of class and caste under patriarchal Brahmin authority gradually eroded this status and precluded the development of a women's movement in the following centuries.²⁵ In the Vedic age, but before 1000 B.C., both girls and boys underwent *upanayana* (religious initiation), which entitled them to study Vedic texts.²⁶ These traditions (untrammled by European normalization in any way), lay educational foundations on the subcontinent that ran counter to Western constructions of what was modern, particularly when

²⁵Gail Omvedt, *Feminism and the Women's Movement of India* (Mumbai: SNTD Women's University, 1987), 9–10.

²⁶Partha Mukherji, "Sex and Social Structure," in *Socialisation Education and Women: Explorations in Gender Identity*, ed. Karuna Chanana (New Delhi: Sangam Books, 1988), 35–36.

the British later claimed to be presiding over a civilizing mission that newly educated Indian women.

Even in the later nineteenth century, India's traditional cultural spaces confounded the British colonial power by confusing the raj's constructions of the transnational created within its own ambit. For example, the subordinate position of women seemed to be a shared site of subjugation for Indian as well as Western women in their respective cultures. This could have relayed to both groups of women the possibility of an agreed educational agenda between them as part of a worldwide sisterhood of action, and this to be used to counter British India and nationalist India in the way that both were mostly conducted by men. Yet Western women, even as feminists, still mostly wrote and thought within the frame of empire and of a "superior" West,²⁷ while Indian women were afforded mostly different roles from and by Indian men in the emerging national movement. As a result, Indian feminism in the early twentieth century grew from different cultural precursors to the West. It usually demanded household-based activism in support of nationalist Indian men, compared to European women whose feminism mostly demanded direct equality with European men.²⁸

Of course, a more general point can be made that the education of women and girls (mediating what Pierre Bourdieu might identify as social, cultural, and symbolic capital), remained an ongoing aspect of Indian home life regardless of public patriarchal social roles in the village or the town.²⁹ Perhaps in part recognition of this, William Adam, writing of Indian village education in Bengal in 1836, concluded that male zamindars (landlords), when pursuing wealth and property through a good marriage for their daughters, educated them in writing and accounts so that they might withstand the potential predations of in-laws in the event of an early widowhood.³⁰ These household learning spaces naturally favoured

²⁷ Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

²⁸ Padma Anagol, *The Emergence of Feminism in India, 1850–1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, *Women in the Indian National Movement* (London: Sage, 2006).

²⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 61, 78.

³⁰ William Adam, "Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 and 1838..." repr. in *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 and 1838*, ed. A. Basu (Calcutta: Govt. Printing, 1944).

Indian-only responses to education, deeply related as they were to local food choices, Indian household etiquette, and seclusion practices for females.

Excavating Early Transnational European Interventions

One of the features of early British colonial rule was the discovery of educational transmission from Europe, which was the result of earlier transnational interventions before their arrival on the subcontinent. When Henry Reid and William Arnold in northern India carried out surveys of traditional Indian schools in the late 1840s and early 1850s, it was revealed that many of these schools followed curricula that were recognizable in the West. These curricula may have been shaped by earlier European travelers and scholars even though India's epistemic connections regarding knowledge constituencies (referred to above) were different to anything known in Europe. This commonality was especially apparent regarding the traditional education of poor Muslim girls so they could be employed in elite Hindu households in northern India.³¹

Arnolds and Reid's recognition of the significance of such findings were against the backdrop of the work of Orientalist scholars of a generation earlier, whom they admired. These scholars, including Lancelot Wilkinson, Brian Hodgson, and William Carey, were interested in excavating Indian knowledge through the elite Indian languages of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian and relating this knowledge back to the European experience.³² However, it seemed there was already strong European influence in the foundational education scene in India through channels that had long been lost to these Orientalist scholars in their more academic work that supposed a much stronger earlier separateness between East and West.

One transmission route between East and West, known to the British from the pre-British and early British periods in India, was through early Portuguese Jesuits and other intellectuals. They and later missionaries had engaged with monotheists on the subcontinent in the pre-British

³¹W. Arnold, "Abstract Statement of Female Schools Established in the Punjab in the Year 1857/8," Education [Report], July 31, 1858, nos. 131–158, Punjab Secretariat Archives, Anarkali's Tomb.

³²Lancelot Wilkinson, *A Brief Notice of the Late Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson of the Bombay Civil Service with His Opinions on the Education of Natives of India and on the State of Native Society* (Cornhill: Smith, Elder and Co., 1853).

period, seeing strong connections between the Hindu tradition of *bhakti* (devotion) and the Christian ethic of “fulfilment.”³³ This engagement fostered deeper intellectual exchanges between East and West in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and became a productive avenue for transnational interchange largely detached from broader empire power plays.

Colonial Transnationalism with Legacies for the Future

These early transmission modalities were carried out almost entirely by men. However, an enduring feature of discussion by the 1820s (including Indian luminaries such as Ram Mohan Roy and, a generation later, Keshub Chunder Sen of the *Brahmo Samaj*) was the social position of women. Indian practices such as *sati* (widow burning), caste, and widow isolation were seen as the product of medieval perversions of Ancient Vedic traditions. However, the practices of a Christian Europe, occupying a separate cultural and religious space in this East/West dialogue, were also placed under scrutiny by these expansive Indian thinkers. As part of this tradition, and influenced by European missionaries as well, reforming traditions in the Hindu polity in particular grew in intensity. In reaction to colonial rule, and its clearly flawed idea of a civilizing mission for the subcontinent, Indian reformers knew that to convey a transnational image of acceptable modernity, separate and superior to that of the British, nurtured a strong incentive for reform from within.

In the latter 1880s radical organizations, most particularly the emerging Arya Samaj (led by Gujarati ascetic Dayananda Saraswati and based in northern India), began calling through their educational institutions for an India without the British, but at the same time insisting on an end to child marriage and other Indian “medieval” cultural practices that were not part of the ancient Vedas. However, these organizations, as well as other resistance organizations like them, were keen to keep the teaching of English, not as part of colonial rule, but as part of a prescient realization that this language would be the dominant transnational language of the future. G. K. Gokhale’s Servants of India Society in Poona, and those who founded the Theosophical Society’s national network of schools, also saw strong advantages in selectively keeping part

³³Bellenoit, *Missionary Education*.

of the British legacy in India, if only to build on this legacy without the British so the subcontinent could more easily find its place in the modern world. The appropriation of English in this way as the medium of instruction in schools created a strong trajectory for the independence era in India. In Sri Lanka (Ceylon), on the other hand, the teaching of English was banned in its schools after independence there in 1948, rejected in this new country as an unacceptable legacy of colonial rule.

Medicine was another transnational aspect of colonial rule that was appropriated by the Indian cultural domain. Like the appropriation of English in Indian nationalist circles, medicine for the treatment of Indians became an inescapable part of colonial rule that remained central to the medical profession after independence. Earlier precursors in this field came from the subcontinent as well as abroad. Medical treatment in ancient times had been an active arena of transnational interchange, largely because of its obvious benefit to those who could afford it and who believed human knowledge, rather than faith worship, offered the best chances of survival. Medical knowledge of the ancient world had been partly preserved via the Arabic language when Latin texts had been lost to the West, often when monasteries containing unique documents had been destroyed. However, the raj did not understand the history of this earlier transnational interchange. In particular, the ancient Kushan Empire of northwest India had codified medical information, partly derived from ancient Greece and Rome that had since filtered to colonial India independently of Europeans.³⁴ Colonial India was also a laboratory for new, global research, including new sanitary knowledge that prevented large sections of the population, white and Indian, from succumbing to malaria, smallpox, and the plague. Other developments included onsite India-based epidemiological studies of diseases, the development of compulsory vaccination protocols, studies into the aphrodisiac properties of Indian cannabis, and the development of leprosy treatments that would be taken back to Europe.³⁵

Apart from the humanitarian aspect of medical care, there were also good reasons for British India to act on this knowledge regardless of its

³⁴For a translation of Vedic medical practice and diagnosis, see Mridula Saha, *History of Indian Medicine Based on Vedic Literature* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1999).

³⁵Muhammad Umair Mushtaq, "Public Health in British India: A Brief Account of the History of Medical Services and Disease Prevention in Colonial India," *Indian Journal of Community Medicine* 34, no. 1 (2009): 6–14.

origin. By the latter nineteenth century, colonial India was immediately accountable to the Western world, and particularly the USA, for the way it used its medical knowledge to treat all Indians, Eurasians, and Europeans, regardless of their race. This accountability only became tangible at the end of the colonial era when colonial rule itself was being placed under greater international scrutiny. Even so, the colonial prism had created early perversity in the way crossovers of Indo/European interaction played out. The impetus for medical treatment and cure in the 1840s was largely to protect only the military. Hospitals and dispensaries were organized around race with very ill Indians offered only the most basic facilities, if they were fortunate enough to be admitted at all. Venereal disease was a priority mostly because European men sought protection (through Infectious Diseases Acts) by the diagnosis of prostitutes (who had often actually caught these diseases from them) and placing infected prostitutes in lock hospitals. Additionally, missionary efforts in early medical care in the training of nurses and midwives later opened up the field for secular feminist physicians at the end of the nineteenth century, also establishing many medical centers that were of a Christian foundation.

However, the medical domain also produced impressive results that covered over some of these earlier colonial misappropriations. Despite chronic under-resourcing by the British, women in state hospitals and dispensaries worked as physicians, nurses and midwives from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. often in the blazing heat, treating over 1000 patients a day and rising to 1400 in the monsoon season.³⁶ These pressures resulted in more Indian nurses being admitted into the colonial domain of professional medicine as the raj scrambled to meet new demand. Increased colonial medical reach was also created by new medical breakthroughs with transnational application. For example, when new German treatments for Kala Azar (leishmaniasis, a debilitating ulcerating skin disease spread by sand flies) became available, most Indians could not afford the medication.³⁷ Yet by 1922, the introduction of “electrolytic chlorogen,” a cheap, stable, and highly efficient disinfectant, as well as new treatments for malaria and tuberculosis, produced overwhelming numbers of dispensary patients who were Indians.

³⁶CMS Annual Report, 1925–1926, page 129, Main Library, Birmingham University, XCMS/B/OMS/11/G2/0.

³⁷Ibid.

Colonial Transnationalism and Indian Disengagement

These are just some examples of the transnational interventions in the high colonial period that created continuities that went on to shape India's future. The operation of these global networks produced outcomes that were mostly unanticipated by the actors of both sides of the nationalist struggle in the early twentieth century. However, there were other transnational flows that worked in the opposite direction, disengaging Indians for the most part up until 1947. Most interventions in this category were established early on in the colonial phase and two significant transnational operatives regarding education concerned (i) the imposition of Western-conceived bureaucratic procedure and (ii) the British deployment of race.

Bureaucracy

India was Britain's experimental ground for many aspects of governance. In Britain, the Utilitarians, led by social reformer Jeremy Bentham and, later, James Mill, had been powerful advocates of government, not for landed gentry elites, but for the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" (1789).³⁸ Radical for its time in the early 1800s this aim was to be realized through greater intervention by government via a stronger bureaucratic apparatus. James Mill at India House in London (the forerunner to the India Office) took this experimental governance endeavor to large parts of India where the British were seeking to gain control and were, in a sense, setting up administrative processes to entrench this control. In fact, the bureaucratic aspect of governance (experimented with first in India rather than in England) was partly grafted onto the administrative practices of the Mughals in the north and tribals in the south. Yet colonial education in India, as a mostly imposed area of governance, was administered mostly from Western-imposed templates.

This resulted in colonial education becoming increasingly detached from the needs of Indian children, even as the British sought to use administration to progressively impose the imperial hand over India. At one level, this was successful where, in northern India, systemic

³⁸Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1789).

government education was imposed in the mid-1850s, a generation earlier than Forster's Education Act of 1870 attempted the same for England. However, the same bureaucratic processes also gradually eroded the intellectual cooperation and trust established by the Orientalists in the 1820s, such as in institutions like the Hindu School established in 1817 by Radhakanta Deb and David Hare, among others, to encourage higher Indian learning including knowledge from the West. As British governance grew stronger so did its confidence in bureaucratic regulation in India. However, such Western-imposed bureaucratic routine gradually shut down the intellectual dialogue and schooling co-sponsorship evident in the early nineteenth-century Orientalist period.

In 1835, the first major regulatory sweep (though never fully implemented) in favor of the ruling colonial power in India was Macaulay's Education Minute. This Minute decreed that all government-funded schools were required to use English as the medium of instruction. A dramatic consequence of this bureaucratic approach of Western-imposed regulation emerged after the Great Revolt of 1857. Frightened Indian Civil Servants (ICS) orchestrated, through financial regulation, a retreat of colonial schools to urban areas where they might be more "safely" administered. This move alone caused a breach in trust with many local Indian councils who were just at that time becoming engaged by the British in village schooling experiments (mostly in northern India) that had promised poor village boys (although not girls) stronger educational futures. This was in spite of the fact that most rural communities continued to fund colonial education through inflexible land taxes.

The bureaucratic arm of colonial government, without Indian consultation, reached even further in the 1860s with the delayed application of many provisions of Charles Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. The implementation of bifurcated curricula, prescribed Europe-predicated textbooks, with strong Christian morality and English-only middle schooling, all served to disengage Indian intellectuals, while destroying precious traditional education in the process. Colonial institutional hierarchies established colleges at the upper level. But their urban location and English-only examination requirements rendered the colonial claim that education would be eventually available to India's rural and urban poor (whose labor was needed anyway to supplement family income and who spoke only in the local patois) fanciful to intelligent Indians.

The middle of the nineteenth century was crucial in disengaging Indians with an earlier shared educational endeavor that might have produced entirely different outcomes had not colonial bureaucratic regulation intervened so heavily. ICS officers had passed quite demanding examinations in England; separately appointed Directors of Public Instruction were often men capable of expansive and adaptive education thought from their positions of authority in India. It could even be argued that earlier Mughal administrative practices, in particular, were just as favorable to elites as British colonial rule was. However, the transnational imposition of almost wholly British mentalities regarding education, particularly from the 1860s onwards, showed how un-adaptive broad British governance could be, disillusioning many of its own administrators in the process and causing them really to lose faith in their own colonial education project by the time of the Hunter Education Commission in 1882.

Eurasians

A second aspect of transnational transferal in same time period related to race. This was a phenomenon at work that was intertwined with bureaucratic governance and was just as damaging to colonial rule. In the early years of East India Company rule in India in the eighteenth century, racial intermixing was encouraged by the Company between its soldiers and Indian women. Direct subsidies were granted for their marriages by the Company and many European men outside the Company but working in India, away from the moral judgements of Europe, lived in comfortable relationships with one or more Indian females.³⁹ Company attitudes to these alliances changed in the early nineteenth century, hastened by the Evangelical Revival in England, which then won Westminster approval to admit its hard-line Christian missions to India in 1813. A growing generation of Eurasians (legally classified with imprecise and changing criteria but usually children of European and Indian alliances) emerged from this context.

³⁹The East India Company was essentially a British trading company with a broader governance remit, that included the military, to secure increasing British territorial annexation on the subcontinent. It was replaced with direct colonial rule from Westminster via the India Office in 1858 in the wake of the Great Revolt a year earlier.

The next century saw a shift in racial preference in education. Eurasians (of part Portuguese, Dutch, French, or British parentage) and non-evangelical missionaries had been present in India well before British annexation. However, Eurasians now were objectified through European classification and acclimatized to an Indian rather than a European future by their poverty and by what they were given to eat (rice and pepper water rather than bread milk and tea).⁴⁰ Transnational classification such as this had already made its mark in India with the invention by Europeans of intricate caste constructions; however, “Eurasians” impacted on colonial education until the end of the raj in 1947.⁴¹ Rather than living up to its rhetoric about spreading the benefits of European education across India (which was, by the middle of the nineteenth century, largely dismissive of the value of Indian education in pre-British times), Eurasians began to monopolize colonial education.

This was because state anxieties about mix-race vagrancy might send worrying signals that European blood was not so superior after all. These anxieties resulted in significant sums of scarce colonial money being diverted into schools that were for Eurasians and Europeans only. These schools were probably informing experiments that developed eugenic thought back in England (that was, in turn, later transferred to nationalist circles in India). Yet, the upshot of these sites of transnational engagement on the issue of race and educational practice was to produce secondary schooling for girls, which was legally exclusionary of Indian children. Eurasian children, and especially girls, were given strong European moral training as students and enculturation through the learning of English accomplishments (needlework, music, European geography and mostly European languages). And as the nationalist movement grew this kind of education typified what little relevance the British “civilizing” mission had on an emerging India.

⁴⁰“Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Working of the Lawrence Military Asylums in India,” 1871, Appendix, vi, page 9, Oriental and India Office Collection, L/Mil/17/5/2295.

⁴¹Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Conclusion

These are merely vignettes of a much more complex story of transnational beliefs, practices, and cultures in Indian education, where the colonial boundary is seen as a center in this dynamic interchange. However, my analysis aims to be illustrative of transnational forces in education that worked in different directions in a story of an eventually irreconcilable empire. The conceptualization of transnational flows and counter-flows also contributed to the peculiar inflexions in nationalist discourse, including the different placement of eugenic-based beliefs on both sides of the colonial contest.

In many ways, the forces of transnationalism in the latter half of the nineteenth century contributed to Indian realizations about the imperial perversity. Their operation accentuated the irreconcilable nature of British and Indian education agendas, additional to the separateness of their traditional learning terrains going back many centuries in India and in Europe. The networks of empire (through evolving and interrelated imperial, race, class, and gender hegemonies in the latter nineteenth century) lay at the core of the increasingly apparent separateness of the British in India, even though transnational forces were firmly in play.

Finally, it is important to observe that transnational phenomena are not always coterminous with Western conceptions of “modernity,” the postcolonial world and the formation of the nation-state: much less, with Western educational orthodoxy about “progress” and “schooling” throughout history. Furthermore, the transnational habitus can be at its most intense in earlier periods of history. In so many fascinating ways, its intervention can be across the many dimensions of historical inquiry, including both its theorization and an understanding of the complexity of historical actors, their geographies, and their cultures in strong imperial contexts.

Bibliography

- Adam, William. “Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 and 1838.” 1839. Reprinted in *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 and 1838*, edited by Anath Nath Basu. Calcutta: Govt. Printing, 1944.
- Anagol, Padma. *The Emergence of Feminism in India, 1850–1920*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Arnold, W. “Abstract Statement of Female Schools Established in the Punjab in the Year 1857/8.” Education [Report], July 31, 1858. Nos. 131–158, Punjab Secretariat Archives, Anarkali’s Tomb.

- Avinashilingam, Tiruppur Subrahmanya. *Gandhiji's Experiments in Education*. New Delhi: Government of India, 1960.
- Bayly, Christopher A. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Bellenoit, Hayden. *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007.
- Bharathi, K. S. *The Thoughts of Gandhi and Vinoba: A Comparative Study*. New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal, 1995.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- Burton, Antoinette. *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late Victorian Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *The Calling of History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar and His Empire of Truth*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- CMS Annual Report. 1925–1926. Page 129. Main Library, Birmingham University. XCMS/B/OMS/I1/G2/0.
- Connell, Raewyn. *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2007.
- Darian-Smith, Kate, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre, eds. *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Giri, Anata Kumar. “Within and Beyond Lineages of History: Transpositional Border Crossing of Roots and Routes, Multi-topial Hermeneutics and the Challenges of Planetary Realizations.” Keynote address presented at the Conference India Looking East: Lineages of Interactions, Southeast Asia and East Asia, Calcutta University, January 19, 2017.
- Frank, André Gunder. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Hall, Catherine. *At Home with the Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Huttenback, Robert A. *Gandhi in South Africa*. London: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Kakar, Sudhir. *The Inner World: A Psycho-analytic Study of Childhood and Society in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Kumar, Krishna. *The Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Coland Nationalist Ideas*. New Delhi: Sage, 1991.

- Masselos, Jim. "The Dis/Appearance of Subalterns: A Reading of a Decade of Subaltern Studies." In *Reading Subaltern Studies: Critical History, Contested Meaning and the Globalization of South Asia*, edited by David Ludden, 187–212. London: Anthem Press, 2002.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. London: Back Bay Books, 2002.
- Mommsen, Wolfgang J. *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.
- Mukherji, Partha. "Sex and Social Structure." In *Socialisation, Education, and Women: Explorations in Gender Identity*, edited by Karuna Chanana, 35–36. New Delhi: Sangam Books, 1988.
- Mushtaq, Muhammad Umair. "Public Health in British India: A Brief Account of the History of Medical Services and Disease Prevention in Colonial India." *Indian Journal of Community Medicine* 34, no. 1 (2009): 6–14.
- Nanda, Bal Ram. *Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- National Council of Education Research and Training, "Statement made by Minister of Human Resource Development." 1986/1992. Accessed April 8, 2017. http://www.ncert.nic.in/oth_anoun/npe86.pdf.
- Omvedt, Gail. *Feminism and the Women's Movement of India*. Mumbai: SNDT Women's University, 1987.
- "Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Working of the Lawrence Military Asylums in India." 1871. Appendix, vi, page 9. Oriental and India Office Collection. L/Mil/17/5/2295.
- Thapar-Björkert, Suruchi. *Women in the Indian National Movement*. London: Sage, 2006.
- Saha, Mridula. *History of Indian Medicine Based on Vedic Literature*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1999.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge, 1978.
- Sarkar, Sumit. *Writing Social History*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Seth, Sanjay. *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Subramanian, Lakshmi. "Tamils and Greater India: Some Issues of Connected Histories." *Cultural Dynamics* 24, nos. 2–3 (2012): 159–174.
- Wilkinson, Lancelot. *A Brief Notice of the Late Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson of the Bombay Civil Service with His Opinions on the Education of Natives of India and on the State of Native Society*. Cornhill: Smith, Elder and Co., 1853.



Adaptations of Adaptation: On How an Educational Concept Travels from the Heartlands to the Hinterlands

Elsie Rockwell

The transnational perspective on the history of education faces a problem when research focuses on the colonial education policies and practices in the overseas domains of imperial states. As has often been pointed out, the use of the “nation” as a unit of analysis is limited given the strong influence of educational movements and materials that traverse national borders.¹ However, where are “national” borders to be drawn between an imperial metropolis and the colonial territories it controls? The case reported in this chapter is telling: A strong political current favoring colonial expansion in France during the interwar period considered the overseas domains and territories to be an integral part

¹ See Eckhardt Fuchs, “History of Education: Beyond the Nation?” in *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 11–26.

E. Rockwell (✉)

Department of Educational Research, Center for Research
and Advanced Studies (Cinvestav), Mexico City, Mexico

© The Author(s) 2019

E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History
of Education*, Global Histories of Education,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_6

of what they termed *La Grande France*. Yet tensions arose between the national policy of educating all citizens through the uniform and centrally controlled national school system of the Republic and the logic of maintaining strong boundaries between mainland and native populations in the colonies.

The concept of the transnational takes on different meanings when examining the various asymmetrical colonial configurations that emerged with the expansion of European colonial powers.² In Africa, while British colonial administrators favored indirect rule by granting colonial Governors leeway to negotiate local education policies for the diverse populations, the French colonial system initially favored the “assimilation” of natives, by providing partial political integration of the colonies into the nation. This was the case for Algeria and the four Communes established in Senegal, although citizenship rights were restricted. During the Third Republic, France abandoned the policy of “assimilation” in favor of “associationism,” a doctrine that allowed for differentiated colonial administration and postponed any further integration of colonial subjects into the French polity.³ In this context, the educational doctrine of *adaptation*, which had circulated among the colonial powers and had crossed the Anglo-French divide, became the favored principle upheld by the conservative French faction as well as by entrepreneurs and scientific societies that promoted colonial expansion and consolidation.

Since the nineteenth century, the discourse of a civilizing mission (*mission civilisatrice*) had legitimized colonial education in France. French colonial officers in Africa established a highly selective secular education system for their subjects. This contrasted with the promotion of missionary schooling for indigenous villages characteristic of British colonies, although there were exceptions and considerable debate in both cases.⁴ Some groups saw the civilizing mission as potentially disruptive of “native

²See chapters in Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere, eds., *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education* (New York: Berghahn, 2014); Ariadna Acevedo and Susana Quintanilla, “La perspectiva global en la historia de la educación,” *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa* 14, no. 40 (2009): 7–11.

³On colonial regimes in Morocco and French West Africa, see Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁴H. M. Dubois, “Assimilation ou adaptation,” *Africa: Journal de l’Institut International des Langues et Civilisations Africaines* 2, no. 1 (1929): 1–21.

customs and cultures.” Others feared that these policies would cause an excessive demand for “Western” schooling and, consequently, for jobs in colonial administration and citizenship rights. Some colonial authorities also noted the actual difficulties of transferring metropolitan education to the colonial contexts given the diversity of languages and cultures.

Thus, various colonial policies favored plans to *adapt* the metropolitan curricula as they set forth to school their colonial subjects. Although present in pedagogy long before the twentieth century, the practice of adaptation was contrary to the trend toward establishing “uniform” or “common” national school systems. American and German missionaries established schools in which the local languages were used as the medium of instruction. Educators in the British colonial territories in Africa were influenced by the Phelps-Stokes Foundation which promoted vocational training modeled on the Tuskegee Institute.⁵ The French colonial empire, despite its strong identification with mainland secular schooling, also began to adapt the curriculum in an effort to design separate schooling for its colonial subjects; nevertheless, it maintained the use of the French language. Thus, during the interwar period, elementary textbooks and copybooks show that while mainland French children learned to draw the entire Colonial Empire as their “nation,” colonized sub-Saharan school children studied French canonic literature. French schools for the indigenous colonial elite retained the structure and ethos of the mainland *École de la République*,⁶ while selectively adapting its contents to what was known as “the indigenous soul.”⁷

By the 1920s, *adaptation* had become a programmatic canon that legitimated separate schooling for the “*indigènes*,” yet it was also subject

⁵Eric S. Yellin, “The (White) Search for (Black) Order: The Phelps-Stokes Fund’s First Twenty Years, 1911–1931,” *The Historian* 65, no. 2 (2002): 319–352; Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Hubert O. Quist, “The Politics of Educational Borrowing: Reopening the Case of Achimta in British Ghana,” *Comparative Education Review* 44, no. 3 (2000): 272–299; Kenneth J. King, “Africa and the Southern States of the U.S.A.: Notes on J. H. Oldham and American Negro Education for Africans,” *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 4 (1969): 659–677; Edward H. Berman, “American Influence on African Education: The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund’s Education Commissions,” *Comparative Education Review* 15, no. 2 (1971): 132–145.

⁶I translate this term as “Republican schools” in the rest of the chapter to refer specifically to the 1881–1882 Jules Ferry reform.

⁷Elsie Rockwell, “Tracing Assimilation and Adaptation through School Exercise Books from ‘Afrique Occidentale Française’ (Early Twentieth Century),” in *Empire and Education in Africa: The Shaping of a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Peter Kallaway and Rebecca Swartz (New York: Peter Lang, 2016), 235–270.

to strong critique for segregating native populations and excluding them from higher academic education. As in most cases of transfer and translation, the process took on a distinct meaning and form in each context. By 1931, adapted education had been developed for over two decades in the colonies and became the topic of the *International Conference on Education in the Colonies* held in Paris that year. In this chapter, I examine the French adaptations of *adaptation*, as reported during this conference by delegates from the Protectorate of Morocco and from French West Africa. These cases reveal transnational tensions within the French colonial system, as different adaptations were advanced in the Maghreb and in sub-Saharan Africa.

Adaptation at the International Conference on Education in the Colonies (Paris, 1931)

French colonial administrators of the early twentieth century, associated with the right-wing political group known as *le parti colonial*, looked back on Jules Ferry, the apostle of the secular *École de la République*, as the founder of the Third Republic policies that consolidated the colonial empire spreading from Asia to Africa. In 1931, they continued to exercise political power in Paris and framed actions to save “the nation,” as the developed world faced the “great depression.” Led by Maréchal Lyautey, former French Governor of the Protectorate of Morocco, they launched the 1931 *Exposition Coloniale Internationale* in the heart of the metropolis, a year-long, enormously expensive project to show the French people that economic salvation was to be found in further exploiting the colonial territories. Its objective was to promote the “*mise en valeur*” of the colonial enterprise; that is, the development of access to natural resources, land, labor, and markets in the colonies.⁸

In the context of the *Exposition*, Paul Crouzet, director of colonial education in Paris (1920–1936), sent out a call for the *Congrès inter-colonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer*, with the explicit intention of reinforcing the doctrine of “associationism.” The conference brought together over a hundred participants from several colonial powers, as well as from all French colonies, to report on

⁸Catherine Hodier and Michel Pierre, *L'exposition coloniale: 1931* (Paris: Editions Complexe, 1991).

education and discuss the pending agenda. Driving the organization of the conference was George Hardy, then director of the Colonial School in Paris and loyal follower of Lyautey. Hardy had been Inspector of Education in French West Africa (AOF) 1912–1919, and then Director in Morocco (1919–1926). He had been a major actor in formulating the French version of adapted education and disseminating it through the publication of a series of educational and ethnographic *Bulletins*. During his tenure, he drew on ethnology, psychology, and geography in an attempt to give scientific grounding to the implementation of adapted education.⁹

The conference proceedings, published in 1932, include reports from several delegations (including Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and USA, among others) and the debates addressed many subjects, yet the editors foregrounded the theme of adaptation in the title of the volume, *L'Adaptation de l'enseignement dans les colonies*. In the conclusion, Crouzet claimed that the conference had sought not only to describe existing colonial education but also to criticize it. He added that, although there was consensus that education should be adapted to local conditions, the term *adaptation* covered very different realities in each of the colonies.¹⁰

The present analysis focuses on the lengthy reports from the two regions where George Hardy's tradition was strongest, the Protectorate of Morocco and Colonial French West Africa (AOF). Prof. Brunot, reporting on Morocco, and Prof. Davesne, reporting on the AOF, were

⁹On George Hardy see: Spencer D. Segalla, *The Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912–1956* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2009); Carine Eizlini, “Le Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'AOF, une fenêtre sur le personnel d'enseignement public expatrié en Afrique Occidentale Française (1913–1930)” (PhD diss., Paris University V, Descartes-Cerlis, 2013). On the use of anthropology to justify adaptation, see: Peter Kallaway, “Science and Policy: Anthropology and Education in British Colonial Africa during the Inter-War Years,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 3 (2012): 411–430; Benoit de L'Estoile, “Rationalizing Colonial Domination? Anthropology and Native Policy in French-Ruled Africa,” in *Empires, Nations and Natives: Anthropology and State-Making*, ed. Benoit de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg, and Lugia Siguan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 30–58.

¹⁰Paul Crouzet in: Congrès intercolonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer (Paris, 1931), ed., *L'adaptation de l'enseignement dans les colonies: Rapports et compte-rendu du Congrès Intercolonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer* (Paris: Didier, 1932), 308.

both educators with long colonial experience, inspectors in their regions, and authors of many articles and tracts promoting adapted education. As followers of Hardy, they had taken it upon themselves to put into practice the ideas of adapting French education to the colonial realities. My aim is to examine some of the internal contradictions and transformations of the notion as it was disseminated and confronted in these French colonies. I reflect on the different understandings of the term that seemed to be in play, given the particularities of the two contexts and the changes occurring in them in the first decades of the twentieth century. First, I will provide some background on the French colonial education policies.

Toward Adaptation in the French African Colonies

The idea of “adapting education to the indigenous populations” followed in the wake of military conquest in the 1860s, when colonial administrators took seriously the precept attributed to General Gallieni that military conquest was at best temporary if not accompanied by strong political and administrative measures, including the establishment of “markets and schools.”¹¹ As J. P. Little explains, discussion on colonial policy during the scientific conferences in 1889–1890 confirmed the need to postpone assimilation and seek ways to adapt metropolitan education to the level of evolution of the [colonial] populations. Indeed, some delegates even expressed a fear that any education would produce a class of Africans who might rebel against French colonial rule, by giving them access to history and political ideas.¹² In this context, the policy of associationism led to the idea, based on the ethnological theory of the time, that “each culture should evolve according to its own needs and to the level already achieved” [...*chaque culture doit évoluer selon ses*

¹¹Gallieni had played an important military role in the expansion of French control of parts of Africa. The first schools in the AOF, established by General Faidherbe, were dubbed “écoles d’hôtages,” (hostage schools), and recruited the offspring of local chieftains in an outright attempt to secure their compliance with French rule.

¹²Pascale Barthélémy, “L’enseignement dans l’Empire colonial français: Une vieille histoire?” *Histoire de l’éducation* 128 (2010): 5–28, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://histoire-education.revues.org/pdf/index2252.html>. A similar fear pervaded Southern Whites in the USA after the Nathaniel Turner rebellion, leading to the suppression of any schooling for slaves or free Blacks.

propres besoins et le niveau déjà acquis...].¹³ Thus, the initial concept of adapted education assumed adaptation both to “each culture” and to the “level of evolution” of each culture. This dual meaning generated a fundamental contradiction that continued to mark discussion of adaptation for decades to come. In the French version, closely embedded in the *mission civilisatrice*, the dictum of Jules Ferry that the “superior races” had not only the right but also the *duty* to civilize “inferior races” took on a particular meaning in the French Empire.¹⁴

One characteristic that marked the French adaptation policy was the fact that it held on to the secular doctrine of the mainland Republican schools. During the late nineteenth century, a period of negotiation with certain Muslim factions against rebel native groups was aided by the offer of a French education that would not compete on religious grounds yet would allow local elites to have access to French language and science. In the early twentieth century, Governor William Ponty (1908–1915) had expelled Catholic Missionaries from the AOF. The early establishment of French schools in the Four Communes of Senegal, under the policy of assimilation, had created a model to which the colonized population might aspire. When colonial policy shifted to associationism, postponing the full integration of the colonial subjects to the French polity, the doctrine of assimilation through education was reversed in theory, although the secular tradition of mainland schooling continued to prevail in practice for decades.

In the AOF, William Ponty established the legal guidelines for the new educational policies. In 1912, he appointed the 26-year-old *École Normale Supérieure* graduate, George Hardy, Inspector of Education, and the theme of adaptation became salient in the educational documents. Promoters of adaptation had claimed the need for a firm grounding in scientific knowledge of the colonial “races,” and this was the main thrust of George Hardy’s long years of work in Africa. His experience culminated with the publication of *Une conquête morale* (1917), a book reporting the history of colonial education in the AOF and outlining

¹³J. P. Little, Introduction to *Une conquête morale: L’enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française*, by Georges Hardy, viii–xviii (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005). Citation on page ix; this and all further citations from French sources are translated by the author. See also Georges Hardy, *L’enseignement aux indigènes dans les possessions françaises d’Afrique* (Bruxelles: Établissements Généraux d’Imprimerie, 1931).

¹⁴Cited by J. P. Little, Introduction, xvi.

the doctrine. He also launched three *Bulletins*¹⁵ dedicated primarily to the dissemination of ethnographic studies on African populations and documents for the teaching corps. General Roume, ex-governor of the AOF (1903–1907), praised Hardy’s theory in a preface to a 1930 *Bulletin*, stating that although the colonial enterprise had conquered the land and achieved order and peace, it had still “to conquer the souls,” and reiterated the need to study the “characteristics of the less evolved races, to understand ... the indigenous soul.”¹⁶

Hardy had taken up the challenge and dedicated much effort to the scientific study of “psychological geography,” drawing on Levy-Bruhl and other French ethnologists. His book on the “moral conquest” stressed the need to insinuate the school into the heart of the *indigènes*, by preserving those aspects of indigenous life—such as family and religious values, folklore, and customs—that would not interfere with other school activities.¹⁷ Hardy also stressed at the time the need to give moral education to a people who lack “morality,” another calque from the 1880 shift from religious catechisms to moral instruction in mainland Republican education.¹⁸

Hardy’s main accent was placed, however, on teaching an adapted version of history in order to counter indigenous oral histories that attacked the French colonial regime. The aim was to transmit the legitimacy and solidity of the French domination of Africa [*la légitimité et la solidité de la domination française en Afrique*]. Adaptation in this case meant discarding history as taught in the metropolis, with its stories of “our ancestors the Gauls,” in order to produce a specific history and geography of France and its colonial empire. This version transmitted such messages as: “*Elle est grande, notre histoire; elle est, en comparaison des autres, pure, généreuse et noble. Notre histoire coloniale, en*

¹⁵ *Bulletin Comité d’Études Historiques et Scientifiques De l’Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF), and the *Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’AOF*, and the *Bulletin de l’Enseignement Public*, both published in Morocco.

¹⁶ “[...] comprendre, en un mot, et dans le sens le plus général du terme, l’âme indigène.” Ernest Roume, preface to *Bulletin Comité D’études Historiques et Scientifiques de l’Afrique Occidentale Française*, ed. Gouvernement Général de l’Afrique Occidentale Française, 3, no. 2 (1930): 275. Translation by author.

¹⁷ Hardy, *Une conquête morale*, 203–204.

¹⁸ Little, Introduction, xv.

particulier, est un conte merveilleux, qui fait pâlir les plus belles pages de l'histoire ancienne."¹⁹

Hardy left the AOF in 1919 to become Director of Education and Fine Arts in the French Protectorate of Morocco. Here, Lyautey had established a different colonial regime by supporting the local powers and religious control while creating secular French schooling for the elite Muslim youth and sustaining the monarchical Muslim control. Hardy continued to develop his perspective on adapted education. His influence continued in the AOF, and the theme of adaptation was taken up in further publications under his direction. Thus, the doctrine outlasted Hardy's personal involvement in Africa, and the 1931 Paris Conference on Colonial Education gave him and his followers the opportunity to return it to the agenda.

With this background in mind, I turn to the versions of adaptation reported for Morocco and the AOF in the conference proceedings, which offer insights into the adaptations of adaptation that had been constructed during the previous two decades. I will examine each in turn as revealing of the tensions and contradictions found in practice.

The 1931 Report from Morocco

At the 1931 conference, M. Louis Brunot, a scholar of Arab languages and at the time *Chef du service de l'Enseignement musulman* in Morocco, gave a brief report in which he insisted on the adapted nature of schooling in Morocco, as instated in a series of laws and regulations. He began by recognizing that there were local voices demanding a "completely French education" for the local population: "For them, to instruct has its Latin sense of 'to arm'" [*Pour eux, "instruire" a son sens latin de "armer"*].²⁰ Their claim for equal education was based on a false hope, according to Brunot, to "become as strong and rich as us." Others, he admitted,

¹⁹"She is great, our history; it is, in comparison with others, pure, generous and noble. Our colonial history, in particular, is a marvelous story that outshines the loveliest pages of ancient history." Translation by author. Little, Introduction, xi, citing: Hardy, *Une conquête morale*, 185–186.

²⁰M. L. Brunot, "Rapport sur Maroc," in *L'Adaptation de l'enseignement dans les colonies: Rapports et compte-rendu du Congrès intercolonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer, 25–27 Septembre 1931*, ed. Congrès intercolonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer (Paris, 1931) (Paris: H. Didier, 1932), 34–44.

argued for a common integrated education for all, French and *indigène*, with the aim of assimilating the population. Brunot dispatched both positions, citing many practical reasons: “those who do not know Moroccan life cannot imagine the difficulties of mixing children in the same schools: their everyday schedules and ritual calendars are incompatible with one another; furthermore, their belief systems are different. Particularly, the presence of a mass of *indigènes* in the classroom would complicate the work of the teachers and slow down the progress of the French students.” He thus considered “fusion” premature, and reported that separate, adapted education had been organized for the native population.²¹

Central to his discussion was the issue of language. Here appears a contradiction of adaptation in the French version: The issue, for Brunot, was not whether to teach in French or in native languages, but how to consider the difference between teaching French as a “mother tongue” and teaching French to speakers of a different language. Brunot argued that neither the vernacular Arabic nor the Berber language had a writing system, and thus, as was true in all francophone colonial schools, the language of instruction should be mainland French. Classical Arabic, defended by some as a medium of instruction, he claimed, was as strange to Moroccans as Latin is to the French. Nevertheless, part of adaptation in the case of colonial *Lycées* for the Moroccan elite was to accept Classical Arabic, despite being considered less advanced, in lieu of the Latin examination for accreditation toward the baccalaureate. Brunot defended the use of French on several counts: First, he noted that the changes brought about in Moroccan society by the French protectorate, such as administration, industry and commerce, all were conducted in French, and Moroccans “must learn the language.” Second, he listed the perceived disadvantages of bilingualism, not at the everyday level, where added tags for concrete objects pose few problems, but for abstract notions that were difficult to translate. In this respect, Brunot argued that whereas the native French child would learn the “term” after understanding the concept, the *indigènes* learn the term without understanding the concept, or express something entirely different with the term. Moreover, he claimed, it was necessary to teach French as the native languages “lack abstract terms.”²²

²¹ *Ibid.*, 34–36.

²² *Ibid.*, 36–38. This has often been a claim—proven to be false—against the use of native languages in education.

The most interesting aspect of Brunot's report is his emphasis on the teacher corps.²³ As he states, "... a doctrine of adapted instruction can only be effective if the personnel in charge of applying it is itself adapted, that is to say ... prepared for his special and novel task." [*une doctrine d'adaptation de l'enseignement ne peut être efficace que si le personnel chargé de l'appliquer est lui-même adapté, c'est à dire ... préparé à sa tâche spéciale et nouvelle pour lui.*] He reported on courses designed to train the mainland teachers who arrive, courses in which they study local history, geography, ethnology, and some linguistics so as to better teach French as second language. The reality, he admitted, may be quite different; teachers were not evenly distributed, nor always adequately trained.

Adaptation—in the sense of incorporating knowledge of the local cultures—was thus directed primarily toward the French teachers stationed in Morocco. They were the ones who needed the knowledge and who had to adapt their teaching to native lore, working in line with the policy of not "imposing" French schooling, but rather "counting on local acquiescence." Although many manuals had been written on local culture and adaptation for teachers, indigenous students used Algerian or mainland French textbooks, as it was "not yet viable to publish books in the vernacular Arabic of Morocco."

Brunot could confidently conclude, after noting that fewer than 40,000 indigenes went to the schools established by the French government in Morocco, that the service was for those natives "willing to go to school and to learn" French civilization. There seemed to be no pretention to civilize all Moroccans, or to adapt the actual content of teaching to local cultures, except by avoiding such absurdities as teaching about "our ancestors the Gauls," nor of calculating proportions of water to wine. This was to be achieved, where possible, through training mainland teachers to be sensitive to Muslim religious norms and Moroccan culture and by conforming to the mandate of secular education.

The 1931 Report from Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF)

The report on French West Africa was given by M. Davesne, *inspecteur de l'Enseignement primaire* in Afrique Occidentale Française, where according to Hardy adapted education had reached its highest

²³Ibid., 42–44, for all of the following citations.

expression. The AOF colonial regime differed significantly from the Protectorate of Morocco. French *Lycées* had long been established in St. Louis and Dakar (Senegal) for the minority French population, and a few native students, mostly the sons of chiefs, were allowed to study there. A fundamental change occurred when associationism postponed any further integration of Africans with French citizen rights. Further changes came during the 1920s, with the incoming Governor Carde (1919–1930), a long-time colonial officer who was intent upon developing industry in the colony and on training African youth to cover the growing need for clerical and administrative jobs.²⁴ Following the 1923 education reform in mainland France,²⁵ Carde promulgated a new law in 1924,²⁶ which gave legal backing to the notion of adaptation of education, and gave the governors of the nine colonies greater autonomy in education policies.

In his 1931 report, Davesne's message is clear. The objectives of primary schooling in the AOF were: (1) To recruit indigenous civil servants, including native teachers; (2) to spread the French language among the indigenous masses; and (3) to give students practical knowledge—of hygiene and agriculture—and allow them the benefits of civilization.²⁷ In his report, he examines whether the education system in the AOF was up to these goals. The structure of the system had followed exactly the mainland schools: a one-year *cours préparatoire* in the villages, a two-year *cours élémentaire* in larger localities, a three-year *cours moyen* in the

²⁴Richard L. Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton Colonialism and the Regional Economy in the French Soudan, 1800–1946* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

²⁵«*Arrêté modifiant le programme des écoles primaires élémentaires*, 23 février 1923, and *Instructions sur les nouveaux programmes des écoles primaires*, 20 juin 1923, signed by the Minister Léon Bérard,” in *Textes officiels*, Tome 2, ed. A. Chervel (1880–1939) (Paris: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, 1995), 309–332.

²⁶«*Textes portant sur la réorganisation de l'enseignement en Afrique Occidentale française*». *Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, no spécial 57. 1924, 203p. Cited in Eizlini, Carine. 2013. *Le Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'AOF, une fenêtre sur le personnel d'enseignement public expatrié en Afrique Occidentale Française (1913–1930)*. Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris V, Descartes-Cerlis.

²⁷André Davesne, “Rapport sur APF,” in *L'Adaptation de l'enseignement dans les colonies: Rapports et compte-rendu du Congrès intercolonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer, 25–27 Septembre 1931*, ed. Congrès intercolonial de l'enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d'Outre-Mer (Paris, 1931) (Paris: H. Didier, 1932), 85–94. Translation by author.

regional schools, and finally the *écoles primaires supérieures* (higher primary schools), available in the capitals of each colony of the AOF. This system, understood as “adapted” because it offered separate education for the *indigènes*, seemed to work well in filtering through the different levels of primary schooling those students who could make it to the higher grades and become civil servants; that is, it was accomplishing, argued Davesne, the first goal.

However, the project of spreading the French language throughout the land was less successful, according to his report. Learning in French, even over four years of schooling, did not lead to retention of the language, so no francophone *indigènes* could be found, as had been hoped, in the “furthest of villages.” Davesne pleaded for more time to teach the language, and thus recommended establishing full 5–8-year primary schooling in the villages and regional centers, aiming at a durable appropriation of the French language. The regional schools were trapped, he claimed, in the “fetishism of the diploma,” in fact teaching to the test. Echoing much critique of both mainland and colonial schools, Davesne launched into this “theoretical, bookish, learning ... not well adapted to the needs of the present days.” Such learning, he claimed, forms a bureaucratic mentality in youth, who consequently disdain manual labor and will not return to productive work, but rather expect commercial or office employment, at a time when only few jobs were available. He believed, nevertheless, that when “schooling becomes more normal for all,” these expectations would cease to prevail.²⁸

Davesne then turned to the third goal: instruction in practical skills. The 1924 reform stipulated that all village schools would teach notions of hygiene and have a garden with which to teach the rudiments of agriculture and horticulture and, for girls, their role as women. However, he commented, the hygiene curriculum was too rudimentary to meet the health needs of the villages; it only worked in girls’ boarding schools where pupils are trained in the norms of a different style of living. Teachers had no training to cultivate fields, so parents did the work. He commented on the beautiful, traditional gardens in the regional schools, with no agricultural innovation. In contrast, “professional education,” designed to prepare skilled workers, had been more successful. However, Davesne argued in defense of the newer “elementary professional

²⁸Ibid., 86–87.

education” for the “indigenous mass.” This was to be “adapted to the living conditions of the villages ... taking into account local habits, using simplified tools.” It should train students in better practices without upsetting “traditional procedures”; children should learn that they could “make bricks, build more comfortable houses, forge better tools, build furniture ... and generally better their homes.”²⁹ All of this plan, he noted, was stated in the 1924 reform programs and methods, which had been “adapted to the country”; changes were made to include local history and the arrival of the French and show the progress of European civilization with no reference to “our ancestors the Gauls.” The curriculum was also meant to give information on the administration of the AOF, as well as on notions of science, hygiene, and agriculture. However, Davesne concluded, “reform programs are worth only what the teachers in charge of applying them are worth.”³⁰

Of particular interest in Davesne’s report is the argument that adaptation does not require special methods for the *indigènes*; he argued that the general principles of pedagogy apply for all times and places, including the “concrete and active methods” held by Rabelais, Montaigne, Rousseau, Spencer, and Tolstoy (as recommended in the 1924 instructions). He claimed that excellent mainland teachers could become excellent colonial teachers, with additional training in the local realities: Teachers should adapt not the methods to be used, but the notions to be taught [*L’adaptation qu’il doit réaliser porte, non pas sur les méthodes à employer, mais sur les notions à enseigner*].³¹ Thus, despite vivid description of “indigenous” customs of educating children found in the *Bulletin* publications,³² Davesne never suggested the need to change the pedagogical methods of teaching when adapting education.

Teaching the French language did require special skills, he claimed, but these were comparable to those required to work with French children who speak *patois* on the mainland. He admitted the relative lack of adapted teaching materials for use in the AOF, although there were some Algerian books, and a

²⁹Ibid., 90–91.

³⁰Ibid., 89–91.

³¹Ibid., 91.

³²For example, Albert Remondet, “Deux formes primitives d’éducation au Soudan Français,” *Bulletin Comité d’Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l’Afrique Occidentale Française* 14 (1932): 1–26.

few publications for teaching initial reading and the French language (p. 92). In fact, he helped fill the gap by publishing a series of primers for teaching French literacy in the preparatory and elementary grades, *Mamadou et Bineta*,³³ in which, he claimed, he had only “adapted to African schools the methods used in French schools, whose value is well acknowledged by teachers.” As these adaptations foresaw that children entered school with no knowledge of the French language, their method reflects attempts to address the problem of teaching French as a second language as well as using words referring to local realities. He defended the use of French in light of the pragmatic difficulties of dealing with over 200 local languages, but also as a means to spread French influence throughout the world (... *d’étendre son rayonnement dans le monde*) and bring educators nearer to the natives through a common language.³⁴ Again we see how colonial educators wagered on “the compelling discursive influence of French on ways of thinking and acting, to which a civilizing role was probably also ascribed. [as the *indigènes*] were not considered capable of thinking in abstract terms.”³⁵

The main focus of Davesne’s report, as in that of Brunot, was on the teachers. European teachers, he commented, have to learn everything about the colonies, as well as their new roles as principals in relation to their “adjunct native teachers,” who are often older and more experienced: “Those that love their job can learn [to teach here], just as in a French village.”³⁶ But he regretted that the former preservice preparation stage for incoming mainland teachers had been suppressed. He detected even greater problems with the native teachers, prepared at

³³André Davesne, *Mamadou et Bineta lisent et écrivent couramment: Livre de français à l’usage des écoles africaines. Cours préparatoire 2ème année et cours élémentaire* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1931). [orig. 1929, with multiple reprintings].

³⁴Davesne, “Rapport,” 106. He mentions the success of Spain in disseminating Spanish throughout America. See also Eizlini, “Le Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’AOF,” 284–293. Davesne in another text favored rigorous training in French composition reiterating a position that associated mastery of written French with the ability to think logically and precisely, thus countering the African tendency of “grandiloquence.”

³⁵Marc Depaep, “Writing Histories of Congolese Colonial and Post-colonial Education: A Historiographical View from Belgium,” in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Crosscultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 228–243.

³⁶Davesne, “Rapport,” 92–94, for this and subsequent citations of the paragraph.

the *École Normale* of Gorée, one of the four Communes of Senegal. Some, he commented, are excellent, “but most do not know their trade” and “cannot adapt their teaching to the intellectual level of their students, nor to the special conditions of the regions where they work.” He attributed this to the faulty training received at the Gorée Normal School. Despite the excellent 1924 educational reform in the AOF program, designed to train them in “our civilizing mission” [*notre oeuvre civilisatrice*], all this was lost in practice. Youth were taken from their villages to live an artificial life at the normal school and then sent to “schools in the bush, where they feel exiled, having lost all contact with their country of origin.” In his view, teachers trained at the normal school learned their profession from young mainland teachers who had little experience and no knowledge of the colonies: “How can they possibly teach adapted education if they do not know what adaptation consists of? ... when they learn in a school where everything is the very negation of adaptation.”³⁷ There was no real agricultural practice, and they concentrated on preparation for the *brevet*, the metropolitan exams for entry to higher education. The students “study too much too fast ... they learn an indigestible science, they retain only the words, they go to the village schools to teach naturally the way they were taught. They do not know how to adapt to the children.” Because of this training, he concluded, “They will give an abstract, bookish education, which is only the teaching of words” [*Ils donnèrent un enseignement abstrait, livresque, qui n'était qu'un enseignement de mots*].

This diagnosis led Davesne to propose reforming the whole system of normal schools for native teachers.³⁸ In this part of his report, he defended adaptation as a fundamental pedagogical principle, “because adaptation is the teaching quality par excellence, and it supposes a clear mind, that can rise above the details and see the ensemble” [*car l'adaptation est la qualité “maîtresse” par excellence, et elle suppose un esprit clair sachant s'élever au-dessus des détails et voir l'ensemble*].³⁹ His critique of AOF education is simultaneously a critique of mainland tendencies, where examinations tended to measure the “accumulation of knowledge” rather than the “culture of the mind” (*culture de l'esprit*).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Davesne's conclusions thus cast the notion of adaptation in a different light from its original formulation in the AOF. Curiously, he avoided previous formulas that stressed the inherent inferiority or lack of intellectual capacities of the indigenous races. No longer is there an appeal to have indigenous populations "evolve within their own culture" as was the case for the early writings of Hardy. Davesne recognized the rapid evolution of indigenous society, as economic life was transformed toward a "rational exploitation of the soil," and as both administrative and commercial relationships between the natives and the French authorities "are more frequent and complex." The "races" (understood as ethnic groups) were mixing and seeking a common language, thus demanding education in French. Gone was the discourse of the *mission civilisatrice*; rather, the colonial *mise en valeur*, the logic of economic development that had always been present, now came to the fore.⁴⁰

In this changing context, Davesne argued, schools should more than ever adapt to diverse needs. He lists four objectives: (1) the spread of French as a common and public language; (2) the teaching of civics "with no pretention" (knowledge of the administrative regulations of interest to indigenous workers); (3) introduction of agricultural methods to facilitate the "*mise en valeur*" of the country; and (4) teaching natives to adopt hygiene practices to prepare them for the action of health services. Thus, he saw that "practical education," rather than theory, was what was needed, and called for a "readaptation" of schools to the present needs of the indigenous population. This interpretation reflected the economic priorities of Governor Cardé in the AOF, he who had issued the 1924 educational reform, but also seemed to summarize more recent changes taking place in the policies of the new government in the AOF.

Governor Cardé had left to govern Algeria in 1930 and was replaced by Governor Joseph J. Brévié, the former lieutenant governor of the Niger colony and an amateur archeologist and ethnologist. Brévié's speech published in the *Bulletin*⁴¹ again stressed the adaptation of education; paying lip service to his predecessors, he stated that

⁴⁰Ibid., 96.

⁴¹J. J. Brévié, "L'école populaire en Afrique Occidentale Française (Circulaire de M. le Gouverneur général, no. 30 E, du 20 janvier 1932, J. O. du 30 janvier, pages 105 et 106)," *Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 21, no. 78 (1932): 3–7, accessed April 6, 2017, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57141209:rk=42918;4>.

the “moral conquest” had been successful, that all accepted French rule and that Carde’s policy of the rational decentralization of administration had allowed closer adaptations in each colony. He nevertheless outlined new strategies for a changing economy and polity, stressing two lines: professional education and mass education through village schools.

Although there were professional schools, the new context required, claimed Brévié, the training of industrial workers in new trades and instilling a new conception of labor hierarchies. Secondly, an urgent task was the establishment of rural schools as “centers of the villages,” with farms and workshops, with experimental fields and medical dispensaries. Once oral French competency and arithmetic were achieved, schools should give practical education designed to better the lives of the *indigènes*, rather than just selecting candidates for higher schools. Teachers should reach out to women, to form a “new mentality” and teach practical skills, spreading tangible benefits to villagers. Brévié concluded, “For the native to go to school, it is necessary for schools to go to the natives.”⁴² These policies, anticipated in 1930, were reinforced in a 1932 circular, which again insisted on the need to establish village schools and give practical education to all. It is doubtful that much was achieved in practice, as in 1930 a bare 3% of school-aged children were in French schools, and the task of reaching “the masses” was enormous. Nevertheless, this emphasis on practical education echoes the idea of vocational and industrial training that was spreading throughout the colonies during the 1920s.

A final adaptation of adaptation appeared in 1932, as Brévié promoted “popular education for the masses” and proposed experimental “popular schools” with indigenous teachers, adapted to the different regions (defined not in ethnic terms, but as agricultural, plantation, and coastal economies). He insisted on the “valorization of man,” perhaps countering the idea of “*mise en valeur*” of the land. In this case, Brévié in principle reversed the traditional view that adapted education in the AOF had to be in French. Focusing on the classes for adults who would have no time to learn French, Brévié made a radical shift, recommending

⁴² *Pour que l'indigène aille à l'école, il faut que l'indigène aille à l'école.* J. J. Brévié, “Extrait du discours de M. Le Gouverneur Brévié: Prononcé à l'ouverture de la session du Conseil du Gouvernement,” *Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 19, no. 73 (1930): 3–7, accessed April 6, 2017, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5714108v>.

the use of the indigenous languages, through indigenous teachers, as “natural interpreters of our action.” He alluded to the notion of *pala-bres*, the traditional village gatherings, and urged the production of simple texts prepared for conversations with villagers. Thus, “Discipline and obedience will be born out of trust.”⁴³

While previous policies had proposed that French as a common language would guarantee colonial proximity to the native soul, this statement seemed to argue the contrary. Perhaps Brévié implied a subtle recognition that despite norms to the contrary, native teachers in many of the schools were in fact making their own adaptations and using the local languages to communicate with their students to promote better understanding.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, colonial policy and certification exams continued to center on mastery of the French language, and thus favored a minority of students who would become the future elite of French West Africa.

Adaptations of Adaptation and the Transnational Turn

There is ample historical evidence of the deep influence that the ethos of French Republican schooling had on the population in the heartland of France. Even in mainland France, however, there were hinterlands, regions where the Parisian variety of the French language that became official after the Revolution was not spoken. In these regions, people spoke varieties of French that were disparagingly referred to as *patois*, or one of many other languages (such as Breton, Provençal, Basque) which the First Republic decided to marginalize in order to forge the nation and contain the regional powers backing the return of the monarchy.

Nevertheless, Republican school teachers, whether or not trained to do so, had to “adapt” their teaching to the local realities. After the 1923 educational reform in France, teachers were explicitly instructed to “adapt their teaching to the needs of local life.” [*Il pourra d’autre part—et même il devra—varier son enseignement selon les besoins de ses élèves, l’adapter aux besoins de la vie locale.*]⁴⁵ When posted in the

⁴³Brévié, “L’École populaire,” 6.

⁴⁴See Rockwell, “Tracing Assimilation”; Fodéba Keita, *Le maître d’école* (Paris, Seghers, 1952).

⁴⁵“Instructions sur les nouveaux programmes des écoles primaires,” 20 juin 1923, 314–315.

hinterlands of the French Empire, young French teachers were urged to learn about the colonial realities in order to apply this pedagogical principle to their work with African youth.⁴⁶ Indeed, Hardy's principles as well as the 1924 Instructions in the AOF were partially inspired in this pedagogical "common sense," also reflected in Davesne's statement that "adaptation" is the "teaching quality par excellence." This nexus is at the core of the apparent contradiction between the assimilation of mainland populations through Republican schooling and the doctrine of adaptation, used to postpone the assimilation of indigenous populations and carry forward the civilizing mission. Although both policies were associated initially with Jules Ferry, the colonial administrators who first established adaptation as the doctrine for colonial education were explicitly and deeply anti-Republican and hoped to maintain separate systems of learning for the separate "races."⁴⁷

What French Republican education never relinquished in adapted formal education was instruction in and through the French language.⁴⁸ This topic was quite controversial, and some concessions were made, notably the attempt to count classical Arabic rather than Latin as a valid subject in the Moroccan *lycées* (not adopted in the AOF). How mainland teachers actually adapted their teaching to young speakers of different languages in the village schools, and how they worked through

⁴⁶Many taught with republican zeal, and many sought ways to translate French civilization into meaningful lessons. See Eizlini, "Le Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'AOF"; Jean-Hervé Jézéquel, "Histoire de bancs, parcours d'élèves," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 169–170 (2003): 409–433, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://etudesafricaines.revues.org/207>; Jean-Hervé Jézéquel, "Les enseignants comme élite politique en AOF (1930–1945): Des 'meneurs de galopins' dans l'arène politique," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 178 (2005): 519–543, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://etudesafricaines.revues.org/5458>; Benoit Falaize, "Le préalable colonial: L'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école élémentaire dans les colonies (1900–1962)," Chapter 3 in *L'évolution de l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école élémentaire de la Libération à nos jours (1945–2014)* (PhD diss., Université de Cergy Pontoise, 2014).

⁴⁷Lyautey vindicated his success in Morocco as a "monarchist within a monarchy," a religious man who respected a fervently religious people, a believer in social hierarchies, and a proponent of separate school systems for separate classes, where people "do not mix." He apparently commented: "None of this would have been possible in France," cited in Segalla, *The Moroccan Soul*, 11–15.

⁴⁸Cécile B. Vigouroux, "Francophonie," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 379–397.

their adjunct native teachers, is beyond historical documentation. Some contemporary ethnographies allow us to surmise, however, that the local languages were widely used in elementary classrooms. This notwithstanding, a select group of natives—in 1930 only 850 students in all AOF—were indeed able to master the intricacies of written French, many having previously mastered the equally foreign Arabic texts in Koranic schools, and had enrolled in the *Écoles Primaires Supérieures*.⁴⁹ Ironically, it was only then that they first received actual lessons on African “indigenous cultures.”

Adaptation in the AOF took on different guises during the years reviewed, from 1912 to 1932. While George Hardy was in control, the stress was on adapting education to the “indigenous soul,” with an ambiguous shift between two positions. On the one hand, he proposed the relativist principle of allowing the “races,” understood in this case as diverse ethnic groups, to “evolve within their own culture” or “within their own mentality” (particularly in respect to the Muslim religion in the case of Morocco). On the other hand, and often in the same phrase, teaching was to be adapted to “the level of evolution” of the colonial population, considered racially inferior to the French, especially in the case of the sub-Saharan Africans. The tensions expressed in this dichotomy were constant; educators feared that the civilizing mission threatened to disrupt local societies, producing, through schooling, numerous young people in the colonies who were considered *déclassés*. In Morocco, the French policy of protecting the monarchist order and the Muslim state tended to favor a very conservative adaptation of French schooling, particularly for the elite. Brunot’s report reflects this history; while recognizing the need for elite access to French language, he stressed the use of ethnological knowledge of the local cultures as a requisite for adaptation, yet proposed French schooling only “for those who want it.” He also subscribed to the evolutionary thesis that African languages “lacked abstract concepts,” and claimed that only instruction in French could provide them with access to the local elite.

In the AOF, the various colonies were under stricter political control by French administrators, whose fundamental task was to ensure the conditions for economic development (*mise en valeur*) of the land and its natural and human resources. Thus, the adaptation of education under

⁴⁹Rockwell, “Tracing Assimilation.”

Governor Carde (1919–1930) stressed the need for training professionals in medicine, industry, and administration. The policy increasingly focused on educating villages and introducing modern techniques and customs into local life. It is interesting to note that there was a parallel tension in the production of cotton, where large-scale labor-intensive French agricultural enterprises eventually gave way to the promotion of small-scale domestic production of cotton in the villages.⁵⁰

It is in this context that Davesne, while also inscribing his discourse in the tradition of George Hardy, was more in tune with the objectives of adapting education not only to produce a select group of civil servants, but rather to reach the wider population. He sought to establish the French language among an increasingly ethnically mixed population (in the growing coastal cities) and replace the still prevalent “bookish, theoretical” metropolitan education with a practical education “adapted to the needs of present-day life.” His discourse, rather than repeating the catchword of “evolution within their own cultures,” stressed the “rapid evolution” of colonial life as French industrial and commercial enterprises revamped local economies. This called for a very different sense of adapted education and for an urgent need, best expressed by Governor Brévié between 1930 and 1932, in increasing the coverage and impact of colonial education to reach the heart of the indigenous peoples in the hinterlands. Rural and popular education, he considered, should replace the hierarchical structure of Republican schooling and “go to the villages.”

One of the themes in the two 1931 reports is the stress on teacher training; it was the teachers who had to be adapted. For mainland teachers, the proposed courses included knowledge of the history, geography, and ethnography of the colonies and methods for teaching French to the natives, as well as learning about the colonial administrative structure and policies. However, it seems that these courses were few and far between. The *Bulletins d'enseignement* provided ample documentation for in-service teachers and included not only official documents and circulars but also articles on a wide range of topics drawn from ethnographic studies of diverse “races.” Davesne considered the crisis even greater with the native teachers whose training at the normal school of Gorée was seen as “the negation of adaptation.”

⁵⁰Roberts, *Two Worlds*.

A call for a more practical training of native teachers seemed a distant goal at the time, yet it should also be noted that in the village schools, nearly half of the teachers, both French and native, were “auxiliaries” with no professional training, and it is possible that their practice was actually nearer to the lived realities of the students.⁵¹ Eventually, in 1937 the curriculum and even location of the normal school were changed, and an ethnographic component was included in their preparation. It is doubtful, however, that this new adaptation guaranteed a different sort of content in daily teaching practice. It did produce, however, a cadre of elite African intellectuals, many of whom became active in the wake of independence.⁵²

Yet what of the majority population and the very slow spread of village schooling? Many historians have noted the problem of bridging the distance between discourse and practice in all research on the history of education. Thus, the final adaptations of adaptation lay in the hands of teachers and students in the classrooms, in a process some call “indigenization.” The examination of this document takes us through the various contextual meanings and uses that the term adaptation acquired even within a short period, but it gives us little handle on what actually might have occurred in the colonial classrooms. For this, other sources, such as photographs and exercise books, give additional clues and lead to the conclusion that for French West Africa, at least, schooling in the hinterlands may have looked very much like schooling in the heart of the metropolis, albeit with different contents.⁵³

The above analysis leads to reflections on the value of the concept of transnational history when a uniform national school system in fact becomes differentiated, as occurs both within nations and across colonial borders. It raises the issues of whether transnational processes related to the “overlapping center-periphery networks”⁵⁴ in colonial empires differ from international projects carried out by nominally independent and

⁵¹Rockwell, “Tracing Assimilation.”

⁵²Jézéquel, “Les enseignements”; Jézéquel, “Histoire de bancs.”

⁵³Rockwell, “Tracing Assimilation.”

⁵⁴Tim Allender, “Transcending the Centre-Periphery Paradigm: Loreto Teaching in India, 1842–2010,” in *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 228–243.

equal nations, such as those involved in the League of Nations at the time.⁵⁵ While deeply indebted to post-colonial theory, the study of colonial educational policies does correspond to some of the precepts of transnational history.⁵⁶ It reveals “the dissolution of boundaries” and the “dialectic of re-territorialization,”⁵⁷ as they tend to dislocate educational processes worldwide. The transformations and continuities of educational concepts—such as *adaptation*—as they travel from center to peripheries and back are at the center of the new paradigm, yet a greater break with the “nation” as a unit of analysis is required in order to enrich the study of colonial and neocolonial educational systems that exist to this day, both within and beyond territorial borders.

Bibliography

- Allender, Tim. “Transcending the Centre-Periphery Paradigm: Loreto Teaching in India, 1842–2010.” In *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 228–243. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds. *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post) Colonial Education*. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Barthélémy, Pascale. “L’enseignement dans l’Empire colonial français: Une vieille histoire?” *Histoire de l’éducation* 128 (2010): 5–28. Accessed April 6, 2017. <http://histoire-education.revues.org/pdfindex2252.html>.
- Berman, Edward H. “American Influence on African Education: The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund’s Education Commissions.” *Comparative Education Review* 15, no. 2 (1971): 132–145.
- Brévié, J. J. “Extrait du discours de M. le Gouverneur Brévié: Prononcé à l’ouverture de la session du Conseil du Gouvernement.” *Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’Afrique Occidentale Française* 19, no. 73 (1930): 3–7. Accessed April 6, 2017. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5714108v>.
- Brévié, J. J. “L’école populaire en Afrique Occidentale Française (Circulaire de M. le Gouverneur général, no. 30 E, du 20 janvier 1932, J. O. du 30 janvier,

⁵⁵Eckhardt Fuchs, “The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209, accessed April 7, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00309230701248305>.

⁵⁶Fuchs, “History of Education,” 15.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 11, 13.

- pages 105 et 106).” *Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’Afrique Occidentale Française* 21, no. 78 (1932): 3–6. Accessed April 6, 2017. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57141209?rk=42918;4>.
- Chervel, André. *L’enseignement du français à l’école primaire. Textes officiels Tome 2: 1880–1939*. Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique. Éditions Économica, 1995.
- Congrès intercolonial de l’enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d’Outre-Mer (1931, Paris), ed. *L’adaptation de l’enseignement dans les colonies: Rapports et compte-rendu du Congrès intercolonial de l’enseignement dans les colonies et les pays d’Outre-Mer, 25–27 Septembre 1931*. Paris: Didier, 1932.
- Conklin, Alice L. *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Davesne, André. *Nouveau Syllabaire de Mamadou et Bineta: L’usage des écoles Africaines*. Paris: EDICEF, 1950.
- De L’Estoile, Benoit. “Rationalizing Colonial Domination? Anthropology and Native Policy in French-Ruled Africa.” In *Empires, Nations and Natives: Anthropology and State-Making*, edited by Benoit de L’Estoile, Federico Neiburg, and Lugia Siguaud, 30–58. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Depaepe, Marc. “Writing Histories of Congolese Colonial and Post-colonial Education: A Historiographical View from Belgium.” In *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 228–243. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités au Maroc, ed. *Bulletin de l’Enseignement Public*. Morocco: Rabat, n.d.
- Dubois, H. M. “Assimilation ou adaptation.” *Africa: Journal de l’Institut International des Langues et Civilisations Africaines* 2, no. 1 (1929): 1–21.
- Eizlini, Carine. “Le Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’AOF, une fenêtre sur le personnel d’enseignement public expatrié en Afrique Occidentale Française (1913–1930).” PhD diss., Paris University V, Descartes-Cerlis, 2013.
- Falaize, Benoit. “Le préalable colonial: L’enseignement de l’histoire à l’école élémentaire dans les colonies (1900–1962).” Chapter 3 in *L’évolution de l’enseignement de l’histoire à l’école élémentaire de la Libération à nos jours (1945–2014)*. PhD diss., Université de Cergy Pontoise, 2014.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. “The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s.” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209. Accessed April 7, 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00309230701248305>.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. “History of Education: Beyond the Nation?” In *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post) Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 11–26. New York: Berghahn, 2014.

- Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, ed. *Bulletin Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques De l'Afrique Occidentale Française*. Paris: Larose, 1933–1938.
- Hardy, Georges. *L'enseignement aux indigènes dans les possessions françaises d'Afrique*. Bruxelles: Établissements Généraux d'Imprimerie, 1931.
- Hardy, Georges, *Une conquête morale: L'enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française*. With an Introduction by J. P. Little. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005. First Published 1917 by A. Colin (Paris).
- Hodier, Catherine, and Michel Pierre. *L'exposition coloniale: 1931*. Paris: Editions Complexe, 1991.
- Jézéquel, Jean-Hervé. "Histoire de bancs, parcours d'élèves." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 169–170 (2003): 409–433. Accessed April 6, 2017. <http://etudes-safricaines.revues.org/207>.
- Jézéquel, Jean-Hervé. "Les enseignants comme élite politique en AOF (1930–1945): Des 'meneurs de galopins' dans l'arène politique." *Cahiers d'études africaine* 178 (2005): 519–543. Accessed April 6, 2017. <http://etudesafri-aines.revues.org/5458>.
- Kallaway, Peter. "Science and Policy: Anthropology and Education in British Colonial Africa During the Inter-War Years." *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 3 (2012): 411–430.
- King, Kenneth J. "Africa and the Southern States of the U.S.A.: Notes on J. H. Oldham and American Negro Education for Africans." *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 4 (1969): 659–677.
- Little, J. P. Introduction to *Une conquête morale: L'enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française*, by George Hardy, viii–xviii. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005.
- Remondet, Albert. "Deux formes primitives d'éducation au Soudan Français." *Bulletin Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques De l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 14 (1932): 1–26.
- Roberts, Richard L. *Two Worlds of Cotton Colonialism and the Regional Economy in the French Soudan, 1800–1946*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Rockwell, Elsie. "Tracing Assimilation and Adaptation through School Exercise Books from 'Afrique Occidentale Française' (Early Twentieth Century)." In *Empire and Education in Africa: The Shaping of a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Peter Kallaway and Rebecca Swartz, 235–270. New York: Peter Lang, 2016.
- Roume, Ernest. Preface to *Bulletin Comité D'études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 13 (1930): 2.
- Segalla, Spencer D. *The Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912–1956*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2009.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita, and Hubert O. Quist. "The Politics of Educational Borrowing: Reopening the Case of Achimta in British Ghana." *Comparative Education Review* 44, no. 3 (2000): 272–299.

- Vigouroux, Cécile B. "Francophonie." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 379–397.
- Wilder, Gary. *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Yellin, Eric S. "The (White) Search for (Black) Order: The Phelps-Stokes Fund's First Twenty Years, 1911–1931." *The Historian* 65, no. 2 (2002): 319–352.



Analyzing Toru Dutt's Oeuvre Today: How a Transnational Literary-Educational Case from Colonial India Can Enrich Our Conception of Transnational History

Barnita Bagchi

This chapter looks back, from the vantage point of our contemporary globalization, to an earlier time of globalization, imperialism, and colonialism in South Asia and specifically India. In this context, we note at the outset that the India this chapter refers to is not present-day India, but India as it was in the later nineteenth century, which would include multiple present-day sovereign countries in South Asia, notably India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The case this chapter will discuss is that of Toru Dutt (1856–1877), one of the earliest Indian writers in English and French, whose short life spanned informal educational trajectories in India, France, and England. The chapter argues that we might enrich our conceptualization of the transnational in educational history in a number of ways by examining the educational trajectory, oeuvre, and friendships

B. Bagchi (✉)

Comparative Literature Section, Department of Languages, Literature,
and Communication, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands
e-mail: B.Bagchi@uu.nl

© The Author(s) 2019

E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History
of Education*, Global Histories of Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_7

of Dutt as a young, highly educated female writer from colonial India. Conceptualization of the transnational is firmly rooted in my own standpoint and location as a transnational, cosmopolitan feminist scholar.

Toru Dutt's life took place within multicentric histories and trajectories, in which India under British colonialism, England, and France were key loci and influences. This chapter analyzes transnational history of education, playing out between the local and global spheres, of Dutt's life as writer-in-the-making, as captured in her letters and her best-known biography by Harihar Das.¹ A teenage prodigy who produced an astonishingly varied and rich corpus of literary works, in a life that spanned India and Europe, before dying at the age of twenty-one, Dutt created a transnational literary and cultural space for her work, in which female transnational friendships were key. I will argue in this chapter that a feminist perspective can lead us to recognize the enriching quality of such transnational female friendships and networks. Further, I will make the case for situating Dutt within the concepts of imperial as well as critical and vernacular cosmopolitanism and for regarding cosmopolitanisms in their various forms as significant elements in our conceptualization of the transnational. The chapter will progress to taking a brief look at key works in Dutt's fictional oeuvre to the end of illustrating how the content of that writing can enrich and enhance our conceptualization of the transnational in cultural and educational history. Finally, it will attempt to create bridges between educational trajectories of Dutt's time and those found in contemporary India. I argue that once one delves into the transnationalism and cosmopolitanism of a writer such as Dutt and of writers working in one's own time, it becomes vividly evident how very path-dependent such histories are, in the late nineteenth century as now: The legacies of British colonialism, entangled with the impact of the present-day inequalities of globalization, often continue to set templates for educational destinations for Indians and for choices they make around the languages they learn and write in. And yet, as the chapter will show, Dutt and her descendants have created transnational, critically cosmopolitan literature.

Fuchs and Roldán Vera have argued that understanding the transnational entails going beyond etymological precision or historical anecdotes on the origin of terms; instead, they assert, what is needed is an

¹Harihar Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt* (London: H. Milford, 1921).

understanding of the interplay between “social reality,” the concepts used by subjects and their contemporaries to make it intelligible (or to construct it), and the accumulation, displacement, and progressive density of meanings acquired by these concepts over time.² True to this process, this chapter will set out to explore this interplay in the case of Dutt.

I am myself a transnational subject, affiliated to both the Netherlands and India, with educational and academic ties to the UK, and making regular use of three European and two Indian languages. As a feminist academic, much of whose research has been devoted to understanding women writers and women educators from India and Britain from 1780 to contemporary times, I am conscious of the influence upon the work in this chapter of my own scholarly and moral-political commitment to women’s self-expression and agency across nation-states (or nation-states in the making).

Dutt was part of an era of imperial globalization. Fuchs has argued that, in the context of the *longue durée*, processes of globalization require fresh research perspectives³ which progress beyond the nation-state as a spatial and conceptual category. Undivided India, as colonized by the British in the nineteenth century, presents particularly compelling problems in this regard. Reinvented as a subordinated unit within the British Empire in 1857, under the rule of Victoria, the inhabitants of nineteenth-century India claimed a diverse range of affiliations, including such to specific regions and, from the end of the century onward, to emergent notions of “nation.” With India still to become a formal nation-state, and yet acutely aware of powerful established and emergent European nation-states ranging from Britain to France, Germany, and Italy, many educated Indians of the time imagined and thought between and across nations. Scholars such as Elleke Boehmer have argued that we today need to understand again what many of us have forgotten: the full reach of globalization under different varieties of European imperialism by the year 1900, with people traveling and migrating on a huge scale. Boehmer writes:

²Eckhardt Fuchs and Eugenia Roldan Vera, “The Concept of the Transnational” (Paper, Workshop on the Concept of the Transnational in Educational History, University of Istanbul, June 23, 2015).

³Eckhardt Fuchs, “History of Education: Beyond the Nation?” in *Connecting Histories of Education Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 11–26.

[I]t was around one hundred years ago that Empire reached its widest, most ‘globalised’ extent ever. From the latter part of the nineteenth century until 1914 imperial trade was free and unfettered as never before, and as never since, until the mid-1990s. One hundred years ago, thousands of African males in the southern African subcontinent, and indentured Asians worldwide, both Indians and Chinese, had already become what we now call migrant workers, and were directly and indirectly implicated as such in imperial relations. (In all likelihood they did not however *feel* globalised, much as migrant workers and asylum seekers today have little reason for feeling so.) By 1900, just over one hundred years ago, with the laying of the cross-Pacific cable between Australia and Canada, the imperial communications network in fact went global. This cable was the farthest extension of a web that had begun to weave itself from the 1850s, with the overhead telegraph cabling of London, and the laying of several trans-Atlantic cables in the 1860s. In 1864 Bombay and London had been linked, the first instance of a cable being a lasting success, and from 1868 the Caribbean was woven into the wider network.⁴

Living in such a time of globalization fueled by imperialism, and traveling between India and Europe, Dutt thus appears as part of the web of interconnections and circulatory communicative and cultural energies of this globalization. She is also part of the analytical narrative that scholars, of which I am one, have been constructing in recent years around colonial women’s education in the nineteenth century. In 2014, the present author, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere wrote:

The different transnational and transcultural interactions that mark the history of women’s education in colonial sites include the recasting and questioning of gendered roles; conflicts around, and reinventions of, tradition and modernity; the creation of unusual registers, idioms and styles of articulation and writing; and highly creative transcultural exchanges. As noted in the literary texts of women writers, the particularly ambiguous, contradictory attributes of gender relations under colonialism allowed for [the] creation of certain moments of agency and autonomy.⁵

⁴Elleke Boehmer, “Global and Textual Webs in an Age of Transnational Capitalism; or, What Isn’t New about Empire,” *Postcolonial Studies* 7, no. 1 (2004): 11–26, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1368879042000210586>.

⁵Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, “Introduction,” in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 5–6.

Toru Dutt is an important figure exemplifying this analytical narrative. Her life allowed her to experience some of the privileges of education, in a space where access to modern “Western” education was variable and obeyed specific hierarchies. With class, caste, religion, and gender all impacting people’s ability to access and participate in education in the colonial period, we have in Dutt a young Bengali Christian girl of the upper middle classes, whose parents schooled their children at home, which meant in India, but also, temporarily, England and France. Arguably, then, Dutt had parents who made their home encompass and expand out into the globalized world. Dutt’s life and writing bear vivid traces of informal and lifelong learning, which so often characterized the education of women and other subaltern groups in colonial India. The late Meera Kosambi (1939–2015), a distinguished sociologist, who contributed wonderfully to transnational women’s and educational history⁶ and to whom I pay special tribute in this chapter, taught us to take the transnational dimensions of Indian women writers’ work seriously, even if she did not theorize these issues. I position myself squarely in this transnational (as well as transcultural) turn of literary and cultural studies and of the history of education. Such histories analyze relationships, dialogs, and interactions among different categories of educational actors and systems in India/South Asia and the counterparts of these actors and systems in other parts of the globe, with careful attention to differentiating and hierarchizing factors, two of the most significant being gender and colonialism. However, there is little work to date in the field of women’s writing and education from colonial India/South Asia that explicitly conceptualizes the transnational. This chapter is an endeavor to fill that lacuna.

Toru Dutt’s Educational Histories

Toru Dutt was the third and youngest child of Govin Chunder Dutt and Kshetramoni Dutt. Govin converted to Christianity in 1862, together with his wife and children; Toru was six years old at this point.

⁶See, for example, Meera Kosambi, “Women’s Education through Women’s Eyes: Literary Articulations in Colonial Western India,” in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 193–212.

Her mother Kshetramoni, though she eventually embraced Christianity actively, remained resistant to the new religion for some time and always remained steeped in Hindu mythology and vernacular, alongside Bengali cultural topoi including oral literature. Kshetramoni's skills in cultural mediation between India and Europe, Christianity and Hinduism, and Bengali and English appear to have been of a high order. According to her daughter's biographer, she translated at least one Christian tract from English into Bengali.⁷ It was Kshetramoni who imparted to her children a love of the tales of the Hindu epics, notably the *Ramayana*. A philanthropist, she left, after her death in 1900, a handsome legacy toward the construction of the Oxford Mission Church at Barisal in Bengal. Govin was employed in a fairly senior capacity in the British colonial civil service in Calcutta for some years; after finding that opportunities for advancement were limited, he devoted his life to learning, religion, and literature. His books included contributions to the remarkable family anthology of original poetry that he co-wrote with brothers and a cousin, *The Dutt Family Album*.⁸ Girish—or Greece—Chunder Dutt, Toru Dutt's uncle, taught his wife French and German, and the couple enjoyed reading authors such as Schiller together. Strong elements of the transnational were therefore already present in Toru Dutt's childhood, in the shape of the family's affiliation to Christianity, the father's love of writing in English, and a paternal side of the family that learnt and loved European languages other than English. From her mother's side, she learned Bengali and drew a love of Hindu myths, legends, and epics, which she complemented by learning Sanskrit in the last years of her life.

Toru Dutt and her siblings were primarily taught at home by their parents and by tutors, whether in Calcutta or during their long travels in Europe. The few brief exceptions occurred during Dutt's European sojourn. Apart from their home in Rambagan in the center of Calcutta, the Dutt family had a beautiful garden-house in Bagmari, which Dutt spelt Baugmaree according to contemporary colonial convention; much of their learning and recreation took place there. Toru and her siblings Aru and Abju received instruction from a tutor, Shib Chunder Banerjee (who, for example, stimulated a great love of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in

⁷Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*, 7.

⁸Govin C. Dutt, *The Dutt Family Album* (London: Longman, Greens and Co., 1870).

them), and a European singing teacher, Mrs. Sinaes. The family traveled to Europe after the death of Abju Dutt. The first Bengali women to visit Europe, Toru and her sister Aru learnt French at a school and privately during a four-month stay in Nice; they cultivated this basic knowledge assiduously after their departure and became great Francophiles, publishing, after their return to India, a collection of translations of French poetry into English, *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*.⁹ France and its culture undoubtedly contributed greatly to the transnational quality of Dutt's mind. France also allowed Dutt to escape the prospect of imperial Britain being her only or principal transnational influence. Dutt's biographer Das observed:

England at that date had little to offer to young travelers from foreign countries, and the Higher Education of Women had hardly begun. It was perhaps a period in which the insularity of Britain was most marked. We are not surprised to read that France, the France of the Second Empire, had much more to teach the Dutt sisters and left deeper and more fruitful impressions on their minds.¹⁰

Dutt became a fervent supporter of the French nation and was anguished over France's defeat in the Franco-German War of 1870–1871. However, war was not her main preoccupation. Das cites numerous excerpts from letters by Dutt from France and England, which show that plays, literature, books, museums, and conversations with British men and women all kept Dutt and her sister busy during their stays in France and England. During the family's time in Cambridge, a visitor, who met them when Dutt was sixteen and her older sister was eighteen, was impressed by “their excellent command of English and especially by their wide knowledge of European life and thought.”¹¹ In Cambridge, Toru attended Higher Lectures for Women, including lectures on French held by Lucien Boquel which benefited her a great deal, as did further private lessons in French.

⁹Toru Dutt and Aru Dutt, *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (Bhowanipore, Calcutta: Saptahik Sambad Press, 1876).

¹⁰Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*, 21.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 39.

Aru Dutt also died after the Dutt's return to India. With the shadow of death darkening round the family, Dutt continued to read, write, and learn. She took up the study of Sanskrit in these years and produced her most mature literary works, including original poetry in English. She continued to read, speak, and write letters in Bengali, but did not choose that medium for creative writing. Toru's father remained her most constant teacher, and he wrote thus about his witty, learned daughter:

Not the least remarkable trait of Toru's mind was her wonderful memory. She could repeat almost every piece she translated by heart, and whenever there was a hitch, it was only necessary to repeat a line of the translation, to put an end to it, and draw out of her lips the whole original poem in its entirety. I have already said, she read much: she read rapidly too, but she never slurred over a difficulty when she was reading. Dictionaries, lexicons, and encyclopedias of all kinds were consulted until it was solved, and a note taken afterwards; the consequence was that explanations of hard words and phrases imprinted themselves, as it were, in her brain, and whenever we had a dispute about the signification of any expression or sentence in Sanskrit, or French, or German, in seven or eight cases out of ten, she would prove to be right. Sometimes I was so sure of my ground, that I would say, 'Well, let us lay a wager.' The wager was ordinarily a rupee. But when the authorities were consulted, she was almost always the winner. It was curious and very pleasant for me to watch her when she lost. First a bright smile, then thin fingers patting my grizzled cheek, then perhaps some quotation from Mrs. Barrett Browning, her favourite poetess, like this: 'Ah, my gossip, you are older, and more learned, and a man,' or some similar pleasantry.¹²

Govin, who clearly did not mind being beaten by his daughter, points to the influence on Toru Dutt of other women writers, across national boundaries. That Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861) was Dutt's "favourite poetess" also tells us something about Dutt's emergent sensibility. Barrett Browning had been a great admirer of Mary Wollstonecraft's late-Enlightenment feminism, and in *Aurora Leigh*, her nine-book epic, she poetically delineated the struggles of the protagonist Aurora to become a professional woman poet.¹³ Who knows, if Dutt had not died so

¹²Ibid., 24.

¹³Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* (London: J. Miller, 1856).

early she might have gone on to record the story of awakening of a transnational writer with Indian origins. In Dutt's own literary, cultural, and personal life, transnational female friendships with an English and a French woman played an intellectually and affectively enabling role.

Dutt's Female Friendships and the Concept of the Transnational

In 1872, when the Dutt's were living in Cambridge, Toru Dutt met and became friends with Mary Martin, the only child of Reverend John Martin, a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College and vicar of Saint Andrew the Great in the city. The friendship became equally defining for Mary Martin. Through her contact with Dutt, Martin became interested in the missionary work of the Church of England in countries such as India, and, incidentally, visited Calcutta in 1910 and 1913, after Dutt's death. Once Dutt had returned to India from England, an epistolary correspondence replaced the long walks and conversations that she and Martin had enjoyed in Cambridge. In one letter, Mary Martin reproved Dutt for calling her fellow Indians "natives," in accordance with the racialized idiom of the British imperialists tended to do; Dutt acknowledged her mistake: "Thank you very much for what you say about calling my countrymen 'natives'; the reproof is just, and I stand corrected. I shall take care and not call them natives again. It is indeed a term only used by prejudiced Anglo-Indians, and I am really ashamed to have used it."¹⁴ Dutt's side of this transnational conversation pointed to a rising anger in her about the inequitable and racially discriminatory governance of India by the British colonial power:

You are indignant at the way some Anglo-Indians speak of India and her inhabitants. What would you think if you read some of the Police reports which appear in the Indian daily papers? I shall tell you of a case which I read some months ago, and which impressed me then very much. I do not remember the details, but I shall tell you all that I can remember about it. Several soldiers went out for a holiday, having their guns with them. In a village they chanced to spy some peacocks, and they began shooting at them. The birds were the property of a Bengali farmer; of course

¹⁴Letter dated March 13, 1876, in: Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*, 131–132.

he protested... From words they came to blows; one soldier was severely beaten; the others decamped, leaving nine Bengalis dead and some seven Bengalis wounded. The case was brought before the magistrate; and what do you think his judgement was? The villagers were fined each and all; the soldiers acquitted: 'natives should know how precious is the life of one British soldier in the eyes of the British Government.'¹⁵

One can infer that this was a friendship that did not articulate itself in the idiom of dominant colonizer (speaking for the cause of British colonialism and imperialism) and submissive colonized (accepting the concept, and praising the putative practice, of ethical colonialism or imperialism); rather, both parties looked at the India–Britain relationship with clear, critical eyes. When we discuss the transnationalism fostered by the British Empire, and varieties of the cosmopolitan, this insight into the nature of Dutt's female friendships is crucial in our theoretical framing.

Another mutually valued friendship of Dutt's was that with Clarisse Bader (1840–1902), a member of the French bourgeoisie who had, like Dutt, been educated at home. Bader knew French, Italian, English, and German and could translate Latin and Greek. A monarchist and Catholic, she was also an Indianist and an active member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, as well as being a patron of the Anti-Slavery Society of France. A historian and journalist, Bader also provided for her family, her father having lost his job. Dutt wrote to Bader requesting permission to translate the latter's book *La femme dans l'Inde antique*.¹⁶ Dutt, who was independently learning Sanskrit at the time, planned to use Bader's book as one of her reference points for choosing literature in Sanskrit to translate into English. Bader's book presents us with many stock topoi of contemporary scholarship about India, including an image of women of the time of the Vedas (the most ancient texts of Hinduism) as being noble, spiritual, self-abnegating, and tender.¹⁷ Dutt's conception of India thus drew not solely on her own vernacular

¹⁵Letter dated June 26, 1876, in: Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*, 168–169.

¹⁶Clarisse Bader, *La femme dans l'Inde antique: Etudes, morales, et littéraires* (Paris: Didier, 1867).

¹⁷Geeti Sen, *Feminine Fables: Imaging the Indian Woman in Painting, Photography, and Cinema* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002), 60.

knowledge, transmitted through her mother, nor only on the Sanskrit sources which she was beginning to access as she learnt the language, but, also, transnationally, on the history of women in India as written by the European woman Bader, whom we might today describe as a conservative feminist.

Dutt's Fiction in the Context of the Transnational as a Concept in Educational History

Toru Dutt was a translator, critic, anthologist, and novelist, in English and in French. She was the youngest among many Indian women writing in English in the period 1860 to 1920, such as Krupabai and Kamala Sathianadhan. Many of these authors were not Hindus, which was the religion of the majority in undivided British India; this is perhaps one reason why English was an appropriate choice of medium for many of these writers, who were at a remove not just from the British colonizers by virtue of race and subordinate position, but also from the Hindu majority, who were increasingly writing in vernacular Indian languages from the latter part of the nineteenth century in tandem with and in reference to a growing nationalism. Christian writers such as Dutt were less nationalistic and more transnational.

Dutt was one of the writers who helped articulate and constitute a form of cultural modernity in which the alternative domain of truth seen to be purveyed by the novel, a particularly influential nineteenth-century form of fiction, was crucial, and popular among women writers and readers, who were claiming greater participation and recognition in the public sphere and in the construction of knowledge. Early Indian novels by writers such as Dutt frequently revolve around imaginings of selves and subjects, often mediated via female protagonists. The novels argue for reform, both social reform and reform of the self, with racism and patriarchy targeted for critique; without education there can be no reform, and education thus figures importantly in Dutt's fiction, with its referentiality to the wider, multifaceted debate around the reform of gender relations and other matters in contemporary Indian society. In Dutt's novels, however, the Indian context can only be read obliquely and transnationally; one in English and one in French, they are both set in Europe. Accordingly, in reading Dutt I pursue a transnational reading of reform and especially of the reform of gender roles.

Dutt lived to see only one of her works published: This was *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*,¹⁸ comprising translations of French poetry by her and her elder sister Aru. Edmund Gosse gave the volume a favorable review in *The Examiner* of August 26, 1876. Dutt's collection of original poetry (including poetic retellings of Hindu legends originally found in Sanskrit and Bengali), *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*, was published posthumously in 1882,¹⁹ with an introduction by Edmund Gosse. Dutt's French novel *Le Journal de Mademoiselle D'Arvers* was published in Paris in 1879; Clarisse Bader contributed a preface on the author's life and work. The book's front matter describes Dutt as a "jeune et célèbre Hindoue de Calcutta, morte en 1877,"²⁰ which reads oddly today, as Dutt was not Hindu by religion. This appears to represent a categorization on the part of the publisher that would accommodate Dutt's Indianness in a way understandable to French readers at a time when it was not habitual to speak of inhabitants of India as "*indien(ne)*," which in turn is reflective of the contemporary lack of a nation-state named India.

Dutt's father Govin published her unfinished English-language novel *Bianca, or the Young Spanish Maiden* posthumously in the January-April 1878 issue of *Bengal Magazine*.²¹ Melancholy, death, and tragedy brood over *Bianca* throughout its incomplete pages. The eponymous protagonist is a young, half-Spanish, half-British woman, recently bereaved of her sister Inez and living in English exile with her Spanish father. This is a story of sensitivity and sensibility, with a jealous, over-possessive father who resents his surviving daughter being courted by the English aristocrat Lord Moore. In the delicate, sensitive, intelligent Bianca, steeped in French poetry and very much an outsider in England, we find many traces of Dutt herself. The half-Spanish Bianca becomes a representation, at transnational distance, of Indian heroines who likewise find themselves at a degree of remove from class-bound white British values which engenders the potential of these values' critique. When Bianca nearly dies after an illness, her father agrees to consent to her engagement with

¹⁸Toru Dutt and Aru Dutt, *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*.

¹⁹Toru Dutt, *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (London: Kegan Paul, 1882).

²⁰Toru Dutt, *Le Journal de Mademoiselle D'Arvers* (Paris: Didier, 1879).

²¹Toru Dutt, "Bianca, or, the Young Spanish Maiden," *Bengal Magazine* 6 (1878): 264–381.

Lord Moore. Lord Moore's mother, however, calls Bianca a "wild girl"²² and "as proud as if she were the Queen of Spain."²³ The critical light thus shed upon British snobbery and xenophobia will appear in the further course of this chapter as an important strand in my argument that we need to read Dutt as a transnational, critically cosmopolitan writer.

Dutt's French-language Gothic novel *Le Journal de Mademoiselle d'Arvers* similarly takes a dominant tone of melancholy, tragedy, madness, and death, interwoven with a story of romantic love. N Kamala has argued that Dutt needed a language as distanced as was French from both English and Bengali, Dutt's obvious languages of affiliation, in order to generate narratives of romantic, sexual, and affective awakening.²⁴ Dutt's use of French becomes a powerful exemplar of the transnational at work. Placing her plots in European contexts also allowed Toru to make use of the conventions of sensibility and the Gothic with which she was familiar from her reading of European novels. In this way, she created, using the European aesthetic modes of the Gothic and the novel of sensibility, an improvisational transnational literary space in which entrapped and victimized heroines, villainous, patriarchal male figures, spaces of tradition and threat such as dungeons and castles, and a highly affective and embodied register come together.

Marguerite, the heroine of Dutt's French novel, bears a strong resemblance to Toru Dutt herself, in physical description, sensitivity, and intelligence. Marguerite suffers by falling in love with Dunois, who is engaged in a rivalry with his brother for the affections of a serving-maid. When the two brothers eventually kill each other, Marguerite accepts the hand of the loving Louis. In Dunois and his brother, who are patriarchal and cruel to both Marguerite and the serving-maid, Dutt articulates a critique of unacceptable, power-based male predatory practices toward young, innocent women. By contrast, in the happy union of Louis and Marguerite, she proposes an alternative of a reformed conjugal contract characterized by greater equity between the sexes. It is a pattern similar to that observable in *Bianca's* critique of the protagonist's father and Lord Moore's mother, both faces of repressive, snobbish patriarchy, and

²²Toru Dutt, *Collected Prose and Poetry*, ed. and intro. Chandani Lokugé (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 114.

²³Ibid.

²⁴N. Kamala, "Toru Dutt: Ecrivaine francophile et francophone," *Synergies Inde* 4 (2009): 109, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://gerflint.fr/Base/Inde4/kamala.pdf>.

in the validation of the mutual love connecting Lord Moore and Bianca. Both novels, in an eerie refracted mirroring of Dutt's and her siblings' early demise, contain premonitions of death. In *Le Journal*, Marguerite feels the presentiment of death through a dream of her husband,²⁵ while in *Bianca*, Lord Moore goes away to fight in the Crimean War, with readers not knowing whether he will survive. Both novels vindicate the refinement, intelligence, and educated sensitivity of young women journeying through the school of life.

Hyphenating the Cosmopolitan and the Transnational: Analytical Conclusions from the Case of Toru Dutt

In recent years, we have returned to using the category of cosmopolitanism, simultaneously a rich, fuzzy, connotative concept and even more normative in nature than most variants of concepts of the transnational. Having outlined Dutt's life and work, I wish now to argue that we might usefully encapsulate both of these by hyphenating the cosmopolitan and transnational. The "cosmopolitan," as a word, brings together the notions of the cosmos, a wide universe, and the inhabitant of the *polis*, a space of citizenship. We might most helpfully, then, conceive of cosmopolitanism as a process in which narrow, facile affiliations to a particular nation, ethnicity, tribe, or class are found inadequate, and in which the cosmopolitan subject to some degree chooses his or her affiliations. The Stoics of ancient Greece were the first to formulate the idea of the cosmopolitan; what is arguably one of its most influential uses was by Immanuel Kant during the Enlightenment, in the context of world politics, when he advanced the idea of a federation of nations that would transcend purely national, selfish interests in the cause of global justice.²⁶ Recent scholars, such as Kwame Anthony Appiah and Martha Nussbaum, have written about the notion of the cosmopolitan from a liberal, left-leaning point of view.²⁷ Nussbaum has influentially directed a

²⁵Dutt, *Le Journal*, 226.

²⁶Immanuel Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose," in *Political Writings*, ed. Hans S. Reiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 41–53; Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (New York: Cosmo Books, 2005).

²⁷Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007); Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," *Boston Review* 19, no. 5 (1994), accessed March 31, 2017, <http://bostonreview.net/BR19.5/nussbaum.html>.

spotlight on the potential of strands of cosmopolitanism to counter jingoism and shrill patriotism, pointing to the literary oeuvre of Rabindranath Tagore, born five years after Toru Dutt, as a fine example of cosmopolitan imagination. Scholars such as James Clifford and Bruce Robbins, who are critical of liberal philosophy, have also argued that a grounded, nuanced concept of the cosmopolitan remains fruitful.²⁸

For my part, I find the explication and espousal of vernacular cosmopolitanism by the anthropologist Pnina Werbner to be helpful, as well as persuasive in moving us beyond a simplistically Eurocentric and elitist view of the cosmopolitan; Werbner has also undertaken much research on the vernacular cosmopolitanism of women.²⁹ Joyce Goodman has recently presented a generative discussion of how feminist scholarship in the field of history of education might make conceptual use of the cosmopolitan. Goodman advocates a feminist notion of the cosmopolitan which acknowledges particularities, provides a space for transversal dialog, yet does not claim to produce final agreement among feminist scholars deploying the term “cosmopolitan.”³⁰ In this version of the cosmopolitan, to which I am happy to affiliate myself, recognition of the intersectionality of categories such as gender, race, colonial position, sexuality, and disability is key. We might term this “critical cosmopolitanism,” in recognition of its engagement in a critique of simplistic and dominant categories, often aligned with power, such as exclusionary nationalism. In the context of Toru Dutt, we may also use the term “vernacular cosmopolitanism,” which, as Werbner argues, is “an oxymoron that joins contradictory notions of local specificity and universal enlightenment.”³¹ Dutt engaged in a creative re-appropriation of the resources offered to her by imperial Britain, “writing back,” as it were, via a poetics of proto-feminist agency and hybrid registers combining

²⁸James Clifford, “Traveling Cultures,” in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (London: Routledge, 1992), 96–112; Bruce Robbins, “Comparative Cosmopolitanism,” *Social Text* 31–32 (1992): 169–186.

²⁹Pnina Werbner, “Vernacular Cosmopolitanism,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 23, nos. 2–3 (2006): 496–498; Pnina Werbner, *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives* (New York: Berg, 2008).

³⁰Joyce Goodman, “Gender, Cosmopolitanism, and Transnational Space and Time: Kasuya Yoshi and Girls’ Secondary Education,” *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683–699, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760x.2015.1076066>. As well as Goodman’s article in this volume.

³¹Werbner, “Vernacular Cosmopolitanism,” 496.

French, English, Bengali, and Sanskrit resources. She also vernacularized the transnational literary space in her poetry, prose, and correspondence, operating for the major part of her life from a relatively marginal position in Calcutta, and fusing European and Bengali/Sanskrit/South Asian cultural elements and forms.

The perspective from which I, as a feminist transnational scholar critical of many aspects of today's inequitable neoliberal globalization, set out to analyze Toru Dutt's educational trajectories and work differs in its theoretical framing from that employed by earlier influential readers of her work who were directly connected with the British Empire. H.A.L. Fisher, a historian, British Liberal politician, and educator, was President of the Board of Education in David Lloyd George's coalition government (1916–1922) at the time of writing his foreword to Das's biography of Dutt (1921). Fisher commences it thus:

The subject of this volume is an Indian girl who, dying at the age of twenty-one, has left behind her a legacy in verse and prose which, quite apart from its true and delicate poetic quality, constitutes an amazing feat of precocious literary craftsmanship. Toru Dutt was a poet with a rare genius for the acquisition of languages not her own. In her all too brief life she mastered Sanskrit and wrote in French and English with a grace, a facility, and an individual distinction which have given her rank among the authentic voices of Western literature. Her ear, indeed, sometimes betrayed her. On points of diction she was not always beyond reproach. Here and there in the Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan or in her amazing renderings from the French poets, we come across a word, a phrase, a discord, which remind us that the poet was not of our race or speech, and much the same has been said of her French prose romance by those best qualified to judge of it. Yet when every deduction has been made for unessential blemishes, this child of the green valley of the Ganges has by sheer force of native genius earned for herself the right to be enrolled in the great fellowship of English poets.³²

Capturing as he does Dutt's multilingual versatility, with its capacity to cut across spaces, affiliations, and nations, Fisher may appear to us as an early conceptualizer of both the transnational and the cosmopolitan in Dutt's literary oeuvre. But Fisher also shows his ideological limits: While graciously elevating Toru's work to the status of part of

³²Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*, vii.

“Western literature,” he points out her linguistic infelicities, moments of “discord,” as indicators that her “race” and “speech” are not “ours.” Indeed, in an act of simultaneous othering and adoption, he deems the “child of [...] the Ganges” to earn her inclusion in the company of “English poets” by virtue of “native genius.” And yet he does place her within this illustrious “fellowship.” I would assert here that a certain imperial cosmopolitanism has facilitated Fisher’s ability to include a writer from another race in the canon of English poets. In this age and (trans)locality, an individual did not count primarily as citizen of a nation, but rather as part of a larger and wider entity, which, to the distaste of many of us today, was simultaneously an empire. Notwithstanding its underlying, deeply embedded inequities and inequalities, notably those of race and ethnicity, empire employed a discourse of cosmopolitanism, and operated, of course, across nations, transnationally. Equally, as I have argued elsewhere, the colonial period saw the harnessing and reinvention of imperial transnationalism and cosmopolitanism by numerous Indian women writers and actors to the end of articulating subversive identities and positions and initiating an educational movement for women.³³

Let us go on to the concluding paragraph of Fisher’s foreword:

[...] Yet it is characteristic that all this tropical loveliness never completely contents or confines her. Home, after all, is in part exile. She cannot forget the beloved West, the enchantments of frost and snow, the delicate landscapes of France, the vivid, eager College life at Cambridge. In comparison with the stir and bustle of the West, the days in India seemed monotonous and without event. So in the midst of the profuse splendours of the East her thoughts continually reach out to that other home beyond the Ocean, which travel and study had made so dear to her, as, for example, to the world (known only through books) of the Brontë sisters, living among the lonely wild moors of Yorkshire, all three so full of talent, yet living so solitary amid those Yorkshire wolds, or to the days which stood out with such cameo-like distinctness in her memory, when she enjoyed the free life of a student by the banks of the Cam, passing ‘nice cosy evenings’ with her friend, and on Sundays drinking deep draughts of music from the College

³³Barnita Bagchi, “Towards Ladyland: Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain and the Movement for Women’s Education in Bengal, c. 1900–c. 1932,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 2 (2009): 743–755, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230903335652>.

organ. In the long history of the contact and interfusion of East and West, I doubt whether there is a figure more encouraging or significant.³⁴

Fisher's conceptual vocabulary thinks in terms of East and West. He can perceive only one part of the blurring, in Dutt's life, of boundaries between home and exile. Yet the other part is existent: Just as Toru missed England when she was not there, so also she longed for the other home in India when she was in Europe. In her transnational identities and the response to her work, she lived across and between nations and cultures, with a sense both of home and of exile wherever she was.

Toru Dutt's descendants in equivalent social positions, that is, the upper middle classes of today's India, would be highly unlikely to be home-schooled. Today, an aspiring writer in English from India has the advantage of a multi-channeled communicative publishing universe, far easier to access, in which the Internet and the digital "empire" facilitate communication and publication. When considering places and institutions outside South Asia to which a latter-day Toru Dutt might go to acquire informal or formal education, the USA, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada spring immediately to mind.³⁵ The UK and its former white settler colonies head that list; the ongoing path-dependence of Indians in formal higher education on British colonialism is very evident. In terms of non-Indian languages that such a great-granddaughter of Toru might learn, English, German, and French remain popular choices (although Chinese in particular is increasingly sought after).

This path-dependence on the colonial does not preclude writers, then and now, from adopting ways of writing, communicating, forging friendships, and creating cultural spaces that in turn give birth to surprising, unusual narratives of gendered reform, female agency and voice, and the forging of a critical and vernacular cosmopolitan idiom. Dutt's creation of outsider-heroines in her transnational novels, her fine translations of French poetry, her transnational female friendships foregrounding women as critical cultural and political critics: These elements of her life and work, among others, acted as road maps for more recent writing by later, postcolonial, highly educated Indian women. The transnational

³⁴Das, *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*, viii.

³⁵Yojana Sharma, "Surge in Growth of Indian Students Studying Abroad," *University World News* 416, June 1, 2016, accessed March 31, 2017, <http://www.universityworld-news.com/article.php?story=20160601180527213>.

idiom of the half-German, half-Indian writer Anita Desai (1937–) and her Booker Prize-winning daughter Kiran Desai (1971–) come especially to mind here, and there is much data available for future work on how studying such recent transnational-cosmopolitan writers could enrich and modify the concept of the transnational in educational history.

In its heyday as an earlier variant of globalization, integrating “peripheral” and “central” lands into an unequal political and economic system, the British Empire furthered both exploitation and inequality; our current era of globalization also advances the inequitable exploitation of various world regions. But both in that era and in our own, while colonialism, empire, and the unequal progress of globalization have helped shape educational trajectories and writerly choices, they did not, and do not now, foreclose a critical spirit, surprising recombinations, and innovations that we may fruitfully analyze under the conceptual umbrella of the transnational in history.

Bibliography

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2007.
- Bader, Clarisse. *La femme dans l'Inde antique: Etudes, morales, et littéraires*. Paris: Didier, 1867.
- Bagchi, Barnita. “Towards Ladyland: Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain and the Movement for Women’s Education in Bengal, c. 1900–c. 1932.” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 2 (2009): 743–755. Accessed March 31, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230903335652>.
- Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere. “Introduction.” In *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 1–8. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Boehmer, Elleke. “Global and Textual Webs in an Age of Transnational Capitalism; or, What Isn’t New about Empire.” *Postcolonial Studies* 7, no. 1 (2004): 11–26. Accessed March 31, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1368879042000210586>.
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. *Aurora Leigh*. London: J. Miller, 1856.
- Clifford, James. “Traveling Cultures.” In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, 96–112. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Das, Harihar. *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*. With a preface by H. A. L. Fisher. London: H. Milford, 1921.

- Dutt, Govin C. *The Dutt Family Album*. London: Longman, Greens and Co, 1870.
- Dutt, Toru. *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*. London: Kegan Paul, 1882.
- Dutt, Toru. "Bianca, or, the Young Spanish Maiden." *Bengal Magazine* 6 (1878): 264–381.
- Dutt, Toru. *Collected Prose and Poetry*. Edited and with an introduction by Chandani Lokugé. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Dutt, Toru. *Le Journal de Mademoiselle D'Arvers*. Paris: Didier, 1879.
- Dutt, Toru, and Aru Dutt. *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*. Bhowanipore, Calcutta: Saptahik Sambad Press, 1876.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. "History of Education Beyond the Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship." In *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 11–26. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, and Eugenia Roldán Vera. "The Concept of the Transnational." Paper presented at the International Workshop on the Concept of the Transnational in Educational History, University of Istanbul, June 23, 2015.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Gender, Cosmopolitanism, and Transnational Space and Time: Kasuya Yoshi and Girls' Secondary Education." *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683–699. Accessed March 31, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760x.2015.1076066>.
- Kamala, N. "Toru Dutt: Ecrivaine francophile et francophone." *Synergies Inde* 4 (2009): 101–111. Accessed March 31, 2017. <https://gerflint.fr/Base/Inde4/kamala.pdf>.
- Kant, Immanuel. "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose." In *Political Writings*, edited by Hans S. Reiss, translated by H. B. Nisbet, 41–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Originally published in 1784.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Perpetual Peace*. New York: Cosmo Books, 2005. Originally published in 1795.
- Kosambi, Meera. "Women's Education through Women's Eyes: Literary Articulations in Colonial Western India." In *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, edited by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, 193–212. New York: Berghahn, 2014.
- Nussbaum, Martha. "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism." *Boston Review* 19, no. 5 (1994). Accessed March 31, 2017. <http://bostonreview.net/BR19.5/nussbaum.html>.
- Robbins, Bruce. "Comparative Cosmopolitanism." *Social Text* 31–32 (1992): 169–186.

- Sen, Geeti. *Feminine Fables: Imaging the Indian Woman in Painting, Photography, and Cinema*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002.
- Sharma, Yojana. "Surge in Growth of Indian Students Studying Abroad." *University World News* 416, June 1, 2016. Accessed March 31, 2017. <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20160601180527213>.
- Werbner, Pnina. *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*. New York: Berg, 2008.
- Werbner, Pnina. "Vernacular Cosmopolitanism." *Theory, Culture and Society* 23, nos. 2–3 (2006): 496–498.



Temporalities and the Transnational: Yoshi Kasuya's Consideration of Secondary Education for Girls in Japan (1933)

Joyce Goodman

Introduction

Yoshi Kasuya, a teacher from Tsuda College in Tokyo, Japan, spent three periods of study in the USA. From 1919, she studied English literature, primarily at Wellesley College; in 1929 she returned to the USA to pursue a doctorate at Teachers College, Columbia, and in the 1950s she returned to Wellesley to study university education and to research language teaching in girls' high schools.¹ Yoshi's study in the USA was supported by a female transnational circulatory regime² built around

¹Joyce Goodman, "Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time: Kasuya Yoshi and Girls' Secondary Education," *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683–699.

²Michael Geyer, "Spatial Regimes," in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 962–966.

J. Goodman (✉)
Centre for the History of Women's Education,
University of Winchester, Winchester, UK
e-mail: joyce.goodman@winchester.ac.uk

Tsuda College's founder, Tsuda Umeko,³ that stretched between Tsuda College and the USA and provided scholarships to enable Japanese women to study in America.⁴

Yoshi's comparative study of the secondary education of girls in England, Germany, and the USA was undertaken in order to make recommendations for the secondary education of girls in Japan.⁵ Her study was jointly supervised at Teachers College by Isaac Kandel, professor of comparative education,⁶ and Willystine Goodsell, assistant professor of history and philosophy, whose specialism was the education of women.⁷ Comparative studies have tended to be aligned with internationalism due to their concern with interactions between nation-states or with the "to-ing and fro-ing" of items from one nation-state context to another.⁸ But as Micol Seigel argues, comparative studies facilitate the circulation of people, ideas, and cultural forms in ways that transcend national boundaries, and build on, as well as create, transnational networks⁹ through which comparative educationalists participate in the construction of social categories. In this vein, Yoshi's work configures a complex cultural model of modern Japanese womanhood, and an associated educational program, that entangles Japanese elements with facets of Western womanhood that she encountered during her periods of research in Germany, England, and the USA.

³Linda L. Johnson, "'Contributing to the Most Promising Peaceful Revolution in Our Time': The American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women, 1893–1941," in *Women and Philanthropy in Education*, ed. Andrea Walton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 298–319.

⁴Sally A. Hastings, "Japanese Women as American College Students, 1900–1941," in *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility and Labor in Japan*, ed. Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller, and Christine R. Yano (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 193–208.

⁵Kasuya Yoshi, *A Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls in England, Germany and the United States with a Consideration of the Secondary Education of Girls in Japan* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

⁶J. Wesley Null, *Peerless Educator: The Life and Work of Isaac Leon Kandel* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

⁷Kathleen Weiler, "No Women Wanted on the Social Frontier: Gender, Citizenship and Progressive Education," in *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*, ed. Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough (London: Routledge, 2000), 122–137.

⁸Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁹Micol Seigel, "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn," *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005): 62–90.

Her configuration of modern Japanese womanhood incorporates neo-Confucian, “nativist” and Western elements that embrace differing notions of temporality. As I argue elsewhere,¹⁰ Yoshi entangles these elements in ways characteristic of what Arjun Appadurai terms vernacular cosmopolitanism’s context-generating and world-generating optics,¹¹ which Noah Sobe claims are characteristic of the multilayered geographies emerging with globalization and bring people, knowledge, institutions, and objects together in novel and sometimes surprising assemblages.¹²

Cosmopolitanism is a slippery and contested concept whose interpretation has been variously cast in negative terms (as identical with universalism and the loss of self-identity), with an emphasis on the pragmatic (as mobility, rootlessness, openness to different lifestyles and detachment from the nation-state), and with a legal, political, or ethical dimension.¹³ My “take” on cosmopolitanism(s) is informed by Thomas Popkewitz’s view that cosmopolitanism as “an analytic descriptor ... can be applied to historically shifting phenomena appearing in multiple places and multiple times and in various guises,” and entails “cultural theses” about “modes of life” in “time/space.”¹⁴ Like Sneja Gunew,¹⁵ I draw on Homi Bhabha’s specific articulation of vernacular cosmopolitanism(s)¹⁶ because of its usefulness in pointing to the complexities of estrangement and belonging in transnational flows. Yoshi, for example, develops her

¹⁰Goodman, “Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time.”

¹¹Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Mike Featherstone (London: Sage, 1990), 295–310.

¹²Noah W. Sobe, “Rethinking ‘Cosmopolitanism’ as an Analytic for the Comparative Study of Globalization and Education,” *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 12, no. 1 (2009): 6.

¹³Marianna Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently about Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Eccentricity, and the Globalized World* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2015).

¹⁴Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform: Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child* (London: Routledge, 2012), 5.

¹⁵Sneja Gunew, “Estrangement as Pedagogy: The Cosmopolitan Vernacular,” in *After Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Rosi Braidotti, Patrick Hanafin, and Bolette Blaagaard (London: Routledge, 2012), 132–148.

¹⁶Homi K. Bhabha, “Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism,” in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, ed. Laura García-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer (London: Camden House, 1996), 191–207.

prescription for Japanese womanhood in a context she frames in terms of communication, transportation, international conferences, exchanges of teachers, students and pupils, educational tours and international radio, all of which she maintains has “made the world far smaller and more conscious of common problems than the educators of yesterday ever dreamed,”¹⁷ while also drawing on “nativist” Japanese elements.

In what follows, I explore Yoshi’s comparative study through the lens of vernacular cosmopolitanism in response to Antonio Nóvoa’s call for historians of education to “learn to unfold time” in order to “understand the different temporalities that exist in a given historical period.”¹⁸ Moving between theoretical insights and Yoshi’s study, I seek to unpack the temporalities in the comparative and historical approaches that she deploys. The first section of this chapter focuses on a body of writing on cosmopolitanism(s) that discusses women/gender and the related question of where debate about cosmopolitanism figures in feminist literature. The “Interlude” that follows the first section looks at Yoshi’s comparative method through the diachronic organization of time, in which time as a way of thinking underpins the organization of what is known and acted upon¹⁹ as individuals organize themselves and tell their stories as an emergence of successions.²⁰ The second section foregrounds the deployment of time in accounts of education focused on the fabrication of cultural sensibilities and dispositions and in terms of the abjections of cosmopolitanism. The “Interlude” that follows the second section explores Yoshi’s account through the forward-looking work of time in relation to the space of the nation. The third section examines a thread of feminist theorizing around becoming. The “Interlude” following the third section explores temporalities of duration embraced in the “betweenness” of past, present, and future on which Yoshi draws. In her study, these temporalities intertwine like a “ball of knots and ropes [woven] together.”²¹ In the conclusion, I argue that attention to the

¹⁷Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 3.

¹⁸Antonio Nóvoa, “Letter to a Young Educational Historian,” *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 1 (2015): 51.

¹⁹Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi, “Globalization and the Study of Education,” in *Globalization and the Study of Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi (Malden: Blackwell, 2009), 22.

²⁰Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*, 24.

²¹Nóvoa, “Letter,” 52.

temporalities running through Yoshi's study highlights the entanglement of the transnational, the international, and the national in her work.

Temporalities 1: Times of Diachronic Comparison

Transnationalism's focus on non-state actors, flows across national borders, the circulatory regimes that regulate flows and spaces, and the multiple geographies and geographical histories that play into the fabrication of cosmopolitan subjectivities provide strategies through which to make visible processes of knowledge construction and their maintenance, while also illuminating the spaces and processes implicated in feminists' production of educational knowledge and practice.²² Yet, as Pnina Werbner,²³ Maila Stivens,²⁴ and Ulrike Vieten²⁵ argue, while feminism introduces an approach to difference in cosmopolitan debate, and despite the attention of some researchers to women and globalization, and to the complex relations among feminisms, or among women from different global regions, the now voluminous literature on cosmopolitanism pays only marginal heed to gender issues. This is in spite of feminism's engagement, both theoretically and practically, with many of the issues in debates within cosmopolitanism around universalism, ethnocentricity and neo-imperialism, and despite the emergence of feminist versions of what we might term grounded cosmopolitanism.²⁶

Stivens argues that the substantial literature on transnational feminisms does de facto deal with cosmopolitanism(s), but mostly evades the term due to skepticism around the invocation of cosmopolitan discourses in the "civilizing mission" of imperialism and as a result of critiques of cosmopolitan idealism, universalism, and elitism.²⁷ She

²²Geyer, "Spatial Regimes"; Goodman, "Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time."

²³Pnina Werbner, "Introduction: Towards a New Cosmopolitan Anthropology," in *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, ed. Pnina Werbner (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 1–32.

²⁴Maila Stivens, "Gender, Rights and Cosmopolitanisms," in *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, ed. Pnina Werbner (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 87–110.

²⁵Ulrike Vieten, *Gender and Cosmopolitanism in Europe: A Feminist Perspective* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

²⁶Werbner, "Introduction."

²⁷Stivens, "Gender, Rights and Cosmopolitanisms."

asserts that feminist writers have taken up Nira Yuval-Davis' reworking of Félix Guattari's transversal politics,²⁸ based on the idea of dialog and debate that takes into account the different positionings of women, as an alternative to what feminist theorists tend to view as a universalizing exclusionary liberal cosmopolitanism.²⁹ Yuval-Davis differentiates between positioning, identity, and values, claiming that while differences are important, they should encompass, rather than replace, notions of equality, through respect for others' positionings in processes that incorporate the acknowledgment of differentials in social, economic, and political power. She draws on a dialogical epistemological standpoint which perceives each positioning in the world differently and renders knowledge incomplete when based on just one positioning.³⁰ What counts for Yuval-Davis and Werbner in transversal dialog is a process in which all participants mutually reconstruct themselves as others engaged with them.³¹ This implies that women will approach disagreement and conflict with cosmopolitan openness, "rooting" and "shifting" (i.e., being reflexive as well as staying grounded in one's own social location) toward mutually acceptable agendas without effacing their own positioned identity, and also recognizing unequal power relations in such transactions.³² Transversal dialog, which underpins Vieten's feminist approach to gender and cosmopolitanism³³ and my earlier work on cosmopolitan women educators and abjection,³⁴ attempts to reconcile the universalism at the heart of some accounts

²⁸Félix Guattari, *Psychanalyse et transversalité: Essais d'analyse institutionnelle* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003).

²⁹Nira Yuval-Davis, ed., *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations* (London: Sage, 2011).

³⁰Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997).

³¹Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner, *Women, Citizenship and Difference* (London: Zubaan, 2005).

³²Nira Yuval-Davis, "Human/Women's Rights and Feminist Transversal Politics," in *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*, ed. Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 275–312.

³³Vieten, *Gender and Cosmopolitanism*.

³⁴Joyce Goodman, "Cosmopolitan Women Educators, 1920–1939: Inside/Outside Activism and Abjection," 46, nos. 1–2 (2010): 69–83.

of cosmopolitanism with the demands of political difference and resonates with Kwame Appiah's account of cosmopolitanism.³⁵

Approaches to cosmopolitanism like those of Appiah and Yuval-Davis call for the development of habits of coexistence, or "conversation" in its older meaning of living together, but "conversation" without a promise of final agreement.³⁶ Drawing on Bhabha's notion of vernacular cosmopolitanism,³⁷ Yuval-Davis argues that cosmopolitanism does not mean the abstraction of the individual and their location, but attention to their social situatedness and to political normative messages regarding rootedness in particular contexts. Yuval-Davis sees cosmopolitanism as always situated (though not always rooted). She argues that intersectional social locations (of which national origins and formal citizenships form only part) are implicated in cosmopolitan gazes, and she maintains that intersectional social locations require exploration in relation to boundaries of belonging in cosmopolitan projects that construct themselves as universal political enterprises.³⁸ Nina Glick Schiller et al.³⁹ and Mitchell Cohen also call attention to the maintenance of ethnic/national ties, gendered identities or religious commitments through "the fashioning of a dialectical concept of a rooted cosmopolitanism [that] stand[s] in many circles but with common ground."⁴⁰ For Yuval-Davis et al., Glick Schiller et al., and Werbner, cosmopolitan standpoints require contextualization and situating; and intersecting positions in terms of class, ethnicity, gender (and so on) need articulation, if Western-centric, heterosexist, and middle-class discourse is not to render invisible the standpoints and interests of excluded minorities.⁴¹

³⁵Kwame A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

³⁶Yuval-Davis, *Politics of Belonging*.

³⁷Bhabha, "Unsatisfied."

³⁸Yuval-Davis, *Politics of Belonging*.

³⁹Nina Glick-Schiller, Tsypylma Darieva, and Sandra Gruner-Domic, "Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability in a Transnational Age: An Introduction," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 3 (2011): 399–418.

⁴⁰Mitchell Cohen, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," *Dissent* 139, no. 4 (1992): 483.

⁴¹Nira Yuval-Davis, Kalpana Kannabiran, and Ulrike Vieten, eds., *The Situated Politics of Belonging* (London: Sage, 2006); Glick-Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic, "Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability"; Werbner, "Introduction."

While Marianna Papastephanou argues for a transversal approach, she sees much discussion of cosmopolitanism as overly reliant on a celebration of global mobility, transnational border-crossing, and adaptability to diversity.⁴² In such accounts, maintains Papastephanou, the borders that the self has to cross in order to merit the attribute “cosmopolitan” include external frontiers (e.g., walls, checkpoints, and boundaries). She is critical of a focus on learning about other cultures and people associated with them, which, she argues, comes down to self-enrichment through hybridization. She applies her critique of cosmopolitanism as self-enrichment to vernacular cosmopolitanisms like those of Bhabha⁴³ on the grounds that they portray refugees and migrants as sharing with the “footloose” academic the movement in space and the experience of disorder that generates the renewal of existence. Such accounts of the self, she maintains, are individualistic and embrace a cognitivist cosmopolitanism that draws on monological understandings (i.e., of a type that are reflected back upon the Cartesian subject). She argues that such monological understandings are Western in origin and do not make room for those who, far from sharing a Western valorization of rootlessness, wish to remain rooted and reclaim their (often traumatically dislodged) rootedness.⁴⁴ Rather than internal borders like emotional dependence on rootedness, that can restrict physical movement,⁴⁵ the internal borders in Papastephanou’s model comprise values, mentalities, and rationales for action that underpin the treatment of others and of the environment (in the sense of nature/cosmos), which she argues are not easily shaken just by exposure to alternate lifestyles outside an individual’s country of origin. For Papastephanou, cosmopolitanism entails a capacity on the part of the self to reconsider critically the impact of priorities and values on others and on nature in light of one’s own ethical and emotive boundaries, regardless of mobility or rootedness. This re-evaluation necessitates a context-sensitive, ethico-political cosmopolitanism that embraces an ethical responsibility to attain a more complete knowledge of the past of one’s own community. Such knowledge is to

⁴²Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*.

⁴³Bhabha, “Unsatisfied.”

⁴⁴Marianna Papastephanou, “Concentric, Vernacular and Rhizomatic Cosmopolitanisms,” in *Cosmopolitanism: Educational, Philosophical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Marianna Papastephanou (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 215–228.

⁴⁵Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*.

reveal the entanglement of one's community with others and to give rise to forms of restorative justice around the debts and wrongs which that entanglement may have generated. For Papastephanou, transcending internal borders requires a cosmopolitan worldview that not only emanates from synchronic considerations but also embraces a historical diachronic temporality that, as Gilroy has also observed, recognizes and acknowledges a colonial past.⁴⁶

Mica Nava includes manifestations of racialization in relation to Britain's old and new imperial projects in her analysis of micro-narratives of emotional, gendered, and domestic "everydayness" in various articulations of vernacular cosmopolitanisms in London from the 1920s to the 1990s. In Nava's study, imperialist manifestations run alongside "structures of feeling"⁴⁷ associated with modernity, which include hospitality, inclusivity, and conviviality.⁴⁸ Fiona Paisley, meanwhile, highlights how imperialism inflected modes of cultural internationalism constructed around affect and rationality in the context of the Pan-Pacific Women's Conferences from the 1920s to 1958. These conferences acted as settings for delegates from nations on the Pacific Rim, and from those newly formed or still under trusteeship within the Pacific Basin, to seek new models of being and responses to globalization and Westernization. As Paisley notes, the Pacific was a complex and dynamic space, the site of entangled interconnections among imperial, colonial, and national histories. In a context where an East-meets-West theme dominated early conferences, delegates from Japan, China, and subsequently South East Asia played an important role in the association's collective imagination and practical achievements. At times, this gave rise to anxiety over the expression (or assertion) of cultural authority in the enduring colonial attitudes and colonizing ambitions that Paisley argues were inherent in the fabrication of cosmopolitan identities.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Paul Gilroy, "Postcolonialism and Cosmopolitanism: Towards a Worldly Understanding of Fascism and Europe's Colonial Crimes," in *After Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Rosi Braidotti, Patrick Hanafin, and Bolette Blaagaard (London: Routledge, 2012), 111–131.

⁴⁷For "structures of feeling" see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁴⁸Mica Nava, *Visceral Cosmopolitanism: Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

⁴⁹Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

Taken together, these accounts highlight the importance of diachronic (historical) elements of temporality in the analysis of instances of cosmopolitanism that have shifted over time. In Interlude 1, I explore elements of diachronic temporality that inform Yoshi's use of the methodology of comparative education.

Interlude 1: Temporalities of "Adaptation"

Yoshi opens her study by stating that because education has as its object the development of individuals or groups that constitute society, it must inevitably be closely related to the social theory of the community and of the period which it serves. As a result, she continues, the objectives of a country's education policy cannot be divorced from those of society, nor can its educational practices be entirely alien to the ordinary procedures pertaining to other fields of communal activity. To effect such a split, she argues, would be to engender social unrest and to waste educational efforts. At the same time, Yoshi considers the purpose of education to be the cultivation of critical judgment and constructive thinking so that social objectives and practices might be constantly evaluated in light of the new needs of the society that are brought about by the ever-changing nature of civilization. In Yoshi's view, researchers wishing to understand the "needs" of a country have to examine national ideals or traditions, which she terms "a cumulative result of the activities which have been carried on generation after generation from the foundation of the country, and in response to the peculiar natural environment, special conditions and cultural history."⁵⁰ Her comparative perspective is founded on the premise that educational theory and practice should take account of the "social forces and historical factors peculiar to each country," which she sees as "exerting a powerful influence upon the distinctive development of the education of its girls."⁵¹ For Yoshi, the evaluation of the education process must be based on the "degree of appropriateness and efficiency manifested in meeting the peculiar needs of girls and women of each country,"⁵² which she sees as

⁵⁰Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 1.

⁵¹Ibid., 2.

⁵²Ibid.

“rooted in the native soil.”⁵³ Here, her approach is closely aligned with the comparative education method developed by Kandel, who considered the chief value of comparative education to be in analyzing the causes of “problems.”

In Kandel’s view, the institution of school reflects the social and political ideals of a country, so that understanding, appreciating, and evaluating the real meaning of a nation’s education system, and providing direction for future policy, necessitates knowing something of its history and traditions, and the “forces and attitudes governing its social organisation.”⁵⁴ What matters to Kandel is the “appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system.”⁵⁵ His views aligned with those of Michael Sadler, with whom he had studied in England. Sadler regarded a national system of education as a “living thing,” the “outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties” and “of battles long ago,” from which he concludes that education illustrates “some of the secret workings of national life.”⁵⁶ Sadler thought the practical value of studying the workings of foreign education systems lay in the manner in which it enabled educationists to understand their own educational system. But, he argued, we cannot wander at pleasure among the education systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home we shall have a living plant.⁵⁷

Yoshi’s own references to soil activate threads of Sadler’s and Kandel’s perspectives. She devotes considerable attention to the social forces and historical factors peculiar to each country which she sees as working together in the context of interdependence among countries. She outlines a general historical and social background to the education of girls and women that covers traditional conceptions of women’s position, the condition of their education up to the mid-nineteenth century, and the development of the women’s movement in England, Germany,

⁵³Ibid., 1.

⁵⁴Isaac L. Kandel, *Studies in Comparative Education* (London: George G. Harrap and Co Ltd., 1933), xix.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Michael Sadler, “Documents: Sir Michael Sadler’s ‘Study of Foreign Systems of Education’,” *Comparative Education Review* 7, no. 3 (1964): 310.

⁵⁷Ibid.

and the USA. For all three countries, she considers secondary education for girls from the mid-nineteenth century onward, tendencies and “problems” in girls’ secondary education in her time, and the philosophical underpinnings of women’s education. Her chapter on the secondary education of girls in Japan opens with a summary of historical and social factors before turning to contemporary tendencies and recommendations for the future.

Yoshi weaves her historical account around understandings of a womanhood that is “fitted” to a particular setting. She notes, for example, that “German girls had to be educated to fit the war-begotten needs of society.”⁵⁸ “Fitting,” in Yoshi’s terms, requires processes of adaptation. She argues that a key element for consideration in reforming girls’ education in Japan is the “adaptation” of “the finest traits of Western civilization” in ways which “intelligently preserve[s] the heritage of Eastern culture and constantly enrich[es] it.”⁵⁹ Advocating for a secondary education to serve the needs of Japanese women, she notes:

[W]hile the peculiar social and historical backgrounds must be taken into serious account and the best of Japanese traditions must be preserved, native culture has much room for enrichment by means of an adaptation of the finest features found in the cultures of other countries.⁶⁰

We may read Yoshi’s reconfigured vision of education through the “enrichment” model of cosmopolitanism that Papastephanou highlights.⁶¹ At a time of increasing nationalism in Japan, when “those associated with a school with foreign connections [could not] be too bold in breaking openly with that which had the government’s stamp of approval,”⁶² Yoshi is silent on questions of “race” and “imperialism.” Nonetheless, her critique of the rising nationalism of 1930s Japan

⁵⁸Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 121.

⁵⁹Ibid., 4.

⁶⁰Ibid., 191.

⁶¹Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*, Marianna Papastephanou, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *Cosmopolitanism: Educational, Philosophical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Marianna Papastephanou (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 1–20.

⁶²August Karl Reischauer, “Japan,” in *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*, ed. Isaac L. Kandel (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), 429.

gestures toward Papastephanou's call for an ethico-political stance. Yoshi opposes what she terms "narrow patriotism" and proposes a form of education which would enable society to discern and reject "the fanatical aggrandisement of national glory."⁶³ Her deployment of the metaphor of soil and of notions of "fitting" or "adapting" to a particular setting creates associations with ideas or practices leaving one space and arriving at another in which they are received, a process that Sobe argues is diachronic.⁶⁴ The "to-ing and fro-ing" of items from one nation-state context to another, in line with this diachronic approach, is characteristic of the internationalism of comparative accounts of education circulating in Yoshi's day.

Temporalities 2: Times of the Nation

Popkewitz sees the "cosmopolitan child" fabricated through an assemblage of reason that includes notions of planning, design, autonomy, career, and so on. From this perspective, the cosmopolitan child is considered as an assemblage in which design provides plans for uncertainty and rules of reason tame the world in ways that enable individuals to act with foresight. Accounts of cosmopolitanisms focused around systems of reason highlight the future-oriented work of time and the invention of multiple forms of agency that are historically particular and order particular forms of cosmopolitan self-in-time.⁶⁵ For Popkewitz, acting with foresight includes the double gesture of hope and fear that he argues characterizes cosmopolitan modes of living. Popkewitz shows how a modern conception of time, deeply embedded in the ways in which Westerners have come to know the world and encompassing fears of degeneracy and decay, endows reason and rationality with notions of agency and progress. These notions of agency and progress incorporate a view of time as marching forward through an irreversible succession of events progressing from past to present and to a future in

⁶³Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 94.

⁶⁴Noah W. Sobe, "Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 93–107.

⁶⁵Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; Noah W. Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen: Yugoslav Student and Teacher Travel and Slavic Cosmopolitanism in the Interwar Era* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

which old-world traditions (or ignorance) are replaced with a superior, future-oriented time guided by reason and science.

From this perspective, the spatial and temporal grammars of everyday life in schools and the sciences of learning hold time and space together in ways that shift.⁶⁶ Julie McLeod illuminates the emancipatory promise of progressive education which informed citizenship practices, modes of citizenship recognition, and pedagogies for learning to be a citizen in interwar Australia. These practices and pedagogies varied across time and place and incorporated “dividing practices” that simultaneously constructed Aboriginal students as “problematic” and excluded them from recognition as citizens.⁶⁷ For McLeod, like Popkewitz⁶⁸ cosmopolitanism works to abject those deemed unreasonable or undesirable, and includes processes which for Papastephanou align with universalization.⁶⁹

Henri Lefebvre argues that the future-oriented time of progress that Popkewitz, Sobe and McLeod identify in their analyses of cosmopolitanism is concealed in the “envelope” of a Cartesian view of absolute space, which David Harvey terms abstract space.⁷⁰ This is a notion of space as carefully measured, regulated, isotropic, geometric, reducible to a formal (empty) schema or grid, associated with seriality, repeated actions, reproducible projects, interchangeable places, behaviors, activities, and numbers. Location in abstract space/time provides the means for the identification of the individuality and uniqueness of modern persons, things, and processes, within a concept where measurement and calculability thrive.⁷¹ The history of abstract space/time includes the growth of asymmetry between experience and the expectations produced by the idea of progress and the opening of time as future. Such

⁶⁶Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*.

⁶⁷Julie McLeod, “Educating for ‘World-Mindedness’: Cosmopolitanism, Localism and Schooling the Adolescent Citizen in Interwar Australia,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 44, no. 4 (2012): 339–359.

⁶⁸Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; McLeod, “Educating for ‘World-Mindedness’.”

⁶⁹Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*; Papastephanou, “Editor’s Introduction.”

⁷⁰Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Wiley, 1992); David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2009); Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*; McLeod, “Educating for ‘World-Mindedness’.”

⁷¹Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism*.

processes point to what François Hartog terms “regimes of historicity,”⁷² and to the distance between self and self, to which categories of past, present, and future give order and meaning, and within which the dominant rhythms of different societies and their changing relationships to time shape discourses of collectivity and frame political action to which Reinhart Koselleck alerts.⁷³ Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that theories and concepts founded on notions of abstract space/time work to demarcate difference and racialize populations through a backdrop of assumptions about universal human nature, the time-space coordinates of historicism and universal history, and the landscape of a universalized space of humanity.⁷⁴ Time as a regulatory principle of conduct, instantiated in continua of value and hierarchy, assigned so-called primitive societies to positions in evolutionary taxonomies that reinterpreted time as distance in categories of “savage,” “barbaric,” and “civilized,” rather than understanding these categories as functions of national and transnational power structures.⁷⁵ These processes abjected populations to another time⁷⁶: that of Chakrabarty’s imaginary waiting room of history.⁷⁷ In Interlude 2, I explore elements of diachronic temporality related to conceptions of nation that inform Yoshi’s approach to women’s education.

Interlude 2: Temporalities of “Awakening”

Yoshi deploys the metaphor of “awakening” in relation to the development of women’s education, which, she argues, took different forms in England, Germany, the USA, and Japan, but constituted an integral part of the general movement for the emancipation of women. She perceives the Industrial Revolution, democratic ideals, and other “modern

⁷²François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

⁷³Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁷⁴Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁷⁵Thomas S. Popkewitz, “Comparative Studies and Unthinking Comparative ‘Thought’: The Paradox of ‘Reason’ and Its Abjections,” in *New Thinking in Comparative Education: Honouring Robert Cowen*, ed. Marian Larsen (London: Sense Publishers, 2010), 15–28.

⁷⁶Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

⁷⁷Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

forces” as affecting the development of the feminist movement in similar ways in all these countries. She unfolds time in a linear evolutionary trajectory characteristic of a “worldly” optic through a “stadial” (i.e., perceived as occurring in stages) universal approach to history, which links metaphors of germination and soil in her view that this historic “awakening” occurred in each country at a different point in time. In this diachronic history of “awakening,” America “took the lead” in developing secondary education for girls, while Germany “lagged behind”⁷⁸ in what Chakrabarty would term the imaginary waiting room of history⁷⁹: “The modern women’s movement germinated earliest in the democratic soil of America, latest in Germany, where a form of feudalism had long held sway, and in England, tradition-bound but inherently individualistic, midway between the two.”⁸⁰

When Yoshi writes of change in Japanese society, affecting, *inter alia*, the position of women and their education, she does so in terms of speed and intensity subsequent to the temporal rupture around the 1868 Meiji restoration, which, as Christopher Hill highlights, forms a narrative structure in the historical accounts of Japan circulating in Yoshi’s day⁸¹: “With the penetration of Western civilization added to an abundance of energy, Japan has undergone during the last seventy years a social change the rapidity and intensity of which have no parallel in the history of the world.”⁸² Yoshi situates feudalism on the other, more temporally distant side of the cleft in the narrative of the rupture of Japanese political forms prior to the 1868 restoration: “[F]or nearly three centuries until the restoration of full sovereignty to the Emperor in 1868 she [Japan] had been a country typical of the most elaborate form of feudalism.”⁸³ Yoshi folds the “awakening” of women into the concomitant “awakening” of the nation by understanding the work of temporal rupture in positive terms: “[W]ith a social transformation of such magnitude, Japanese women, whom the old régime had held in absolute subjection, could not but feel

⁷⁸Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 174.

⁷⁹Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

⁸⁰Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 173.

⁸¹Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), chapter 5.

⁸²Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 179.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 179.

the broadening spirit of the age. They, too, have undergone a remarkable change in their status and in their outlook upon life.”⁸⁴

Yoshi’s narrative around a Japan that “endeavours to build up a modern nation comparable with any of the Western nations”⁸⁵ plays into the temporal notions around Japan which Masako Shibata terms catch-up,⁸⁶ as do Yoshi’s writings about the immaturity of the Japanese women’s movement moving toward a self-consciousness which she describes as “young.”⁸⁷

In Yoshi’s account, not only are women “awakened” through the wage system in a new industrial order that gives them a “vague sense of independence,” with middle-class women driven to seek gainful employment through economic pressure, but aspects of national “awakening” also emerge via a transnational intermingling through whose description Yoshi incorporates the history of Japanese women into a history of civilization in which women’s education works to overcome outmoded aspects of custom. She contests Japanese histories of civilization from which women were excluded through their authors’ differentiation between notions of intelligence (operating in the public domain) and of morals (in the private domain of the household).⁸⁸ Yoshi notes how a Western democratic ideal “caught the imagination of the Japanese people ... and emphasised the full realisation of individual ability.”⁸⁹ She points to the importance of Christianity in improving women’s lot and their education, but pinpoints the most direct call for an advanced education for girls as resulting from the physical presence in the West of the 1871 Iwakara Mission, involving “[M]en and women who were sent abroad to see the best of Western culture and to see for themselves how women in foreign countries receive their education and also learn the way to bring up their children.”⁹⁰

Yoshi’s account of the transnational intermingling of men and women in the West—which resonates with her own sojourn in America and her travels in Germany, England, and France—draws on a trope of “intercourse.” This trope of “intercourse” is double-sided and resonates with

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁸⁶ Masako Shibata, “Controlling National Identity and Reshaping the Role of Education: The Vision of State Formation in Meiji Japan and the German Kaiserreich,” *History of Education* 33, no. 1 (2004): 75–85.

⁸⁷ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 183.

⁸⁸ Hill, *National History*.

⁸⁹ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 180.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 181.

Hill's arguments about Japanese understandings of "civilization" as a liberal and gradualist history of national unity that aimed to explain the formation and mechanisms of the Japanese nation's development.⁹¹ Exemplified by Yoshi's narrative of intermingling and by Fukuzawa Yuchichi's *Civilisation and Enlightenment*,⁹² this trope of expansion locates human nature as associating in ever-widening circles, constantly overcoming barriers to communication; it is a conception which depicts impediments to circulation as fundamentally damaging to society.⁹³ This expansionist side of the trope of "intercourse" in Yoshi's account, where instances of impetus to the reform of girls' education include the transnational circulation and cross-border engagement of the Iwakara Mission,⁹⁴ resonates with an enrichment narrative of cosmopolitanism of the type that Papstefhanou upacks. It also illustrates Hill's contention that expansionist and integrationist elements in the trope of "intercourse" in Japanese histories of civilization place a primary focus on the internal integration and enrichment of the nation.⁹⁵

Temporalities 3: Times of Vernacular Cosmopolitanism

For Antonio Viñao, the academic time of schooling is framed institutionally through taken-for-granted assumptions in a conception and experience of time as measurable, fragmented, sequenced, linear, and objective, which carries cosmopolitan implications of goals and a future. But as Viñao notes, this institutional framing coexists with the time of the individual, a time for her or him to internalize and learn, which reflects specified psychopedagogical assumptions, values, and forms of gestation; the result is that academic time is at once personal time and institutional, organizing time.⁹⁶ Luhmann argues that social and human, multiple and plural time is a consequence of, and implies, the establishment of,

⁹¹Hill, *National History*.

⁹²Yukichi Fukuzawa, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation (1875)* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973).

⁹³Hill, *National History*.

⁹⁴Yoshi, *Comparative Study*.

⁹⁵Hill, *National History*.

⁹⁶Antonio Viñao, "History of Education and Cultural History: Possibilities, Problems, Questions," in *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*,

“determined relations among the before and the after, and the now – the past, the future and the present.”⁹⁷ Sobe, too, finds that temporalities of science and progress circulated alongside temporalities related to past, present, and future, acting to inscribe Slavic sentiments in acts of commemoration, sites of memory, architecture, the sharing of memories and gymnastics.⁹⁸

Analyses like those put forward by Viñao, Luhmann, and Sobe point to the plural temporalities on which a specific strand of feminist theorizing and some feminist historical studies of women and education draw.⁹⁹ Here, an emphasis on becoming cosmopolitan (as process) rather than being cosmopolitan (as identity) embraces temporalities in which past, present, and future coexist and contain, entwined within them, potentialities that may or may not be actualized and expand into a virtual plane of potential.¹⁰⁰ An opening to the space of the virtual in feminist historical studies of women, education, and cosmopolitanism constitutes a disordering of chronological time as a linear/divisible unit that underpins historical views of cosmopolitanism like those of Fichte, who saw cosmopolitanism as a revolution by stages (first the nation, then humanity as a whole).¹⁰¹

A strand of feminist theorizing which deploys the “new,” harnesses a cluster of concepts drawn from Charles Darwin, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Henri Bergson, which conceptualize time as opening up to new ways of living and thinking beyond what has already been imagined, and which “refuses to think [time] as a modality or dimension of space.”¹⁰² This conception of time reorders cosmopolitanism along a present that

ed. Thomas Popkewitz, Barry Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 125–150.

⁹⁷Viñao, “History of Education,” 135; Niklas Luhmann, “The Future Cannot Begin: Temporal Structures in Modern Society,” *Social Research* 43, no. 1 (1976): 130–152.

⁹⁸Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*.

⁹⁹Viñao, “History of Education”; Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*.

¹⁰⁰Claire Colebrook, *Gilles Deleuze* (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁰¹Yuval-Davis, *Politics of Belonging*.

¹⁰²Elisabeth Grosz, “Becoming ... An Introduction,” in *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, ed. Elisabeth Grosz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 4.

entwines past, present, and future in a virtual plane of futurity.¹⁰³ Time as becoming in feminist historical approaches is dynamized as duration, “the coexisting moments where the virtual past – what was – inheres in the experience of the present – what is – and opens it up to virtual and radical futures – what will be.”¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth Grosz argues that in duration, past and present are not two modalities of the present (“the past receded or former present, a present that has moved out of the limelight, a diminished version of the present that once was”).¹⁰⁵ Instead, the past and present coexist, with the whole of the past contained in contracted form in each moment of the present and accessible in the form of recollections, or in the form of image-memory.¹⁰⁶ Straddling past and present, the present “requires the past as its precondition” and is oriented toward the immediate future. The present may be almost instantaneous, or may stretch back to include hours, days, or centuries or millennia or geological or evolutionary duration, as a dynamic concept that is elastic and capable of expanding to include what from the past and immediate future the present requires to complete its present action.¹⁰⁷ This, then, is one time, but also numerous times, “a duration for each thing or movement, which melds within a global or collective time.”¹⁰⁸

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari write of “becoming” as neither one nor two, nor the relationship of the two, but as the in-between of the intermezzo.¹⁰⁹ Tim Ingold talks of “betweening” as “the becoming of persons and things within the midstream of correspondence.”¹¹⁰ Here, historical practice in the nomadic space of the intermezzo and of “betweening” evokes becoming in the “and” spaces between terms

¹⁰³Grosz, “Becoming,” 1–12; Patty Sotorin, “Becoming-Woman,” in *Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, ed. Charles J. Stivale (Durham: Acumen, 2014), 117.

¹⁰⁴Maria Tamboukou, *In the Fold between Power and Desire: Women Artists’ Narratives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 4.

¹⁰⁵Elizabeth Grosz, *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 176.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 170, 175.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 175, 177.

¹⁰⁸Elizabeth Grosz, “Thinking the New: Of Futures Yet Unthought,” in *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, ed. Elizabeth Grosz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 16.

¹⁰⁹Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1988).

¹¹⁰Tim Ingold, *The Life of Lines* (London: Routledge, 2015).

(women *and* education, women *and* cosmopolitanism(s), education *and* cosmopolitanism(s)).¹¹¹ Becoming speaks to historicity,¹¹² where iterability is not repetition in which the distances between temporal moments are treated as uniform and connote time as an operator. Nor does historicity understand time as spatialized, or bounded as an identifiable object.¹¹³ Historicity denotes a “betweenness” that differentiates moments of time and resonates with temporalities of becoming in which dualisms between the context-generating and world-generating optics of vernacular cosmopolitanisms may be dispersed. In Interlude 3, I suggest how some temporalities of becoming intertwine past-present and future in Yoshi’s approach to vernacular cosmopolitanism, women, and education.

Interlude 3: Temporalities of Becoming

On the one hand, Yoshi looks forward through a worldly optic and an integrative model of “intercourse” that interpolates “woman” and her education in the future development of the Japanese nation. On the other, she embraces a context-generating optic around the neo-Confucian virtues found in the *Imperial Rescript on Education* that demonstrates that her account of civilization is not an account of Europeanization. Issued in 1890, the *Rescript* emphasized loyalty, filial piety, humanity, fairness, and harmony maintained through a hierarchy of social relations. The *Rescript* also “invented” a “mythohistory”¹¹⁴ that instilled respect for sources of authority such as teachers and parents.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹Here I draw on Tamboukou, *In the Fold between Power and Desire*, 169.

¹¹²Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976). Historicity goes beyond the chronology of events and attempts to “think” notions of history without “origins” and without “grounds”. See Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, “Experimental Systems: Historicity, Narration, and Deconstruction,” *Science in Context* 7, no. 1 (1994): 65–81.

¹¹³Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁴Takashi Fujitani, *Japan’s Modern National Ceremonies, 1868–1912* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986).

¹¹⁵Samuel Hideo Yamashita, “Confucianism and the Japanese State, 1904–1945,” in *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons*, ed. Tu Wei-Ming (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 132–154.

In the work of memory, the *Rescript* was revered as a sacred object and formally adopted in Shinto ceremonies in Japanese schools,¹¹⁶ where it was recited on national holidays and at monthly convocations, and came to form the basis of moral education.¹¹⁷ Yoshi notes that the *Rescript* should continue to be the keynote in the education of women; for in a country built on the idea of the nation as a large family, “tradition justly esteems married life as the most normal and as the best career of women”¹¹⁸:

The emperor and his subjects make one large family. The freedom of individual subjects must be tempered by a sense of responsibility which arises not from coercion but from love and admiration for the Emperor, the inviolable Head of the Great Family of Japan, and from the splendour of the unbroken dynasty which traces ancestry from Amaterasu Omikami, the Sun Goddess. The subjects are sons and daughters, living under the loving guidance of the Emperor, the father. Their utility and subservience to the well being of the State further the progress of the nation.¹¹⁹

Yoshi describes a dual belonging to the collective and to oneself as a unique feature of the history of the family and as embedded in Japanese conceptions of the nation.

Yoshi’s invocation of the *Rescript* in a reconfigured education for Japanese women that incorporates Western ideas of the educated woman who possesses the potential for rational motherhood¹²⁰ reflects a Japanese preoccupation with the relationship of the present to the past. As Hill notes, in response to the early Meiji enthusiasm for foreign learning, a “nativist” movement became an important reference point in political and social thought during the mid-Meiji period (from the 1880s), which saw an “invention” of new attitudes toward the past.¹²¹ Yoshi asserts:

¹¹⁶Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

¹¹⁷Nicole Freiner, *The Social and Gender Politics of Confucian Nationalism: Women and the Japanese Nation-State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

¹¹⁸Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 200.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 189.

¹²⁰Goodman, “Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time.”

¹²¹Hill, *National History*.

Japan is proud of her culture, which is nearly three thousand years old; and yet facing the forceful influx of Western civilisation she stands hesitant. People are prone to consider anything foreign as much better than things native of Japan. This blind adoration of Occidental manners and customs, things material and immaterial, must be checked with the power of discriminating judgement.¹²²

Alongside her description of the speed and intensity characteristic of a “new” Japan, Yoshi argues for the right of the Japanese imperial family to loyalty and obedience through a notion of time stretching back without interruption to the goddess Amaterasu. Hill notes how Japanese temporalities pointing to the past were used to justify reforms in the present that would play out in the future.¹²³ In Yoshi’s account, invocations of the goddess Amaterasu in the present draw on the invention of a timeless past in pursuit of a future reformed education for Japanese women.

Yoshi references particularities of the Japanese nation in a context centering on closer relations between countries, generated through transnational circulation and entanglements, which are to be considered together:

Two factors... always working together - the distinctive character of each country, and the interdependence of the countries - must be duly recognised by educators everywhere. Lose sight of the former and a country will lose its very identity: if the eyes are closed to the world currents, a hopeless cultural stagnancy will be inevitable.¹²⁴

In the interstices of vernacular cosmopolitanism, the transnational entanglements of the present prompt recourse to a Japanese national past through deployment of a differentiating side of the trope of “intercourse” to highlight alterity across borders. In Yoshi’s account, this differentiating side ran alongside the integrationist side of “intercourse” noted earlier in this chapter to create a “betweening” with the potentiality to facilitate women and education becoming other than they already were.

¹²²Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 200.

¹²³Hill, *National History*.

¹²⁴Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 3.

Reassembling: Temporalities and Vernacular Cosmopolitanism

Exploring and unfolding temporalities in Yoshi's comparative study brings into focus a temporal interweaving in which transnational, international, and national aspects coexist in and between the universal and particular spaces of vernacular cosmopolitanism. This interweaving adds a level of complexity to Nóvoa's call for historians of education to "learn to unfold time" in order to "understand the different temporalities that exist in a given historical period."¹²⁵ In addressing the question—derived from vernacular cosmopolitanism—of the extent to which educators should preserve and develop the "peculiar cultural qualities of a country" while simultaneously joining in "general world movements,"¹²⁶ Yoshi draws on forward-looking spatiotemporal notions of stadial histories to narrate the "awakening" of women, which she folds into the "awakening" of the Japanese nation, and to point to Japan's energy in "catching up" with the West. She deploys Japanese narratives around the sudden temporal rupture of the 1868 Meiji restoration to frame her argument for the necessity of educational reform and for an intellectual education that moves women toward the exercise of their judgment and away from a life based solely on custom. She imagines this education as "fitting" and "adapting" women to the soil of Japan, whose "peculiarities" she portrays in terms of "origins" stretching back through an uninterrupted temporality to the goddess Amaterasu.

When knotting together these various temporalities, Yoshi interweaves the universal of "world current" and the particularities of nation, that in some instances works through the double-sided trope of "intercourse" in Japanese histories of civilization with the potentiality to create a "betweening" to facilitate women and education becoming other than they already were. In Cohen's phrase, Yoshi works with a dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism that "stand[s] in many circles but with common ground."¹²⁷ To pursue Yoshi's prescription of education through the lens of transnationalism alone, rather than through a perspective taking account of the entanglements of transnationalism with internationalism *and* nation, and the spaces between these terms, would

¹²⁵Nóvoa, "Letter," 51.

¹²⁶Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 3.

¹²⁷Cohen, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," 483.

be to adopt a position that would remain, in Yuval-Davis and Werbner's terms, "unfinished"¹²⁸ and in Bhabha's words "unsatisfied."¹²⁹ Whether such entanglements are characteristic of Yoshi's study, or whether they pertain more generally to comparative accounts remains a question for further study.

Bibliography

- Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." In *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, edited by Mike Featherstone, 295–310. London: Sage, 1990.
- Appiah, Kwame A. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. London: Allen Lane, 2006.
- Barad, Karen. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism." In *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, edited by Laura García-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer, 191–207. London: Camden House, 1996.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Cohen, Mitchell. "Rooted Cosmopolitanism." *Dissent* 39, no. 4 (1992): 477–483.
- Colebrook, Claire. *Gilles Deleuze*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1988.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Of Grammatology*. Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Freiner, Nicole. *The Social and Gender Politics of Confucian Nationalism: Women and the Japanese Nation-State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Fujitani, Takashi. *Japan's Modern National Ceremonies, 1868–1912*. Berkeley: University of California, 1986.
- Fukuzawa, Yukichi. *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Translated by David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973. First Published in 1875.

¹²⁸Yuval-Davis and Werbner, *Women, Citizenship and Difference*.

¹²⁹Bhabha, "Unsatisfied."

- Geyer, Michael. "Spatial Regimes." In *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, edited by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, 962–966. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Gilroy, Paul. "Postcolonialism and Cosmopolitanism: Towards a Worldly Understanding of Fascism and Europe's Colonial Crimes." In *After Cosmopolitanism*, edited by Rosi Braidotti, Patrick Hanafin, and Bolette Blaagaard, 111–131. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Glick-Schiller, Nina, Tsypylma Darieva, and Sandra Gruner-Domic. "Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability in a Transnational Age: An Introduction." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 3 (2011): 399–418.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Cosmopolitan Women Educators, 1920–1939: Inside/Outside Activism and Abjection." *Paedagogica Historica* 46, nos. 1–2 (2010): 69–83.
- Goodman, Joyce. "Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time: Kasuya Yoshi and Girls' Secondary Education." *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683–699.
- Grosz, Elisabeth. "Becoming ... An Introduction." In *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, edited by Elisabeth A. Grosz, 1–12. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Grosz, Elisabeth. *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Grosz, Elisabeth. "Thinking the New: Of Futures Yet Unthought." In *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, edited by Elisabeth Grosz, 15–28. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Guattari, Félix. *Psychanalyse et transversalité: Essais d'analyse institutionnelle*. Paris: La Découverte, 2003.
- Gunew, Sneja. "Estrangement as Pedagogy: The Cosmopolitan Vernacular." In *After Cosmopolitanism*, edited by Rosi Braidotti, Patrick Hanafin, and Bolette Blaagaard, 132–148. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto and the State, 1868–1988*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Hartog, François. *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Harvey, David. *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Hastings, Sally A. "Japanese Women as American College Students, 1900–1941." In *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility and Labor in Japan*, edited by Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller, and Christine R. Yano, 193–208. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Hill, Christopher. *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008, chapter 5.

- Ingold, Tim. *The Life of Lines*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Johnson, Linda L. "Contributing to the Most Promising Peaceful Revolution in Our Time: The American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women, 1893–1941." In *Women and Philanthropy in Education*, edited by Andrea Walton, 298–319. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Kandel, Isaac L. *Studies in Comparative Education*. London: George G. Harrap and Co Ltd., 1933.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. Translated by Keith Tribe. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. London: Wiley, 1992.
- Luhmann, Niklas. "The Future Cannot Begin: Temporal Structures in Modern Society." *Social Research* 43, no. 1 (1976): 130–152.
- McLeod, Julie. "Educating for 'World-Mindedness': Cosmopolitanism, Localism and Schooling the Adolescent Citizen in Interwar Australia." *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 44, no. 4 (2012): 339–359.
- Nava, Mica. *Visceral Cosmopolitanism: Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference*. Oxford: Berg, 2007.
- Nóvoa, Antonio. "Letter to a Young Educational Historian." *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 1 (2015): 23–58.
- Null, J. Wesley. *Peerless Educator: The Life and Work of Isaac Leon Kandel*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Paisley, Fiona. *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Papastephanou, Marianna. "Concentric, Vernacular and Rhizomatic Cosmopolitanisms." In *Cosmopolitanism: Educational, Philosophical and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Marianna Papastephanou, 215–228. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016.
- Papastephanou, Marianna. "Editor's Introduction." In *Cosmopolitanism: Educational, Philosophical and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Marianna Papastephanou, 1–20. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016.
- Papastephanou, Marianna. *Thinking Differently about Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Eccentricity, and the Globalized World*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2015.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. "Comparative Studies and Unthinking Comparative 'Thought': The Paradox of 'Reason' and Its Abjections." In *New Thinking in Comparative Education: Honouring Robert Cowen*, edited by Marian Larsen, 15–28. London: Sense Publishers, 2010.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform: Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S., and Fazal Rizvi. "Globalization and the Study of Education." In *Globalization and the Study of Education*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi, 7–29. Malden: Blackwell, 2009.

- Reischauer, August Karl. "Japan." In *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*, edited by Isaac L. Kandel, 391–433. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933.
- Sadler, Michael. "Documents: Sir Michael Sadler's 'Study of Foreign Systems of Education'." *Comparative Education Review* 7, no. 3 (1964): 307–314.
- Seigel, Micol. "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn." *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005): 62–90.
- Shibata, Masako. "Controlling National Identity and Reshaping the Role of Education: The Vision of State Formation in Meiji Japan and the German Kaiserreich." *History of Education* 33, no. 1 (2004): 75–85.
- Sobe, Noah W. "Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education." In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 93–107. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Sobe, Noah W. *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen: Yugoslav Student and Teacher Travel and Slavic Cosmopolitanism in the Interwar Era*. New York: Peter Lang, 2008.
- Sobe, Noah W. "Rethinking 'Cosmopolitanism' as an Analytic for the Comparative Study of Globalization and Education." *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 12, no. 1 (2009): 6–13.
- Sotorin, Patty. "Becoming-Woman." In *Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, edited by Charles J. Stivale, 116–130. Durham: Acumen, 2014.
- Stivens, Maila. "Gender, Rights and Cosmopolitanisms." In *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, edited by Pnina Werbner, 87–110. Oxford: Berg, 2008.
- Tamboukou, Maria. *In the Fold Between Power and Desire: Women Artists' Narratives*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010.
- Vertovec, Steven. *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Vieten, Ulrike. *Gender and Cosmopolitanism in Europe: A Feminist Perspective*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Viñao, Antonio. "History of Education and Cultural History: Possibilities, Problems, Questions." In *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra, 125–150. London: Taylor & Francis, 2013.
- Weiler, Kathleen. "No Women Wanted on the Social Frontier: Gender, Citizenship and Progressive Education." In *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*, edited by Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough, 122–137. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Werbner, Pnina. "Introduction: Towards a New Cosmopolitan Anthropology." In *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, edited by Pnina Werbner, 1–32. Oxford: Berg, 2008.

- Yamashita, Samuel Hideo. "Confucianism and the Japanese State, 1904–1945." In *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons*, edited by Tu Wei-Ming, 132–154. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Yoshi, Kasuya. *A Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls in England, Germany and the United States with a Consideration of the Secondary Education of Girls in Japan*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage, 1997.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Human/Women's Rights and Feminist Transversal Politics." In *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*, edited by Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, 275–312. New York: New York University Press, 2006.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, ed. *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*. London: Sage, 2011.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, and Pnina Werbner, eds. *Women, Citizenship and Difference*. London: Zubaan, 2005.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, Kalpana Kannabiran, and Ulrike Vieten, eds. *The Situated Politics of Belonging*. London: Sage, 2006.



(De)Constructing the Global Community: Education, Childhood and the Transnational History of International Organizations

Damiano Matasci and Joëlle Droux

Introduction

In our contemporary globalized world, international organizations play a crucial role in the development of national education policies. The debates and controversies that regularly follow the publication of the results of the PISA tests developed by the OECD in the early 2000s illustrate the manner in which the supranational framework has advanced to become a major point of reference for policymakers.¹ Similarly, the

¹Heinz-Dieter Meyer and Aaron Benavot, eds., *PISA, Power, and Policy: The Emergence of Global Educational Governance* (Southampton: Symposium Books, 2013).

D. Matasci (✉)
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lausanne,
Lausanne, Switzerland
e-mail: damiano.matasci@unil.ch

J. Droux
Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences,
University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Bank and other non-governmental organizations have emerged as key players in the promotion of education in the global south. For decades now, their policies have been closely associated with development programs and the struggle against economic, social, and gender inequalities.²

The important role currently assumed by international organizations, be they intergovernmental or private, is the result of an evolution that took root in the early twentieth century.³ It was at the time of the creation of the League of Nations (LON) in 1919 that a “global community” began to emerge. In the definition put forward by Akira Iriye, this term refers to the emergence of multiple actors on the basis of “a global consciousness,” whose various activities rely on “the idea that there is a wider world over and above separate states and national societies, and that individuals and groups ... share certain interests and concerns in that wider world.”⁴ In recent years, the study of these actors, particularly international organizations and networks, has benefited from the rise of what is referred to as transnational history.⁵ Calling into question the “methodological nationalism” and the classical boundaries of historical analysis, many scholars have chosen to address “the interwovennesses and the mutual influences that societies exert on each other” as well as the role played by international organizations in the many ways in which “ideas, people, institutions, and goods [have] moved and circulated between different societies.”⁶ Moreover, by virtue of their universal aims, these actors represent an ideal means of exploring the

²Phillip W. Jones, *The United Nations and Education: Multilateralism, Development and Globalisation* (London: Routledge, 2005).

³John Boli and Georges M. Thomas, *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

⁴Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 8.

⁵Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Patricia Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–439.

⁶Kiran Klaus Patel, “‘Transnations’ among ‘Transnations’? The Debate on Transnational History in the United States and Germany,” *Center for European Studies Working Paper Series* 159, no. 4 (2008).

growing interconnections between countries and regions of the world. Their study therefore contributes to better historicizing the process of globalization.⁷

This article draws on our research around international organizations which operated in the fields of education and child development and demonstrates the operational nature of an analytical approach that takes phenomena of transfers and borrowings into account.⁸ We were able to empirically observe the impact of complex transnational dynamics on a variety of levels: the development of national education systems,⁹ the emergence of binding international rules,¹⁰ and the action of international agencies charged with elaborating recommendations for “good educational practices.”¹¹ Referencing this diverse research portfolio, the present chapter demonstrates the relevance of such a transnational perspective, proceeding on the basis of a careful examination of the actors (both individual and collective), and their complex interactions. We also identify the principal limitations to this approach and discuss its ability to shed new light on the vast process by which, during the twentieth century, debates, practices, and educational policies internationalized. By highlighting the richness of past and current work—focused on the interwar period as well as the 1950s—this chapter ultimately aims to

⁷Eckhardt Fuchs and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., “Internationale Organisationen als Global Players in Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik,” special issue, *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 52, no. 2 (2007).

⁸Rita Hofstetter and Joëlle Droux, eds., *Globalisation des mondes de l'éducation: Circulations, connexions, réfractons, XIXe–XXe siècles* (Rennes: PUR, 2015); Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds., *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Marcelo Caruso et al., eds., *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in Historischer Perspektive* (Köln: Böhlau, 2013); Eckhardt Fuchs, ed., *Bildung International: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2006).

⁹Damiano Matasci, *L'école républicaine et l'étranger: Une histoire internationale des réformes scolaires en France (1870–1914)* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015).

¹⁰Joëlle Droux, “Une contagion programmée: La circulation internationale du modèle des tribunaux pour mineurs dans l'espace transatlantique (1900–1940),” in *Les sciences du gouvernement: Circulation(s), traduction(s), réception(s)*, ed. Martine Kaluszynski and Renaud Payre (Paris: Economica, 2013), 102–117.

¹¹Joëlle Droux and Damiano Matasci, “La jeunesse en crise: acteurs et projets transnationaux face au problème du chômage des jeunes durant l'entre-deux-guerres,” *Revue d'histoire de la protection sociale* 5 (2012): 48–59.

provide the conceptual and methodological tools needed to conduct a broader and theoretically underpinned reflection on the history of education.

The chapter is divided into three sections. First, we will trace the impact on the study of international organizations of the recent “transnational turn” in historical research, which has deeply enriched our perception of the role these actors played in establishing a global regulatory system during the twentieth century. Second, we will turn our attention to the emergence of education and child development as specific fields of international intervention, highlighting the specificities of the relevant themes and the particular nature of the interconnections that have structured the workings of intergovernmental and private networks since the interwar period. Third, we will examine, via two case studies, the potential, challenges, and limitations of the application of the transnational methodological approach to this arena. This will allow us to assess the importance of accounting for national legal and cultural identities and compare the actions of international organizations with those of other global actors.

The “Transnational Turn” and the Renewal of the History of International Organizations

The transnational paradigm, with its focus on the study of exchanges, interconnections, and circulatory regimes, has undoubtedly given new life to the history of international organizations.¹² Research aligned with this perspective, which over the past decade has experienced something of a boom, has principally centered on the interwar period and has thus made a major contribution to work on the LON,¹³ the International

¹²David Mackenzie, *A World Beyond Borders: An Introduction to the History of International Organizations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Madeleine Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: Eine Globalgeschichte der Internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹³Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, Davide Rodogno, and Liat Kozma, eds., *The League of Nations' Work on Social Issues: Visions, Endeavours and Experiments* (Geneva: United Nations Publications, 2016).

Labour Organization (ILO)¹⁴ and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC),¹⁵ helping to reconsider and re-evaluate their role and impact. More specifically, this refreshing methodological approach has helped to free these organizations from their primary association with the exclusively political and diplomatic dimensions related to “collective security.” In response to requests to move beyond the “pessimistic” view of the history of the LON, an institution long considered a failure due to its inability to secure world peace, historians have increasingly focused on the wide range of activities carried out by what are known as “technical” international organizations. The rich diversity of the domains explored under this purview, the multitude of actors involved, and the complex links that have been woven among national and local contexts represent a large number of factors that have each contributed to establishing the status of the LON’s system as a precursor to “global governance.”¹⁶

This historiographical renewal provided numerous insights into the history of economic,¹⁷ social,¹⁸ migration,¹⁹ and sanitation²⁰ policy

¹⁴Sandrine Kott, “La justice sociale dans un monde global. L’Organisation internationale du travail (1919–2019),” *Le Mouvement Social* 2, no. 263 (2018): 3–14; Sandrine Kott and Joëlle Droux, eds., *Globalizing Social Rights: The International Labour Organization and Beyond* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Isabelle Lespinet-Moret and Vincent Viet, eds., *L’Organisation internationale du Travail: Origine, développement, avenir* (Rennes: PUR, 2011).

¹⁵Jacques Renoliet, *L’UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle, 1919–1946* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999).

¹⁶Susan Perdesen, “Back to the League of Nations?” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (2007): 1091–1117.

¹⁷Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920–1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Yann Decorzant, *La Société des Nations et la naissance d’une conception de la régulation économique internationale* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2011).

¹⁸Sandrine Kott, “Une communauté épistémique du social? Experts de l’OIT et internationalisation des politiques sociales dans l’entre-deux-guerres,” *Genèses* 71 (2008): 26–46.

¹⁹Paul-André Rosental, “Géopolitique et État providence: Le BIT et la politique mondiale des migrations dans l’entre-deux-guerres,” *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* 61, no. 1 (2006): 99–134.

²⁰Iris Borowy, *Coming to Terms with World Health: The League of Nations Health Organisation, 1921–1946* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009); Céline Paillette, “Épidémies, santé et ordre international: Organisations sanitaires internationales (1903–1923),” *Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations* 2, no. 2 (2012): 238–256.

in the twentieth century, as well as into education policy. A number of studies have examined the efforts on education advanced by the LON,²¹ the ILO,²² the International Bureau of Education,²³ and the IIIC²⁴ during the interwar years. The period following the Second World War has drawn less interest, despite the considerable amount of research devoted to the educational policies put forward by UNESCO and the World Bank, such as Phillip W. Jones' pioneering work (1988)²⁵ and the research conducted within the *Global History of UNESCO* project directed by Poul Duedahl.²⁶

A concomitant of these expanding fields of analysis has been a renewal in methodological approaches. Indeed, the “transnational turn” in historical research has profoundly affected the manner in which researchers perceive the role of international organizations in the twentieth century.²⁷ This has amounted to the implementation of a social, relational, and empirical approach whose principal aim has been to better elucidate the complex dynamics underpinning the construction of the “global community” as described by Akira Iriye. Calling into question methods of analysis that privilege institutional and normative aspects,

²¹Eckhardt Fuchs, “The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209.

²²Droux and Matasci, “La jeunesse en crise.”

²³Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, “The International Bureau of Education (1925–1968): A Platform for Designing a ‘Chart of World Aspirations for Education’,” *European Educational Research Journal* 12, no. 2 (2013): 215–230.

²⁴Daniel Laqua, “Transnational Intellectual Cooperation, the League of Nations, and the Problem of Order,” *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 2 (2011): 223–247.

²⁵Phillip W. Jones, *International Policies for Third World Education: Unesco, Literacy and Development* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

²⁶Poul Duedahl, *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²⁷Davide Rodogno, Shaloma Gauthier, and Francesca Piana, “What Does Transnational History Tell Us about a World with International Organizations? The Historians’ Point of View,” in *Routledge Handbook of International Organizations*, ed. Bob Reinalda (London: Routledge, 2013), 95–105; Sandrine Kott, “Les organisations internationales, terrains d’étude de la globalisation: Jalons pour une approche socio-historique,” *Critique internationale* 52 (2011): 9–16; Glenda Sluga, “Editorial: The Transnational History of International Institutions,” *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 2 (2011): 219–222; Sunil Amrith and Glenda Sluga, “New Histories of the United Nations,” *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 251–274.

this research turned away from constructing the field of international organizations as an object of study to be considered in its own right, instead conceiving them as a locus of observation or, as proposed by Sandrine Kott, as “arenas for the study of globalization.”²⁸ This perspective therefore calls for the study of international organizations as so many social spaces amenable to the circulation of information, individuals, and expertise. Indeed, these institutions are highly permeable to the influence of a wide range of other actors—individual and collective, national and non-governmental—whose agency, role and impact ongoing research in this area will seek to determine.

For the study of the transnational history, thus defined, of international organizations, we therefore propose three key axioms:

- a. The first axiom involves the study of actors who construct and supply international policies, such as civil servants, experts, “epistemic communities”²⁹ and “advocacy networks.”³⁰ Through its focus on individuals, this “bottom-up” approach allows us to shed new light on interpersonal connections and social circles at an international scale and to precisely identify purveyors of “universalist” politics and visions whose rootedness in or emergence from national and local agendas we can subsequently analyze.
- b. The second axiom implies the analysis of the complex system of interactions that govern the action of international organizations. Throughout the twentieth century, these actors were engaged in permanent interaction with non-governmental organizations, nation-states, and colonial empires. By locating intergovernmental organizations at the heart of a vast system of synergies, collaborations, and rivalries, the transnational approach offers the advantage of foregrounding both ostensibly marginal and peripheral actors and the mechanisms structuring international life, which often go unseen.

²⁸Kott, “Les organisations internationales,” 10.

²⁹Kott, “Une communauté épistémique du social?”

³⁰Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

- c. The third axiom stipulates a resolutely empirical approach on the basis of detailed archival research. Access to first-hand documentation allows us to move beyond official reports and to retrace the origins of collaborations and conflicts among actors. Primary source documents also offer a unique opportunity to witness the internal workings of commissions and expert committees, exposing the processes which construct international policies.

In its firm focus on the study of actors and their interactions, this methodological perspective is of considerable potential benefit to historians of education. Specifically, it has the capacity to bring a new and fresh perspective to bear on the educational policies which underwent a process of globalization during the twentieth century.³¹ All too often, approaches to the link between globalization and education have proceeded abstractly and macroscopically. An exemplary case in this regard is that of the neo-institutionalist scholars who have investigated both the diffusion of the Western “school model” beginning in the nineteenth century³² and the progressive affirmation of a “world culture.”³³ These studies rest on fragile empirical foundations. In contrast, the transnational history of international organizations, in taking as its starting point well-circumscribed areas of investigation and exhaustive archival enquiry, provides more optimum conditions for the reconstruction of economies of exchange and interconnection that have sought, with varying degrees of success, to promote a process of convergence toward a “universal” school model, as well as dynamics, varying in accordance with the relevant national and cultural context, of transfer, resistance, and reappropriation.

³¹Marcelo Caruso, “World Systems, World Society, World Polity: Theoretical Insights for a Global History of Education,” *History of Education* 37, no. 6 (2008): 825–840; Jürgen Schriewer, ed., *Weltkultur und kulturelle Bedeutungswelten: Zur Globalisierung von Bildungsdiskursen* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2007).

³²Francisco Ramirez and John Boli, “The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origin and Worldwide Institutionalization,” *Sociology of Education* 60, no. 1 (1987): 2–17; Aaron Benavot and Phyllis Riddle, “The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870–1940: Trends and Issues,” *Sociology of Education* 61, no. 3 (1988): 191–210.

³³Daniel Tröhler, “Globalizing Globalization: The Neo-institutional Concept of a World Culture,” in *Globalization and the Study of Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 29–48.

Education and International Organizations: A New Circulatory Regime

International organizations present a clear interest for exploring twentieth century's educational issues. The transnational approach appears all the more necessary and pertinent given the specifics of education as a field of international action. Indeed, when taking into account the educational movement such as it developed during the interwar period, some scholars have asserted that the investment of intergovernmental organizations in the educational domain remained rather opaque and poorly defined. The LON and its technical organizations were reluctant to interfere in domains considered to be territories pertaining to national sovereignties. The quest of these organizations for universalism would not dare to challenge the importance that state school systems had acquired since the nineteenth century in the process of constructing national identities. In 1921, for example, a petition in favor of establishing a committee for education within the LON, initiated by English suffragettes of the British Workers Educational Association, the International Council of Women, and other groups, met with widespread rejection. LON's officials cited in Gwilym Davies' monograph *Intellectual Cooperation between the Two Wars* asserted that "national education lies outside and will always lie outside the competence of any official committee of the League."³⁴ Accordingly, researchers such as Karen Mundy and Mona Galy have claimed that "the general message of the interwar period was clear: education was an unsuitable arena for intergovernmental policy action."³⁵

This assertion is not of blanket truth and might even face justifiable challenged in light of the recent achievements in historiography we delineate above. First, it is important to carefully distinguish issues pertaining to the domain of public instruction *stricto sensu* from those broadly related to education. Many organizations or services directly related to the LON had already asserted their own remits regarding education as a widely defined sphere of intervention. The ILO's activities in the training

³⁴Gwilym Davies, *Intellectual Cooperation between the Two Wars* (London: Council for Education in World Citizenship, 1943).

³⁵Karen Mundy and Mona Galy, "International and Transnational Policy Actors in Education: A Review of the Research," in *Handbook of Education Policy Research*, ed. Gary Sykes (New York: Routledge, 2009), 718.

of young workers, and the Child Welfare Committee (CWC) of the LON, whose mandate, from 1925 onward, included documentation and research activities regarding child welfare, are exemplary instances. We also owe particular attention to networks that are non-governmental in nature insofar as they occupy a relative void left behind by international organizations in matters of education, while nevertheless maintaining permanent relations with those organizations. The numbers of such associations, groups, or federations that organized their activities at an international level veritably exploded in the 1920s. According to a survey conducted in 1943 by Pedro Rossello, assistant director of the International Bureau of Education, there were no fewer than fifty agencies dealing with educational issues during the interwar period.³⁶ The League of Nations Search Engine (LONSEA) database established by a team of historians at the University of Heidelberg, which seeks to catalog the “relational activities of internationalists and the various connections of international organizations,” includes forty-seven organizations in the category of “Education.”³⁷

The emergence and development, over the course of the twentieth century, of an international network devoted to educational goals, as well as its various different typologies of action, point us to two observations that will enable us to better appreciate the heuristic value of a methodological perspective based on a social and relational approach. The first of these concerns the nature and objectives of educational networks that revolve around international organizations. A key aspect requiring emphasis here is the way in which these networks bring together disparate actors driving diverse, far-reaching initiatives whose purposes include child welfare, professional and academic collaboration, peace education, and school textbook revision.³⁸ A multiplicity of

³⁶ Pedro Rossello, *Les précurseurs du BIE: Un aspect inédit de l'histoire de l'éducation et des organisations internationales* (Genève: Bureau international d'éducation, 1943), 206–208.

³⁷ LONSEA: League of Nations Search Engine, accessed November 18, 2018, www.lonsea.de/pub.

³⁸ Romain Faure, *Netzwerke der Kulturdiplomatie: Die internationale Schulbuchrevision in Europa, 1945–1989* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Joëlle Droux, “L'internationalisation de la protection de l'enfance: Acteurs, concurrences et projets transnationaux (1900–1925),” *Critique internationale* 52 (2011): 17–33; Fuchs, “Creation of New International Networks”; Maria-Cristina Giuntella, “Enseignement de l'histoire et révision des manuels scolaires dans l'entre-deux-guerres,” in *Pistes didactiques et chemins d'historiens: Textes offerts à Henri Moniot*, ed. Marie-Christine Bacquès, Annie Bruter, and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon (Paris: Harmattan, 2003), 161–189.

experts in various disciplines gravitate around these networks; alongside specialists in pedagogy and child development (psychologists, education-ists, pediatricians, etc.), they encompass students, labor-union and religious activists, feminists, and youth-movement leaders.³⁹ Mapping these networks reveals an international educational landscape which exposes the mechanisms behind the post-First World War “circulatory regime,” newly polarized around intergovernmental agencies.⁴⁰ In a development in keeping with the process of the institutionalization of international movements that began in the early twentieth century,⁴¹ non-governmental actors acquired permanent governing structures, enabling them to circulate and diffuse their ideas through a variety of media and procedures such as regular publications, inquiries, and international congresses. Such institutions did not necessarily aim to standardize and harmonize school and education policy internationally. Indeed, some of them quite emphatically voiced skepticism about the pertinence of universal models. They tended instead to view their primary function as platforms for the exchange of information, centralizing, and disseminating a wide range of data emanating from the various national educational systems and policies. This remit fitted perfectly the mandates and spheres of competency entrusted to international organizations, often to

³⁹Béatrice Haenggeli–Jenni and Rita Hofstetter, “Pour l’Ere nouvelle (1922–1940): La science convoquée pour fonder une ‘internationale de l’éducation’,” *Carrefours de l’Éducation* 31 (2011): 137–159; Laurent Gutierrez, “La Ligue internationale pour l’Éducation nouvelle. Contribution à l’histoire d’un mouvement international de réforme de l’enseignement (1921–1939),” *Spirale* 45 (2010): 29–42; Joyce Goodman, “Working for Change across International Borders: The Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 1 (2007): 165–180; Rita Hofstetter et al., “L’engagement scientifique et réformiste en faveur de la ‘nouvelle pédagogie’: Genève dans le contexte international-premières décades du 20e siècle,” in *Passion, Fusion, Tension: New Education and Educational Sciences: End 19th–Middle 20th Century*, ed. Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 126–127.

⁴⁰Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Les régimes circulatoires du domaine social, 1800–1940: Projets et ingénierie de la convergence et de la différence,” *Genèses* 71 (2008): 4–25.

⁴¹Anne Rasmussen, “Tournant, inflexions, ruptures: Le moment internationaliste,” *Mil Neuf Cent Revue d’histoire intellectuelle* 19, no. 1 (2001): 27–41. On educational internationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Amandine Thiry, Thomas D’haeninck, and Christophe Verbruggen, “(Re)Educational Internationalism in the Low Countries, 1850–1914,” in *The Civilising Offensive: Social and Educational Reform in 19th Century Belgium*, ed. Christoph de Spiegeleer (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 189–216.

the point of replacing them entirely. Indeed, at the very outset of their creation, and regardless of their respective spheres of activity, international networks took on a primary role in the management of information flows that underpinned the very foundations of interwar educational internationalism.

Our second observation relates to interactions between intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental networks in matters of education. An in-depth analysis of the complex system of exchanges, collaborations, and rivalries that connected these multiple actors allow us to better discern the mechanisms governing the establishment or disbanding of a “global community.”⁴² In our view, three types of interrelations and interactions regulate communication strategies between organizations and networks.

The first type of interaction involves the activity of private networks which expressed a persistent desire to establish contact with the LON, the UN, and their specialized agencies. These networks seized upon the international scene as a kind of supplementary resource for their self-promotion, the dissemination of their ideas, and the further legitimation of their proposals. International organizations thus served as “sounding boards” for an extensive series of claims and reform projects. The lobbying carried out by feminist associations within the LON constitutes a highly significant case study in this regard.⁴³ In 1924, for example, the International Federation of University Women (IFUW), having set up a commission devoted to intellectual cooperation, arranged to work with the LON on a shared agenda.⁴⁴ The same process occurs in relation to child protection. Since its creation in 1921, the Brussels-based International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare (IAPCW) repeatedly sought to affiliate itself with the LON, achieving its

⁴² Davide Rodogno, Maurice Vaisse, and Matthias Schulz, eds., “Organisations internationales et ONG: Coopération, complémentarité et rivalité de 1919 à nos jours,” special issue, *Relations Internationales* 151–152, nos. 3–4 (2012).

⁴³ Carol Miller, “‘Geneva—The Key to Equality’: Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations,” *Women’s History Review* 2 (1994): 219–245; Marie-Elise Hunyadi, “L’éducation des filles comme vecteur de coopération internationale: Un défi relevé par la Fédération Internationales des Femmes Diplômées des Universités (1919–1970),” *Traverse* 2 (2016): 63–74.

⁴⁴ International Federation of University Women (FIFDU), List of Subjects for Special Inquiry, July 1926, B. IV. 8, Archives of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

aim in 1925 and subsequently receiving a permanent seat on the newly established LON CWF. From that moment onward, IAPCW delegates consistently placed the examination of their agency's favorite issues (juvenile courts and delinquency) on the CWC's agenda, a campaign culminating in 1937 with a recommendation by the Assembly of the LON to its members to adopt the system of juvenile courts advocated by the IAPCW.⁴⁵

The second type of interaction relates to international organizations' dependence on the expertise provided by various private networks. One example appears in the symbiotic relationships between the International Bureau for Technical Education (IBTE, founded in Paris in 1931) and the Geneva-based ILO. In the context of the economic crisis and mass youth unemployment of the 1930s, the ILO's secretariat charged the IBTE with gathering data and initiating studies on matters around professional and technical training. This was a low-cost operation for the ILO: it helped the organization to collect valuable information at grassroots level without the existence of a regular mandate delivered by its complex collegial administration with the aim of preparing future ILO conventions or recommendations.⁴⁶ During the same period, the ILO established and led close cooperation with the International Save the Children Union (ISCU) to the end of collecting relevant national data on the social effects of the crisis on younger demographic groups. Information was provided by the Union's network of national and local committees. This kind of "data mining" activity, conducted by NGO subcontractors for international organizations, doubtless contributed to the far-reaching deployment and externalization of these networks and legitimized their rise to power as stakeholders who understood themselves as speaking in the name of a global civil society. Indeed, at a time when international governance was essentially based on the intense labor of collection, standardization, and dissemination of data, prior to any process of normative formalization, the contacts, and information resources made

⁴⁵Joëlle Droux, "From Inter-agency Transnational Competition to Cooperation: The ILO Contribution to Child Welfare Issues During the Interwar Years," in *Globalizing Social Rights: The International Labour Organization and Beyond*, ed. Sandrine Kott and Joëlle Droux (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 262–279.

⁴⁶Damiano Matasci, "L'éducation, terrain d'action internationale: Le Bureau international de l'enseignement technique dans les années 1930," *Relations internationales* 151 (2012): 37–48.

available to these networks transformed them into privileged partners of intergovernmental organizations.

The third type of interaction results from the operation of international organizations as a locus of the convergence of associative networks. This case is exemplified in the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations and the CWC of the LON, both founded in 1925. These “think tanks” discussed and frequently amended documents that would later be presented to international organizations. Relational platforms of this kind became highly sought after as means of transmitting information between the global arenas and civil society arenas in specific countries. As well as conveying information around the evolution of civil societies and public opinion, they served intergovernmental organizations as mechanisms for the dissemination, promotion, and publicizing to national territories of the standards or recommendations drawn up and passed by major agencies. These mechanisms were particularly visible in the relationships between the ILO and a series of international networks. For example, the ISCIU was closely associated with both the preparatory work on ILO conventions and recommendations regarding youth employment during the 1930s and with their dissemination at national level, especially in regions of the Balkans where the Union possessed many networking contacts within local civil society.

International Organizations and *jeux d'échelles*: Reassessing Limits and Impacts

As we have indicated, exploring the history of international organizations as a transnational history enables us to foreground some of the lesser-known actors in this arena and reassess their role in shaping our world order. As with any methodological approach, difficulties, and limitations arise. In particular, existing research has tended to overlook the reception and impact of the policies advanced by international organizations at the national, regional, or local levels, resulting in a major methodological challenge for transnational and global history.⁴⁷ As aptly pinpointed by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, transnational history still fails “to show the extent to which the dissemination of measures and policies has

⁴⁷Ivan Lind Christensen and Christian Ydesen, “Routes of Knowledge: Toward a Methodological Framework for Tracing the Historical Impact of International Organizations,” *European Education* 47 (2015): 274–288.

either succeeded or failed in transforming the context, values, structures and terms of the debate in the societies for which they were intended.”⁴⁸ These problems have ignited much debate within the academic community, most notably among historians of education, inspiring a number of studies related to the circulation and reception of educational models within national and cultural settings.⁴⁹ Theoretical perspectives on these issues, such as that proposed by David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs,⁵⁰ outline a four-stage model whose purpose is to explain the dynamics specific to what has been termed educational policy borrowing. Their key tenets identify distinctive phases—attraction, decision, implementation, and internalization—alongside the chief difficulties posed by the back-and-forth transmission of an educational model from one context to another, such as any resistance this process might trigger or reappropriations to which it might be subject.

A focus on the complex interplay between the local, national, and international levels seems crucial here if we are to avoid analyses that are too far-reaching in scope, or overly abstract and detached from the spaces in which international organizations advance their policies. Consequently, the attempt to identify linear diffusion–reception dynamics may lead us up a blind alley. According to Pierre-Yves Saunier, we might perceive “impact” or the “structuring power” that stems from circulations “more by developing frames of thought, actor networks, organizational schemas or locations devoted to the production of knowledge than by establishing a legal or regulatory system.”⁵¹ Broadly speaking, any attempt to account for these issues raises the question of the extent to which ostensibly “global” categories of actors, doctrines, and policies succeed or fail in structuring their “environment,” or the spaces for which these categories are intended. Taking account of this point in

⁴⁸Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, “Une nouvelle sensibilité: La perspective ‘transnationale,’” *Cahiers Jaurès* 200 (2011): 180.

⁴⁹Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2004); Gita Steiner-Khamsi, ed., *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004); Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: PUF, 1999).

⁵⁰Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, eds., *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004).

⁵¹Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Circulations, connexions et espaces transnationaux,” *Genèses* 57 (2007): 115.

the debate will help us avoid narratives patterned exclusively after success stories, which obscure or exclude the impact of the power asymmetries dictated by geopolitical contexts, failures, and, more generally, the discrepancy between the allegedly universal aims championed by some actors and the on-the-ground realities in each domain.

Two brief examples will now be discussed, the first concerning the reception of international policies at national level, the second highlighting conflicts in articulations between international organizations and the colonial world.

International Politics and National Contexts

Numerous studies dating back to the closing third of the nineteenth century had largely demonstrated the extent to which children born out of wedlock were subject to specific vulnerabilities such as high mortality rates, various morbidities, and child abandonment. The issue resurfaced once more in an urgent manner after the First World War. Several international networks and prominent members of the CWC suggested the LON launch a major survey designed to collect objective data on “illegitimacy,” its health and social consequences, and the legal status of children born outside marriage. Their ultimate objective was to identify proposals for legal reforms or other means of assistance that would help combat the injustices suffered by both these children and their mothers. Often stigmatized by their family and social environment and reduced to poverty where the father could not or would not contribute to the maintenance of mother and child, unmarried mothers frequently found themselves forced to abandon their children to foster care or adoption, and instances of infanticide occurred.⁵² From the end of the nineteenth century, feminist movements and networks consistently denounced the social condition of unmarried mothers and the restrictions and injustices visited on their children, such as unequal access to social assistance services, social rights or—in contrast to children born within marriage—inheritance.⁵³ This lobbying, resumed after the First World War, soon focused on the LON CWC. In particular, the women’s section of the

⁵²Ginger Frost, “When Is a Parent Not a Parent? Custody and Illegitimacy in England, 1860–1930,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6, no. 2 (2013): 236–262.

⁵³Rachel G. Fuchs, “Seduction, Paternity, and the Law in Fin de Siècle France,” *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 4 (2000): 944–989.

International Federation of Trade Unions launched numerous interventions, enquiries, and proposals for resolutions on this issue via its delegate, the Belgian teacher H el ene Burniaux. Beginning in 1927, the members of the CWC, including government representatives and trade union delegates alike, undertook continuous engagement with the issue of “illegitimacy” as a way forward to a consensus on reform proposals regarding the legal, social, and educational status of the children affected. By 1929, however, it became all too clear that the Committee would not be able to construct such an agreement on what was rapidly becoming a controversial issue among CWC members; Burniaux’ report, which suggested that the CWC endorse and recommend to the LON’s member states a series of radically progressive modifications to existing family legislation and civil codes, met with strong opposition. In light of the various proposed measures, the core of expert networks that had come together within the Committee fractured along ideological fault lines, revealing the perennial influence of national legal and cultural identities.

Advocates calling for the normalization of the social and civil status of children born outside marriage, which would bring it into full alignment with children of married parents, principally comprised feminist activists from English-speaking and Scandinavian regions, who considered that such a process of normalization would help alleviate the social and legal ostracism of both mothers and children.⁵⁴ They encountered the fierce resistance of CWC members who defended the married family as one of the sacrosanct foundations of morality, consequently rejecting any radical alteration to their civil codes. Most notably, they refused to abolish the distinction between “legitimate” and “illegitimate” children, or actions to establish paternity action or official wardship for children born out of wedlock. These delegates, who were predominantly from countries of Catholic tradition (Belgium, France, Spain, Italy), suggested instead that the problem of “illegitimacy” might be solved by facilitating marriage between cohabitating parents, thereby leading to the legitimization of their children born while they were unmarried. As hard as the feminist leaders tried to convince these delegates that such legal steps did not resolve situations in which the father would not agree to marry the mother, their endeavors were unsuccessful; in this respect, national

⁵⁴Pat Thane, “Unmarried Motherhood in 20th Century England,” *Women’s History Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): 11–29.

political cultures and legal systems showed an undeterred capacity to resist “top-down” change. This, the case of attempted radical challenge well-established legal and mental frameworks, is an instance in which the “structuring power” supposedly generated by the international dissemination of measures and policies reaches its limits. Faced with the paralysis of the only international agency attempting to advance it, the cause of illegitimate children found itself relegated to the fora of national public opinion and social movements that would take it up—or not, as the case might be—in order to promote reforms. Consequently, whereas the Spanish delegate of 1927 informed the CWC of the opposition of Primo de Rivera’s administration to any changes in its civil codes regarding the family, Spain’s delegate of 1933 announced the firm intention of the Republican government to move forward and abolish any differences between children born within and outwith marriage.⁵⁵ At the heart of the British Empire, in India, a similar trend emerged during the same period, with several groups legitimized their reform projects by evoking the progressive principles discussed by the CWC.⁵⁶ Switzerland, by contrast, provides a telling case of long-standing resistance, which remained active and effective until the 1970s, toward the full alignment of “illegitimate” children’s status with that of their “legitimate” counterparts, in spite of vocal lobbying movements calling for a new regime of maternal and children’s rights.⁵⁷

The short-lived international program of reform regarding the status of children born outside marriage highlights the inequalities in the capacity of various actors to take up projects and leverage reforms in a given historical context, dependent in so doing on a complex game of influence exerted at multiple levels; these actors needed a relative degree of consensus on specific mechanisms among international agencies, rallying and lobbying at national level through various networks, and the

⁵⁵Procès-verbal provisoire des séances, 1933, CPE/PV 1/9e session, League of Nations Archives, Geneva.

⁵⁶Ashwini Tambe, “The State as Surrogate Parent: Legislating Nonmarital Sex in Colonial India, 1911–1929,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 3 (2009): 393–427.

⁵⁷Joëlle Droux and Véronique Czàka, “Gefährdete Kinder, beschützte Kinder? Des Fall des illegitimen Kinder in der Romandie (1900–1960),” in *Zwischen Erinnerung und Aufarbeitung. Fürsorgereische Zwangsmassnahmen an Minderjährigen in der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Beatrice Ziegler, Gisela Hauss, and Martin Lengwiler (Zurich: Chronos, 2018), 47–67.

desire on the part of political parties not only to endorse progressive draft laws, but also to speak up on contentious issues in the court of their own constituencies of public opinion. In the absence of such a convergence of factors around the cause of “illegitimate” children’s rights, inequalities in the treatment and the social and civil status of unmarried mothers and their offspring would linger on in many European countries until the 1980s.⁵⁸

International Organizations and Empires in the Late Colonial Period

A second example illustrative of the tensions, conflicts, and limitations surrounding the “structuring power” of international organizations appears in UNESCO’s deployment of its educational programs in sub-Saharan Africa during the 1950s, that is, at a time when the region largely remained under colonial domination.⁵⁹ The putatively universal character of the educational campaign launched by UNESCO in 1951 clashed with the relative inaccessibility, as emerged in the event, of the region to international initiatives.⁶⁰ We witness in this context a pronounced disparity between UNESCO’s perception of its actions, as presented and conveyed in official documents, and its actual inability to directly intervene in the continent. The organization carefully maintained a “gloss of harmony” using a highly polished discourse that blurred the asperities, the rivalries, and, above all, the limits of international policymaking.⁶¹

⁵⁸Johan Meeusen, “Judicial Disapproval of Discrimination against Illegitimate Children: A Comparative Study of Developments in Europe and the United States,” *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 43, no. 1 (1995): 119–145.

⁵⁹On the history of education in colonial Africa, see Peter Kallaway and Rebecca Swartz, eds., *Empire and Education in Africa: The Shaping of a Comparative Perspective* (New York: Peter Lang, 2016).

⁶⁰Jones, *International Policies*. On the relationships between international organizations and the colonial world during the interwar period, see Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Véronique Dimier, “L’internationalisation du débat colonial: rivalités autour de la Commission permanente des mandats,” *Outre-Mers* 89, no. 336 (2002): 333–360.

⁶¹Birgit Müller, ed., *The Gloss of Harmony: The Politics of Policy-Making in Multilateral Organisations* (London: Pluto Press, 2013).

Indeed, in the 1950s, other “global” actors—the colonial empires—entered more or less openly into conflict with the supposedly universal vocation of UNESCO’s policies. The competing forces countering its initiatives left the agency with precious little room for maneuver. The case of sub-Saharan Africa is particularly striking in that UNESCO technical assistance missions were deployed almost exclusively in a few independent countries, especially in Liberia.⁶² This severe limitation on UNESCO’s sphere of action may be attributable to the intense inter-colonial cooperation which started in 1945 and which would be further institutionalized as of 1950 with the establishment of the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA).⁶³ Responsible for coordinating technical activities in the fields of health, agriculture, social policy, scientific research, and education, the CCTA represented the colonial powers’ response to the supposed interference of international organizations in African affairs.⁶⁴ Colonial administrations indeed considered UNESCO as an actor whose doctrines and educational programs intruded on the exclusive prerogative they derived from imperial sovereignty. This marked hostility appears retraceable to the late 1940s and to UNESCO’s global campaign against inequalities in education.⁶⁵ The agency made considerable efforts to compile statistics on illiteracy and school enrollment rates, as well as to elaborate an educational doctrine, called “fundamental education,” specifically designed for “Third World” countries.⁶⁶ International (and colonial) experts involved in this operation, such as John Bowers, Margaret Read, W.E.F. Ward, and Albert Charton, not only emphasized the magnitude of existing inequalities in many countries of the South, especially

⁶²UNESCO, ed., *Index of Field Mission Reports, 1947–1968* (Paris: UNESCO, 1986).

⁶³The founding members of the CCTA were the governments of the UK, France, Belgium, Portugal, Southern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa.

⁶⁴Jessica Pearson-Patel, “Promoting Health, Protecting Empire: Inter-colonial Medical Cooperation in Postwar Africa,” *Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations* 7, no. 1 (2015): 213–230; John Kent, *The Internationalization of Colonialism: Britain, France, and Black Africa 1939–1956* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁶⁵Damiano Matasci, “Assessing Needs, Fostering Development: UNESCO, Illiteracy and the Global Politics of Education (1945–1960),” *Comparative Education* 53, no. 1 (2017): 35–53.

⁶⁶Joseph Watras, “UNESCO’s Programme of Fundamental Education, 1946–1959,” *History of Education* 2, no. 39 (2010): 219–237.

in regions that were still under colonial rule, but also made an explicit link between poor levels of education and the state of economic and social “underdevelopment.”⁶⁷ This made the highlighting of enduring low levels of education in the non-self-governing territories, especially in Africa, potentially interpretable as a radical critique of colonialism and an indictment of the incapacity of colonial rule to provide adequate “welfare” to its native populations. Colonial administrations launched a three-pronged strategy for countering this barely veiled critique. First, they developed a relatively systematic opposition to any international initiative in sub-Saharan Africa, such as the attempt to establish a UNESCO center of fundamental education in 1951 or the UN’s 1948 project aiming at creating a university in one of the African territories placed under the Trusteeship system.⁶⁸ Second, they encouraged schemes of technical cooperation and promoted the exchange of information among colonial experts. More specifically, the CCTA organized several conferences on issues of primary and technical education.⁶⁹ These meetings, which took place in Accra (1950), Nairobi (1951), Antananarivo (1954), and Luanda (1957), acted as spaces where colonial experts and administrators could exchange about their own experiences and problems.⁷⁰ Third, ambitious educational programs were designed to produce a more positive image of colonial powers’ efforts to improve standards of living of native populations.⁷¹ The extensive educational plans launched in French Africa after the Brazzaville conference (1944) and the creation of the *Fonds d’investissement pour le développement économique et social*

⁶⁷ UNESCO, ed., *World Illiteracy at Mid-Century: A Statistical Study* (Paris: Unesco, 1957).

⁶⁸ Resolution of the UN General Assembly (third session), *Educational Advancement in Trust Territories*, 18 November 1948.

⁶⁹ Damiano Matasci, “Une ‘UNESCO africaine’? Le Ministère de la France d’Outre-mer, la coopération éducative intercoloniale et la défense de l’empire, 1945–1957,” *Monde(s)* 1, no. 13 (2018): 195–214.

⁷⁰ CCTA, *Education. Inter-African and Regional Conferences. Reports E.1* (CCTA, 1954).

⁷¹ Tony Chafer, “Conflicting Modernities: Battles over France’s Policy of Adapted Education in French West Africa,” in *France’s Modernising Mission: Citizenship, Welfare and the Ends of Empire*, ed. Ed Naylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 3–30; Peter Kallaway, “Welfare and Education in British Colonial Africa and South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s,” *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 3 (2005): 337–356.

(1946), as well as the implementation of fundamental education projects in French and British colonies during the early 1950s, were part of this offensive.⁷²

Such initiatives were deeply intertwined with the international debate initiated by UNESCO. In this respect, the late colonial period offers interesting insights around the “structuring power” of international organizations and their impact on “national” and “colonial” educational policies. A methodological perspective focusing on the circulation of individuals and knowledge between “global actors” highlights the various ways in which UNESCO addressed educational problems during its “world educational campaign,” but also the conflict-ridden nature, understated in official sources, of the relationship between international and colonial politics.⁷³ Adopting a transnational approach enables historians to shed new light on the challenges faced by UN organizations in the context of decolonization and Cold War and thereby to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of their activities.⁷⁴

Conclusion

Encouraging researchers to focus on phenomena that transcend national boundaries, the “transnational turn” of the last two decades has subjected our understanding of globalization to a profound process of renewal. Historical research into earlier periods of the twentieth century has shown that many of the mechanisms regulating global issues came into being contemporaneously with the birth of the LON. The fields of education and childhood were not immune to this “globalizing” process. We might even consider them to be particularly well-suited for experimentation, despite states’ evident impulses to protect their “home turf,” at least as regarded education, from supranational influence. The analysis of archives from organizations and international networks gravitating

⁷²UNESCO, ed., *Expériences françaises d'éducation de base en Afrique noire* (Paris: Unesco, 1954).

⁷³Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, eds., *Internationalism, Imperialism and the Formation of the Contemporary World* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁷⁴Eva-Maria Muschik, “Managing the World: The United Nations, Decolonization, and the Strange Triumph of State Sovereignty in the 1950s and 1960s,” *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (2008): 121–144.

around the LON reveals a complex reality, a particularly striking component of which is the interaction of international organizations with a range of actors from civil society (NGOs, associations, networks of experts). A detailed study of how these categories of actors positioned themselves vis-à-vis international organizations highlights the mechanisms of interdependence that emerged within the “global community” and which ultimately sustained the process of globalization in the educational field. It is a process that is complex and nuanced, not reducible to the simple drawing up and dissemination of international standards. An empirical approach to the collaborative arrangements and interactions generated between intergovernmental organizations and their partner networks demonstrates the diversity of mechanisms and channels through which the interwar period brought forth a new system for the dissemination of measures and policies, incorporating novel processes of bureaucratic collaboration, innovative techniques for amassing and processing information, and new channels of communication at various levels of dialog and decision-making. These dimensions forged close links, characterized in many instances by relationships of interdependence, between actors operating in each domain with intergovernmental bodies, and in so doing gave rise to new paradigms for the assessment of educational policies.

However, these intense interactions did not necessarily lead to consensus reform proposals. Once again, a close analysis of selected issues prioritized by international organizations opens up a more nuanced perspective on the impact of their activities. As we have demonstrated in this chapter, the process of globalization supported by international organizations was not an irresistible force of attraction: the mechanisms on which it depended were tied to the activism of networks acting at multiple scales (local, regional, national, international). The process of globalization therefore faced enduring resistance from other categories of actors: nation-states committed to their resilient educational, legal, and social cultures and empires with their political, military, and diplomatic interests to defend. Research in this area will need to carefully take stock of these mechanisms if it is to avoid either falling prey to a simplistic vision of the role of international organizations in the process of globalization or transitioning too abruptly from narrow methodological nationalism to a methodological internationalism that functions, at the extreme, almost as a caricature of itself.

Lucid and robustly supported explanations of educational globalization will require the conduction of further empirical studies which will need to exploit archival resources in search of the great diversity of actors involved in this process. However, as Sebastian Conrad emphasizes, it will not suffice to merely examine the archives of international organizations if we are genuinely to think and write about transnational and global history.⁷⁵ The way forward, in our view, will entail the privileging of multiple scales of observation and direct engagement with the complex interactions among international actors. Embracing this approach promises to help historians to better understand the logic that governs globalization and accurately discerns its possibilities and pitfalls.

Bibliography

- Amrith, Sunil, and Glenda Sluga. "New Histories of the United Nations." *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 251–274.
- Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, eds. *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post) Colonial Education*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2014.
- Benavot, Aaron, and Phyllis Riddle. "The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870–1940: Trends and Issues." *Sociology of Education* 61, no. 3 (1988): 191–210.
- Boli, John, and Georges M. Thomas. *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Borowy, Iris. *Coming to Terms with World Health: The League of Nations Health Organisation, 1921–1946*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Caruso, Marcelo. "World Systems, World Society, World Polity: Theoretical Insights for a Global History of Education." *History of Education* 37, no. 6 (2008): 825–840.
- Caruso, Marcelo, Thomas Koinzer, Christine Mayer, and Karin Priem, eds. *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*. Köln: Böhlau, 2013.
- Chafer, Tony. "Conflicting Modernities: Battles over France's Policy of Adapted Education in French West Africa." In *France's Modernising Mission: Citizenship, Welfare and the Ends of Empire*, edited by Ed Naylor, 3–30. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018; Peter.

⁷⁵Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

- Charle, Christophe, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds. *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2004.
- Christensen, Ivan Lind, and Christian Ydesen. "Routes of Knowledge: Toward a Methodological Framework for Tracing the Historical Impact of International Organizations." *European Education* 47 (2015): 274–288.
- Clavin, Patricia. "Defining Transnationalism." *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–439.
- Clavin, Patricia. *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920–1946*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Conrad, Sebastian. *What Is Global History?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Davies, Gwylm. *Intellectual Cooperation between the Two Wars*. London: Council for Education in World Citizenship, 1943.
- Decorzant, Yann. *La Société des Nations et la naissance d'une conception de la régulation économique internationale*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2011.
- Dimier, Véronique. "L'internationalisation du débat colonial: rivalités autour de la Commission permanente des mandats." *Outre-Mers* 89, no. 336 (2002): 333–360.
- Droux, Joëlle. "From Inter-agency Transnational Competition to Cooperation: The ILO Contribution to Child Welfare Issues During the Interwar Years." In *Globalizing Social Rights: The International Labour Organization and Beyond*, edited by Sandrine Kott and Joëlle Droux, 262–279. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Droux, Joëlle. "L'internationalisation de la protection de l'enfance: Acteurs, concurrences et projets transnationaux (1900–1925)." *Critique Internationale* 52 (2011): 17–33.
- Droux, Joëlle. "Une contagion programmée: La circulation internationale du modèle des tribunaux pour mineurs dans l'espace transatlantique (1900–1940)." In *Les sciences du gouvernement: Circulation(s), traduction(s), réception(s)*, edited by Martine Kaluszynski and Renaud Payre, 102–117. Paris: Economica, 2013.
- Droux, Joëlle, and Czàka Véronique. "Gefährdete Kinder, beschützte Kinder? Des Fall des illegitimen Kinder in der Romandie (1900–1960)." In *Zwischen Erinnerung und Aufarbeitung. Fürsorgerische Zwangsmassnahmen an Minderjährigen in der Schweiz im 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Beatrice Ziegler, Gisela Hauss, and Martin Lengwiler, 47–67. Zurich: Chronos, 2018.
- Droux, Joëlle, and Damiano Matasci. "La jeunesse en crise: Acteurs et projets transnationaux face au problème du chômage des jeunes durant l'entre-deux-guerres." *Revue d'histoire de la protection sociale* 5 (2012): 48–59.
- Duedahl, Poul, ed. *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Espagne, Michel. *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris: PUF, 1999.

- Faure, Romain. *Netzwerke der Kulturdiplomatie: Die internationale Schulbuchrevision in Europa, 1945–1989*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015.
- Frost, Ginger. “When Is a Parent Not a Parent? Custody and Illegitimacy in England, 1860–1930.” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6, no. 2 (2013): 236–262.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, ed. *Bildung International: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2006.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. “Children’s Rights and Global Civil Society.” *Comparative Education* 43, no. 3 (2007): 393–412.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. “The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s.” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199–209.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, and Jürgen Schriewer, eds. “Internationale Organisationen als Global Players in Bildungspolitik und Pädagogik.” Special issue. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 52, no. 2 (2007).
- Fuchs, Rachel G. “Seduction, Paternity, and the Law in Fin de Siècle France.” *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 4 (2000): 944–989.
- Garcia, Magaly Rodriguez, Davide Rodogno, and Liat Kozma, eds. *The League of Nations’ Work on Social Issues: Visions, Endeavours and Experiments*. Geneva: United Nations Publications, 2016.
- Giuntella, Maria-Cristina. “Enseignement de l’histoire et révision des manuels scolaires dans l’entre-deux-guerres.” In *Pistes didactiques et chemins d’historiens: Textes offerts à Henri Moniot*, edited by Marie-Christine Bacquès, Annie Bruter, and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, 161–189. Paris: Harmattan, 2003.
- Goodman, Joyce. “Working for Change across International Borders: The Association of Headmistresses and Education for International Citizenship.” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 1 (2007): 165–180.
- Gutierrez, Laurent. “La Ligue internationale pour l’Education nouvelle. Contribution à l’histoire d’un mouvement international de réforme de l’enseignement (1921–1939).” *Spirale* 45 (2010): 29–42.
- Haenggeli-Jenni, Béatrice, and Rita Hofstetter. “Pour l’Ere nouvelle (1922–1940): La science convoquée pour fonder une ‘internationale de l’éducation’.” *Carrefours de l’éducation* 31 (2011): 137–159.
- Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard. “Une nouvelle sensibilité: La perspective ‘transnationale’.” *Cahiers Jaurès* 200 (2011): 173–180.
- Herren, Madeleine. *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009.
- Hofstetter, Rita, and Bernard Schneuwly. “The International Bureau of Education (1925–1968): A Platform for Designing a ‘Chart of World Aspirations for Education’.” *European Educational Research Journal* 12, no. 2 (2013): 215–230.

- Hofstetter, Rita, and Joëlle Droux, eds. *Globalisation des mondes de l'éducation: Circulations, connexions, réfractions, XIXe–XXe siècles*. Rennes: PUR, 2015.
- Hofstetter, Rita, Bernard Schneuwly, Valerie Lussi, and Béatrice Haenggeli-Jenni. "L'engagement scientifique et réformiste en faveur de la 'nouvelle pédagogie': Genève dans le contexte international-premières décades du 20e siècle." In *Passion, Fusion, Tension: New Education and Educational Sciences: End 19th–Middle 20th Century*, edited by Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, 126–127. Bern: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Hunyadi, Marie-Elise. "L'éducation des filles comme vecteur de coopération internationale: Un défi relevé par la Fédération Internationales des Femmes Diplômées des Universités (1919–1970)." *Traverse* 2 (2016): 63–74.
- International Federation of University Women (FIFDU). List of Subjects for Special Inquiry, July 1926. B. IV. 8. Archives of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.
- Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira, and José Pedro Monteiro, eds. *Internationalism, Imperialism and the Formation of the Contemporary World*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Jones, Phillip W. *International Policies for Third World Education: Unesco, Literacy and Development*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Jones, Phillip W. *The United Nations and Education: Multilateralism, Development and Globalisation*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Kallaway, Peter. "Welfare and Education in British Colonial Africa and South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s." *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 3 (2005): 337–356.
- Kallaway, Peter, and Rebecca Swartz, eds. *Empire and Education in Africa: The Shaping of a Comparative Perspective*. New York: Peter Lang, 2016.
- Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Kent, John. *The Internationalization of Colonialism: Britain, France, and Black Africa 1939–1956*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Kott, Sandrine. "La justice sociale dans un monde global. L'Organisation internationale du travail (1919–2019)." *Le Mouvement Social* 2, no. 263 (2018): 3–14.
- Kott, Sandrine. "Les organisations internationales, terrains d'étude de la globalisation: Jalons pour une approche socio-historique." *Critique internationale* 52 (2011): 9–16.
- Kott, Sandrine. "Une 'communauté épistémique' du social? Experts de l'OIT et internationalisation des politiques sociales dans l'entre-deux-guerres." *Genèses* 71 (2008): 26–46.

- Kott, Sandrine, and Joëlle Droux, eds. *Globalizing Social Rights: The International Labour Organization and Beyond*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Laqua, Daniel. "Transnational Intellectual Cooperation, the League of Nations, and the Problem of Order." *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 2 (2011): 223–247.
- Lespinet-Moret, Isabelle, and Vincent Viet, eds. *L'Organisation internationale du Travail: Origine, développement, avenir*. Rennes: PUR, 2011.
- LONSEA: League of Nations Search Engine. Accessed November 18, 2018. www.lonsea.de/pub.
- Mackenzie, David. *A World Beyond Borders: An Introduction to the History of International Organizations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Matasci, Damiano. "Assessing Needs, Fostering Development: UNESCO, Illiteracy and the Global Politics of Education (1945–1960)." *Comparative Education* 53, no. 1 (2017): 35–53.
- Matasci, Damiano. *L'école républicaine et l'étranger: Une histoire internationale des réformes scolaires en France (1870–1914)*. Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015.
- Matasci, Damiano. "L'éducation, terrain d'action internationale: Le Bureau international de l'enseignement technique dans les années 1930." *Relations internationales* 151 (2012): 37–48.
- Matasci, Damiano. "Une 'UNESCO africaine'? Le Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer, la coopération éducative intercoloniale et la défense de l'empire, 1945–1957." *Monde(s)* 1, no. 13 (2018): 195–214.
- Meeusen, Johan. "Judicial Disapproval of Discrimination against Illegitimate Children: A Comparative Study of Developments in Europe and the United States." *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 43, no. 1 (1995): 119–145.
- Meyer, Heinz-Dieter, and Aaron Benavot, eds. *PISA, Power, and Policy: The Emergence of Global Educational Governance*. Southampton: Symposium Books, 2013.
- Miller, Carol. "'Geneva—The Key to Equality': Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations." *Women's History Review* 2 (1994): 219–245.
- Müller, Birgit, ed. *The Gloss of Harmony: The Politics of Policy-Making in Multilateral Organisations*. London: Pluto Press, 2013.
- Mundy, Karen, and Mona Galy. "International and Transnational Policy Actors in Education: A Review of the Research." In *Handbook of Education Policy Research*, edited by Gary Sykes. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Murphy, Craig N. *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance Since 1850*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.
- Muschik, Eva-Maria. "Managing the World: The United Nations, Decolonization, and the Strange Triumph of State Sovereignty in the 1950s and 1960s." *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (2008): 121–144.

- Ochs, Kimberley, and David Phillips, eds. *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004.
- Paillette, Céline. "Épidémies, santé et ordre international: Organisations sanitaires internationales (1903–1923)." *Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations* 2, no. 2 (2012): 238–256.
- Patel, Kiran Klaus. "'Transnations' among 'Transnations'? The Debate on Transnational History in the United States and Germany." *Center for European Studies Working Paper Series* 159 (2008): 451–472.
- Pearson-Patel, Jessica. "Promoting Health, Protecting Empire: Inter-colonial Medical Cooperation in Postwar Africa." *Monde(s): Histoire, Espaces, Relations* 7, no. 1 (2015): 213–230.
- Pedersen, Susan. "Back to the League of Nations?" *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (2007): 1091–1117.
- Pedersen, Susan. *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Procès-verbal provisoire des séances, 1933. CPE/PV 1/9e session. League of Nations Archives, Geneva.
- Ramirez, Francisco, and John Boli. "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origin and Worldwide Institutionalization." *Sociology of Education* 60, no. 1 (1987): 2–17.
- Rasmussen, Anne. "Tournant, inflexions, ruptures: Le moment internationaliste." *Mil Neuf Cent Revue d'histoire intellectuelle* 19, no. 1 (2001): 27–41.
- Reinalda, Bob. *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Renoliet, Jacques. *L'UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle, 1919–1946*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999.
- Rodogno, Davide, Maurice Vaisse, and Matthias Schulz, eds. "Organisations internationales et ONG: Coopération, complémentarité et rivalité de 1919 à nos jours." Special issue. *Relations Internationales* 151–152, nos. 3–4 (2012).
- Rodogno, Davide, Shaloma Gauthier, and Francesca Piana. "What Does Transnational History Tell Us about a World with International Organizations? The Historians' Point of View." In *Routledge Handbook of International Organizations*, edited by Bob Reinalda, 95–105. Routledge: London, 2013.
- Rosental, Paul-André. "Géopolitique et État providence: Le BIT et la politique mondiale des migrations dans l'entre-deux-guerres." *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 61, no. 1 (2006): 99–134.
- Rossello, Pedro. *Les précurseurs du BIE: Un aspect inédit de l'histoire de l'éducation et des organisations internationales*. Genève: Bureau international d'éducation, 1943.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. "Circulations, connexions et espaces transnationaux." *Genèses* 57 (2007): 110–126.

- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. "Les régimes circulatoires du domaine social, 1800–1940: Projets et ingénierie de la convergence et de la différence." *Genèses* 71 (2008): 4–25.
- Saunier, Pierre-Yves. *Transnational History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Schriewer, Jürgen, ed. *Weltkultur und kulturelle Bedeutungswelten: Zur Globalisierung von Bildungsdiskursen*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2007.
- Sluga, Glenda. "Editorial: The Transnational History of International Institutions." *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 2 (2011): 219–222.
- Steiner-Khamsi, Gita, ed. *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2004.
- Tambe, Ashwini. "The State as Surrogate Parent: Legislating Nonmarital Sex in Colonial India, 1911–1929." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 3 (2009): 393–427.
- Thane, Pat. "Unmarried Motherhood in 20th Century England." *Women's History Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): 11–29.
- Thiry, Amandine, Thomas D'haeninck, and Christophe Verbruggen, "(Re) Educational Internationalism in the Low Countries, 1850–1914." In *The Civilising Offensive: Social and Educational Reform in 19th Century Belgium*, edited by Christoph de Spiegeleer, 189–216. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019.
- Tröhler, Daniel. "Globalizing Globalization: The Neo-institutional Concept of a World Culture." In *Globalization and the Study of Education*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi, 29–48. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- UN General Assembly. *Resolution on the Educational Advancement in Trust Territories*, 18 November 1948.
- UNESCO, ed. *Expériences françaises d'éducation de base en Afrique noire*. Paris: UNESCO, 1954.
- UNESCO, ed. *Index of Field Mission Reports, 1947–1968*. Paris: UNESCO, 1986.
- UNESCO, ed. *World Illiteracy at Mid-Century: A Statistical Study*. Paris: UNESCO, 1957.
- Watras, Joseph. "UNESCO's Programme of Fundamental Education, 1946–1959." *History of Education* 39, no. 2 (2010): 219–237.



Transnational as Comparative History: (Un)Thinking Difference in the Self and Others

Thomas S. Popkewitz

Transnational and comparative research is important if we are to challenge the doxa that privileges the nation and nationalism in educational studies, including in the subdiscipline of the history of education. From the early 1800s onward, the history of education has been linked to teacher education as knowledge about moral order, national belonging, and the development of the child in the training of teachers.¹ As a potential counter-narrative, transnational and comparative histories can provide ways to consider the circulation of multiple cultural, social, and political practices visible within schools but not able to be adequately understood solely within the context of national borders.

¹Miguel A. Pereyra, University of Granada, Spain, has been studying the history of teacher education. These comments are related to his ongoing research.

T. S. Popkewitz (✉)
Department of Curriculum and Instruction,
University of Wisconsin–Madison, Madison, WI, USA
e-mail: thomas.popkewitz@wisc.edu

© The Author(s) 2019
E. Fuchs and E. Roldán Vera (eds.), *The Transnational in the History
of Education*, Global Histories of Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1_10

Considering the potential of transnational studies in historical enquiry, however, begs the question of what constitutes the qualities of comparativeness that such *transnational* studies assume. I say “assume” as what needs to be explored are distinctions that establish equivalences in the telling of the history of schools as institutions. Talking about schools as institutions, classrooms, children’s learning, or in terms of the relationship of schooling to modernity at any particular time embodies classifications that order and compare differences. The classification becomes, in effect, an ahistorical presence that allows us to consider “what matters” in talking about differences and similarities in schools.

The comparative question lurks in the subterranean recesses of historical transnational studies, but it rarely comes to full light. This chapter is an attempt to explore these recesses. It weaves together a number of different historical and theoretical considerations. I start with an observation about transnational and comparative history as distinct, yet mutually intertwined. The second section considers the notions of context and archive, the heart of contemporary analysis, as embodying inscriptions of difference and comparison in governing what is seen and thought about. The third section embarks on an exploration of the comparative nature of transnational studies through the notions of the “indigenous foreigner” and “traveling libraries.” The intent of this part of the chapter is to think about historical studies as embodying relational fields in systems of reason. Historicizing is used to “see” things of the past as events and to understand the conditions that make them intelligible and possible.

My intent is to outline a mode of analysis for thinking about constructions of difference as central in transnational studies. This quality of comparativeness can be thought of as a History of the Present, but without the presentism of historical studies. History is about understanding the conditions that create our ways of ordering and classifying present objects of reflection and action, as well as recognizing what has often gone unscrutinized, the comparativeness of transnational studies.

Transnational as Comparative History: So What Else Is New?

I begin this thinking about transnational and comparative studies by considering how each is embedded in the other. Comparativeness rears its head in both parts of the composite *transnational*. The adjectival form

of “nation” assumes comparison due to the necessity to the very idea of nation of historical or geopolitical relationships within which the nation constitutes its identity. Where transnational or global histories are produced, there are comparative categories and identities, and their deployment to describe (in our case) schools in different places. The differences identified in tracing the development and growth of, and/or changes in, schooling are both internal and external. These differences might be described as the institutional qualities of schooling as apparent in neo-institutional studies. That research articulates a historical theory that traces the growing international isomorphism of education systems from the nineteenth century to today. Other forms of comparativeness are: the examination of differences in the formation of the common school in different countries, of how schools have taught citizenship to national populations, how social structures produce forces that reproduce social inequities and changes in credentialing for academic careers.²

The comparativeness in these studies of education embodies particular principles of difference. It assumes that objects of representation are entities that stand outside of history, endowed with transcendental qualities. When a nation’s school system first establishes common high schools, the ways in which schools teach children to become citizens, or the ways in which children learn about national or world history, provide examples of events and processes that serve as historical comparison. Differences are embedded in a hierarchy and continuum of value drawn from resemblances defined in terms of classifications, such as expressed as children’s stages of growth and development or the changes in the literacy rates of populations. These classifications about people perform as entities that can be standardized and codified in order to assess difference.

The qualities that constitute comparativeness are often erased in what Cowen calls the banalities of educational studies.³ These educational banalities are in turn embodied in binary distinctions between the “self” and others, expressed in terms such as “globalization” versus

²Cf., for example, David P. Baker, *The Schooled Society: The Educational Transformation of Global Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Antonio Viñao, “History of Education and Cultural History: Possibilities, Problems, Questions,” in *Cultural History and Education: Critical Studies on Knowledge and Schooling*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra (New York: Routledge, 2001), 125–150.

³Robert Cowen, “Acting Comparatively upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities,” *Oxford Review of Education* 32, no. 5 (2006): 561–573.

“localization,” and “internationalization” versus “regionalism”; distinctions whose historical erasure Cowen argues took place through the very practices that are associated with the changes commencing in the nineteenth century, if not earlier.

It is this inscription of difference that I want to explore in thinking about the *trans* in transnational. My interest is to interrogate the ideas of comparativeness in *transnational* history as a way of thinking in, and enacting, historical studies. This comparativeness, at least as it manifests in variations of historicism, occurs not only across geographical locations, but also in the inscriptions of physical and cultural spaces. It occurs in the principles generated about “what matters” in schooling that appear as universal, transhistorical and therefore as criteria for the ordering and classification of what is seen and thought about as “different.” It is thus important to ask about the principles of representation and identity embodied in institutional, social, and intellectual histories of schooling.

It is important likewise to consider the comparing of people as a particular historical phenomenon in the emergence of modern history.⁴ Stepping back a bit, we can perceive that the idea of history entails the inscriptions of *regularized*, irreversible time in social/cultural questions that compared people and their levels of “civilization” and the formation of institutions connotated as “modern.” Time becomes a social attribute in the identities and changes of human life. The human past becomes something that can give intelligibility to the world and to the self that moves and develops in a secular time, thus in a different notion of history from that inherent in the theological cosmology of the universal time of God and the cyclical history of the Ancient Greeks. The history of “The City of Man” had its own distinct chronology and patterns from those of nature and the “Heavenly City.”⁵ Human history makes it possible for us to assemble, connect, and differentiate the qualities and characteristics of people and nations along hierarchies and continuums of values.

⁴I use the term “modern” to reference ideas including notions of agency, of society as abstractions about some general qualities of humanity from which to consider individual lives in a chronology whose earthly presence has a “nature” yet an indeterminacy: See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); see also Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform: Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child* (New York: Routledge, 2008), particularly Chapters 1–3.

⁵Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

This history of history, or of what might be seen as the inscription of historicism as history, inscribed a new sense of the comparison of humanness in the movement of time and difference. The European Renaissance and the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, for example, involved literary and artistic debates in the Académie Française to give visibility to the argument around whether the moderns were superior to the thinkers of the past. A continuum of value was produced by comparing human attributes and capabilities of the then and the now, but also of the now and “others” of the present. This historicism inscribed representations of actors and agency as the origin that scripted the narratives of the past and epistemologically organized, as I discuss later, the romanticizing of the archive as the material(ism) that gives the past its possibility.⁶ Embedded in these debates was the question: “How has the nature of people developed so to become civilized; and, how can these differences in people be located in time as the continuum ranging from non-civilization to advanced civilization?”

History, in its sense of time, becomes a repository of the creation of human memory and experience. This sense of history as generating human memory, however, is not important historically. What is important is the kind of memory being produced. As Danziger reminds us, all human societies remember, but they remember in very different ways.⁷ In modernity, individual memory is closely linked to historically changing forms of external memory. It works to carry out tasks whose parameters are set by changing social demands and conventions.⁸ The creation of a “usable” past has been the province of histories of nations, in their production of cultural and social manifestations that enable us to “see” and think of our lives in a continuum that links the past, present, and the future with the necessities of collective belonging and individual self-realization.

⁶See Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed., *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra, eds., *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001).

⁷Kurt Danziger, *Marking the Mind: A History of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁸Danziger, *Marking the Mind*, 5; Ian Hacking, “Kinds of People: Moving Targets” (British Academy Lecture, Paris, 2006).

Nora has carefully explored how modern historical work creates a reservoir of remembering through external devices (archives, museums, monuments) through which individuality and sociality are linked.⁹ This construction of memory is embodied in the social science policy and funding pursued by the European Union and European Commission from the 1960s to the present, which created physical sites for collective memory and commissioned historical studies associated with Europe and European identity.¹⁰ Their temporal dimensions related heritage and traditions to a new kind of person, “the European,” as a site of collective belonging. That person was scaled in a hierarchy of values. The various sites of heritage, ceremonies, and instances of universalizing stood alongside what had previously been local, creating a scaling whose hierarchy brought the nation and the citizen in relation to “European” history and collective being.

Modern history, linked with the irreversible movement from past, present to future, brings into view a principle of change and its administration through the distinctions and differences for calculating everyday experiences, such as found in studies of households and labor. Processes, a concept of time, organized humans into ordered sequences that stabilize social spaces in the theories of representation and identity that circulated within the social and psychological sciences. Change was placed in “The arrow of time”¹¹ gave human history its own narrative, contingencies, and possibility of change in an “earthly kingdom.”

It might seem oxymoronic for the future to become the element of modern historicism. In the nineteenth century, there occurs the rise of a wholesale awareness of change, the future, and history, perhaps encapsulated in the Faustian notion of becoming rather than being. John Stuart Mill observes: “The idea of comparing one’s own age with former ages, or with our notion of those which are yet to come, had occurred

⁹Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les lieux de memoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.

¹⁰Thomas S. Popkewitz and Catarina Silva Martins, “Now We Are European! How Did It Get That Way?” *Sisyphus* 1, no. 1 (2013): 37–66.

¹¹Thomas Popkewitz, *The Impracticality of Practical Research: A History of Contemporary Sciences of Change That Conserve* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, in press).

to philosophers; but it never before was itself the dominant idea of any age.”¹² The projects of history focus on the regularities of time as the “process” that traces change in the representations given to the subject.

The introduction of the notion of a regular time revolves around processes that stabilize the representations of identities by which differences are defined. The most common representation is that of childhood. Steedman writes that childhood was given visibility during the eighteenth century, around the same time as the emergence of historicism, but via different social trajectories.¹³ The classification “child” structures difference through its representations—the child is the child, the teacher is the teacher, and institutions are the same across social systems.

These commonalities of the objectifications located the project of history as the calculation, ordering, and administration of childhood within the regularizing action of time. The cultural space of childhood becomes a temporal principle in the making of the interiority of the “child,” formed by cultural theses about modes of living, such as adolescence, the lifelong learner, and the disadvantaged child. These theses themselves embody a comparativeness that differentiates the qualities, characteristics, and capabilities of the child, giving rise to such distinctions and differentiations as the child who has or lacks motivation, engagement and the “fragile” (or “chaotic”) family. Each concept embodies temporal dimensions, as time is not merely about physical measures but inscribed in social practice about development, for example, for comparing the moral qualities of the child.

The principles generated for comparison reside in the distinctions and differentiations around who the child is or is supposed to be, but also around its “others,” who do not fit into these spaces of normalcy—the immigrant, the member of an ethnic minority, and the child today who falls into the achievement “gap” and is left behind. Difference is instantiated: the child who was different and separated from the unity of the whole that

¹²Moris Eksteins, “History and Degeneration: Of Birds and Cages,” in *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, ed. J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 3.

¹³Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

successful schooling would be rescued and brought into the fold of salvation in terms of the child's obligations to society and its "humanity."¹⁴

The comparative principles in the regular movements of time have two trajectories in the telling of history. One, the telling of history is to overcome the limits of the past. In this conception, the past is often defined as tradition identified with dogma and ignorance. Second, the telling of history provides the justification for the absorption of the new and the future. The modern project gave visibility to changes in humanity was a part is the bringing in the new, the up-to-date, and the contemporary. While remembering, the past evoked to authenticate the newness of "what's new" and yet filter the contemporary through gauze consisting of the particles of the past.¹⁵

The two statements above contain a continual comparativeness that juxtaposes the past with the present and the possibilities of the future. Time is an irreversible movement from tradition to the new, old culture to progress, and from dogma to the modern.

The comparativeness of history as part of the present invoked the identities of the human actors whose agency is the object of change. Human agency is inscribed in these actors' representations, and human freedom is not an absolute concept. It is comparative, and part of the planning of social and individual life in which the rationalization of time was made a part of "the self." Progress, at least in its modern sense, embodies ideas of agency in time; that is to say that there is a directionality that can be given to the future through human engagement in processes of change. The agent inscribed in history is one that is theoretically described through the representations given as the objects of schooling—its teachers, children, and families. The possibilities pertaining to the administration of these objects embody sagas of human progress that are coupled with fears of degeneration in the arrow of time.

¹⁴For counter-narratives, see, for example: Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961/1962); Jeroen J. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History: Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010); Barbara Finkelstein, *Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century United States* (New York: Falmer, 1989).

¹⁵Beatriz Jaguaribe, "Modernist Ruins: National Narratives and Architectural Forms," in *Alternative Modernities*, ed. Dilip P. Gaonkar (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 333.

I apologize if it seems as if I am bringing in too many historical notes, but they are important if we are to begin to think about the different trajectories shaping and fashioning the comparative principles of a transnational history. I began this section with the intricate relationship of transnational and comparative history and the need to think about what constitutes the “comparative” so as not to reinscribe the nation as a way of ordering and classifying. The question is not “the nation” per se, but the epistemological principles of difference embodied in contemporary thinking around nations through representations and identities located in a continuum of values. The continuum proceeds from some notion of sameness, embodied in the distinctions that differentiate in a manner that normalize and divide the qualities of people. The divisions, in turn, are embedded in categories that represent the identities of childhood and teachers in the curriculum, institutions, and social and psychological theories of schooling.

Of course, the principles of representation and identity in the flow of time are not the only form of “reason” available to the historian.¹⁶ But of importance is to consider particular principles of comparativeness and their limits. The various extant conceptions of social time, progress, and agency emerged from different trajectories, but came together in a way that gave rise to comparative principles concerning the representations of people. Time could order and compare processes of change as representing human development, evolution, and growth. It led to new forms of memory and forgetting tied to history as a social enterprise. Time was embodied in the Enlightenment’s notions of the philosophy of consciousness and its questions of representation and identity that focused on human qualities and characteristics as marks of difference.

Finally, the comparativeness of transnational studies as a historical style of reason produces a conundrum. While there are efforts to talk about indigenous knowledge and non-Eurocentric approaches, the idea of comparing and comparative history is a strategy of reflection that

¹⁶In some ways, I am Kuhn gives attention to different paradigmatic assumptions, and which can be found in the writing of Stephen Toulmin, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Ian Hacking, Roger Chartier, and Mitchell Dean, among others. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). The edited collections Popkewitz, Franklin, and Pereyra, *Cultural History and Education*, and Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*, sought to move in this epistemic vein, rethinking the history of education by bringing together international collaborators.

embodies an attitude drawn from the Enlightenment's notions of reason and rationality. Yet, to engage in comparative history is to push the limits of history by being sensitive to the various different epistemological systems that are not merely the recouping the West. Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe* partially engages this challenge when he argues that Western notions and categories are indispensable yet inherently insufficient for narrating processes of change in and outside of the West.¹⁷ Further, studying the self and the other constitutes a problem of translation. Translations are not copies, but creative articulations that pose a number of challenges which go beyond merely finding the right words. They entail the challenge of finding modes of communicating differences in historical, social, and cultural systems of reasoning without creating representations and identities that inscribe differences in a continuum of epistemological values about their objects.

Erasing the Erasures in Historical Studies: Context and the Archive

The comparativeness of historical studies is elided through two sacraments of historians. While I do not want to paint a picture of a monolithic field without dissent, it is easy to hear one sacrament, in the hallowed halls of historical meetings and graduate training, as consisting in "context." Context, so the lore goes, is what gives historical studies their historical distinctiveness. The second sacrament is the truth-bearing load of the *archive*. The archive is the historians' repository of the past that guarantee the truthfulness of history and its enunciation of context. The epistemic principles that travel with these sacraments inscribe comparativeness through back doors. The irony of their installations is the production of differences and divisions in the name of maintaining the inviolability of the particular.

Context is one of the central distinctions that historians provide to differentiate their work from others. History, it is said, provides the specificity of context that eludes the search of the social sciences for generalizations and universalizing moments. The topos is told that historians' business is context and antagonist of neo-institutional theories discussed

¹⁷Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

early—focusing on the nuances and specifics that make for the differences among people. These differences are essential, the narrative continues, for our understanding of our humanness. The generalized world and its people show particular patterns and principles that need their concreteness if we are to gain any understanding of our humanness and the practices of change. Context gives truth-value to the descriptions of schooling that give nuance and concreteness to the abstractions about institutions, for example.

Thus articulated, however, this topos of “context” loses sight of how context embodies theories about ontological givens. The very evocation of the nuances, debates, tensions, and conflict about what is “exposed” as historical specificities of daily life and people is given its reasonableness through theoretical landscapes. In a similar way, the principles that order and classify what is known entail prior assumptions about the nature of life and people in their determination of “context.” As an example, the “context” of the history of American schooling is continually told through theories about “the nature” of the child that society seeks to mold or the psychologies of learning it seeks to develop.

The qualities and characteristics given as context are the ontological parts of the processes of childhood that school administrators. The problem under study thus becomes, for example, the ways in which different curricular traditions and notions of childhood change over time to the end of furthering the child’s potential. Historicizing the objectifications of social life are made intelligible enables us to explore the conditions that give intelligibility to representations and identities of schooling.

The connections and assemblies of the characteristics about the child act as cultural theses and “what matters” in the ordering of pathways for development and the desired kind of adult. Children’s learning, development, and growth embody “theories” about the “nature” of the child and the perceived characteristics which link the child to themes of collective belonging to the nation and its social history. In American historicism, context is evoked when talking about the processes, utterance, memories about teaching and the child that seem merely about geographical places and secular notions of growth, erasing how the events under description are complex historic connection with, for example, particular Protestant (Calvinist) themes around salvation, the formation of hierarchies of knowledge, and

notions of American exceptionalism with regard to liberalism, science and social order in pedagogical projects.¹⁸

Of course, not everyone uses “context” as an atheoretical theory, but this occurs often enough for the veneration of “context” to act as a sacrament performed to differentiate what the real historian does and who and what is not “history.” In terms of this discussion, context can be a closet theory of difference that, when thinking of transnational/comparative history, may leave key principles unexamined. Categories of cultures, nations, minorities, religions, and indigenous populations are examples of such comparative distinctions that silently order and give ontological qualities to kinds of people in historical studies. The categories inscribe divisions produced by the representation of the subject who is not classified as ethnic, local, or minority.

My use of theory is not, as a commonsense notion of the term might imply, to provide a rational order or methods for calculation.¹⁹ Borrowing from Ian Hacking’s notion of styles of reason, the notion of theory directs attention to the principles that shape and fashion the ways in which “we” find out, recognize, and distinguish the kinds of people that pedagogy (teaching and learning) is to act on.²⁰ The people to act on in schooling are called children (gifted, adolescent, at-risk, among others), and the agents of change are teachers. The objects and agents of change are made possible through particular rules and standards of reason that perform as cultural theses about how judgments are made, conclusions drawn, and through which rectifications seek to make existence manageable and predictable.

¹⁸See, for example, Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; Thomas S. Popkewitz, “The Social, Psychological, and Education Sciences: From Educationalization to Pedagogicalization of the Family and the Child,” in *Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), 171–190; see also Daniel Tröhler, *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies in Educationalization of the World, National Identities, and Global Aspirations* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁹See Thomas S. Popkewitz, “The Empirical and Political ‘Fact’ of Theory in the Social and Education Sciences,” in *Making a Difference in Theory: The Theory Question in Education and the Education Question in Theory*, ed. Gert Biesta, Julie Allan, and Richard G. Edwards (London: Routledge, 2013), 13–29.

²⁰Ian Hacking, “‘Style’ for Historians and Philosophers,” *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 23, no. 1 (1992): 1–20.

When embedded as the “reason” of history, context as a theory creates a dualism. Context brings into being the analytical split between ideas (nominalism) and the material (realism). Context is taken realism and cascades it into distinctions to differentiate what is given presence through the classifications of people and their activities. This is most evident in historians’ discussions of neo-institutional theories of schooling. Neo-institutionalism is a field of historical sociology that maps the emergence of schooling from the nineteenth century onward as world-wide phenomena. Historians argue that macro-interpretations ignore the particular nuances of “context” within nations. History is exploring the importance of context through focusing on debates and conflict among educational thinkers and the different institutional forms found from nation to nation. The use of “context” in these historical narratives replaces the realism of neo-institutionalism with a different layer of realism. Categories of authors and institutional variations are given presence in the origin of difference and what is real. Institutions and authors are taken as having transhistorical, transcendental qualities, providing the origin of history which elides history.

It is in this divide and its dualism of context that the sacrament of the archive appears. It is the quintessential marker of the historian’s craft. Archival theories may not be explicit, but they are embodied in principles around the nature of humans, change, kinds of people, and the social and cultural principles that order what is seen and acted on.²¹ Whether historians like the word or not, theory is there in the doing of history.²² *History entails theories that are never about the past, but about governing the present and designing the future.*

Historians do in fact romanticize “going into the archives.” The typical archival musty smell conjures up images of the past, and of the repositories of the past that need to be accessed to make that past lay bare its primordial truths.²³ The archive is the depository of materials that fill

²¹Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*.

²²See Popkewitz, “The Empirical and Political ‘Fact’.”

²³This is evident in a recent discussion of global histories that focuses on the topics of such histories and questions of access to sources and the need for Ph.D. students to “muddy their boots,” even with the digitalization of archives. See Martine van Ittersum, Felicia Gottmann, and Tristan Mostert, “Writing Global History and Its Challenges—A Workshop with Jürgen Osterhammel and Geoffrey Parker,” *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 357–376.

in the substance of what becomes the context. The archive provides the materiality and majesty. Context lies here, in the dusty archive bins and the feel of what has been deposited. The assertion is that historians follow the trail of the archive in order to find coherence as a true method for uncovering the past.

The estate in which context lies in historicism serves as a banner embroidered with the slogan “stay close to the tracing of the archival data as the origin of history, or you are not a real historian.” The most pressing problem for the historian’s method is to find and order the right materials to put together the past and understand the relations that make that story possible. The sub-motif of the banner reads, often with the greatest of enthusiasm and certainty of belief, “Theory is the antithesis of real history and it will get in your way.”

The evocation of context may be a strategic way of differentiating what the historian does, but it also may empty history of its history, to borrow from Walter Benjamin, by making context a transcendental category outside of history.²⁴ This would be a history that paints eternal and homogeneous pictures of the past through giving ahistorical qualities to its objects and lionizing context as the origin and source of our understanding of the present.

The sacrament of the archive embodies the epistemic separation between documents, as the data from which the narratives of history are composed, and theories that might impinge on the reading of data, leading the historian astray from the archival facts that make for the historical context. The archival constructions are theoretical entities that inscribe the split between ideas and realism that reared its head with the idea of “context.”

The inscription of archival principles is not merely about history, but additionally about the invention of modern history as a historical formation. Drawing on Freud, Steedman argues that the archive is the desire to recover movements of inceptions, to find and possess all sorts of beginning.²⁵ Making the archive, as the origin of historical knowledge, shapes and fashions the boundaries of narratives about the humanness of humans and, at the same time, provides the pillars of memory through

²⁴Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken, 1985/1955).

²⁵Steedman, *Strange Dislocations*.

external devices relating to experience. Once retrieved, the deposited documents require narratives to articulate coherence in the present.

The archive as the origin of history needs, then, a bit of history. The historical romanticism of the archive is a nice myth, although disturbed somewhat by the digitalizing of archives today and the difficulty of romanticizing the computer screen and web as the craft of the historian. Professionally, and particularly in German idealism, the purpose of the archive was to confer on history (and historians) the mantle of objectivity in battles for legitimacy by asserting its scientific qualities.

The idea of repositories of the past brings together the art of governing with the historicism of the archive.²⁶ The archive was invented to serve the nineteenth-century colonial state in its administration. British administrators in India and other colonial outposts compiled records to the end of consolidating and justifying imperial power. Its documents became part of the authoritative colonial record and were treated as an objective and accurate account of the past.²⁷ There is a tendency to forget that the archival presence, as history, represents selections of tracks of the past, as Marc Bloch, a founder of the *Annales* School, set out in *The Historian's Craft*.²⁸ The selection of these tracks takes place via complicated social and cultural processes for their eventual retrieval. Bloch remarked that up to the eighteenth century, people traveling past Egyptian pyramids as they rode through the desert would write graffiti on their stones. For the travelers in the desert, the pyramids were rocks in the sand that had no historical pretense to make any statements about who people are.

Such statements about the past as a knowing about the present come into being through the organizing of objects into chronologies whose "context," each in a specific time, became a particular human and social dimension. Chronologies told of different contexts that provided an analytical continuity to the present. The connection of an irreversible movement of time from past to present to future was not available; until the

²⁶This is discussed in Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Styles of Reason: Historicism, Historicizing, and Their Historical Objects in the History of Education," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1–28.

²⁷See, for example, Marlene Manoff, "Theories of the Archive from across the Disciplines," *Portal: Libraries and the Academy* 4, no. 1 (2004): 9–25.

²⁸Marc L. B. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 1953).

1700s, the European idea of the social was simply about associations of people or guilds, and not an abstract concept of collective belonging entangled in the production of memory via the external devices of museums and monuments. These external devices created “expositions” for the use of memory as a device for comparing people, which later was inscribed in conceptions of archeology, culture, and civilization.

Bloch was articulating the historical emergence of a sense of time tied to humans as having their own unique history. Humanness was given a past that focused on the people who made it. That past, however, was not, as with the Stoics of Ancient Greece, where its wisdom of the present was found. The past was part of the present. It was given its presence through human reason and rationality that looked at the tracks of the past.

The physical depository of the archive is an effect power. Stoler examines the colonial Dutch archives of Indonesia in the context of rethinking the archive as a historical event. She argues that the archive “animates political energies and expertise, pulling on some social facts and converting them into qualified knowledge and ways of knowing what could, should, and not be done or said.”²⁹ The documentation designated arbitrary social facts as matters of security, colluded with racial categories in the constricted political space of the Dutch colonial conditions. Stoler’s history is transnational, told through an understanding of how particular ways of “seeing,” thinking, and acting are produced in a relational field that simultaneously produced the Dutch and Indonesian as the self and its other.

Latour discusses the limits of this notion of context and time as the analytics of categorization through dividing phenomena into separate and exact pieces of knowledge whose segmentations generate the illusion of continuity.³⁰ That analytical continuity and these divisions produce a purification of ontological zones of objects of research that in turn produces divisions between ideas and “context”; nominalism and materialism; and discourse and the real. The divisions ignore the ways in which the things of the world are assembled in their hybridity and relational qualities.

²⁹Ann L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 10.

³⁰Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

This recalls Benjamin's view of history as seizing the emergency of the situation in which we live and its critique of the concept of progress itself.³¹ To think of transnational history and comparativeness by historicizing the archive is to challenge the dogma of the archive; mute its romanticism and making the historian as the magistrate of memory. The archive is not the sum of all texts that a culture keeps as documents attesting to its own past, or as evidence of a continuing identity, or as the social institutions that make possible the recording and preserving of what is remembered and to be forgotten. As Ó, Martins, and Paz suggest, the archive is the taking of documents as a monument to a culture, and available for scrutiny of its rules about what can be said, thought, made into memory, and institutionalized.³²

The archive, if we pursue this thought, is for eventualizing the objects that are given in the telling of the world and the self; of working the interiority of the source; and of establishing the complex historical landscape in which the discourses worked and were given intelligibility. This is not a re-establishment of the idea of context under a different banner. Historical work thinks of the *archive* as a verb, an object that is worked on for interpretation to the end of interrogating *the system that governs the appearance of statements*. The archive, as Tröhler argues, is the place for reconstructing rather than gathering data, and for recognizing comparative diversity as the interrelations at work in the productions of schoolings.³³ It is a way of "seeing" connections, relations, and assemblies of things through which cultural theses about modes of living are made possible. It enables us to understand the conditions that make the subject, as a possibility to "see" and talk about rather than as the site of the origin of historical narratives.

The effective transnational history, then, is not to trace the interactions and social communications of the heroes of education, such as Dewey with his colleagues at Chicago, his personal correspondence, or the veracity or faithfulness with which others engage with Dewey.

³¹ Benjamin, *Illuminations*.

³² Jorge Ramos do Ó, Catarina S. Martins, and Ana L. Paz, "Genealogy of History: From Pupil to Artist as the Dynamics of Genius, Status, and Inventiveness in Art Education in Portugal," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 157–178.

³³ Tröhler, *Languages of Education*.

The archive's purpose is to examine the statements of Dewey, to consider their intersections with others' statements and events in order to consider the system of reason. Its task is then to consider the comparative question—on which the section that follows will focus—of how systems of reason move, are assembled, connected, and disconnected as traveling libraries in which the indigenous foreigner is inserted as belonging in the past/present.

The Indigenous Foreigner and Traveling Libraries: The “Transnational” as the Reason of Self and Others

For now, the question, at least in Europe and the Americas, is how to make the tracks of the past into interpretations in the present. Ortega y Gasset said this beautifully: Words never capture the total of reality, as that is more complicated than language, and always the poverty of human experience.³⁴ Ortega y Gasset was partially correct, but partially wrong. Words that order and classify the past are always in a relational form that not only construes the things of the world, but the narratives and images generated likewise order how the past is given a history that constructs, that is, act to make the history of a nation, people, and events as objects known for understanding and interventions.

This section sketches a notion of transnational comparative history through two intersecting notions, that of the “indigenous foreigner” and that of “traveling libraries,” which frame the discussion. Central to these two notions is the locating differences through the historically formed epistemic principles about what is “seen” and act on; rather than as comparisons of differences taken from the representations and identities whose objectifications are given as inherent or natural to the ordering of context.

The “indigenous foreigner” is a play on words to help think about how particular phenomena have traveled and translated from one historical space to another. The term is play on words that otherwise might seem as an oxymoron and not as an ideological term about groups of people. The indigenous foreigner is to give attention to how ideas and modes of thought move into new social and cultural spaces and appear

³⁴José Ortega y Gasset, *History as a System and Other Essays toward a Philosophy of History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962).

as at-home and belonging rather than as strangers or trespassers. John Dewey is an exemplar of the indigenous foreigner. Dewey's pragmatism traveled as an icon for progressive modernity to over 50 countries, from China to Russia, Turkey, Colombia, and Argentina.³⁵ Even today, there are prestigious university chairs named for people who brought Dewey into their national discussions of education reforms, such as in China.

Considering Dewey as an indigenous foreigner provides a way to think about a transnational history. Doing so entails, the double question of the cultural practices by which Dewey is given intelligibility in his "homeland" and what travels is reassembled and connected in other spaces as belonging or natural to people and their cultures and traditions—indigenous—in its new "home."

In contrast to Dewey being thought of an author and the originator of ideas to be studied in a range of contexts, a different kind of comparative mode can be engaged. The indigenous foreigner appears as intricate cultural assembly and connection in "traveling libraries,"³⁶ or what Deleuze and Guattari call "conceptual personae."³⁷ The intellectual project is no longer to understand Dewey as a biographical subject and author. The object of study is no longer whether the translators are faithful or not to Dewey's writing. Instead, the indigenous foreigner is to study the complex relations among ideas, social practices, and cultural patterns which give the writing its intelligibility in different historical times and spaces. These relations are, as Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor explore in considering an English school architect of the late nineteenth century, to make the archive as "the writing and reading of a

³⁵Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Less so in Brazil, where Dewey is classified as an urbanist, a word that gives reference to cross Atlantic Protestant reform movements seeking to respond to the Social Question; that is, how to undue undo? the moral disorder urban industrialization, immigration, and urbanization that were dangers and dangerous populations. Dewey as the urbanist was an epistemic antagonist to the counter-Enlightenment values of the Catholic Church.

³⁶The idea of traveling library was introduced to me through comments of Marc Depaep of The Catholic University of Leuven. I am indebted for that conversation. My use of the terms, however, has particular nuances and distinctions related to the idea of systems of reason.

³⁷Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

life,” and the conditions that make its practices possible.³⁸ Antti Saari’s study of Koskenniemi, an influential Finnish pedagogical writer of the early twentieth century, provides a similar exploration. The interest is not in the biography of Koskenniemi’s influence, per se, but how European theory about “social order” travels into the writings of pedagogical practices and appears there as what is natural and real about the interactions and children’s performances in classrooms.³⁹

Joining the concepts of the “indigenous foreigner” and “traveling libraries” is a strategy to consider how differences are historically produced and how to account for those differences. Translation is never merely a copy of some original, but is a transformation that is not merely the sum of its parts. What initially seems to be about the biographical subject/author transmutes into questions about the epistemic principles or system of reason that travel, and their assembly, connections and disconnections in giving intelligibility across time and space. The epistemic qualities of pragmatism in Dewey’s writing, for example, are disconnected from its American lines of movement when they intersect with different sets of practices embodied in the traveling libraries that form the writings of others: of Hasan Ali, for example; Yucüel and Ismail Kakki Tonguç in Turkey⁴⁰; and Sáenz, Gamio, and Ramírez in Mexico.⁴¹ In this way, there is not one “Dewey” but a continual (re)visioning in a grid or scaffolding of complex relationships among ideas, social practices, and cultural patterns, such as linked with Catholic symbols in the

³⁸Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor, “An Exploration of the Writing and Reading of a Life: The ‘Body Parts’ of the Victorian School Architect E.R. Robson,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 201–222.

³⁹Antti Saari, “Technique of Freedom: Representing the School Class as a Social Order,” in *A Political Sociology of Educational Knowledge: Studies of Exclusions and Difference*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz, Jennifer Diaz, and Christopher Kirchgasser (New York: Routledge, 2017), 211–228.

⁴⁰Sabiha Bilgi and Seckin Özsoy, “John Dewey’s Travelings into the Project of Turkish Modernity,” in *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 153–180.

⁴¹Rosa N. Buenfil Burgos, “Discursive Inscriptions in the Fabrication of a Modern Self: Mexican Educational Appropriations of Dewey’s Writings,” in *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 181–202.

cultural spaces governing the Mexican revolutionary party. The epistemic principles (traveling libraries) were not the addition of pragmatism in a different set of historical conditions, but something different that is not merely the sum of the different authors present.

This relation of the indigenous foreigner and traveling libraries does not act merely to make a back-door assumption of “context” about a geographical place or social relations. The two notions are, instead, to think comparatively through an epistemological relativism. It historicizes the conditions that make the objects of schooling possible to “see” and act on. It entails thinking historically about the materiality of knowledge as the words and statements are given intelligibility in reflection *and* action in different historical times and spaces.

Returning to the early discussion of the archive, this concern with the indigenous foreigner and traveling libraries is to historicize the archival statements. To historicize is to examine how the particular statements about pragmatism, for example, intersect with other statements to order and classify the objects of reflection and action. The writings of “authors” are important but not because of their authorship. The writing function as cultural, historical artifacts to understand the conditions in which the ideas, stories, and theories are made intelligible for thinking and talking about people and change.

The ideas of the traveling libraries and indigenous foreigner direct attention to the cultural principles about societies, people, and change generated. The principles generated in the traveling libraries are not the sum of the individual authors but of different historical lines brought together as a singularity for seeing, thinking, and acting.

If I return to Dewey and the idea of traveling libraries, individual writings have a particular quality and important in thinking about comparing, transnational histories. That importance is different from the tasks of the social and intellectual histories. More often than not, the latter reasoning of comparative histories makes the author—Dewey—as autonomous subjects to understand differences that form from “the original” author’s writings as they travel to other geographical locations. This notion of difference is a reductive logic. Reductive in that it defines an essence of the author from which differences are measured. Differences are variations from what are naturalized as the representations and identities given to concepts, events, and people. This notion of history has homologies to the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns that differentiated between different kinds of civilizations as a continuum of value.

Transnational historical studies, I have argued, engage a different style of reasoning about differences and comparing. The task of comparing recognizes that it is not the same “Dewey” that enters into Turkey, Mexico, China, and Belgium in the formation of the school. While names travel, what is greeted is writing (ideas, concepts, statements) that are assembled, connected and, in the process (re)visioned in libraries that produced is not merely the sum of the parts, but something new. Again, to stay with Dewey (but also Rousseau, Freire, and other historical icons), Dewey becomes an indigenous foreigner that entails a connectivity with the library. The comparative historical question is how the writings are brought into and given “sense” in its new cultural and social territories.

The focus on the rules and standards of reason transnationally brings into view two possible trajectories in which differences see “others” as part of the self. One involves considering difference in how the objects of reflection and actions are produced, an epistemological relativism for thinking comparatively.⁴² The second is about thinking relationally about historical events across time and space rather than through the representations and identities that stand as transcendental.

First, different systems of reason that produce particular ways of historical “seeing” and comparative thinking within different times and spaces. I draw on Berger, Berger and Kellner’s idea of “the homeless mind”⁴³ and Rancière’s discussion of European and American modernity⁴⁴ to consider thinking comparatively through systems of reason.⁴⁵ The telling of human history entails new ways of “seeing” and thinking about distant and abstract relations and the immediacy and

⁴²It is important to differentiate epistemological relativism, which is a form of pluralism tied to styles of reason, and moral relativism, which is not my concern here.

⁴³Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York: Vintage, 1974).

⁴⁴Jacques Rancière, *The Flesh of Words: The Politics of Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004). He discusses these as very particular cultural/historical formations that can be called “the West” only as a signifier and not with any essentializing intent.

⁴⁵The relationship of the homeless mind and “the reason” of education is discussed in Thomas S. Popkewitz, “Globalization as a System of Reason: The Historical Possibility and the Political in Pedagogical Policy and Research,” in *Globalization and the Study of Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 247–267.

intimacy of face-to-face relations of everyday experience.⁴⁶ The quality of the mind entailed a “homelessness,” in the sense that individuality is ordered and differentiated through abstract terms referring to the qualities of that humanness. Concepts of society, citizen, immigrant, learners are examples of such abstractions that seem to have no historical location, cultural specificity, or geographical boundaries. They appear as having universality and transcendental qualities. Yet the abstractions work back into particular places, such as the codifying and measuring of children’s growth and development or “social” purposes to organize the intimacies of everyday lives, schools, and national policy, for example. The “homeless” finds homes as they have the potential to become principles by which to face-to-face trust and honor could be assessed and acted on.⁴⁷ The teacher who talks about the child as a learner and the psychological theories that order and classify childhood are examples of the forming of a simultaneous relationship between distance and immediacy. The abstraction of the child as a learner seems universal and without any “home.”

Yet the abstraction of the learner “acts” in face-to-face interactions and its everyday occurrences in the classroom and the family. The German sociologist Tönnies’ Lutheran-inspired notions of *Gemeinschaft*

⁴⁶The “homeless mind” is a historical (re)visioning of the encounters and the defining of experience. It embodies a relationship between a way of speaking (historically positing the “I”) and a way of representing people “as they should be, about what was fitting for people to be, and people as it is fitting to represent them” (Rancière, *Flesh of Words*, 10). This is evident in the differences between Greek and modern romanticism in poetry. The differences are not questions of difference in genre, but of the political. The experience of the poetry of Aristotle was *non-representing, non-signifying, and non-metaphorical*. There was no notion of truth as objective facts. That appears somewhere in the past few hundred years (see, Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* [New York: Zone Books, 2010]). Poetry, for these Greeks, was the mediating of the rhetorical task of turning the orator’s subject matter into the opinion of the listeners and thus gain their faith by the modes of persuasion. Modern poetry, in contrast, is a method for the creation of a space for perceiving the coexistence of “I” within things in distances (clouds, wind, waves) that become present in one’s memory and feeling. The poem, Rancière argues, embodies the political of experience. It functions as metaphors of transportation and territorialization from what was possible to be thought about and acted upon in the reason of the past.

⁴⁷I discuss this in Popkewitz, “Globalization as a System of Reason.” I am using the phrase of Berger, Berger, and Kellner, without the conceptual apparatus advanced by these authors, who are concerned with institutional theories. My focus here is on the history of the present and the social and cultural principles generated about kinds of people. See Berger, Berger, and Kellner, *The Homeless Mind*.

(pastoral) and *Gesellschaft* (urban society), for example, were intended to interpret how urban societies could reestablish prior pastoral communities of belonging. The distinctions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* were traveled and were translated into American Calvinist salvation narratives about rural pastoral communities as a mode of theorizing the perceived moral disorder of early twentieth-century urban populations. The concepts relating to primary groups and symbolic interactionism generated principles about how social belonging and “home” can be established in the abstract and anonymous conditions and qualities of industrial and urban “society.”⁴⁸

Staying with the idea of the “homeless mind,” it is not adequate when historically thinking about the principles in Classical Chinese reasoning. It requires an epistemological relativism in which the other is a particular set of relations whose comparativeness is not formed through a continuum of differences in structures of representation and identities. Reason, in Confucian traditions of writing history, is non-representational, relational, and without temporality.⁴⁹ History tells of the moral values and the ethical life to be lived. When brought into the present, Zhao considers this historical “reasoning” as not merely an evolution of a thought or a word, or an add-on to what is characterized as Western scientific thought.⁵⁰ Zhao explores the Chinese notion of wind (Feng風/wind) as a cultural thesis given expression through the compound terms *xiaofeng* (school wind), *jiaofeng* (teaching wind), and *xuefeng* (learning wind). This notion of wind is not metaphorical. To understand “school wind” in transnational studies is to engage in comparative historical

⁴⁸The concept of “primary group,” puts forward by of Charles Horton Cooley, one of the founding members of the American Sociological Society, and the symbolic interactionism of George Herbert Mead gave expression to human agency within the grid of practices and associated discussions about the social conditions of American urban life. See Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909); George H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*, ed. C. W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

⁴⁹Zongjie Wu, “Chinese Mode of Historical Thinking and Its Transformation in Pedagogical Discourse,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 51–74.

⁵⁰Weili Zhao, “Teaching with *liangxin* (Virtuous Heart) Held in Hands or Not: Untangling Self- and State-Governmentalization of Contemporary Chinese Teachers,” *Journal of European Education* 45, no. 4 (2013): 75–91.

interpretations within and beyond a Chinese culture of reasoning/experiencing that never produces a mere linguistic signifier. As Zhao continues, “school wind” references seeking truth, seeking practicality, seeking newness, and seeking beauty; “teaching wind” embodies a true heart, warm heart, loving heart, and full heart; “learning wind” is diligent, questioning, thinking, and creative. The particular narratives and images embodied in the narratives of “wind” are not merely replications of or add-ons to the system of reason that orders the reading of Dewey’s pragmatism. Feng風/wind as cultural theses embodies a different set of historical relations and principles about what is talked about, thought, and acted on.

Second, histories of education have comparative qualities that are present yet lost in educational histories.⁵¹ The kindergarten is an example of this absence-yet-presence of a comparativeness. The kindergarten, the social psychology of the turn of the twentieth century, is exemplars of the indigenous foreigner in American historiography.⁵² The history of the American school, for example, is told generally as a saga of the expansion of the common school, tied to its European legacies (the first American kindergarten has German origins) or in relation to the common school’s exemplification of the democratizations in the American republic as of a different quality from its earlier counterparts. The kindergarten is naturalized as a home in the concept of the American school, without any assumption or understanding of cultural translation. Transnational translations are erased in the story of the movement of German Idealist historical and German social theories transported and translated to the USA in the early twentieth century.⁵³ The relations in which the traveling, translations and transformations occur in

⁵¹Cowen, “Acting Comparatively,” of course, there are outliers to this mode of thinking about history and the institution of school, but to say this is to deflect attention from the norms and cultural rituals that order what is said and also how oppositions are framed. The work of Roland Colombo, Kate Rousmaniere, Noah Sobe, Bernadette Baker, Daniel Tröhler, and António Nóvoa comes to mind. But to say that there is such a literature is to again deflect attention from the norms and cultural rituals that order what is said and also how oppositions are framed and to bring into view a pluralist structural argument about conflict and debate that has a different historical layer to it.

⁵²Popkewitz, *Inventing the Modern Self*.

⁵³Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965); Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*.

comparative studies are lost. The German educational institution of the kindergarten is no longer seen as German; it is naturalized as indigenous to the development of American schools and emptied of its history.

To historicize comparatively is to ask about how it is possible to see, think of, and act on the objects of schooling in different times and spaces. It is not to think of the archive as the repository of “data” that installs positivism through a back door, but rather to historicize is to understand how the objects of school life are “events,” asking how “things” and kinds of people are made possible as objects of reflection and action. Nor is it the presentism that historians worry so much about. To historicize comparatively is to ask about the conditions that make objects of reflection and action possible, as a mode of reasoning about the past. Transnational studies are an “unremembering,” if I can play with that word. Such studies are to make fragile the causality of the present. This strategy provides an alternative style of thought which disrupts the hierarchy of values that differentiate the self and others.

Some Concluding Thoughts

A transnational comparative history of education can provide an important mode of thinking about the modern school as a historical project that generates multiple trajectories which are not tied to geographical boundaries of the nation. This chapter sought to understand the complexity of such studies through a number of different and connecting themes. It sought to historicize history as a social and cultural practice and to consider the issues of comparison that travel along with the sacred canopies of context and archive circulating in the subjects of its historicism.

Early in the chapter, I mentioned the focus on the history of education and transnational history as a History of the Present, and in doing so said this should not be read as the presentism that historians so fear. Presentism is what has been referred to as Whig History, entailing thinking uncritically about present-day attitudes and values as a reflective lens for the interpretation of past events. Presentism as a fear in historicism brings into view a latent realism. The anxiety is that subjective or cultural bias distorts historians’ objective understanding of their subject’s context and gives a materiality to the archive as the memory of the past. The juxtaposition of subjective/objective knowledge re-positions that positivism and its realism.

The question of transnational studies is not to introduce the binary of subjective/objective as interfering with the generation of the knowledge of the past into the present but to rethink how comparative knowledge is to be engaged as a problem of history. My use of *History of the Present* is an exploration of an epistemological set of principles; to ask how it is possible to think about the present and its ordering of things as a historical problem in the governing of the present.

This question of the genealogy of the present does not erase elements of historicism's reading across documents. But it is to think of the documents in the archive as "animates political energies and expertise, pulling on some social facts and converting them into qualified knowledge and ways of knowing what could, should, and not to be done or said."⁵⁴ To see things as events is to ask how the principles generated for the ordering and classification of reflection and action are given intelligibility historically. It directs attention to the past in the present, to what I have referred to as a *History of the Present*.

The notion of "event" has different epistemological principles for its interpretation from that of "data." "Data" embody the notion of archival documents as the material essence of history and the origin of interpretation. This idea of data is a residue of the historians' attempt to legitimate its modes of inquiry against the early twentieth-century onslaught of positivist sciences. The issue at hand in the *History of the Present* is to disturb the foundations of what is seen as natural in the present and what is given as the very essence of life itself. Historicizing is the exploration of the limits of the common sense, and the making fragile of its causalities that are given as seemingly inevitable.⁵⁵

This chapter has been focused on comparing within a transnational history as an exploration of the theoretical (and political) question of how differences are produced. The notion of differences, as I have played with in this discussion, enables us to map sources of potentialities for cross-cultural dialogs and understanding rather than acting as a hierarchy and continuum of values. This strategy allows thinking of "reason" as

⁵⁴Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 10.

⁵⁵This notion of historicizing is linked to understanding that power is exerted today less through brute force than through governing the conduct of conduct—my concern with the reason of reason, or what Foucault has called governmentality and Rancière the partition of the sensible. See Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," *Ideology and Consciousness* 6 (1979): 5–22; Jacques Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy* (New York: Verso, 2007).

not a single rationality or logic, but as the play of differences that order and classify the things of the world. The notion of the grid that I have discussed relates to Sobe's calls for an "entangled history" to think about transcultural interactions.⁵⁶ Entangled history considers the assemblages and apparatuses that produce regularity, order, and forms of coordination in the production of social, political, cultural, and economic ways of living. It also refers to analyzes of the entanglement of disparate actors, devices, discourses, and practices within these assemblages, with the recognition that this entanglement is accomplished in complex relationships of actors, devices, discourses, and practices, a history of which the historian is part.

Bibliography

- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. Translated by Robert Baldick. New York: Vintage Books, 1961/1962.
- Baker, David P. *The Schooled Society: The Educational Transformation of Global Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Becker, Carl L. *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. New York: Schocken, 1985/1955.
- Berger, Peter, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner. *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*. New York: Vintage, 1974.
- Bilgi, Sabiha, and Seckin Özsoy. "John Dewey's Travelings into the Project of Turkish Modernity." In *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 153–180. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Bloch, Marc L. B. *The Historian's Craft*. Translated by Peter Putnam. New York: Vintage Books, 1953.
- Buenfil Burgos, Rosa N. "Discursive Inscriptions in the Fabrication of a Modern Self: Mexican Educational Appropriations of Dewey's Writings." In *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 181–202. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

⁵⁶Noah W. Sobe, "Entanglements and Transnationalism in the History of American Education," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 93–108.

- Burke, Catherine, and Ian Grosvenor. "An Exploration of the Writing and Reading of a Life: The 'Body Parts' of the Victorian School Architect E.R. Robson." In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 201–222. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Cooley, Charles H. *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.
- Cowen, Robert. "Acting Comparatively upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities." *Oxford Review of Education* 32, no. 5 (2006): 561–573.
- Danziger, Kurt. *Marking the Mind: A History of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Daston, Lorraine, and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books, 2010.
- Dekker, Jeroen J. *Educational Ambitions in History: Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *What Is Philosophy?* New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Do Ó, Jorge Ramos, Catarina S. Martins, and Ana L. Paz. "Genealogy of History: From Pupil to Artist as the Dynamics of Genius, Status, and Inventiveness in Art Education in Portugal." In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 157–178. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Eksteins, Modris. "History and Degeneration: Of Birds and Cages." In *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, edited by J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman, 1–24. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Foucault, Michel. "Governmentality." *Ideology and Consciousness* 6 (1979): 5–22.
- Finkelstein, Barbara. *Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century United States*. New York: Falmer, 1989.
- Hacking, Ian. "Kinds of People: Moving Targets." Paper presented at the British Academy Lecture, Paris, 2006.
- Hacking, Ian. "'Style' for Historians and Philosophers." *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 23, no. 1 (1992): 1–20.
- Herbst, Jurgen. *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Jaguaribe, Beatriz. "Modernist Ruins: National Narratives and Architectural Forms." In *Alternative Modernities*, edited by Dilip P. Gaonkar, 327–349. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Kuhn, Thomas. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

- Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- Manoff, Marlene. "Theories of the Archive from across the Disciplines." *Portal: Libraries and the Academy* 4, no. 1 (2004): 9–25.
- Mead, George H. *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Edited by C. W. Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de memoire." *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.
- Novick, Peter. *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. *History as a System and Other Essays toward a Philosophy of History*. Translated by John W. Miller. New York: W. W. Norton, 1962.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform: Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. "The Empirical and Political 'Fact' of Theory in the Social and Education Sciences." In *Making a Difference in Theory: The Theory Question in Education and the Education Question in Theory*, edited by Gert Biesta, Julie Allan, and Richard G. Edwards, 13–29. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. "Globalization as a System of Reason: The Historical Possibility and the Political in Pedagogical Policy and Research." In *Globalization and the Study of Education*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi, 247–267. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S., ed. *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. "The Social, Psychological, and Education Sciences: From Educationalization to Pedagogicalization of the Family and the Child." In *Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems*, edited by Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe, 171–190. Dordrecht: Springer, 2009.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. "Styles of Reason: Historicism, Historicizing, and Their Historical Objects in the History of Education." In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 1–28. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S., Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra, eds. *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

- Popkewitz, Thomas S., and Catarina Silva Martins. "Now We Are European! How Did It Get That Way?" *Sisyphus* 1, no. 1 (2013): 37–66.
- Rancière, Jacques. *The Flesh of Words: The Politics of Writing*. Translated by Charlotte Mandell. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Rancière, Jacques. *Hatred of Democracy*. Translated by Steve Corcoran. New York: Verso, 2007.
- Saari, Antti. "Technique of Freedom: Representing the School Class as a Social Order." In *A Political Sociology of Educational Knowledge: Studies of Exclusions and Difference*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, Jennifer Diaz, and Christopher Kirchgasser, 211–228. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Sobe, Noah W. "Entanglements and Transnationalism in the History of American Education." In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 93–108. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Steedman, Carolyn. *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Stoler, Ann L. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Tröhler, Daniel. *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies in Educationalization of the World, National Identities, and Global Aspirations*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Van Ittersum, Martine, Felicia Gottmann, and Tristan Mostert. "Writing Global History and Its Challenges—A Workshop with Jürgen Osterhammel and Geoffrey Parker." *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 357–376.
- Viñao, Antonio. "History of Education and Cultural History: Possibilities, Problems, Questions." In *Cultural History and Education: Critical Studies on Knowledge and Schooling*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, and Miguel A. Pereyra, 125–150. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Wu, Zongjie. "Chinese Mode of Historical Thinking and Its Transformation in Pedagogical Discourse." In *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, 51–74. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Zhao, Weili. "Teaching with *liangxin* (Virtuous Heart) Held in Hands or Not: Untangling Self- and State-Governmentalization of Contemporary Chinese Teachers." *Journal of European Education* 45, no. 4 (2013): 75–91.

INDEX

A

abstraction, 2, 207, 271, 283
actor-network theory, 24
Adam, William, 138
adaptation, 14, 17, 19, 25, 32, 33, 35, 36, 107, 112, 131, 152–162, 164–174, 210, 212
administration, 79, 84, 89, 118, 119, 143, 144, 152, 153, 160, 164, 168, 172, 243, 248, 250, 251, 266–268, 275. *See also* bureaucracy
agency, 15, 24, 181, 182, 193, 196, 213, 237, 243, 248, 250, 265, 268, 269
agriculture, 162–164, 250
Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), 115, 117, 118, 120
Aporti, Ferrante, 83
Appadurai, Arjun, 203
Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 192, 207
appropriation, 17, 56, 141, 142, 163, 193, 238, 245

archive, 35, 111, 112, 115, 117–120, 133, 252, 254, 262, 265, 266, 270, 273–279, 281, 286, 287. *See also* colonial archive
Arnold, William, 139
assimilation, 152, 156, 157, 170
associationism, 152, 154, 156, 157, 162

B

Bader, Clarisse, 188–190
Barrett Browning, Elizabeth, 186
Barthélémy, Pascale, 108
Basset, César Auguste, 7
Bayly, Chris, 134
becoming, 2, 126, 143, 144, 204, 219–221, 223, 224, 247, 266
belonging, 203, 207, 222, 261, 265, 266, 271, 276, 278, 279, 284
Benjamin, Walter, 274, 277
Bentham, Jeremy, 143
Beveridge, Sir William, 92

- Bhabha, Homi, 34, 203, 207, 208, 225
- bilateral relations. *See* relations
- Bloch, Marc, 275, 276
- Boehmer, Elleke, 181
- Bonaventura, Enzo, 87
- borrowing. *See* lending and borrowing
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 133, 138
- Bourne, Randolph, 9
- Brévié, Joseph Jules, 167–169, 172
- Brunot, Louis, 155, 159–161, 165, 171
- bureaucracy, 116, 132, 143–145, 163, 253
- Burger, Kaspar, 71
- Burniaux, Hélène, 247
- Burton, John, 61, 63
- C**
- Cacace, Ernesto, 85, 86
- Campe, Joachim Heinrich, 62
- canon, 15, 33, 153, 195. *See also* knowledge (educational/pedagogical), canon of
- capitalism, 20, 22
- Caron, Alfred C., 79
- center-periphery relations, 32, 108, 173. *See also* metropole-colony nexus
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 128, 129, 133, 215, 216, 270
- charity. *See* welfare
- Charle, Christophe, 75
- childcare, 69–72, 77, 81, 82, 84–90, 92
- childhood, 31, 70–72, 74, 75, 77, 84, 88, 90, 92, 94, 184, 252, 267, 269, 271, 283
- children's rights, 248, 249
- child welfare, 92, 240
- Child Welfare Committee (CWC), 240, 243, 244, 246–248
- citizenship, 17, 21, 192, 207, 214, 263
- rights, 152, 153
- civilization (history of), 217, 218, 224, 264, 281
- civilizing mission, 32, 110, 112, 119, 121, 132, 138, 140, 152, 166, 170, 171, 205. *See also* missionaries
- classroom, 6, 104, 107, 113, 116, 160, 171, 173, 262, 280, 283
- class. *See* social class
- colonial archive, 115, 118, 119. *See also* archive
- colonial education, 33, 108, 109, 131, 143–146, 152, 154–157, 159, 170, 172, 174
- colonial history/colonialism, 104, 129, 131, 159, 179, 180, 182, 183, 188, 196, 197, 251
- colonial territories/colonies, 14, 23, 32, 33, 36, 87, 104, 106–108, 110, 111, 125, 126, 151–156, 162, 165, 166, 168, 171, 172, 196, 252
- colonizer and colonized, 15, 23, 30, 31
- Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of Sahara (CCTA), 250, 251
- comparative approach, 31, 56, 71, 73, 93
- comparison, 7, 19, 35, 55, 56, 89, 106, 195, 205, 262, 263, 265, 267, 278, 286
- concepts, 1–4, 6–9, 13, 14, 21–31, 33–35, 37, 50, 51, 54–56, 59, 63, 64, 73, 87, 125, 126, 128, 157, 160, 171, 173, 174, 188, 192, 193, 197, 203, 207, 214, 215, 219, 220, 224, 266–268, 276, 277, 280–285
- meanings of, 3, 152, 181

- transfer of, 2, 26, 51, 55, 57, 59, 60, 75, 88
- conceptual history, 2
- congresses, 16, 32, 51, 86, 90, 116, 118, 241
- connected history, 54, 109. *See also* entangled history *and* *histoire croisée*
- Connell, Raewyn, 129
- Conrad, Sebastian, 54, 254
- contagion, 12, 14, 17, 30
- context (concept of), 51, 59, 129, 189
- convergence, 8, 12, 17, 25, 30, 31, 33–35, 56, 73, 74, 76, 80, 82, 238, 244, 249. *See also* divergence
- cosmopolitanism, 7, 31, 34, 36, 37, 180, 192, 193, 195, 203–210, 212–214, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224
- Cowen, Robert, 26, 263, 264
- Crouzet, Paul, 154, 155
- cultural geography. *See* geography
- cultural transfer, 23, 27, 31, 52, 56, 62, 63, 70, 105
- studies, 49, 51, 54–56, 58–61, 64
- cultural turn, 101, 183
- Cunningham, Hugh, 71, 73
- Curtis, Sarah, 112
- D**
- Davesne, André, 155, 162–167, 170, 172
- Davidoff, Leonore, 103
- Davies, Gwiylm, 239
- Delbrück, Jules, 78, 80
- Deleuze, Gilles, 220, 279
- Depaepe, Marc, 111
- developing countries, 8
- Dewey, John, 279
- difference, 14, 35, 49, 55, 62, 63, 75, 103, 111, 128, 160, 205–207, 215, 248, 262–267, 269, 270, 272, 278, 280–282, 284, 287
- diffusion, 17, 20, 21, 24, 36, 238, 245
- diplomatic history, 11
- discourses
- academic, 5, 129
- educational/pedagogical, 8, 63
- global, 4, 23, 51
- local, 51, 63
- national(ist), 4, 12, 51, 147
- divergence, 12, 31, 56, 73, 74, 76, 80. *See also* convergence
- diversity, 9, 32, 104, 115, 117, 132, 153, 208, 235, 253, 254, 277
- Durkheim, Emil, 24
- Dutt, Toru, 33, 179, 180, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 191–194, 196
- E**
- educational reform, 166, 167, 169, 224
- movements, 51
- educational science, 16
- education system, 7, 21, 51, 79, 93, 152, 162, 211, 233, 263
- educators, 6, 14, 33, 61, 84, 115, 153, 156, 165, 171, 181, 194, 204, 206, 223, 224
- empire, 15, 20, 31–33, 36, 101–111, 114, 118–121, 126, 127, 132, 133, 136, 138, 140, 147, 153, 154, 158, 173, 195–197, 237, 250, 253
- enculturation, 18, 146
- Enlightenment, 7, 30, 76, 128, 192, 193, 269, 270
- entangled history, 12, 31, 51, 54, 57, 58, 102, 109, 115, 288. *See also* connected history *and* *histoire croisée*

entanglement, 10–15, 28, 34, 58, 74, 75, 94, 133, 205, 209, 223–225, 288

Espagne, Michel, 56

ethnography, 155, 158, 171–173

ethnology, 33, 155, 156, 158, 161, 167, 171

Eurasians, 127, 142, 145, 146

Eurocentrism, 52, 193, 269. *See also* Western conceptions

Europe, 7, 10, 11, 22, 23, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 70, 76, 94, 105, 116, 117, 128, 137, 139–141, 144, 145, 147, 180, 182, 184, 189, 196, 205, 209, 215, 216, 249, 266, 270, 278

European Renaissance, 265

European Union (UN), 242, 251, 252, 266

evolutionary theory, 76, 156, 172, 215

exhibitions, 77, 80, 114, 118

F

Fayvusiovich, Anna, 91, 92

feminism, 138, 186, 205. *See also* women's movement

Ferry, Jules, 154, 157, 170

Finnemore, Martha, 28

Fisher, Herbert Albert Laurens, 194–196

Fissiaux, Abbot Charles, 83

Fortna, Benjamin, 116

Frank, André Gunder, 128, 129

friendship, 24, 34, 179, 180, 187, 188, 196

G

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma), 134–136

gender, 24, 72, 103, 107, 111, 118–120, 131, 137, 147, 182, 183, 189, 193, 204–207, 232 studies, 18

geography, 101, 128, 137, 146, 155, 158, 161, 172

Gesell, Arnold, 87, 92

Geyer, Michael, 49

Giri, Ananta Kumar, 128

girls' education, 110, 113, 212, 218.

See also women's education

global community, 34, 232, 236, 242, 253

global history, 9, 11, 12, 52, 54, 102, 109, 120, 244, 254

globalization, 8, 11–13, 21, 23, 120, 179–182, 194, 197, 203, 205, 209, 233, 237, 238, 252–254, 263

history of, 11

global turn, 101

Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 136, 140

Goodsell, Willystine, 202

Gosse, Edmund, 190

governance, 10, 11, 132, 143–145, 187, 235, 243

Grosz, Elisabeth, 220

Guattari, Félix, 206, 220, 279

H

Hacking, Ian, 272

Hague Peace Conferences, 6

Hall, Catherine, 103, 104, 110, 114

Hardy, George, 155–159, 161, 167, 170–172

heartland. *See* mainland

hinterland, 169, 170, 172, 173. *See also* mainland

histoire croisée, 12, 27, 31, 51, 54, 57–60, 64, 102. *See also* connected history *and* entangled history

historical semantics. *See* semantics
 humanitarian mission, 6, 35. *See also*
 civilizing mission
 hybridization/hybridity, 37, 109, 208,
 276
 hygiene, 75, 76, 81, 86, 88, 90,
 162–164, 167

I

identity, 34, 55, 106, 107, 195, 196,
 206, 207, 209, 219, 223, 234,
 239, 247, 263, 264, 266–271,
 277, 278, 281, 282, 284
 imperial culture, 104
 imperial history/imperialism, 14, 119,
 179, 181, 182, 188, 205, 209,
 212
 imperial mission. *See* civilizing mission
 imperial turn, 32, 101, 103
 Indian Civil Servants (ICS), 144, 145
 indigenes (*indigènes*), 33, 153, 158,
 160, 161, 163–165, 168. *See also*
 native population
 individualism, 17, 21
 industrialization, 22, 131
Institut Colonial International, 118
 institutional cooperation, 18, 74
 institutional histories, 17
 institutions, 5, 6, 10, 16, 17, 21,
 22, 24, 29, 31, 57, 59, 69–86,
 88–94, 104, 107, 112, 140, 144,
 196, 203, 211, 232, 235, 237,
 241, 262, 264, 267, 269, 271,
 273, 277, 286
 intercourse, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224
 interdisciplinarity, 10, 55, 60
 intergovernmental organizations,
 237, 239, 242, 244, 253. *See also*
 international organizations *and*
 non-governmental organizations
 (NGOs)
 intermediaries, 51, 56, 60–63

International Bureau of Education, 7,
 236, 240
 International Conference on
 Education in the Colonies, 154
 international cooperation. *See* rela-
 tions, international
 international education, 3, 4, 6–8, 13,
 14, 19, 30, 241
 international history, 11
 International Institute of Intellectual
 Cooperation (IIIC), 34, 108,
 235, 236
 internationalism, 4, 6, 9, 34, 202, 209,
 213, 224, 242, 253
 internationalization, 8, 17, 34, 35, 71,
 73, 81, 264
 International Labour Organization
 (ILO), 234, 236, 239, 243, 244
 international organizations, 16, 34,
 231–246, 249, 250, 252–254
 international regime studies, 9
 intersubjectivity, 3
 Iriye, Akira, 232, 236

J

journals, 16, 31, 51, 61, 63, 75, 104,
 112, 114, 115, 188
 Jullien, Marc-Antoine, 7, 83

K

Kandel, Isaac, 202, 211
 Kasuya, Yoshi, 34, 201
 Kemény, Franz, 6
 Key, Ellen, 90
 kindergarten, 285, 286
 knowledge (educational/pedagogi-
 cal), 5, 9, 15, 17, 19, 32, 33, 35,
 50, 103, 112, 113, 115, 118,
 120, 130, 133, 134, 137, 139,
 141, 142, 144, 157, 161, 162,
 165–167, 171, 172, 185, 188,

- 189, 203, 206, 208, 252, 261,
271, 276, 281, 286, 287
 canon of, 15
 production of, 7, 23, 101, 205, 245
 transfer of, 30, 31, 51, 88
 Kosambi, Meera, 183
 Kumar, Krishna, 134
- L**
 language, 2, 3, 21, 26, 33, 55, 58, 62,
69, 82, 111, 112, 116, 119, 139–
141, 146, 153, 157, 159–165,
167, 169–172, 180, 181, 184,
189, 191, 194, 196, 201, 278
 educational, 2, 36
 political, 2, 26
 Latour, Bruno, 276
 League of Nations (LON), 6, 34, 108,
174, 232, 234–236, 239, 240,
242–244, 246, 247, 252, 253
 Lefebvre, Henri, 214
 lending and borrowing, 25
 literacy, 132, 165, 263
 Locke, John, 50, 88
 Luce, Eugénie, 113–115, 118, 119
 Luhmann, Niklas, 9, 21, 218, 219
 Lyautey, Maréchal, 154, 155, 159
- M**
 mainland, 33, 152, 153, 157, 158,
160–166, 169, 170, 172. *See also*
 hinterland
 Marbeau, Firmin, 69, 77
 Martin, Mary, 187
 Martínez Vargas, Andrés, 86
 mass education, 21, 168. *See also* edu-
 cation system
 material culture/materiality, 56
 McLeod, Julie, 214
 medical care, 141, 142. *See also*
 hygiene
 memory, 186, 195, 219, 222, 265,
266, 269, 271, 274, 276, 277,
286
 Menocal, María Rosa, 128
 mentality, 32, 133, 137, 145, 163,
168, 171, 208
 metropole, 101, 103, 104, 106, 108–
111, 114, 125–127, 131, 136
 metropole-colony nexus, 108
 Middell, Matthias, 59
 Mill, James, 143
 mingling (*métissage*), 56, 63
mise en valeur, 154, 167, 168, 171
 missionaries, 20, 32, 103, 107, 109,
111, 112, 116, 139, 140, 142,
146, 152, 153, 157, 187. *See also*
 civilizing mission *and* humanitar-
 ian mission
mission civilisatrice. *See* civilizing
 mission
 modernity, 22, 23, 32, 121, 125–131,
135, 140, 147, 182, 189, 209,
262, 265, 279, 282
 modernization, 4, 32, 71, 93, 121
 Möller, Esther, 74
 Montessori, Maria, 87
 moral education, 158, 222
 multiculturalism, 9
 multilateral relations. *See* relations
 museums, 114, 185, 266, 276
- N**
 narratives, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 25,
30–33, 35, 52, 76, 102, 104,
106, 119–121, 137, 182, 183,
191, 196, 209, 216–218, 224,
246, 265, 266, 271, 273, 274,
277, 278, 284, 285

national, 10, 64, 73, 74
 nationalism, 70, 189, 193, 212, 232, 253, 261
 nation-building, 105
 nation (state), 1, 4, 9–11, 21, 27, 32, 52, 53, 104, 126, 147, 181, 190, 203, 237, 253
 native population, 152, 154, 160, 251.
See also indigenes (*indigènes*)
 Nava, Mica, 209
 neo-institutionalism, 273
 networks, 10, 14, 18, 20, 24, 25, 31, 33–35, 51, 59, 62, 74, 75, 82, 106, 107, 109, 113, 117, 140, 143, 147, 173, 180, 182, 202, 232, 234, 237, 240–248, 252, 253
 new education, 59, 157. *See also* educational reform, movements
 New Education Fellowship, 59
 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 5, 9, 34, 243, 253.
See also intergovernmental organizations
 norm cycle, 28
 Nóvoa, Antonio, 105, 204, 224

O

organizations. *See* international organizations
 Ortega y Gasset, José, 278
 other, the, 7, 115, 118, 265, 267, 282. *See also* self, the
 Owen, Robert, 83

P

Paisley, Fiona, 209
 Papastephanou, Marianna, 208, 209, 212–214

Pasteur, Louis, 81
 Patel, Kiran K., 53
 peace education, 6, 240
 Pérez, Bernard, 84
 periphery. *See* center-periphery relations
 Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 80, 84, 94
 philanthropy, 72, 82, 84, 184
 Philipps, David, 25
 policies, 154, 167–170, 237, 241, 244–246, 248, 250
 colonial (educational), 8, 34, 59, 151–153, 156, 157, 162, 172, 174, 231, 233, 236, 238, 252, 253
 educational, 8, 34, 59, 151, 152, 156, 157, 162, 174, 231, 233, 236, 238, 252, 253
 Ponty, William, 157
 popular education, 168, 172
 post-colonialism, 125–127
 postcolonial theory, 22, 23, 32
 power relations. *See* relations
 practical education, 167, 168, 172
 progress, 5, 21, 72, 73, 91, 114, 147, 160, 164, 180, 181, 197, 213, 214, 219, 222, 268, 269, 277
 progressive education, 51, 214.
See also educational reform, movements

R

race, 33, 103, 120, 142, 143, 145–147, 157, 158, 167, 170–172, 189, 193–195, 212
 Raftery, Deirdre, 111
 raj, 127, 131, 133, 134, 138, 141, 142, 146
 Rancière, Jacques, 282

- Randeria, Shalini, 54
 reality, 4, 9, 13, 23, 132, 155, 156, 161, 164, 165, 169, 170, 173, 181, 246, 253, 278
 constitution of, 2
 reception, 18, 25, 32, 56, 131, 244–246
 reflexivity. *See* self-reflexivity
 regime studies. *See* international regime studies
 Reid, Henry, 139
 relations
 bilateral, 60
 international, 5, 6, 29, 36, 244, 252
 multilateral, 59
 mutual, 15, 59
 national, 36
 power, 23, 36, 128, 206. *See also* colonizer and colonized
 resistance, 107, 120, 132, 135, 140, 238, 245, 247, 248, 253
 resources, 112, 131, 154, 171, 193, 194, 243, 254
 revision of textbooks. *See* textbook, revision
 Rodrigue, Aron, 117
 Rossello, Pedro, 240
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 50, 77, 88, 94, 164, 282
 Rozental, Anna, 91
- S**
 Sacchi, Giuseppe, 82–84
 Sadler, Michael, 211
 Said, Edward, 133
 Saint-Simoniens, 113, 114, 119
 Saunier, Pierre-Yves, 53, 54, 120, 245
 school system. *See* education system
 Schriewer, Jürgen, 9, 21, 22, 25
 segregation, 28, 154
 Seigel, Micol, 105, 202
 self, the, 35, 189, 208, 263, 264, 268, 270, 276, 277, 282, 286. *See also* other, the
 self-reflexivity, 13, 35
 semantics, 2, 21, 26, 35, 64, 69
 of the term international, 4, 9
 of the term transnational, 4, 9, 52
 Seth, Sanjay, 133
 shared history. *See* entangled history
 signification, 2, 186
 Sikkink, Kathryn, 28
 Singaravelou, Pierre, 118
 Sobe, Noah, 28, 37, 102, 203, 213, 214, 219, 288
 social class, 106, 196
 social network analysis, 24, 33, 34, 244. *See also* networks
 Soncini, Ernesto, 85
 sovereignty, 5, 10, 11, 30, 216, 239, 250
 spaces, 18, 34, 35, 50, 52, 56, 82, 104, 105, 118, 126, 133, 135, 138, 191, 194, 196, 205, 220, 224, 237, 245, 251, 264, 266, 267, 278, 279, 281, 282, 286
 educational/pedagogical, 18, 31, 70, 73, 74, 89, 91, 94
 spatial analysis, 107
 spatial turn, 101
 state. *See* nation (state)
 Steiner-Khamsi, Gita, 25
 Stivens, Maila, 205
 Stoler, Ann Laura, 276
 subaltern studies, 22, 23, 32
 Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, 54
 Subramanian, Lakshmi, 129
 supranationalism, 10–12, 231, 252

T

teachers, 6, 7, 32, 51, 63, 102, 104, 107–115, 117, 118, 120, 160–166, 168–173, 185, 186, 201, 204, 221, 247, 261, 267–269, 272, 283

Teachers College, 201, 202

temporality, 34, 36, 37, 203–205, 209, 210, 213, 215, 219, 221, 223, 224, 284

territoriality, 10, 11

textbook, 19, 111, 144, 153, 161
 research, 19
 revision, 6, 240

Tönnies, Ferdinand, 283

transcultural, the, 50, 51, 64, 182, 183

transfer history. *See* entangled history
transferts culturels. *See* cultural transfer

transformation, 10, 14, 28, 35, 61, 63, 74–76, 82, 103, 156, 174, 216, 280, 285

translation(s), 17, 19, 26, 27, 50, 51, 62, 70, 74, 82, 85, 88, 90, 154, 185, 186, 190, 196, 270, 280, 285

transnational history, 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 29, 31, 36, 49, 51–53, 64, 73, 104, 105, 113, 173, 174, 180, 232, 237, 238, 244, 264, 269, 277, 279, 286, 287

transnational turn, 10, 120, 169, 234, 236, 252

travel, 14, 32, 35, 106, 107, 109, 111, 113, 114, 118, 131, 174, 184, 185, 195, 217, 270, 279–282, 286

traveling libraries, 262, 278–281

Tröhler, Daniel, 13, 21, 26, 277

Tropeano, Ernesto, 85

Tyrell, Ian, 11

U

Umeko, Tsuda, 202

UNESCO, 7, 34, 232, 236, 249–252

universal education (paradigm of), 6, 15, 16, 25

universalism, 5, 21, 34, 203, 205, 206, 239

universal validity, 19, 21, 23, 25

urgency, 50, 168, 172, 246

V

values, 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 21–26, 30, 31, 33, 35, 103, 146, 158, 165, 173, 190, 206, 208, 211, 215, 218, 240, 245, 263–266, 269, 270, 281, 284, 286, 287

Vedas, 140, 188

Vedic tradition, 140

vernacular cosmopolitanism. *See* cosmopolitanism

vernacular culture, 184

Vieten, Ulrike, 205, 206

Viñao, Antonio, 218, 219

W

Webb, Beatrice, 92

Webb, Sidney, 92

Weber, Max, 21, 133

Weiß, Christian Felix, 61, 62

welfare, 71–73, 75, 92, 93, 251. *See also* child welfare

Werbner, Pnina, 193, 205–207, 225

Werner, Michael, 27, 54, 56–59

Western conceptions, 32, 130, 147.
See also Eurocentrism

Wilderspin, Samuel, 83

Wischmeyer, Johannes, 74

Wollstonecraft, Mary, 186

women religious, 107, 110, 111. *See also* missionaries

women's education, [61](#), [182](#), [212](#),
[215](#), [217](#). *See also* girls' education
women's movement, [137](#), [211](#), [216](#),
[217](#). *See also* feminism
women writers, [181–183](#), [186](#), [189](#),
[195](#)
World Bank, [132](#), [232](#), [236](#)
world culture, [20](#), [21](#), [238](#)
world education, [6](#), [252](#)
world society, [20](#), [21](#)
world system theory, [20](#)

Y

Yuchichi, Fukuzawa, [218](#)
Yuval-Davis, Nira, [206](#), [207](#), [225](#)

Z

Zhao, Weili, [284](#), [285](#)
Zimmermann, Bénédicte, [27](#), [54](#), [57](#),
[58](#)