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Handbook of Historical Studies in Education

Debates, Tensions, and Directions

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Tanya Fitzgerald
Editor

Handbook of Historical Studies in Education

Debates, Tensions, and Directions

With 11 Figures and 2 Tables

 Springer

Editor

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Preface

The *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions, and Directions* brings together a range of established and emerging scholars to interrogate key theoretical and methodological debates in the field and to propose new and innovative ways of thinking about histories of education. Across the parts and chapters, historians of education illustrate the origins, debates, and tensions in the field and offer an in-depth historical and comparative analysis of disciplinary trends, directions, and developments. These contributions are theoretically informed, internationally applicable, and universally accessible. The broad remit of this volume is to offer a core reference for historians of education, as well as a wider audience and readership seeking to understand the traditions of the field.

It has been an absolute pleasure to work on this Handbook as an intellectual collaborative project. Each of the editors responded enthusiastically to the invitation to contribute to this work, and under their leadership, each of the parts and chapters reflect the diversity of scholarship in the field and our ongoing commitment to interrogate the history of education as an intellectual field.

On behalf of the section editors and authors, I extend my thanks to Springer for providing the impetus for the Handbook and their careful oversight of the production process. On a personal note, it has been an absolute delight to work with each of the editors from whom I have received a high level of support. I am deeply indebted to each for their individual and collective contributions and the depth, breadth, and richness of their scholarship that each has brought to this project.

University of Western Australia
February 2020

Tanya Fitzgerald
Editor

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Tanya Fitzgerald is Professor of Higher Education and Dean and Head of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Western Australia. She has an extensive record of leadership, research, and teaching in universities in New Zealand, England, and Australia. Tanya's research interests span the history of women's higher education and higher education policy and leadership. She serves on a number of international editorial boards and has been editor of *History of Education Review* (2002–2012) and *Journal of Educational Administration and History* (2007–2017, with Helen M Gunter, University of Manchester). Forthcoming guest editorships include *Pedagogica Historica* (with Simonetta Polenghi, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan) and *Irish Educational Studies* (with Judith Harford, University College, Dublin and Pat O'Connor, University of Limerick). In addition, Tanya is Series Editor of *Perspectives on Leadership in Higher Education* (Bloomsbury Academic, with Jon Nixon and Helen M Gunter). Prior to July 2019, Tanya was Research Professor at La Trobe University, Melbourne.

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Histories of Education

1

Connections and Directions

Tanya Fitzgerald

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Abstract

The primary intention of this *Handbook* is to advance our understanding of the substantive theoretical and methodological debates that underpin and inform the history of education as a field of knowledge through critique, reflection, and professional discourse. As a Major Reference Work, the challenges and opportunities are not dissimilar to those identified in comparable works that present an historiographical mapping of the field (see for example, Furlong and Lawn 2011; Lowe 2000; McCulloch 2005; McCulloch and Crook 2013). That is, if the field is to continue to flourish and deliver on its promises, debates about its methods, questions, and theoretical considerations are imperative. In that sense, this *Handbook* is a contribution to the intellectual history of the field.

Keywords

History · Connections · Debates · Agenda · Associations · Networks · Journals · Editorial

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1

Introduction

Organized into seven sections and featuring a diverse range of international contributors, this volume is centrally positioned to act as a core reference for both established and emerging historians of education. Editors and authors draw on a range of literatures to offer their historiographical and multifaceted assessment of the contextual configurations, disciplinary norms, shifting concerns, locations, emerging perspectives, and intellectual entanglements that continue to shape and influence the field. Importantly, as a Major Reference Work, this volume has stimulated scholarly exchanges and transnational collaborations and drawn together a number of editors and authors in a range of intellectual conversations about the state of the field. Thus, a variety of standpoints, academic traditions, and modes of writing are evident across the sections and chapters. In their respective review of the field, contributors have consciously offered chapters that are theoretically informed and internationally applicable and which skillfully problematize a range of issues and debates.

It has been a deliberate decision to feature contributions from established as well as emerging scholars. Each of these voices has been important to feature as visible and audible reminders of the depth, breadth, and longevity of the field. Quite deliberately too, this *Handbook* is arranged thematically and without hierarchical distinction or organization or attachment to a dominant narrative, chronology, or rationale. Hence, readers are invited to consult the text in ways that are conducive to their own methodological and theoretical insights.

The broad purpose of this *Handbook* aligns with William Reese and John Rury's call for a "new maturity in the field [and] a willingness to embrace the complexity of education as a social and political process of change, entailing struggle but also growth and the hope of progress" (2008, p. 7). Readers are encouraged to engage with new and innovative ways of thinking about histories of education and explore their own scholarly practices in relation to perennial and current debates in the field as well as the emerging directions underway in the discipline. Importantly, a principal strength of this *Handbook* is the acknowledgement of the contested and contingent ways in which both "history" and "education" have been adopted, adapted, and adjudicated.

From the outset, this *Handbook* has been an ambitious project. As the scope of each of the sections and chapters therein highlights, there exists a very large body of work that has been developed, interpreted, and selected as historians have grappled with numerous perennial, challenging issues and sought to offer new insights on and directions of the educational past (see, e.g., Aldrich 2006; Bagchi et al. 2014; Cohen 1976; Goodman and Grosvenor 2011; McCulloch 2011; Reese and Rury 2008). As demonstrated by the breadth and depth of scholarship in this *Handbook*, historians continue to refresh, reinvigorate, and reinterpret and advance the field through their critical yet engaging explorations and deconstructions of contemporary methods, technologies, concepts, sources, spaces, and epistemological foundations. Importantly, this Major Reference Work upholds the commitment of scholars to the traditions of historical scholarship and, importantly, examines new ways of interrogating the field. In doing so, the respective editors and authors have sought to

identify the key debates and directions in their theorization of various themes and topics. This *Handbook* is not a definitive account of the field but rather a significant contribution that offers a range of narratives that acknowledge the complexities of the field and which trace the interconnected theoretical and methodological debates that have shaped histories of education. In doing so, the chapters train the historical spotlight on these entangled histories across space, time, and place, conflicts and reinventions, traditions and modernities, agencies and autonomies, and the hybridity and fluidity of past and present. In their quest to highlight the contours of the field, each of the contributors has confronted the abstract, the generalized, and the universal and, consequently, have historicized, contextualized, and pluralized their own readings of the educational past.

A theoretical signature that permeates this *Handbook* is the critical attention paid to the historiography of the field and the analytical strategies that have worked to disrupt traditional and somewhat normative approaches to researching and writing which historians of education have critiqued in recent decades. It is hoped that in tracing the changes, continuities, and discontinuities in the field, our own historical understandings are both advanced and unsettled. It is in the unsettled and contested spaces that our intellectual boundaries can be further challenged and extended. Thus, the emphasis in this reference work is not solely *histories* of education but histories of *education*. This might well be read as a subtle shift that underscores the importance, if not imperative, of connecting the educational past with the contemporary present as we interrogate debates in history, education, and the wider social sciences and humanities (Goodman and Grosvenor 2011).

The potential exists for historians to advance theoretical and methodological debates through their interrogation of the historical underpinnings of contemporary issues. These are not debates that are anchored in a specific timeframe, nor are they subject to the disciplinary drawbridges with which researchers frequently surround ourselves. There is a role for historians to play in historicizing contemporary debates and collectively alerting peers to the historical dimensions that underpin place, space, time, structures, and systems. Connecting past with present opens up strategic possibilities for historians to engage with and contribute to contemporary educational issues and debates. These new dialogues are timely and important precisely because they have the potential to draw attention to and reinvigorate the field, as well as the institutions and classrooms we occupy. Across this *Handbook*, historians have engaged with a range of theories, methods, and methodologies to ask new or different questions of historical data in a rapidly changing context. Threaded through the sections and chapters, each author offers a reading of the educational past that is intellectually vibrant and which illustrates the depth, breadth, and diversity of historians of education's questions and ways of working. As each section confirms, theory and methodology are integral to the historians' craft and continue to shape new directions in the field (Cohen 1999; Goodman and Martin 2004; McCulloch and Watts 2003).

The *Handbook* does not proffer an uncomplicated and uncontested binary between history and education. Rather, this volume draws upon this nuanced methodological and theoretical area. In many ways histories and historians of

education draw on a broad coalition of interests across the humanities and social sciences (see here McCulloch 2011; Matthews 2014; Reese and Rury 2008). And while the discipline of history is principally concerned with connections, continuities, and change across time, space, and place, in this volume, these historical duties have not been set aside (Aldrich 2006). What can be observed is a commitment to the history of education as a communion of “multiple histories because education is itself no simple and homogenous concept or category” (Silver 1983, p. 4). The contributions across this *Handbook* illustrate the extent to which contributors embrace their mandate to unlock the educational past and raise important questions in order to interrogate the present from their intellectual vantage points.

Overview

This *Handbook* comprises seven sections, each of which reflects a range of topics, or themes, and controversies and issues that have preoccupied historians of education across time, place, and space. As such, attention is directed toward broader issues, seeking historical questions to contemporary concerns, in order to map the field and to set a compass for future directions. Accordingly, the sections are as follows:

1. Foundations and directions
2. Schools as contested sites
3. Teachers, teaching, and educational change
4. Curriculum development, contestation, and resistance
5. Governance, policy, and management
6. Higher and further education
7. Methods and methodologies

These sections are framed in such a way that broader questions can be asked and differing and competing theoretical and methodological approaches employed. As a volume that is focused on traversing the myriad connections and directions in the field, a plurality of voices and perspectives are offered to emphasize further the diversity of historical scholarship. The sections and chapters reflect both the historical and educational in the appraisal and reappraisal of the field and its development.

Importantly, with both established and emerging scholars contributing to this *Handbook*, this might well be read as the beginnings of an intellectual genealogy of the field. It is further possible that the contributors as well as their contributions can be read as a fusion, or connection, between “past” and “present” or between “established” and “more recent scholars” that somewhat unintentionally, yet deftly, documents the shifts and turns in the field itself. One of the general features that has emerged is the imaginative engagement with broad theoretical and methodological frameworks that historicize past struggles and new directions (Goodman and Martin 2004; McCulloch 2011; McCulloch and Watts 2003). Notably there is not a consensual approach or framework embedded in the sections or chapters, but authors

instead seek to engage with history of education as a controversial and contested yet generative field of continuing importance.

There are a number of ways this *Handbook* can be read. Principally this is a reference work that has a broad remit to provide:

1. A clear concise expert definition and explanation of the key concepts in the field written by leading scholars
2. An essential reference for experts as well as new and emerging scholars
3. An overview of current and unresolved historical and methodological debates
4. An analysis of trends, continuities, and possibilities for the future development of the field
5. A diversity of international perspectives

Each section begins with an Introduction from the editor, and the intention is not to offer an in-depth overview of the contents within a particular section. Rather, what is highlighted in each of the editorial overviews are the key directions and emphasis in a bid to offer the reader an intellectual menu of contributions contained in each section. In addition, a comprehensive reading list has been prepared that simultaneously draws together an audit trail of authors' and section editors' own thinking and offers to the reader a bibliographic resource for their own work. The inclusion of a list of cross-references to other sections and chapters connects one with the other.

The first section, edited by Daniel Tröhler, offers a compelling overview of the *Foundations and Directions* of the field. In his own Introduction, Tröhler identifies the importance of history, history writing, history telling, and historiography. Accordingly, the focus is directed toward excavating a history of historiography in order to trace not just the development of the field but the incomplete, segmented, and at times fragmented ways in which the writing of histories of education emerge. The challenge that Tröhler lays down is for historians to think beyond what he refers to as the "niches" and "hollows" of their own national context and to consider how history and histories might be better understood if a longer view were adopted.

In his Introduction to the second section of this volume, *Schools as Contested Sites*, Tom O'Donoghue deftly pinpoints tensions and ambiguities between history of education and history education. In his navigation of the historical importance of schools and schooling, O'Donoghue draws attention to the rich traditions that have informed the field and the methodological insights that have emerged from investigating schools as contested sites.

Kate Rousmaniere, as editor of the third section, *Teachers, Teaching, and Educational Change*, interrogates the importance of the social history of teachers and classrooms and identifies the imperative for schools to be viewed as sites of struggle. Rousmaniere identifies the complexities of teachers' work and professional lives and underscores the importance of transnational studies that transcend time, space, and context. This section addresses critical historical questions about teachers and teacher practices, teachers' professional identity, and teachers' work as sites of struggle.

The politics of knowledge about what ought to be taught and its centrality to nation-building and modernization processes are brought into sharp relief by Helen Proctor as editor of *Curriculum Development, Contestation, and Resistance*. In this fourth section, the editor and authors have resisted any temptation to present orthodox accounts, but rather rupture what could be considered standard accounts of curriculum history in their quest to “jolt” the reader in their reassessment of key debates and theoretical orientations.

Joyce Goodman trains the analytical spotlight on the concepts and constructs of *Governance, Policy, and Management* in the subsequent section. Goodman interweaves a range of literatures in her scholarly exploration of the reconfiguration of this shifting and contested terrain. Attention is drawn to the interrelated problematics of policy and practice as the “circulation(s) and dif/fusions(s) of practices of governance, policy and management” are traced. Making use of the vantage point of the historical past, Goodman signals the emergence of Big Data as a newer form of governmentality and surveillance.

The histories of and major developments in *Higher and Further Education* are examined in this penultimate section. Edited by Judith Harford, the various chapters consider the importance of transnational and transhistorical approaches to histories of ideas, individuals, and institutions. In her nuanced reading of the literatures, Harford captures the complexity of higher and further education and proposes the broader ideological, economic, and political issues that have shaped this history.

The bookend of this volume is the section on *Methods and Methodologies* edited by Jon Hale. The positioning of this section was deliberate. The refreshing analysis Hale brings to his overview of methods and methodologies within historical studies in education draws together the origins, debates, and tensions within historical studies, including traditional questions of objectivity as well as new sites of memory and agency. Importantly, Hale signals new directions in the field that includes public history and memory studies and his historiographical overview helpfully charts the methodological twists and turns in the field.

Concluding Note

This *Handbook* would not have been possible without the support, knowledge, networks, and connections of each of the section editors. Each responded to the invitation enthusiastically and has contributed their own scholarly expertise in shaping and defining the theoretical and methodological themes and discussions evident in their respective sections. In many ways this *Handbook* reflects the breadth and depth of the international field, and the historical reflections and analyses presented attest to the importance of connecting people, ideas, and perspectives. This Major Reference Work can be read as an intellectual conversation about the importance of the historical educational past and “seeing” the field of history itself. Accordingly, contributors are scholarly actors who give voice to their multiple readings and interpretations of the past (Popkewitz 2013).

Perhaps less obvious is the community of scholarship from which this Major Reference Work emerges. Across academic associations such as the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, the History of Education Society in the United Kingdom, and History of Education Society in the United States, the International Standing Conference for the History of Education, and more broader organizations such as the American Educational Research Association, the European Educational Research Association, the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, and the British Educational Research Association, historians of education have met and caucused, exchanged ideas, and sought collaborations. These meetings and associations are not unique to the history of education, but as histories variously show, these connections have sustained and reinvigorated the field (Fuchs 2014; Hofstetter et al. 2014). And while this might be predominantly a roll call of predominantly Anglophone associations, the field itself is intellectually vibrant with networks, associations, and national societies such as Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación, Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação, Sociedad Chilena de Historia de la Educación, Baltic Association of Historians of Pedagogy, Équipe Historie de l'éducation, Hungarian Educational Research Association, Japan Society for Historical Studies of Education, Korean Society for the History of Education, Southern African Comparative and History of Education Society, and Sociedad Mexicana de Historia de la Educación. In addition, histories of education societies have been established in Colombia, the Baltic States, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Nigeria, Spain, Switzerland, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The intellectual vibrancy and development of the field have been further delineated and advanced in specialist journals such as *History of Education*, *History of Education Researcher*, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, *History of Education Quarterly*, *Historical Studies in Education*, *International Journal of Historiography of Education*, *Paedagogica Historica*, the *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *Nordic Journal of Educational History*, *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, *Anuario de la Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación*, and *History of Education Review*. Importantly each of these journals has featured reviews of theoretical and methodological debates across their own histories. These reviews simultaneously act as an archive of the literature, document the main patterns of debate, and identify emerging trends (see, e.g., Fitzgerald and Gunter 2008; Freeman and Kirke 2017; Goodman 2012; Rury 2006). A timely reminder of the rich heritage of the field, these reviews produce histories that define, interrogate, challenge, and broaden the scope of our work. This mapping of the field is critical to its ongoing survival, and although retrospective, the historiographical analyses produced enhances further the visibility, variability, and vibrancy of the field. What will continue to remain challenging, if not intimidating, is a comparative appraisal of the field given the breadth and depth of scholarship and the significant number of outputs generated (Goodman et al. 2008). Injected into this agenda is the call for more attention to student dissertations and theses and the importance of this research to the longevity of field (Hofstetter et al. 2014).

Notably, histories of education have gained a foothold in a range of journals such as *Gender and Education*, *Gender and History*, *Women's History Review*, the *British Educational Research Journal*, the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *History Today*, *Radical History Review*, the *Journal of Pacific History*, *Social History*, *Historia Social y de la Educación*, *Studies in Higher Education*, and *History of Universities*. Although journals such as these are not specifically dedicated to the field, this wider production, circulation, and exchange of theoretical and methodological debates about the educational past connect these histories and historians with the broader disciplines of education as well as a wider readership. Of primary importance then are the conversations in which we as historians engage that inform, shape, challenge, reinvigorate, and extend the field of inquiry.

Connections across the history of education field do not, in this instance, refer solely to research projects and authorship. Importantly, it is the scholarly contribution to knowledge produced through connections and collaborations as well as these networks themselves that assist with the ongoing vitality of the field. Regional, national, and international organizations make possible transnational connections and exchange between people and ideas. An important aspect of this circulation of scholars and scholarship is that the field has embraced new ways of thinking, researching, and writing historically. The collective possibility of these connections, collaborations, and exchange is, as demonstrated in this *Handbook*, a revitalization and reinvigoration of the field.

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Part I

Foundations and Directions



History and Historiography

2

Approaches to Historical Research in Education

Daniel Tröhler

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Abstract

Since the emergence of history of education around 1800 in Germany, approaches to writing history of education have been developed, altered, and diversified and have eventually become complex, not seldomly challenging or competing (with) each other. Initially, history of education began by reducing the complexity of the issue by focusing on idea(l)s in order to serve its intended target group, future teachers. It only hesitantly drew attention to epistemological developments in historical scholarship outside of education, which then resulted in an intellectual richness and diversity of approaches that are performed at the expense of a rather easily teachable, consistent, and more or less linear overall account of the past. Accordingly, the target groups of educational historiographies are no longer necessarily teachers but are that part of the scientific community in different academic disciplines that tries to make sense of the past, be it with or without ambitions with regard to what is called the “history of the present,” the self-illuminating power of historiography.

The present chapter, an introduction to the part “Foundations and Directions,” aims at providing a historic overview of milestones in educational

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historiography – the ways of writing history in education – making no pretense at completeness and making no claim to historiographical or methodological accuracy. It does not represent the history of historiography but is instead a preliminary and inevitably incomplete effort to identify and describe some of the major historiographical approaches, without itself fulfilling the rigorous standards of historical contextualization: It is a more or less chronological spotlighting that aims to suggest a historiographical development in four phases.

Keywords

History of education · Historiography of education · Linguistic turn · Cultural turn

Introduction

The research field that encompasses historical inquiry in the field of education has itself a rather short history. First attempts explicitly focusing on the past began to be published in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Germany. The field became established shortly after 1800 as a distinct curricular area in the context of teacher education, when the rising nation-states and their need to expand schooling required more efficient and loyal teachers as agents of national cohesion by educating the future citizens. In a peculiar way, the past – in the form of history – became a crucial element in the training of prospective teachers as agents educating children as future loyal citizens as the bearers of the nation's glory. In that sense, a glorified past and the glorious national future were connected via the history of education as a moralizer of teachers as agents of national identity, social cohesion, and the progress of the nation-state within the international competition for uniqueness and supremacy.

Even though there are early examples of institutional history of education, for the first 100 years, the dominant mode or approach to the history of education was the history of ideas: that is, the linear and idealistic construction of an idealized past in its development to the present, whereby increasingly at the end of the nineteenth century, the present was the *national* present. As a rule, the historiographies suggested that history culminated in its progression in the particular nation-states from which the authors of these historiographies came. Against this national background, nationally different historiographies were developed. Whereas the German historiography remained largely one of ideas, the US and the French historiographies focused – in distinct ways – more institutionally on the development of schooling. As a rule, those histories of education remained largely untouched by the crises that history as an academic discipline underwent with the rise of sociology toward 1900, even though there were early attempts to incorporate idealistic and sociological approaches into the historiography of education. A broader reception or incorporation of social history – be it in the form of German or British Marxism, the French Annales School, the Frankfurt School, or the American sociology – can be evidenced from the 1960s in the context of the overall global cultural and political

crises, in which not least feminist researchers postulated the urgent need not only to expand the fields of research to include neglected topics but to reassess the relation between power, knowledge, and the social and political relevance of research.

The years between 1960 and 1985 witnessed a major shift in historiography in general and in the history of education in particular that involved the increasing decline in the importance of history of education in teacher education curricula and a still cautious but increasing orientation of historians of education toward the epistemological and methodological standards or at least debates in the science of history. With the rise of postmodernism or poststructuralism in the wake of the “linguistic turn” especially in the French intellectual postwar milieu, there was cross-disciplinary research interest in the intersection between psychiatry, medicine, psychoanalysis, philosophy, and foremost history and an attempt to relate epistemology to questions of power and to refer power to desire, sexuality, and practices of inclusion and exclusion. This brought together different intellectual trends that allowed scholars in different disciplines across the world to reorient their research in general and that in particular enabled younger researchers to distinguish themselves from what they would label “traditional” research. It is in this context that an outstanding hero was created by his readers and disciples, Michel Foucault. Foucault’s oeuvre stimulated manifold research agendas in different fields of historical inquiry.

It is also in this context that in the 1980s, affected by the linguistic turn – but which was also criticized as being overly focused exclusively on language or verbal expressions – a new “turn” was proclaimed that promised to be more compassing, the “cultural turn.” This turn was followed by an array of further “turns”: the “spatial turn,” the “material turn,” the “performative turn,” the “postcolonial turn,” and the “pictorial/iconic turn,” to name just a few. Often, these “turns” stressed that they had a history of their own, suggesting that they were heirs of a respectful past that was now in need of historiographical innovation. This claim was performed by adding “new” to the particular field of inquiry, creating “new cultural history,” “new material history,” “new curriculum history,” and in sociology “new institutionalism,” which increasingly began to argue historically. The plurality and diversity of educational historiography is impressive and suggests a variety of approaches that all have, or at least claim to have, particular historical developments. Looking back to the very beginning of the history of education, today we may indeed be inclined to talk in a meta-historiographical way not about *one* history of the different writings of history but in a plural form about histories of historiographies in education.

This chapter, an introductory overview for the part “Foundations and Directions,” aims to highlight in more detail these dynamic developments in the making sense of the past in four major steps and to conclude with an outlook. First, it reflects upon concepts of the past, history, and historiography and also reconstructs the emergence of the genre “history of education” in the long nineteenth century. In a second step, under the section “[History of Historiographies](#),” it analyses developments up to the 1980s that led to a fundamental reorientation of historiography, often caused by the linguistic turn and the claim of discourse analysis. The third step, under “[Histories of Historiographies I: The Linguistic Turn and the Cultural Turn](#),” focuses on the

effects of this transformation of historiography after 1980 in the wake of the linguistic turn and the cultural turn. The fourth step, under “[Histories of Historiographies II: Innovations, Complexity, and Attempts at Restoration](#),” addresses subsequent differentiations and fragmentations in the approaches, most of them claiming to be a new way of an older way of historiography. In the outlook, four challenges are identified that still stand in the way of productive synergies in the ways of writing the histories of education across disciplines and nations.

The Past, History, and Historiography

Nobody doubts that there is a past and that humans have a past. There is also no doubt that all people have ideas, images, or imaginings about this past, even though many people – at least in the field of education – would doubt that extensive research in history matters for the quality of education research. In an odd way, most researchers have quite a historical awareness or consciousness, but neither the historicity of the objects of research (educational institutions, educational practices, values related to education) nor the historicity of our epistemologies (research “paradigms” and their preoccupation with research questions and methods) is being taken for really important. We live in an age of a wide-ranging historical amnesia (*Geschichtsvergessenheit*), and this is not to the benefit of our research, which all too often aims to serve dominating political or cultural exigencies, trends, or fads rather than to analyze them and their educationalizing claims (“critically,” as some might want to add).

“History” is a particular form of knowledge about the past and at best about its effects on our present time in both the education field and in our educational epistemology. It is an expression of the deliberate making sense of obvious and less obvious “sources,” whereby sources, *as* sources, are not simply *given* but *created* by research questions that are related to our current epistemologies that themselves are historically shaped. With that in mind, sources are artifacts of the past that are epistemologically created *as* sources, either as remnants or relicts of the past or as descriptions or reflections of eyewitnesses of the past – that is, of testimonies. Remnants or relicts of the past are, among many other things, school buildings, school laws, learning materials, blackboards, school uniforms, dunce caps, rods, school satchels, toys, children games, playgrounds, or children’s books. Testimonies, in contrast, are handed-down oral, written, or even drawn reports, pamphlets, or reflections that are concerned with events or incidents, debates on school laws or school reforms, ethical discussions on education, reports on educational institutions or school systems, diaries, and the like.

However, all these sources – once they have become sources by virtue of our epistemology, respectively, by our research question – do not tell us exhaustively and in a well-balanced manner about the past (and even less about its effects on the present). It is precisely here that historians start to “write” history rather than to “hide” themselves behind a compilation of the sources they have created – that is, to

create an account that expresses the historian's efforts in making sense of the past, based on his or her sources. As a rule, this is done by reconstructing the initial purpose or function of these relicts and testimonies (that have become our sources), by excavating the (expected) use or benefit for which these artifacts were created in their time. Writing history means that handed-down artifacts that become our sources are to be reconstructed in their contemporary meaning by contextualization.

Contextualization is not a method but the fundament of the historical fabric in the making sense of the past that becomes what we call "history." However, the way of making sense of the past follows particular approaches, styles, or directions – and here I come to the title of this section of this *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education*, which include or exclude explicit or implicit methods – that is, particular ways of doing. Yet, from an epistemological point of view, these methods are not innocent but affect both the research questions and the styles in which these questions are being addressed; they embody elements of normative theories, as Thomas S. Popkewitz argues in ► [Chap. 10, "How Theory Acts as the Retrieval Apparatus in Methods"](#) in this part of the *Handbook*. Hence, what we call "history" is always a "historiographical" product – that is, a kind of knowledge that has been constructed according to particular epistemologies and approaches in writing histories that include methods.

These approaches (or styles or directions) of making sense of sources have their own history. Accordingly, there is a history of historiography (as particular way of or style of writing history). This history tells us a lot about the ways (trained or amateur) historians tried to make sense of the past based on obvious and less obvious sources. In the beginning, this style was characterized as "history of ideas," focusing on noble idea(l)s borne by outstanding men throughout history (for instance, Schwarz 1813), and the style became soon complemented or even challenged by "institutional history" (an early example is, for instance, Guizot 1816) and later by "social history" (an early example is, for instance, Barth 1911). Almost all of these early styles of writing history were designed to serve the purpose of teacher education. They were to help prospective teachers to become the desired teachers in the fabrication of future loyal citizens of the respective nation-states.

However, this also means that from its very beginning, the history of historiography was not (only) linear but plural in a first and obvious way, for it was shaped by the different cultural/national preferences, at first those of France and Germany (Tröhler 2006). Whereas in Germany, history of education has long remained a history of educational ideas, historiography in the United States, for instance, has much more frequently focused on schools. Likewise, looking solely at school histories, we find at least three different cultural styles for "doing" school history: German histories of schooling are traditionally written in the vertical tension of social advancement and exclusion; the French and the Swiss historiographies focus on ideological tensions on the horizontal level between liberals and conservatives, in contrast to the United States, where the dominant paradigm deals with progress and pertinence or resilience (Tröhler 2013). Nation-states obviously follow different styles of historiographies and thus produce different histories.

History of Historiographies

The acknowledgment of a cross-national plurality of historiography is of rather recent date and represents newer epistemological developments in international and comparative education. It takes into account that international and comparative education is no longer limited to comparing the respective school “architectures” (i.e., the arrangement into levels and tracks, the establishment of transition regimes and certification systems, and the construction curricula) or education practices and rituals but also transnational flows that are reconstructed in what is called either “connected history” (Gruzinski 2001; Strayer 1989), *Transferts culturels* (Espagne 2013; Fontaine 2016), *Histoire croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann 2006), or “entangled history” (Mintz 1986; Sobe 2013). These reconstructions, as Robert Cowen shows in ► [Chap. 4, “Comparative, International, and Transnational Histories of Education,”](#) in this part of the *Handbook*, take into account the different epistemologies that frame not only the production of knowledge but also, as systems of reasoning in the making sense of the world, the perception of other performances and their translation into the logic of the recipients.

Hence, there is a need to talk about a history of historiographies, styles that succeeded, supplemented, challenged, or competed with each other. This insight is much younger than the genre “history of education,” and it is not a result of the early challenges between the traditional “history of ideas” and “social” or “institutional history” or “comparative education.” The insight results from fundamental epistemological shifts mainly in the wake of the linguistic turn, which shattered the traditional presumptions concerning a research object that is completely separated from the researching subjects, whose aim is, by virtue of method, to generate “objective” knowledge, that knowledge that fully represents attributes of the object and that is completely independent of the researching subject. Histories are historiographical products, and historiographies are themselves nationally and/or culturally and in any case linguistically constructed.

It was from the late 1920s that linguistic research claimed that the world, which in the traditional epistemology seemed to be given and ready to be researched, is not so much given and independent of us but rather linguistically constructed. This was the insight that only in the 1950s would be coined as the linguistic turn, which fundamentally questioned the previously taken-for-granted assumption according to which research objects (nature or ideas) are ontologically separated from subjects (researchers). The world appeared to be linguistically constructed and henceforth plural; this idea was supported, although with different inspirations, by the claims about a socially constructed world (Berger and Luckmann 1966) and by the increased reception of the Frankfurt School or the French *Annales* School. And as if this had not been enough, feminist research(ers) began to claim that academic knowledge in general and that historiographic knowledge in particular is “male knowledge,” knowledge that is primarily generated by males and about males in the past and is thus a product of female suppression that needs to be (also politically) changed (Dow 2014; Rowbotham 1973): Epistemological and political revolutions were seen as going inevitably hand in hand.

At the time around 1970, with its multiple political and cultural crises around the events labelled the protests of 1968 (Vietnam crises, civil rights movement, Hippie movement, Russian troops in Czechoslovakia, activities of the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany, to name a few), traditional social values were called into question. In this context, the linguistic challenges (for instance, *Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas*, Skinner 1969), social(ist) challenges (for instance, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, Hobsbawm 1964, or *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* Kaestle and Vinovskis 1980), and feminist protests against gender-biased or even sexist research (for instance, Gordon 1970/71) and research institutions called the traditional systems and practices of knowledge (production) into question fundamentally and triggered a broad debate about the need to reevaluate the ways that historiography has been and should be written (Barnard 1970). Here the distinction between history and historiography was used also deliberately (Sloan 1973).

In this process of reorientation of research with regard to politics, institutions, social commitment, methods, and approaches, the way was somehow paved for an almost universal and often enthusiastic reception of the (earlier) work of Foucault published between 1961 and 1975. With increasing success, Foucault had been challenging traditional historiography in his books: *Madness and Civilization* (French, 1961; English, 1964; German, 1969), *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (French, 1963; English, 1973; German, 1973), *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (French, 1966; English, 1970; German, 1971), *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (French, 1969; English, 1969; German, 1973), and, especially interesting for (the history of) education, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (French, 1975; English, 1977; German, 1976).

Foucault's work obviously assembled and embodied different claims of reform in academia in his time. It made the idea of "discourse analysis" popular (whatever his disciples made out of Foucault's rather vague methodology), it challenged the traditional history of ideas as a linear development of rationality and knowledge and how subjectivity is constructed and disciplined, it made visible the close interrelation between power and knowledge and strategies of inclusion and exclusion, and it gave increasing voice to the body and sexuality as sites of desires and morality. Many scholars felt at least inspired by Foucault's oeuvre, be it with regard to the rise of experts in counseling us and our intimate feelings as "engineers of the human soul" (Rose 1990) or the rise of statistics as form of bureaucratic governance in the long nineteenth century, attempting the *Taming of Chance* (Hacking 1990), or as a point of critical distinction, for gender studies (Butler 1990). Scholars in education began to discuss *Foucault's Challenge* with regard to *Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education* (Popkewitz and Brennan 1998), to biopolitics in Bavarian classrooms 1869–1918 (Caruso 2003), or to lifelong learning (*Foucault and Lifelong Learning: Governing the Subject*, Fejes and Nicoll 2008).

It would of course be wrong and unjustified (and not a very Foucaultian claim) to assume that there was a pre- and post-Foucaultian historiography in the same (misleading) way that people suppose that there was a pre- and post-Rousseauian age in education or a pre- and post-Kantian era in philosophy. However, it is probably

correct to say that in the 25 years between 1960 and 1985, historiography changed dramatically and that these years represent Foucault's last 25 years of life. Yet, as much as Foucault inspired people to do their work in a new way, it should not be neglected that he was inspired by many French intellectuals of his time, not least by his doctoral advisor Georges Canguilhem and other French intellectuals working in the intersection between philosophy, medicine, psychiatry, or psychoanalysis and history in a very particular postwar milieu in France that has not yet been sufficiently researched historically (for an exception, see Angermüller 2015).

Histories of Historiographies I: The Linguistic Turn and the Cultural Turn

Given the relatively minor differentiation of various styles or approaches within the genre "history of education" in the first 150 years – perhaps up to 1960, there is a certain justification for reducing the history of historiographies in education to three dominant types: foremost (traditional) history of idea(l)s, institutional history, and social history. Of course, they challenged or completed each other or competed with each other, and partly with the exception of international-comparative approaches, they were, as a rule, nationally limited. The national preoccupation remained dominant with regard to both the research objects and the methods (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002).

In the crises of the 1960s and the 1970s, the role of education changed in the context of the educationalization of the challenges connected with the Cold War and of social problems such as inequality, teen pregnancy, or environmental pollution (Tröhler 2016). Education research became more instrumental, psychological, sociological, and, allegedly, practical and future-oriented. At the same time, history of education lost its curricular significance in teacher education and accordingly as a field of study; this in turn provoked widespread mourning and complaints among educational historians rather than historiographical interest in these historical transformations (Tröhler 2017). Yet, it was precisely at this time that the historical sciences underwent massive changes triggered by the linguistic turn (for instance, Pagden 1987) and the poststructural treatment of language as performative rather than descriptive (Austin 1962), with a focus on ideas in context (Skinner 1988; Tröhler 2011; Zhao 2018) rather than on eternal idea(l)s, as Daniel Tröhler and Rebekka Horlacher reconstruct in, ► Chap. 3, "Histories of Ideas and Ideas in Context," in this part of the *Handbook*. Next to the linguistic turn, the French Annales School and its focus on mentalities and the increasing attention to previously ignored social groups (woman, children, poor, immigrants) or materialities of life affected a "revolution" within the traditional "big" topics: the historiographical involvement with eternal ideas, wars, economy, political events, and social structures was pushed back to make room for the history of mentalities, everyday life, material culture, and bodies – histories that became possible through taking into account new, so far underrepresented, and often visual sources (Burke 2001) that enjoy considerable interest in educational historiography (Dussel et al. 2012; Priem and Dussel 2017).

Since the mid-1980s, there has been a complexity, not to say a lack of clarity, in the matter of approaches and directions in historiography. What is common to most of them is that they follow or are part of a particular “turn,” foremost of the linguistic turn (still the dominant one) and the cultural turn, but also of the performative turn, the spatial turn, the visual turn, and the material turn, to name just the most prominent ones. The distinctions between these “turns” remain blurred, and interdependencies are obvious, which in 2012 caused the editors of *The American Historical Review*, the official organ of the American Historical Association, to criticize the inflation of the different claims of turns and its effects in historiography (“Historiographic ‘Turns’ in Critical Perspective” 2012).

Probably the most encompassing and most effective of these turns, after the linguistic turn and connected with it, was the cultural turn, which in historiography was called “new cultural history.” “New” refers to a long historical tradition of research borne by respected authorities as well as to innovation and reform. The “new” thereby creates or constructs the traditional or “classical” cultural history, such as Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt’s *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Burckhardt 1860; English *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1878) or the work of Dutchman Johan Huizinga (1929). Backed up by these authorities in the “traditional” cultural history and fueled by new impulses mostly of the linguistic turn, *New Cultural History* became configured as a widely accepted genre of historiography in the last two decades of the twentieth century (see, for instance, Hunt 1989). It inspired historical research in different academic disciplines such as medicine, *The New Cultural History of Medicine* (Fissel 2004); music, *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music* (Fulcher 2011); politics, with the example of Argentina, *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina* (Karush and Chamosa 2010); and finally education, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education* (Cohen 1999) and *History, the Problem of Knowledge, and the New Cultural History of Schooling* (Popkewitz et al. 2001). The productivity of this approach and its particular characteristics is discussed in Lynn Fendler’s ► Chap. 6, “New Cultural Histories,” in this part of the *Handbook*.

Histories of Historiographies II: Innovations, Complexity, and Attempts at Restoration

In the intersection of the linguistic turn and the new cultural history, an array of “new” histories were proclaimed, such as “new material history” in connection with “material culture” or “material identity” (Grassby 2005), often combined with art (Daston 2006) and visibility (Dussel 2013; Yonan 2011). This was seen as a challenge to the traditional history of education (Depaepe and Henkens 2000) and paved the way toward identifying *Materialities of Schooling* (Lawn and Grosvenor 2005) in educational historiography, as Inés Dussel discusses in, ► Chap. 9, “Visibility, Materiality, and History,” in this part of the *Handbook*. In the same context, the idea of a *New Curriculum History* (Baker 2009; Parkes 2011) was put

forward; this has triggered idiosyncratic and innovative research, as the chapter by Nancy Lesko and Sarah Gerth v.d. Berg, ► [Chap. 7, “New Curriculum Histories,”](#) in this part of the *Handbook* shows.

In the same context in which “new cultural history” and its related fields of historical inquiry became established, already established feminist historiographies were complemented and eventually partly replaced by either women’s or gender historiography, whereby the demarcation line between the two remained often blurred. Partly in competition with social history, the topic of gender in history was advocated in a heated debate in 1989, when the idea was discussed “that class difference was greatly more significant than gender in the lives and education of working-class girls” (see Watts 2005, p. 226). And indeed, scholarship on working-class women, minorities, and masculinities remained rather sparse, whereas visual, spatial, material, and transnational methodologies were adopted by researchers with an interest in gender (Goodman 2012). Gender studies were advocated as a cross-disciplinary approach to be applied, for instance, in history, social sciences, economy, philosophy, linguistics, and education (Braun and Stephan 2000; see Julie McLeod’s, ► [Chap. 8, “Feminism, Gender, and Histories of Education”](#) in this part of the *Handbook*).

Arguably a part of, or at least affected by, new cultural history is the postcolonial research approach. It (naturally) renounces the adjective “new,” as it does not aim at creating a “new-colonial” historiography but advocates, more in accordance with postmodernism and poststructuralism, the “post”: It addresses historiographical styles of making sense of the past of a liberated territory. Hence, it is interested – after the end of colonialism – in how history is being written by people formerly affected by colonial powers. In other words, it is focused on politics of knowledge that govern both colonized and colonizing people in their unique power relation (Young 2001) by discerning different historical accounts under and after colonial rule. The approach thus addresses questions of the postcolonial identity of a decolonized people without the need to respond “to more than the merely chronological construction of post-independence, and to more than just the discursive experience of imperialism” (Gilbert and Tompkins 1996, p. 7; see also Hall 1996). This approach, which is currently focused on “classical” colonies, for instance, in Africa or parts of Asia, pays rather little attention to other forms of expansions of dominion, for example, in Europe, to name today’s Norway, Finland, or Austria, or to (other) territories related to phenomena of internal colonialism (Hechter 1975).

In contrast to the postcolonial approach, the last approach to be discussed here again uses the adjective “new” but often prefers the Greek “neo” – namely, new institutionalism or neo-institutionalism. However, in contrast to most of the approaches introduced so far, neo-institutionalism aimed toward a new grand meta-narrative, a historiographical aspiration that had been criticized by Lyotard (1979) and many of his French colleagues, such as Foucault (1975; see also Flynn 2012). Neo-institutionalism referred to the “old” sociological institutionalism as advocated foremost by Max Weber and turned attention to questions of “cultural persistence” that were not adequately addressed by Weber (Zucker 1977). This persistence is addressed by the distinction between the actual “organization,” the

“technical activity” of an organization, and the “formal structure” that responds to the “institution” or to the “institutional environment” (Meyer and Rowan 1978, pp. 81, 104) – that is, to shared cultural expectations. Institutions are therefore cultural rules that give certain entities (like organizations or professions) and their behavior collective meaning and value, whereby “culture involves far more than general values and knowledge that influence tastes and decisions, it defines the ontological value of actor and action” (Meyer et al. 1994, p. 18). Institutions depend largely (but not exclusively) on cultural-cognitive beliefs as the most important of their three pillars (the other two being rules and norms) (Scott 2001, p. 57).

With the inclusion of ideas such as “culture” or convictions or beliefs that are “taken for granted” (Hoffman 1997, p. 36), new or neo-institutionalism was interested in processes of “institutionalization” and also in macro-sociological analyses. It came to construct a new grand narrative, according to which current and future trends in sociology and education policy were headed toward a more or less uniform world society, a world culture shaped by a world curriculum, whose roots were identified as early as “perhaps 1500” (Meyer 1992, p. 6), and it suggested the upcoming global redemption, a “future Eden” (Meyer 2012, p. xiii). On the other side, neo-institutionalism provides answers to the question of not *why* but *how* mass education became a central social institution influencing all other sectors and cultural, social, and economic change, combining aspects of social history as history “from below” and institutional history as history of consolidation of social practices, as Renata Horvatek and David Baker depict in, ► [Chap. 5, “Histories of Institutions and Social Change,”](#) in this *Handbook*.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The last 30 or 40 years in historiography have brought about increasing differentiation and ramification of historiographical accounts, in which most of the innovations claim to have a much longer history, which they signify by using the adjective “new”: After the two encompassing and mutually not independent “turns,” the linguistic and the cultural, and with the development of feminist to women’s or gender history, an array of “turns” and “new” histories were proclaimed, whose justifications and validity may not always be confined to new insights and knowledge but also by attempts to define a distinct terrain in the field of research, allowing self-authentication or self-identification within the scientific community. Hence, we witness a process of “balkanizing” historiography but only on one hand, for we can detect a “restorative” historiography fueled by macro-sociological grids of thought whose success in research might not least lie in the offer of new historiographical clarity in times of abundant complexity.

This complexity of historiography – between the different “new” historiographies and between their shared skepticism toward grand narratives and the still existing traditionalists’ adherence to and the neo-institutional rehabilitation of grand narratives – must not prevent us from identifying several challenges with regard to the advancement of historiography. One of the big challenges will be to overcome two

kinds of segregation or fragmentation in historiography in general and between the historiographical approaches in particular. The almost perpetual problem in education in general and educational historiography in particular is its national focus. From its very beginning and up to today, scholars of education are almost completely integrated and involved in national contexts, and they publish predominantly in national journals borne by national associations, such as *History of Education Quarterly* (United States, since 1949), *History of Education Quarterly* (United Kingdom, since 1961), *History of Education: The Journal of the History of Education Society* (since 1972), *Histoire de l'éducation* (since 1978), *Historia de la educación: revista interuniversitaria* (since 1982), *History of Education Review* (since 1983), *Cuadernos de historia de la educación y de la cultura* (since 2009), *African Journal of Historical Sciences in Education: A Journal of the History of Education Society of Nigeria* (since 2012), or the (slightly transnational) *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (since 2014). The problem here is less that the research objects are usually nationally determined but that the epistemologies – the styles of historiography and thus the determination of definitions of the respective research questions and even of the methods – are nationally framed.

In addition to these national preoccupations, a new segregation can be witnessed that often, but not necessarily, reinforces the national fragmentations – namely, journals serving one of the particular trends in research. The *Journal of Material Culture* founded in 1996 may be seen as competing with the journal *Education and Culture* (since 1994) or as an alternative to *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* (since 1980), and the *Radical Teacher: A Socialist, Feminist and Anti-Racist Journal on the Theory and Practice of Teaching* (since 1976) was somehow challenged by the *Feminist Teacher* (since 1984), to which *Gender and Education* (since 1989) might be seen as a competing alternative. The problem at stake is not, of course, the plurality and innovation it supports but the barriers it entails with regard to the conversation between scholars and their research: We have niches and hollows of scholarship but increasingly fewer mutual perceptions of research in other specialized areas. Independent, international, and bi- or even multilingual journals in educational historiography that bring together junior and senior researchers who are normally active in dispersed fields of expertise and that cover a broad range of topics are an exception, for instance, *Paedagogica Historica* (since 1961, not completely independent), *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* (since 1989), or *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* (since 2012).

Besides these two problems of segregation or fragmentation, there are two further challenges that deal with segregation. One is the separation caused by the disciplinary boundaries that characterized Continental European more than US historiography. The preoccupation with the relevance for teacher education has led to a certain isolation of education historiography within the field of research called history of education, an isolation that has been advocated explicitly by many German scholars, among them Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (1996), who accordingly shows little enthusiasm for most of the newer approaches depicted in this part of this *Handbook* (Tenorth 2016). This self-imposed isolation can provide an institutional area within the universities that may be governed by particular preferences, but it may well turn

out to be at the expense of the quality of historiography and theory, which in turn may eventually expose education – maybe with the exception of educational psychology – as an academic discipline at risk.

The problem with this isolation from the different streams of the science of history is, along with the lack of transdisciplinary conversations, the limited historical scope of inquiry. If research in history of education is confined to the historical epoch of the establishment of mass schooling as central in the nation-states, then the respective research interest will be inclined to reduplicate the nationalist motivation behind broad schooling and, accordingly, be less inclined to focus on the Middle Ages, the early modern period (if it is to be separated from the Middle Ages, which the Annales School with their focus on mentalities in general and Jacques Le Goff in particular would doubt), or even the early eighteenth century. The damage that is caused by this historiographical myopia is considerable, if we think of major impulses in the general historical scholarship that also have inspired remarkable research in education. Carlo Ginzburg developed his microhistory taking the example of a miller around 1600 (Ginzburg 1980), and John G.A. Pocock or Quentin Skinner detected relevant political languages in Florentine Renaissance (Pocock 1975), languages that imply educational imperatives with regard to (good) citizenship. Peter Burke also focused on the Renaissance with regard to culture or the social conditions of life (Burke 1978), and Peter Laslett published on family life before the Industrial Revolution in England (Laslett 1977). In France, Roger Chartier analyzed publication strategies from the fifteenth century (Chartier 1987) and, together with Marie-Madeleine Compère and Dominique Julia, education from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (Chartier et al. 1976). In the United States, Anthony Grafton reconstructed higher education with regard to scholarship after 1450 (Grafton 1991) and, together with Lisa Jardine, the development of the humanities (Grafton and Jardine 1986). In Germany, Heinz Schilling analyzed the effects of confessionalization and Calvinist culture in northern Germany and the Netherlands (Schilling 1991) and, together with Stefan Ehrenpreis, edited a book concerning confessionalization and schooling (Schilling and Ehrenpreis 2003).

With regard to the relevance and dignity of historiographical approaches in education, neither the limitation to a historical epoch nor to a nation or region is convincing, and it will not help to challenge the epistemological consequences of our age of historical amnesia (*Geschichtsvergessenheit*) if we (continue to) conduct research in education in this way. The following nine chapters in this part, “Foundations and Directions,” will introduce and depict most of the approaches discussed here from a historically informed and international point of view. They testify to the richness in the ways of writing histories in education for the sake of increased historical awareness not only of the research objects but also of us as historical researchers.

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Abstract

History of education was initially and for a long time predominantly written as the history of ideas, developed for teacher education. The early scholars in this field were, as a rule, German theologians and/or philosophers interested in the origin and historical manifestations of eternal (educational) ideas. These ideas were characterized as describing the idea of (morally) *the good*, most often combined with the idea of *the true* and connected to the idea of *the beautiful*. Through the nineteenth century, these histories took different nationalist configurations, first of all in France, then also in England, and the United States, aiming to convince future teachers that the true heroes of these eternal ideas for the good, for the true, and occasionally for the beautiful in postclassical antiquity in fact shared their

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nationality. It was the consequences of the linguistic turn that challenged this idealism by contextualizing the early ideas of the heroes of education rather than recognizing in them the incarnation of eternal ideas. The research interest focused more and more on discourses or *langues* of education, styles of thought, and epistemologies and, with this, on questions of power as both restricting and enabling conditions of knowledge production. Ideas in context became a research program that is open to academic history and to philosophy and is thus capable of emancipating the genre from its traditionally assigned role as agent of dominant ideas and preferences and guiding it instead to its analytic potential.

Keywords

History of schooling · History of education · History of philosophy · Linguistic turn

Introduction

History of education as a particular kind of research in education emerged in Germany around 1800 mainly for the purpose of improved teacher education. The activists of teacher education reform were university-trained Lutherans, as a rule theologians, philosophers, or philologists, and they conceptualized this new field of interest predominantly as histories of ideas. The focus on ideas rather than on institutions, methods, or materials of education unveils their aspiration for eternity and immutability rather than for historical change, adjustment, or substantial development. The ultimate point of reference and departure of these histories of education as histories of ideas was Plato's *Ideenlehre*, a label characterizing Plato's philosophy that for a long time influenced the English translation "theory of ideas" before it was suggested to be reformulated as "theory of forms" (for instance, Dancy 2004). The same applies for the French realm: *Ideenlehre* was first translated as *théorie des idées* and later as *théorie des formes* (*intelligibles*).

The orientation toward Plato's idealism brought forward a kind of history of education as a "history of ideas," which Arthur O. Lovejoy later characterized as reducing complexity, as interdisciplinary, and as focusing on particular "unit-ideas" (Lovejoy 1936, p. 3) "traveling" across time and space, taking several configurations in different historical contexts in literature, theology, philosophy, or education, but nevertheless progressing. Lovejoy's own prime example of reconstructing historically a unit-idea was the idea of *The Great Chain of Being* (Lovejoy 1936). Hence, history of education as a history of ideas was idealistic in two senses – first, by taking its departure from Plato's theory of ideas (and its translation into Christianity), and, second, by retracing the trajectories of those Platonic ideas across time and space by basically identifying and portraying in Christianity those "great" men determined to be closest to those supreme idea(l)s.

This somewhat static point of departure of the history of education as a history of ideas became more dynamic in the wake of Hegel's philosophy of history.

Accordingly, history of ideas became less restricted to retracing where and when those ideas popped up in “great men” across history and dealt more with understanding their appearances in a teleological way. This teleology had clear nationalist implications, as it was believed that the implementations of these ideas had taken place in Germany. This nationalist imagination of the history of ideas supported the ongoing inclusion of the subject “history of education” in teacher education curricula, as teachers were more and more acknowledged to be major bearers in the process of nation-building, particularly after the three Prussian Wars (1864–1871) and the founding of the German Reich in 1871.

By that time, in the last third of the nineteenth century, the genre “history of education” had already transcended German borders, at first often in the form of translations or compilations of German publications but also, as in the case of France, in nationalist opposition to Germany. As a result, the major characteristics of the German historiography, its moral-idealistic orientation, and its nationalistic teleology remained the historiographic template internationally for clearly over 100 years, as a rule isolated from international research, from the empirical turn in education research, and in particular from the development in historical scholarship after the linguistic turn. As the authors of these histories of education proved to be rather incompetent to realize the vulnerability of the national, idealistic, and moralistic focus of their histories of education, the genre lost its significance in teacher education. This decline, however, opened the doors for alternative research agendas, such as comparative and international, social and institutional, (new) cultural, gender and feminist, new material, and colonial and postcolonial approaches (as to be found in this section of the handbook).

These alternative research approaches indicate that with perhaps the exception of Germany, where the traditional genre of history of education as a history of ideas foremost for the purpose of teacher education is still being advocated (Seel and Hanke 2015; Tenorth 2016), international research on the history of education has clearly started to emancipate itself from its conditions of origin. However, this does not necessarily mean that the effectiveness of the meanwhile demised genre has disappeared, because due to the lack of suitable alternatives, the ongoing need for historical self-reassurances entices many educationalists to draw on established patterns of historical styles of thought. By referring to the historiographic potential of the linguistic turn and its focus on understanding *ideas in their context* rather than in the assumed (teleological) eternity, this chapter will provide evidence of valuable alternatives to these obsolete historiographies of decontextualized, eternal ideas.

Accordingly, the chapter is divided into five parts. First, it focuses on the emergence and establishment of the history of education as a history of ideas in Germany after 1800 and then on its firm establishment toward 1900. Subsequently, it refers to the linguistic turn and its challenge to the idealistic conception of ideas and designs research prospects for histories of “ideas in context.” The concluding chapter deals with “ideas in context” in the history of education and will include some prospects following the contextual turn in the history of ideas of education research.

The Emergence and Establishment of History of Education as History of Ideas in Germany After 1800

The emergence of history of education as a particular kind of research in education is culturally embedded in the blend of what is called German new humanism and German idealism, an (early) nationalist stance of the German Lutheran intelligentsia that was skeptical about Western science and political ideals such as constitutionalism and republicanism. It interpreted ancient Greek art (sculpture), poetry (epics), and philosophy (foremost Plato) as the acme of spiritual expression (*Geist*), which was read in the language of Lutheran Protestantism and increasingly also of German nationalism.

Plato's transcendent idealism, according to which ideas exist independently as entities that are ontologically superior to the sensually discernible earthly objects and with its strict imperative with regard to the implementation of the former, matched the radical dualistic Lutheran worldview that sharply separated the inner and the outer world and that defined the principal superiority of the inward realm as well as the essence of being German. An outstanding figure in this idealistic German Lutheran process of finding national self-reassurance in Greek philosophy in general and in Plato in particular was the Lutheran theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher, who translated, introduced, and commented on Plato's major dialogues in three volumes (each volume contains two books) between 1804 and 1828. Schleiermacher thereby helped to pave the way for the particular German Lutheran interpretation of Plato's pre-Christian philosophical idealism, suggesting a reading of Plato's essential educational-epistemological shift called *psyches periagoge* (literally: the transformation of the soul) as educationally constituted inward purification of the soul (*Bildung*) and, by that, accepting implicitly the authoritarian and anti-democratic aspects of Plato's political philosophy and taking strict social inequalities not only for granted but as best for social life itself, which again was interpreted as German national life, as Fichte had made clear in his famous nationalist *Addresses to the German Nation*, first published in 1808.

Accordingly, the first published history of education – *expressis verbis* as history of ideas – was published in 1813 by a typical representative of these intellectual elites, Friedrich Heinrich Christian Schwarz, who was a Lutheran minister, theology professor, and head of the normal school in Heidelberg. In the introduction to his textbook written for the purpose of teacher education at the normal school, Schwarz asserts that the crucial ideas of education had been discovered in classical antiquity and had then been disseminated through Christianity as “deepest sources” for an inward moral-mental cultural education (*Geistesbildung*) and thus acted as a “sacred powers” of the “genius of mankind” (Schwarz 1813, vol. 1, p. iv). According to Schwarz and in line with the historiographic belief of his time, these spiritual ideas are expressed by outstanding or even selected men: “A man appears, and a new era begins” (p. v). Yet, the notion of a “new era” could be misleading, for what it indicates is a new approach to implementing the eternal ideas once discovered in antiquity (p. vi).

Accordingly, history is in itself a teacher, for it reveals beyond the changing material conditions of life the “deeper essence,” the effective spirit (*Geist*), which unfolds in a Platonic way the trinitarian “ideas of the good, the true, and the beautiful” as expressions of human perfectibility (Schwarz 1813, vol. 1, p. 3). A thorough history of education would have to consider all the different materializations and configurations through time and space and therefore would have to be designed as “cultural history” (p. 4), but the essence is still to focus on what is to be revealed as the “history of the educational idea” (p. 6) – not of ideas, plural, but of “the idea,” singular, personified by magnanimous persons giving culture a new momentum and a “better spirit.” Schwarz labels them as “educators on a large scale” (p. 7). Their genius may be asleep in particular times in human history, but then they break out anew in devoted people who intervene by word and deed. Precisely these exceptional persons, bearers and implementers of true ideas and sanctified by genius, are the objects of this particular field of educational research: History of education as a history of ideas examines how these magnanimous persons expressed and implemented these eternal ideas in education and thus in their contemporary culture and now serve as models for prospective teachers.

Schwarz’s two-volume textbook on the history of education was pioneering. There had been former attempts at the history of education but not in the form of monographs. A prime example is an appendix in the fifth edition of the standard work on education of the time written by the Lutheran theologian August Hermann Niemeyer and first published in 1796. As Schwarz did, Niemeyer, too, assumed that the “general principles of education” are not changeable but that they find different forms of expression throughout history (Niemeyer 1806, p. 415). National characters and national habits are mere “material” modifications of these principles, and with regard to education as a theory, psychology, and ethics, the English, French, and German thinkers of the eighteenth century were leaders (p. 415). Yet, Niemeyer had no doubt that the truly leading nation with regard to an education theory and as an academic science was Germany and in particular the German Protestants (p. 419).

According to some historians, Niemeyer’s attempt had been too short a work to be satisfying, and Schwarz’s two volumes had been too much like a textbook for use in teacher training, as the historian Johann Friedrich Cramer criticized (Cramer 1832, p. x) in the first of his two volumes on the history of education (which, however, never went beyond antiquity). But Cramer’s historicist attempt was not to become a dominant model in the establishment of the history of education; rather, it was the moralist approach by German Pietist Carl Georg von Raumer, who was committed to Schwarz’s account (Raumer 1843, p. viii). Raumer emphasizes the moral practicability of history of education in teacher education. In the introduction to the first of the four volumes of his history of education, Raumer (1843–1855) admits that one may indeed expect from a historian an “objective depiction . . . free from love and hate” but that he himself would not intend to be free of them and that with regard to advocacy he would not claim objectivity either (p. vii). Raumer therefore purposefully acts as a judge in order to encourage the reader to focus on “important educational topics.” By depicting in this history of education the

“ideals and methods” of the selected “outstanding educators” (p. vi), teachers would be encouraged to compare their idea(l)s and practices with those of the depicted idols (p. vii).

Raumer starts his history of education not with antiquity but with the Italian Renaissance (of the ideals of antiquity), a necessary precondition to understand “the history of German education” (Raumer 1843, p. vi). The history of education, Raumer continues, has to envisage in a Platonic-idealistic way those ideals of education that dominate a people in the course of their development and also the practices that in the different epochs of this development are applied to implement these ideals (p. vi). These ideals are best identified in “outstanding men,” “personifying these ideals” and “exerting the greatest influence on education,” even if “they themselves are not educators” (p. vi). In any case: “A great example triggers emulation [the teacher] and gives his (self-)assessment higher laws” (p. vi).

Raumer’s history of education proved to be extremely important, as it not only served as a source for different translations and was newly edited even in the early twentieth century but also served the subsequent histories in their moralist commitment, even if they became teleological and thus more nationalistic, which in turn eased their firm establishment in the curricula of teacher education in the Western world around 1900.

Firm Establishment of History of Education in the Last Third of the Nineteenth Century

Raumer’s rather unintellectual history of ideas as a sequence of “great men” embodying eternal idea(l)s was consistently Protestant, and before even the fourth volume of this oeuvre was published in 1855, a three-volume Catholic counterpart was starting to be published, constructed in the same, person-centered way, by Johann Lorenz Ludwig (Ludwig 1853–1857), but including Catholic educators as well. But just around that time, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Hegelianism began to exert its historiographical attraction, according to which history is still idealistic, a history of the *Geist*, but more organic, encompassing, and foremost teleological. Hence, the strictly person-centered histories of education by Raumer and Ludwig, which both enjoyed several new editions, needed to be underlaid and ennobled by a particular philosophy of history, for instance, in the four-volume history of education by the Protestant Hegelian Karl Schmidt, which started with the German idealistic Platonic-Hegelian premise that God’s nature reveals itself to humanity in the course of human history “as reason, beauty, and morality” (Schmidt 1860, p. 1).

According to this Hegelian approach, world history is defined as the history of the human spirit in its development (Schmidt 1860, p. 2), to be reconstructed by the frame of the organic and teleological system of reasoning labeled “culture-epoch theory,” which assumed an analogy between the phylogenetic development of the race and the ontogenetic development of the individual; accordingly, the “oriental people” are the children, the ancient Greeks and Romans the younglings of history,

and “the Christian” is the real man harmoniously interwoven with the outer world (p. 2), whereby there is a dividing line symbolized by the Lutheran Reformation (p. 33). The analogy between the phylogenetic development of the race and the ontogenetic development of the individual led Schmidt and his followers to assume anthropologically that the human nature (of the individual) would be the ideal guideline for education; however, this nature was not equated with biological (or social) nature but rather with the spirit in its developmental potential. The aim of education is still Platonically the “true, good, and beautiful” (p. 5); therefore, the history of education is in its essence the history of the ongoing realization of this spirit, whereby Germany, “the land of thoughts,” represents the “acme” of this teleological process (p. 47) seeking to represent the godlike harmony of the mind, religiosity, morality, and beauty and bringing humankind “closer to divinity” (p. 50).

The productivity of German historians of education by shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century is impressive; over 5,000 printed pages of certainly different but as a rule idealistic, moralistic, national, and more and more national-teleological histories of ideas of education had been published. The sheer amount of work was more an expression of the authors’ intention to identify themselves in a Hegelian, nationalist making sense of the world as being at the top of a long development than an expression of their willingness to be really useful in teacher education or to be historiographically accurate. The histories simply contained too much information, and this was the time when those more or less academic histories had themselves to be educationalized in the form of easy to read, short compilations. The first such compilation was published in 1863 by Theodor Ballien; it was a “guideline for teachers and learners,” as the subtitle stated, “compiled from previous histories” (Ballien 1863).

The last third of the nineteenth century witnessed the results of a transnational dissemination of German History of Education and at the same time the configuration of national idiosyncrasies of this field of research. History of education as a particular kind of interest in education had emerged in the United States, for instance, in the context of its educational endeavors of nation-building starting in the 1830s, and the model for both – more institutionalized teacher education and history of education as a curricular subject in teacher education – was Germany, more precisely Prussia. It is therefore no coincidence that the first monograph in the United States, titled *History of Education*, was written by an ethnic German Moravian Lutheran clergyman and professor of German languages at the theological seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Henry Immanuel Schmidt (Smith 1842). Schmidt based his historical account largely on Schwarz’s *History of Education*.

When Smith’s 10th edition was published in 1858, Henry Barnard had begun to publish, in his *American Journal of Education*, English translations of large extracts of Raumer’s *History of Education*. Even though Barnard was drawing upon Raumer’s pietistic interpretation of education, there was a change, insofar as in contrast to his German colleagues, Barnard was a lawyer and politician and was heavily engaged with school reform that was not half as selective as the German system and that cared much less about social stratification than about unification. It was also Barnard who promoted a second American monograph (next to

Schmidt's) on the history of education, Linus Pierpont Brockett's [using the pseudonym Philobiblius] *History of the Progress of Education* (Philobiblius 1860). Brockett, a physician, still drew on Schwarz and Niemeyer, but he also included the French historiographies, such as that by archivist and historian Antoine Vallet de Viriville, and he also urged that the "complete history of education in the United States is yet to be written" (p. 6). Brockett at least devoted his last chapter to a short history of North American education (pp. 279–291), followed by some statistical data (pp. 293–296).

The one French author to whom Brockett referred, Antoine Vallet de Viriville, indicates a shift in educational historiography. Written in the wake of the 1848 unrests, Vallet de Viriville's *History of Public Education and Instruction in Europe and Foremost in France* focused – in contrast to the German historiographies – almost strictly on France and not on educational ideas but on knowledge and its transmission in public instruction (Vallet de Viriville 1849, p. 1), a focus that had also been characterized in the very first historical account of public instruction in France, written in 1816 by the later eminent education politician, French Protestant (Huguenot) François Guizot, and titled *Essay on the History and on the Current State of Compulsory Education in France*. French historiography was not so much a history of ideas as it was in Lutheran Germany, but it was still idealistic and interpreted the French "heroes" of school reform and instruction and thus of knowledge and institutions as national idealists. The histories were written as a rule by (often Huguenot) lawyers, historians, and educational policy makers, quite in contrast to the Lutheran philosophers, theologians, and philologists in Germany, the bearers of these idealistic ideas as the basis of historiography.

This interest in effects of reform ideas in the past started to be reflected in American historiography, for instance, in the third American education history, *A History of Education* by literary scholar Franklin Verzelius Newton Painter, who drew on Schmidt's abovementioned Hegelian *History of Education*. It was published with an introduction by the famous St. Louis Hegelian, William Torrey Harris. Like Schmidt, Painter builds on human nature as divine potential, but he also emphasizes the utility of schooling, for "human development school be combined with practical wisdom; the school should be the natural introduction into active live" (Painter 1886, p. 3), and the essence of schooling is acquiring knowledge (pp. 4–5). Yet, Painter aligned himself with the German (that is Schmidt's) anthropological culture-epoch theory (p. 5). It is not that there were no "great thinkers" in the past, such as Plato, but since "his view remained without any perceptible effect upon Grecian education," he can be "passed over briefly" (p. 61).

Over time, American historiography found its own national configuration by incorporating French styles of historiographical reasoning. Robert Herbert Quick's conclusion in 1868 that "on the history of Education, not only good books, but all books are in German, or some other foreign language" (Quick 1874, p. iv) had led him to publish his *Essays on Educational Reformers* based on German models. But at that time, in the context of the German-French tensions shortly before the Franco-Prussian War in 1870/1871, the nationalist agenda became explicitly promoted. The French Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences had launched a

prize competition, because in its opinion, educational reflection in France was too strongly oriented to “our foreign nations” and thus the “tradition of our history” and the “national spirit” was in danger of becoming forgotten (Gréard 1877, p. 345). The prize winner, published in Paris in 1879, was a two-volume work titled *The History of the Educational Doctrines (Ideas) in France Since the Sixteenth Century*, encompassing almost 1,000 pages and starting with some 55 pages dedicated to the Greeks, the Romans, and the Middle Ages, before focusing on early French ideas from Rabelais, Montaigne, or the Renaissance (Erasmus and Ramus). The author was Gabriel Compayré, who at this time held a chair at the University of Toulouse. As a confessed republican and French Protestant, Compayré worked toward laicization of the French school system. In the foreword to the book, he wrote that the historical volumes had been written for the purpose of discovering abiding truths in the movement and progress of French educational thought and of making them fruitful for a theory of education. Already in the second paragraph, it is clear that this effort also contained polemics against Germany: “Let us not believe that education is the exclusive property of Germany” (Compayré 1879, p. i). Four years later, Compayré published a handier version for teacher education that included also British and American authors such as Herbert Spencer, Alexander Bain, and Horace Mann (Compayré 1883). And another 3 years later, William H. Payne, the first holder of a chair in education at any university in the United States, translated and annotated Compayré’s book (Compayré 1886); this publication proved to be extremely successful.

The German historiography was unimpressed by these French or American alternatives. Enthusiastic in their nationalist aspirations by the founding of the German Reich in 1871, schooling and teacher education expanded, and within 2 years, four new textbooks had been published, all in the style of a history of ideas, fueled by Greek idealism and finding its fulfillment in Germany. And in a comparative way, the French – with some 10 years delay – used schooling and enhanced teacher education as a core means of building the French nation in the realm of the Third Republic. Whereas the German histories focused on Greek origins and German heroes, the French focused almost exclusively on French authors as bearers of the “essential” (French) ideas in their historical trajectories (Tröhler 2006).

The Linguistic Turn and the Challenge to the Idealistic Conception of Ideas

Around 1900, a good century after its emergence as a particular kind of interest in education, history of education had become a firm part of teacher education in the different national realms of the Western globe. It was as a rule idealistic, universal in its aspiration, national-moral in its content, and pedagogical in its style; it aimed at educating devoted prospective teachers as bearers of the “national spirit” that governed the structural architecture and curriculum of the respective school systems. Institutionalized in this way, history of education as an authoritative curricular subject in teacher education remained rather unchanged up to at least the 1970s.

By the time that Lovejoy theorized the particular historiographic style of the “history of ideas,” French and American linguistics and a bit later the English philosophy of language worked on what in the early 1950s would be called the “linguistic turn,” which fundamentally questioned the previously taken-for-granted assumption according to which objects (nature or ideas) are ontologically separated from subjects (researchers). In Geneva, the French-speaking linguist Ferdinand de Saussure had introduced in 1916 in his *Course in General Linguistics* the fundamental distinction between *paroles* (utterances) and *langues* (language as particular systems of meaning resulting from human interaction) as two aspects of *langage*, language as anthropological fact. Whereas any utterance depends on the language as a system understood as a cultural deposit, it nevertheless is true that, historically speaking, the language as a system resulted from mutual uses of utterances. That is, languages as systems are cultural products and are thus subject to change over long periods of time (de Saussure 1959). Obviously, understanding is not limited to the hermeneutics of the *paroles* but to the contextualization of understanding a *parole* in the *langue* from which it derives.

Whereas de Saussure introduced the analytic distinction between *paroles* and *langues* in his general linguistics, modern comparative linguistics was developed in North America, deriving from the differences between standard European and Indigenous languages. Two outstanding figures were the ethnologist Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf. What is known in research as the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* indicates that thinking and thus perception of the world are significantly shaped by the language in which we think – that is, in that which de Saussure had called *langue* (as system): “We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation” (Sapir 1929, p. 210). The very fact that different languages had partly very different grammatical structures is the reason why so many different perceptions of the world exist, urges Whorf: “We are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated” (Whorf 1956, p. 214).

In the 1950s, when the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* was broadly discussed and the term linguistic turn was coined, the English philosophy of language claimed the idea that words not only display facts but they in fact *do* something beyond displaying. In his analysis of everyday language, mainly in his posthumously edited *Philosophical Investigations*, Austrian-born Ludwig Wittgenstein discovered that modifications in the usage of language (shift in terminology or in linguistic costumes) did not simply mean modifications in the way of talking but rather in the way of behaving or acting; “the meaning of a word is its use in the language” (Wittgenstein 1953, §. 43): The meaning of utterances is defined by the context, and uttering is a part of a concrete culture (§. 23), or “Words are also deeds” (§. 546). In other words, concepts never describe ideas; rather, they “invent” them in the context in which they were uttered.

A year before publication of Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigations*, the English philosopher Johan Langshaw Austin was named chair of moral philosophy at Oxford University, where he focused further on the productivity of language

and became, as the father of speech act theory, an icon of the linguistic turn. Austin's lecture series at Harvard University (1955) and the University of California, Berkeley (1958–1959), became the classic work *How to Do Things with Words*, published posthumously (Austin 1962). Austin's major concern was to prove that the major pastime of philosophy from Plato to Wittgenstein had been to formulate statements that turned out to be either true or false. By instancing familiar examples, Austin shows that language does not simply "describe" or "state" (truly or falsely) but in fact *does* something new, such as the wedding vow in church, which transforms a woman into a wife and a man into a husband.

Hence, statements are in fact speech acts, because they do not merely describe but rather effectuate things. Any speech act consists of three aspects. The first is the locutionary aspect, the performance of a linguistic utterance (phonetics, grammar, semantics). The second is the illocutionary aspect, indicating the speaker's intention or purpose with his or her statement. And the third is the perlocutionary aspect, which is the effects of the statement on the receiver. Hence, statements are not simply true or wrong descriptions of something, be it nature or (eternal) ideas, but productions of meaning in particular contexts. For political and educational historiography, particularly the illocutionary aspect became crucial, for it prevented research from searching for "abiding truths" (see Compayré 1879, p. i) in a text by indicating the intentions that an author might have had with the linguistic potentials of his or her time (that were at his or her disposal). Historiography would have to focus, then, on the question of what the author did when he or she acted, in speaking or writing, within the linguistic potential of a time.

Against the background of the linguistic turn, the claim for or the assumptions of transcendent ideas and thus of eternal ideals are itself a historical act and not a timeless fact. Ideas are now inscribed in utterances that derive their normative power in normative systems that are, in the end, historically and culturally contingent and therefore also, with regard to legitimacy, a matter of power. With this insight, "history of ideas" is potentially freed from identifying ideas with indisputable truths as well as from reconstructing the historical trajectories of these ideas as a chronology of their realization or implementation by outstanding heroes. Historical research becomes historical and less moral, a field of investigation or inquiry and not of (moral) instruction.

The Linguistic Turn and "Ideas in Context"

Although research in education was for a long time and, to some degree up to today, hesitant to acknowledge the creative potential of the linguistic turn and its new understanding of "ideas," philosophers and then (political) historians have been much more open to it. As early as in 1967, Princeton philosopher Richard Rorty edited the volume *The Linguistic Turn: Essays in Philosophical Method* (Rorty 1967) containing important texts on analytic philosophy and claiming the need to rediscuss unresolved questions since antiquity, and in 1975, the Canadian philosopher Ian Hacking asked the question *Why Does Language Matter to Philosophy?*

(Hacking 1975). By that time, however, the linguistic turn had transcended the disciplinary borders of both linguistics and philosophy and had been implemented productively in historical research, prominently in what has come to be called “the Cambridge School.”

It is assumed that the first text of the Cambridge School was Quentin Skinner’s article *Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas* (Skinner 1969), and the outstanding feature of the Cambridge School is the book series *Ideas in Context*, which since 1984 has published monographs devoted to reconstructing historically intellectual traditions and the emergence of academic disciplines and their proceedings, aims, and vocabularies by contextualizing them within their historical epoch in a way that allows recognition of idealistic and institutional alternatives to dominating performances. Thereby, the artificial and unproductive separation between history of philosophy, the individual history of sciences, and the histories of knowledge and fictions are being dissolved. Lovejoy’s historiographical methodology expressed in the “unit-idea” is criticized by Skinner, who argues that such a procedure indicates a “reification of doctrines” that “give rise . . . to two kinds of historical absurdity” (Skinner 1969, p. 11): for one, “the tendency to search for approximations to the ideal type yields a form of non-history which is almost entirely given over to pointing out earlier ‘anticipations’ of later doctrines, and to crediting each writer in terms of this clairvoyance,” and then for another, “the endless debate . . . about whether a given idea may be said to have ‘really emerged’ at a given time, and whether it is ‘really there’ in the work of some given writer” (pp. 11–12).

The historiographical catchword in the light of the linguistic turn is *ideas in context*, releasing historiography from both chronologies of intellectual performances of eternal ideas and ideas of more or less linear progresses and introducing contextual historicity to historical research by looking at linguistic arsenals (or: *langues* in de Saussure’s sense) – providing historical actors of a given time to do both, interpreting circumstances in a particular way and formulating respective responses to them. The idea of “ideas” becomes earthly, historical, contextual, and the authority of particular systems of ideas over others becomes a matter of power and dominance.

Accordingly, the research can either focus on the *moyenne durée* of particular *langues* as linguistic systems and their adaptability over a longer time period, as John G. A. Pocock does, or focus on “troubled” contexts in which the traditionally dominant linguistic conventions or *langues* prove to be unable to interpret the circumstances and by that offer new or altered *langues* to start to dominate the interpretation of the world, as Quentin Skinner does. The latter focuses, for instance, on the emergence of modern individual liberalism in the wake of the French Revolution, which is interpreted as a new set of linguistic conventions or codes by which the classical understanding of the ideas of liberty and virtue was displaced or at least suppressed: “The ideological triumph of liberalism left the neo-roman theory largely discredited” (Skinner 1998, p. x). Hence, Skinner is interested in discontinuities in the dominant ways of interpreting the world by means of the illocutionary force of the respective speech acts (utterances or *paroles*): “I confess that I am less interested in such continuities myself than in the discontinuities to be

found within our intellectual heritage” (p. 111); history then becomes a sort of archeology that gives us new options to act by virtue of providing overviews over (linguistic) opportunities for action: “One corresponding role for the intellectual historian is that of acting as a kind of archeologist, bringing buried intellectual treasure back to the surface, dusting it down and enabling us to reconsider what we think of it” (p. 112).

In contrast (or in addition) to Skinner’s interest in times of transformations, Pocock’s approach, based on de Saussure’s distinction between *langue* and *parole*, is focused on the *moyenne durée* of the *langues* as deposits of concrete *paroles* (utterances) in concrete historical situations. In early years, Pocock had labeled these *langues* – following Thomas S. Kuhn – as “paradigms.” Thereby, Pocock identifies the ideological language deposit (*langue*) behind a sentence or a word (*parole*), the former giving the latter its particular meaning. However, these *langues* are themselves changeable over time, as they are being “used” by uttering people. *Langues* are therefore one of the “primary contexts in which an act of utterance is performed,” as Pocock says, but also in interaction with the *paroles*: “For anything to be said or written or printed, there must be a language to say it in; the language determines what can be said in it, but is capable of being modified by what is said in it; there is a history formed by the interaction of *parole* and *langue*” (Pocock 1987, p. 20).

Despite the somewhat different (or complementary) approaches and interests, Skinner and Pocock are in agreement insofar as they share an interest in the language of classical republicanism, according to which political freedom of the *polis* is closely tied to the virtues of its (free) citizens as a particular kind of desired behavior. These ideas had been (re)formulated in educational languages and fostered or implemented institutionally for many centuries in the different configurations of those political entities labeling themselves as “free states” or free republics, not only in antiquity but in the Renaissance, in the Swiss Reformation, in parts of the English and Scottish Reformation, in the Swiss Enlightenment, and in the United States. Their core concerns addressed ideas of freedom, common good orientation, good citizenship, patriotism, and steadfastness but also ideas of corruption, commerce, and effeminacy. Classical republicanism and civic humanism are essentially educational projects, yet they have been ignored as such by both sides, political philosophy and education research.

“Ideas in Context” in the History of Education: Conclusion and Future Directions

The linguistically inspired historiographical approach of the Cambridge School triggered, in the field of political thoughts, a vast array of significant research in the Anglophone, Italian-, French-, and Spanish-speaking worlds but less so in the German-speaking world, where reception of antiquity remained Platonic-idealistic, new humanistic, and precisely *not* civic humanistic. Accordingly, relevant discussions, for instance, about Machiavelli, which are crucial in classical republicanism research, are hardly to be found, although Machiavelli’s work is being interpreted as transmitting

ancient Greek ideals into modernity, serving as the ideological background of the founding fathers of the United States of America (Pocock 1975); Pocock even talks about a “tunnel history” of the *langue* of classical republicanism (Pocock 1979, p. 104) from the ancient Greeks to the United States, a notion that caused the suspicion that Pocock indeed argued for a transcendental linguistic philosophy without any historical anchorage, which Pocock clarified, however (Pocock 1987).

Even though the content focus of the Cambridge School – classical republicanism of civic humanism in its colorful trajectory over the centuries – includes the close relationship between political constitution, freedom, and (political) virtue and thereby touches upon core educational questions, historical research in education has only exceptionally focused on authors such as Machiavelli (Tröhler 2003) and has started only slowly to gain acknowledgement in historical research on the educational past. German education historiography has almost completely ignored the intellectual and historiographic prospects following the linguistic turn (an exception is Overhoff 2004), in contrast to the Anglophone realm (for instance, Cohen 1991): Focusing research on *langues* behind the *paroles* was assessed as “linguistic archeological excavations of and through contemporary educational discourse and as allowing non-linear historiographies, going behind Whig and Marxist interpretations” (Claxton 2012, p. 179). The linguistic turn was interpreted as providing an alternative to the two dominant traditions, the Anglophone interpretation of the history of ideas as idea of progress and the Marxist interpretation of a social history (see also Roldán Vera 2014), even as a new way of teaching history of education (Acosta 2017), precisely because language did not depict the world (or eternal ideas) but configured it (Parra-León and Marín-Díaz 2016).

How empirical or historical the idea of “ideas” is, and thus is also a question of cultural power, has been addressed in international comparative research collaborations focusing on the configuration of ideas (as cultural practices) in the interrelation between republic(anism) and education and schooling (Tröhler 2009; Tröhler et al. 2011) or on transatlantic performances of educational ideas in the intersection of *paroles* and *langues* (Tröhler 2011). Its focus was on one side on ancient republicanism based on virtues and how it was received in the Swiss Reformation and its effects, which was, in contrast to the German Reformation, strongly political, whereas German Lutheranism remained political indifferent; accordingly, one Reformation developed specific educational doctrines of political virtues, whereas the other Reformation materialized itself theoretically in the realm of inwardness and *Bildung*. However, the eminent concept of political virtue was not transcendent but rather contextual: Rousseau’s idea of (political) virtue was differently configured from Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi or Thomas Jefferson’s idea, and the idea of *Bildung* was differently theorized within the 200 years of its appreciation of inward perfection (Horlacher 2016). The *langues* provid(ed) the need to express in *paroles* particular ideas of political virtue in one trajectory of Protestant thought and of inward perfection in the other, but the concrete formulation changed over time and context and affected in their effective performance the figurative power of the *langues*.

With the exception of the historiography in Germany, the potential of the linguistic turn and its inherent approach to contextualizing (educational) ideas has been acknowledged in many parts of the world, particularly in the Nordic, Anglo-Saxon,

and Hispanic worlds, especially as a means to understand how the idea of education and (modern) curriculum became tangible in the dialectic between the ancient anti-commercial concept of virtue and the emergence of the commercial society in the long eighteenth century (for instance, Valero 2017). Besides the political implication, religion has received more attention in the analysis of dominating educational *langues* (Osterwalder 2006), for instance, in modern republics such as Argentina (Friedrich 2014; Gomez Caride 2013) or in the context of formulating educational theories against the background of social and cultural power relations (Popkewitz 2018). Beyond the European and the American realms, the strategy of analyzing educational ideas in the intersection between *paroles* and *langues* has been applied to China in the book *China's Educational Language* (Zhao 2018).

Given this fundamental contextualization of educational ideas in linguistic styles of reasoning that interpret living conditions in particular ways, history of education as history of ideas has good prospects. It will never replace the role of the idealistic history of education that was obviously capable of covering the pastoral desires for eternal truth, be it static or Hegelian-nationalist, but it will be able to provide alternative trajectories, context-bound, forgoing the moralist self-assurance that characterizes education research in toto, including the so-called empiricist research agenda and its preference for large-scale assessments. History of education as history of ideas in context provides the recontextualization of educational ideas as driving powers for school developments but also of education research and the rise and fall of its competing doctrines defining what “good research” is. Against this background, the contextual approach in the history of ideas can be interpreted as “the key to self-awareness itself” (Skinner 1969, p. 53), an indispensable desideratum to conduct education research in a field that has been eminently moralistic and nationalistic, to free education research from its assigned role as being an agent of implementation (of whatever ideas are dominant at a given time) and to guide it to its essential task, which is to critically analyze claims for agency.

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Comparative, International, and Transnational Histories of Education

4

Robert Cowen

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Abstract

The introduction to the analysis notes briefly some current changes in political context and suggests that this is as good a moment as any to ask new questions about “the comparative history of education.” The first section of the chapter considers some of the overlaps and differences between the “comparative history” of education and the history of comparative education itself, as a field of study. It is possible to note a separation between the two – though this is not a hint about preferences for the future, on the contrary. The second section of the chapter makes distinctions among styles of comparative histories of education themselves: the institutional bases and theoretical perspectives within which they were written begin to diverge. The third layer in the analysis is the theme of the “international.” International histories of education hint at how historians of education and the histories of education they write respond to new “readings of

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the global.” The fourth section of the chapter addresses the transnational motif. There is also a brief conclusion which offers some cautious comments – though they might be, more sensibly, thought of as guesses about possibilities.

Keywords

History of education · Comparative · Transnational · International · Comparative education

Introduction

The range of work done to the general rubric of “the history of education” (as indicated by journals such as *History of Education*, *History of Education Quarterly*, and *Paedagogica Historica*) is remarkable even though in many universities in many countries the field of study is affected by the external political pressures of (what Guy Neave has called) “evaluative States.” Those pressures – external to the university but now absorbed by the management systems of more and more universities – include expectations that the field of study will have “relevance” and “impact,” preferably immediate, on economic and social life (Cowen 2012).

This is an unfortunate redefinition of “quality” in university work and a new form of simplistic social disciplining and re-domestication of knowledge at exactly the time when the world is again becoming more complex. The comforting buzz of the mantra “globalization” is being interrupted by shrill questions about new forms of political populism, withdrawals from notions of an international community, and a changing balance of international political power. Examples include what has come to be called “Brexit” – a slick name for a sour parochialism; the rejection of an emerging international consensus on climate control policies; the beginnings of cultural, economic, and political self-absorption (the USA); reassertions of old forms of territorial hegemony (Russia); and newly assertive views about regional balances of power (Iran; and China in the Pacific). How serious historical change gradually helps to redefine academic fields of study is unclear and often takes a long time to be visible (Tröhler 2013a, b); but any optimistic expectations that comparative and international history will somehow linearly “progress” from their present configuration seems improbable.

Paradoxically then this is a good moment to step back and ask: What counts as comparative history of education, international history of education, and transnational history of education? The intention is to try to sketch the changing work agenda in comparative and international and transnational histories of education and to note, even if briefly, the politics of the times in which these branches of history-writing were embedded. What kind of history of education was being done and why and how does that reflect not merely the interests of individual scholars but the “reading of the global” (Cowen 2000, 2009) within which the work was framed? “History” itself (that is to say, contemporary history, politics, economics) disturbs fields of study and forces questions about concepts such as “comparative” and “transnational.”

“The” Comparative History of Education

There isn't one, of course, although there are several names which helped to pioneer a fresh sense of the comparative history of education in the first half of the twentieth century. These names would certainly include (in alphabetical rather than chronological order) Nicholas Hans, Robert Edward Hughes, Isaac Kandel, Michael Sadler, Friedrich Schneider, and Robert Ulich. Their individual writings have been analyzed in specialist articles, as well as in a range of publications which can be loosely labeled histories of comparative education (Cowen and Kazamias 2009; Manzon 2011; Noah and Eckstein 1969). So there is a bit of a muddle and overlap between comparative histories of education and the history of comparative education.

However, both themes – the comparative history of education and the history of comparative education – can be dealt with because they interweave for a while and then separate in an abrupt way. The persons who began, *de facto*, to offer interpretations of a comparative history of education – Nicholas Hans, Isaac Kandel, and so on – had considerable differences between them, but they also gave themselves a nasty common problem, as they tried to think both historically and comparatively. Kandel, following some of the ideas of Michael Sadler (his teacher), offers the most succinct definition of what became a major muddle: “Comparative education, the study of current educational theories and practices as influenced by *different backgrounds*, is but the prolongation of the history of education into the present. . .” (Kandel 1933, p. xix) [*Italics added.*].

This proposition – too casual as a generalization and too locked into its own historical times to be a good prediction – instantly blurs any distinction between comparative history and comparative education. As if that were not enough, Kandel offers a new obfuscation with his phrasing about the “different backgrounds” of educational systems, a theme which rapidly gained the technical label: “context.” However, it is far from clear what is “a background” or “a context.” Clearly, “context” includes the “tyranny of distance” which affects education in Australia and Canada. It can also include sand and later the remarkable combination of sand and oil in Saudi Arabia. In certain countries or areas, a crucial part of “context” which affects education provision and educational policy is mountains (e.g., the Andes).

Thus versions of the comparative history of education – and comparative education itself – have to overcome a major muddle, caught in the vacuous older vocabulary of “backgrounds” and a variety of (vacuous) contemporary uses of the word “contexts.” The solutions offered early by the historians included an emphasis on a range of “forces and factors,” *Triebkräfte* in Schneider's (1947) vocabulary. The problem of “backgrounds” was differently dealt with by Nicholas Hans (1958). He asserted the importance of “the factors” of languages, race, religious traditions, geographic and economic circumstances, and political philosophies. Hans used these “factors,” with some success to discuss patterns of educational reform in places as varied as Belgium and South Africa, Latin America, and the USA and the USSR.

This theme of “forces and factors” overlapped with (though finally it became separate from) an earlier tradition of understanding the “foreignness” of foreign

systems of education by emphasizing the theme of “national character.” This was not unusual as an interpretive perspective in the nineteenth century, in politics, in the press, and gradually in academic and historical interpretations of the ways in which societies were – and could be – successful in certain “historic missions.” For example, the rise and confirmation of aggressive nationalisms, after the American and French revolutions, gave a sharper edge to national stereotyping (the “roast *bifs*” for the British, the Russian bear); concepts that labeled moments of political mobilization such as “manifest destiny”; a variety of “civilizing missions”; and racial stereotyping confirmed in ideologies of empire (Mackenzie 1986; Mangan 1993) – though it should not be assumed that racial stereotyping and notions of superiority were confined to the period after the American and French revolutions or to European imperialists (Colley 2002). By the time of Vernon Mallinson (1957), the theme of national character had become very explicit as a theme within comparative education.

Unfortunately, both themes – “backgrounds” (forces outside the school system) and the concept of national character – created distortions and vacuities within the comparative history of education, not least perhaps because the concept of national character rapidly degenerates into inaccurate banalities about the Germans being hard workers, the French being rational, and the Belgians being both; and the concept of “context” can triumphantly be absorbed within positivist social science discourse as a set of “variables.”

Indeed, paradoxically, this is how the rescue occurred. In the 1960s there was a squabble about whether “history” or “science” was the best way to approach any themes which comparative education might be pursuing. The debate and its casualties have been discussed in detail (Kazamias 2009). The clash between the old forms of comparative histories of education being written by Hans et al. and the new “scientific” comparative education meant that the use of a comparative perspective in the history of education migrated, usually to history of education departments.

Basically, comparative histories of education were now going to be written by historians. A new sharpness emerged in the literature, a literature which still reads well today (Archer 1979; Green 1990; Müller et al. 1987; Skocpol 1979). These books are different from what had been offered before and rather different from each other. Margaret Scotford Archer’s work initially came out of her interests in Europe and had a loose relationship with the concern at that time, in the UK, for European studies (Vaughan and Archer 1971). Andy Green’s 1990 book began life as a doctoral thesis with no specific connection at that moment with a specialist department of history or a department of comparative education. Theda Skocpol’s work on social revolutions was written in the USA and was not directly addressed to education; but it certainly was an implicit invitation to think much harder about comparative histories of education and one of its peculiar silences. However, the work as a body had an interesting pattern: it was comparisons of national states. What were being compared were forms of nationalism, the shaping of nations, the role of education in that, and the complexity of those relationships with the formation of States particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century. When the theme was extended, in terms of space, for example, to include China or Japan and Japanese education before and after 1868 (in the work, say, of Herbert Passin), the theme opened out to include the motif of “modernization.”

Thus, the distinguishing question here is not: Were there histories of education being written? There were. Clearly there is a major corpus of specialist work on the history of schools and schooling, the history of teacher education and vocational technical education, the history of universities, and the history of educational ideas in North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, East Asia, and Latin America (NASH et al. 1965). In that sense, by the 1970s, the available literature on the history of education was very large.

Granted that there was then a major body of historical work, the question shifts to how to construe the concept of “comparative” history.” Given that historical narratives about education by specialist historians included debates about internal colonialism in the USA, the nature of Indigenous education in Canada, the treatment of Maori in New Zealand, and the *Escola Nova* movement in Brazil in the 1930s, a “comparative” history of education can be placed on the table as it were – almost literally – simply by juxtaposition of similar narratives. This is not too dissimilar from finding out, empirically, what time children get up in the morning and go to sleep at night – and how many hours they spend in between in school – in Finland, Scotland, and Japan. The narratives, one in words and the other in numbers, have the *form* of “a comparative statement”; but both narratives are intellectually empty and epistemically pointless. De facto, they are lists of similarities and differences.

Comparative work needs two things. Certainly, it needs a *tertium comparationis*. This might be “totalitarianism and education,” though that concept needs a lot of work before work can begin. Simpler might be a universalizing statement about human rights or the concept of “Education For All” on which a great deal of work has been done already. “Education For All” is a *tertium comparationis*, but it is of no intellectual complexity in itself (even if why it is not being achieved is a considerable puzzle for a range of social sciences).

Thus comparative analysis in education does not begin in method. It begins only when there is an interpretative idea on offer, such as Max Weber’s sense of the historical forces which produced a shift from the education of the cultivated to the education of the expert. What a research question about the number of hours (etc.) in Finland, Japan, and Scotland lacks – as does the juxtaposition of approximately similar historical narratives about, say, Indigenous identities and education – is an initial theory. The “form” (juxtaposition) is right but the form is empty. The test of comparative work is not what was in the archives but what idea was brought to the archives (Tröhler 2013a, b). The path to fame of the comparative historian of education is marked by both archive and by theories to interpret “context.”

The *Genius Loci* and the Writing of Comparative History

Hence it was a good symbolic marker in the writing of comparative histories of education when Scotford Archer (Archer 1979) offered an explicit theoretical position against which to analyze narrations of education in England and France, Russia, and Denmark. The point thereafter was that Archer performed the comparative act within one large text, characterized by deliberate juxtaposition (the

comparative “form”) and by explicit theory. In general terms, there is nothing historically startling about this. History is normally written to a thesis. An interpretation of the history of the USA can be offered in terms of a thesis (such as Turner’s “Frontier Thesis” or a motif about immigration and *e pluribus unum* and “the one best system” of education). However, among the things which were refreshing about Archer’s work was that it was part of a long slow (and as yet incomplete) rescue of comparative education per se from a pathological concentration on method (Holmes 1986), an excessive concern for the contemporary, and a fixation on “policy” and gradualist reform.

However, although that moment was intellectually important – the peculiar parochialism of the comparative education English-speaking community (of that period) and its dislike of history had been revealed – the growing literature on comparative histories of education contained, at this point, two more important strategic questions.

One question which slowly emerged, stimulated by illustrations of the potentials of juxtaposing narratives about the histories and educational patterns of different “foreign places” called countries or nations, was the theme of “methodological nationalism.” Martin Lawn, whose historical sensitivities and continuous alertness to new themes (2013) in the comparative history of education have been impressive, was one historical and comparative scholar who noted this issue, not least as he moved to Scotland – a bit of a culture shock – and became heavily involved in educational research in the European context.

The second strategic question was the intellectual rootedness of the emergent comparative histories of education. Illustratively, the comparative histories of education being written by people like Fritz Ringer and Müller and Simon were within a tradition of the writing of history that included Ranke, Collingwood and Butterfield, and Marc Bloch and E. H. Carr (and partly, with Brian Simon, Karl Marx too). Margaret Archer’s work was informed by a historical sensibility, notably for European history, as well as an alertness to sociological theory. In some contrast, Theda Skocpol’s work was informed by a sociological sensibility, and her geographic areas of interest included China and “southern cone” countries (crudely speaking, Latin America). Her thinking was more strongly linked with a tradition of sociological thought that included Tocqueville and Durkheim and Weber (and later, persons such as Bendix and Barrington Moore).

David Crook and Gary McCulloch (2002) have written on the first tradition and the importance of creating an historical sensibility aimed toward a comparative analysis – a comparative historical understanding – of educational systems. However, they begin their analysis by invoking the names of Edmund J. King (who reviewed Margaret Archer’s classic text with considerable professional irritation) and Brian Simon and Asa Briggs, a brilliant British historian who wrote an impeccable history of the BBC and also a history of Marks and Spencer. The second tradition is also a major one, but it insists on invoking different ancestors – in sociology (Skocpol and Somers 1980). This literature is very alert theoretically and struggles with intellectual questions which are not normally raised within the British tradition. However, what is noticeable is that the comparative history of

education is not central to those debates, and there is occasionally a peculiar domestic motif, peculiar because the question of “comparative” is being discussed as if the main struggle is within the American literature as American scholars try to look up and outward from their own society and their own local sociological and historical traditions (Skocpol 2003). Similarly, Gary McCulloch (2011), in a different way and for different reasons, makes it very clear that British history of education is now linked with the *International Standing Conference for the History of Education* (ISCHE) and with major comparative history journals such as *Paedagogica Europaea*.

These small hints of anxiety are understandable. Given contemporary anxieties about methodological nationalism – initially in migration studies (Wimmer and Schiller 2002) but the idea also spread rapidly to history and sociology and political science and the comparative study of education (Dale and Robertson 2009) – there has been a certain amount of self-criticism, as indicated earlier, and a new concern for the concept of “transnational.” However, this is not to say that the theme of the international mobilities of education was absent from the literature. There had been attention given to that theme, but within different intellectual and political frames.

International Education

The theme of the mobility of educational principles, practices, structures, and identities and the comparative interpretation of those mobilities came into the literature in three ways.

First, there were early texts in the USA, very much within the literature of international and comparative education, by Martin Carnoy (1974) and Phillip Altbach and Gail Kelly (1978) on education and colonialism. These texts were very widely read. Retrospectively, what is interesting about them is not the possible range of critique which could be brought to bear on each text. What, retrospectively, is interesting is that both of these books had as their core words “colonies and education” and “education as cultural imperialism.”

In the 1970s, both choices were interesting as a version of “reading the global” (Cowen 2009). At that stage there was no suggestion that the Cold War was coming to an end; though in general the radical student movement of the late 1960s which had received worldwide publicity was dying down. There is no explicit suggestion in either book that America was building an empire, but clearly both books contain a critique of the USA itself. There is the explicit choice and illustration, in the edited book of Altbach and Kelly, of the motif of “internal colonialism” which chimes well with the very severe questions, which were being asked then (as now) domestically, about race and minorities in the USA. And Martin Carnoy, with his sense of the Latin American literature, also implied a critique, though this time of the USA’s external politics: that the USA might be contributing to *dependencia* in Latin America, not least through education as cultural imperialism. The word “empire” is not used as an analytical concept, though in international politics, the USA had in its foreign policy been explicitly concerned about various European Empires, before, during, and more

strenuously after World War II, even before the Cold War itself became ostentatiously visible and even before the invasion of Suez in 1956.

A second perspective was very different. It was grounded in major sociological thinking and was written with the field of study known, especially in the USA, as “international and comparative education.” It was not explicitly concerned with creating comparative histories of education; though in principle a direct link to that literature could have been written. The paper which almost linked the two fields was Robert Arnove’s paper (1980) on world systems analysis. Its core perspective was an early interpretative vision of education in what – perhaps too soon and too casually and too loosely – was later termed “globalization” in educational circles. Of course Arnove’s paper was “a reading of the global,” but it was a specific reading – as indeed was “economic globalization” in early academic writing by people like David Held (until the word became a media term and drifted across and blanketed educational studies). Arnove’s analysis was theoretically informed and drew on Immanuel Wallerstein’s thinking. Perhaps it was an opportunity missed for the international and comparative specialists to begin to use an historical perspective. Certainly, the opportunity was not taken up (nor were its nonhistorical aspects taken up in any sustained way in the main US journal of comparative education). Notions of “world system” and “world culture” were absorbed into a neo-institutional sociological framework that has become a major contemporary perspective in the USA as a way to interpret educational systems and societies.

This was, however, very different from the British situation. Paradoxically, in the UK, a peculiar division of academic labor – precisely related to international education in one meaning of the term – prevented the comparative specialists from looking at colonialism and empire. The comparative education specialists, in addition to their short-term concerns about educational policy, concentrated on comparisons within a space termed “the northern crescent” – an expression coined by George Bereday, the major specialist after 1945 in comparative education in Teachers College, Columbia University, in New York City. In the UK, and notably in the Institute of Education in London, another group of specialists known initially (from the late 1920s) as specialists in education in colonial areas were busy developing the “Third World,” much of which – if you looked backwards, i.e., thought historically – had been part of the British Empire. The problem was not to analyze and understand “the empire” and education but to help reform education in its aftermath. There was a silence about empires.

In contrast, historians of education in the UK made the theme of empire into a major topic within comparative histories of education (Mangan 1988; Wilkinson 1964). Of course work on the British Empire has also been a major theme in mainstream historical writing – Oxford University Press published five volumes on the topic of the British Empire (Louis 1999); Niall Ferguson (2003) has published a major, if perhaps a rather kind, interpretation; and Brendon (2007) in contrast concentrated on its decline and fall. The “new” interpretations that are being offered increasingly show the complex interrelationships – the multidirectional relationships between “Britain” and “the Empire” (Thompson 2005; Wilson 2004); and this is also increasingly true for interpretations of the “British Empire” and education – McCulloch (2009), for example, uses this as his main interpretative device.

However – and it is both understandable and interesting – one of the main lines of analysis in terms of education and the British Empire is the theme of elites, both local elites shaped within the empire and elites in Britain for whom empire was to be a career (Whitehead 2003). Leinster-Mackay’s analysis (1988) of what is called “the prep school” is not a pun about empire but a reference to the first stage of the private sector of education, which fed into the so-called public schools which were themselves privately funded. Typically, from such schools, children went on to careers in which they were expected to be leaders (though the future might be via Sandhurst, the elite military academy for the army, or formation of an appropriate “image of conduct character and manner” to use a phrase of Basil Bernstein’s) in Oxford or perhaps Cambridge. Not all British Foreign Secretaries and Prime Ministers have been educated through that route (Rich 1989), but many have. Not all British Foreign Secretaries have enjoyed playing rugby, but certainly achievements on the sport field were respected – and part of an appropriate image of conduct, character, and manner – and properly imperial (Mangan 1986).

There is then a considerable literature which has (here) been termed “international” and which can be linked to the theme of “empire,” though of course the concept of “international” could be linked to any mobile educational idea, practice, policy, or educational structure (such as a model of a university which had “traveled”). How then to make a distinction between “international” histories of education and “transnational” histories of education – particularly when (as was indicated earlier) one meaning of the term “transnational” is already linked to work on migration and has indirectly led to questions about methodological nationalism?

Transnational Histories of Education

There are four ways to begin to locate the new visibility of the term “transnational histories of education.” One is to note changes in international politics, and the other three points, which are emphasized here, are epistemic.

The political point – which implies for scholars a new “reading of the global” – is that the phrasing “transnational” also reflects a world of new *realpolitik*, partially hidden by the very visible ideology of “globalization.” This new “transnational” world is marked by shifts in patterns of political power, new forms of economic relation between geographic areas, new forms of governance above nation-state level, and changed mobilities. These changed mobilities are not merely those noted by theories of economic globalization, such as mobile capital, labor, sites of production, and information, but also ideas, mobile academics and academic knowledge, cultural assumptions, as well as hegemonic notions of secular educational excellence.

In the struggle to comprehend and label this “new world,” new epistemic puzzles have been addressed by academics. The first relatively simple epistemic puzzle is a recognition of the rigidities of the classic concept of “transfer.” That older terminology captures a rather mechanical metaphor of a linear unidirectional movement of things (or soccer players) from one place to another. The word transfer because of its

history and use in comparative education also implies – as an agent of transfer – national States, empires, or supranational agents, like the World Bank recommending a universalized and universalizing policy in education to many countries at once. The concept of “transfer” also links uncomfortably to a continuing motif in comparative education for the last 200 years: notions of a science of policy transfer (Steiner-Khamsi 2012) and the creation of a geometry of insertion, in which the problem of context is solved.

The second motif captured in the concept of transnational comparative histories – for example, in the work on migration – is an increased emphasis on the theme of personal networks, mobile immigrants, flows of memory and aspirations for the future, and the shaping and retention of multiple identities in one person. This is relatively obvious in terms of migrating families and the concept of the human networks of communication by “unmeltable ethnics,” but it is also clear that the theme has touched some of the recent work on education and empires, including the theme “the empire strikes back.” People are reinserted into academic analysis, and the tendency toward thinking about abstracted social actors and reification (the State; the Humboltian university; “reform requirements”) is slowed.

Of equal importance is that work on migration has at its center the theme of border. It was routine assumptions about border, their legal impermeabilities, and even their righteous cultural impermeabilities (of which there have been recent real-life political echoes) which helped to cause a crisis and major disputation within studies of migration and helped to focus the theme of “methodological nationalism.” Migration and mobile-minority studies, far more rapidly than (say) traditional comparative education or historical studies of empire, bring the theme of “border” to the center of analysis, and they have forced a reassessment of academic thinking in academic political theory and in historical perspectives on intercultural education (Gundara and Bash 2012).

The third way to think about the theme of transnational comparative histories of education is the most challenging. Within the emerging aspirations for writing transnational histories of education, there are contradictory epistemic currents and potentials for confusion, not least those inherited from “comparative histories of education” and “international histories of education.”

The early work on “comparative histories” addressed the national and specific formations of nationalism, such as fascism. To label such work as being captured by the label “methodological nationalism” would be accurate, but almost pointless. The “reading of the global” in the interwar years by the comparative historians of education was about instabilities. One theme was the potential international instabilities implied by the rhetoric of expansionist State-socialism and fascism which clearly threatened the relatively stable empires of the French and the British. Isaac Kandell was alert to the implications of Nazism, and Ulich began to move toward idealist pleas for internationalism. The second aspect of instability, a concern of Nicholas Hans, was for harmony within nations characterized by multiple languages, races, and political philosophies. The space was Europe; the historical time was European. The *tertium comparationis* was forces and factors; and the implicit theory of progress was advance toward a more liberal-democratic world through a Lockean

vision of rationalist politics of the kind which had informed the creation and early work of the League of Nations.

In contrast, the shift into historical sociology and the history of educational systems had as its *tertium comparationis* “the State,” and its secular vision – and theory – was modernization. Forming the State well is merely a step toward modernizing well. Paradoxically, narrative time is historical, but the theoretical vision is of a forward momentum, of future time, of convergence, and of societies as efficient, rationally ordered, and administratively neat. The implicit emphasis in the historical work was on the future. The space which was exemplary gradually shifted from Europe (disgraced by irrational and extreme politics) to the USA. One version of what a universal model of societies should look like was captured in the Talcott Parsons pattern variables of achievement/ascription, collective orientation/self-orientation, and so on. Against such a model, clearly some societies are traditional and by extension “backward” such as caste-bound India or Confucian China. Clearly their educational systems also needed to be “modernized,” as they did in what was beginning to be called “the Third World.” Thus Japan was in the mid-1960s a serious theoretical puzzle for historical sociologists and for comparative educationists. Japan was economically and educationally successful. However – given that the Emperor had been a god until 1946, that Japan had escaped both the Enlightenment and secular political revolution, and that it was marked by considerable collectivity orientation and affectivity in major economic and educational institutions – Japan was not explicable. That poses a problem that has not gone away, a problem which will sooner or later affect what to look for within emergent transnational histories of education.

Compared with the theoretical complexities of comparative historical sociologies of education, the theme of colonialism and imperialism is simpler. The exception is the work of Antonio N6voa (not least on Portuguese colonialism and education). That directly reflects his theorization of the history of comparative education as involving, potentially, both constructing “the other” and understanding “the other” (N6voa and Yariv-mashal 2003). In contrast, the sudden excursions in the USA into the topic of education and colonialism and by the British historians of education into theme of “the empire” are relatively simple, theoretically. As indicated earlier, the accounts of Altbach and Kelly and of Martin Carnoy offer an indirect critique of the internal and the external politics of the USA. The British emphasis within studies of the international history of education (though it includes work on minorities in several colonies and Dominions and work to the theme of “the empire strikes back”) is of “transfer” and, at best, tips toward studies of imperial leadership. Overall, what is peculiar about both the American and the British excursions, into the history of education and “the imperial” and education in the mid-1970s and for the next few decades, is silence on the Cold War and the history of education in earlier empires such as the Austro-Hungarian and Russian.

Thus, what was called earlier “international” history within the history of education was an important moment of transition. By the 1990s, the boundaries of the national, recovered from empires, and with other boundaries of the Cold War and its satellite wars, were about to soften. It was possible to emphasize the global, not merely in loose discourse about globalization, but in the collection of global statistics

by supranational agencies and assumptions by world bodies that there could be “education for all” (in multiple meanings of that expression). Attention began to be drawn to “world system and interrelationship networks” (Schriewer 2000) at a very high level of theoretical complexity (Schriewer 2003). Almost two decades later, it has become possible to suggest that is what happened: certainly Schriewer himself in a Special Issue of *Comparative Education* (2012) constructed links with world system theoreticians and neo-institutionalists, notably those from the USA.

However, arguments in favor of transnational history did not always go in that direction. Some arguments for transitional history are increasingly linked to international political relations theory (Iriye 2013); and within studies in the history of education, the arguments for transnational history of education increasingly took societal modernization trajectories as problematic and avoided the implicit systems-vocabulary of “reception procedures.” Warde’s argument (2013), for example, which “links” Brazil and Turkey in the early twentieth century, is precisely about the non-systematization of things, events, and people. Sobe’s insistence on the significance of “entanglement” as a crucial concept for transnational histories of education and his work with Kowalczyk (Sobe and Kowalczyk 2018) on the concept of “context” and the invocation of *histoire croisée* suggests new levels of complexity for sociological (and historical) theorization. Similarly, the mutating phenomena which Popkewitz (2005, 2013) calls “traveling libraries” and “the Indigenous foreigner” make fluid that was earlier construed as examples of “transfer.” The point – about transnational history in this mode – is that it narrates fluidities, mobilities, “accidents,” unexpected shape-shiftings of “the Indigenous foreigner,” and educational persons (the child, the teacher) or unanticipated educational relations between, say, Brazil and Turkey.

However, it seems probable that the relation between comparative histories of education and transnational histories of education has yet to be fully worked out. Jürgen Kocka has argued “Comparative history and the entangled histories approach are different modes of historical reconstruction. There is a tension between them, but they are not incompatible. One can try to analyse in comparative terms and tell a story, nevertheless. It is not necessary to choose between *histoire comparée* and *histoire croisée*. The aim is to combine them” (Kocka 2003, p. 44).

If transnational history – as has indeed been advocated – will emphasize more and more *histoire croisée*, if transnational history will increasingly emphasize “context” as entanglement, and history itself as the narration of complexity, then the model of history advocated by Elton clashes with the model of history of Collingwood. The “facts” – and the abstract categories needed to construct a comparison – grow unsystematic amid the fluidities of entangled context and *histoire croisée*.

The method of “similarity and difference” necessary, traditionally, to “comparative work” – to establish cause – becomes difficult to unentangle. What we know, while edging closer to a form of historical empathy about education, is that the narrative will not be a narrative that finishes with the simplicity of cause but a narrative which finishes with a heightened sense of mixtures, muddles, and entanglements. In principle the world is not demystified, following Weber. It is re-mystified: made more unpredictable, more tangential, and more magical. The agenda to know the causes of things, *rerum cognoscere causas*, is an ambition old enough to

have first been expressed in Latin and modern enough to have become the motto of the London School of Economics and Political Science linked with the Fabians. The principle becomes problematic.

That maybe a good thing. For far too long, to know the cause of things has been the implicit agenda of what has counted as “history” within comparative education itself. Perhaps what matters and what needs to be seen are not lists of similarities and difference and the causes of difference but the historical and political and sociological and epistemic principles which construct the ordering of difference.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The assumption (by the publisher) that there will be “future directions” is charmingly optimistic. Let us then assume a future, but “directions” can, at best, be asserted.

However, there are likely to be some reassessments, as international politics continue to change. For example, as America begins to come to terms with the fact that it may have an empire (Cooper 2006), it is not impossible that the theme of “colonialism” so central to the international and comparative education literature may be overcome by the theme of “empire,” even if that, at the contemporary moment, is being softened to the point of invisibility by the concept of “soft power” rather than sustained by hard-edged (“realist”) notions of international political relations which exist both in the specialist theoretical literature and in the life of Henry Kissinger. Clearly – as in the past – changing international politics and economics and the categories through which they are seen (the Cold War, isolationism, *dependencia*, feminism, race theory, “globalization,” migration) shape not only options for political and economic change but also the academic translations of the world: academic “readings of the global.” These “academic readings of the global” are at the moment unstable, because the global itself is unstable.

More tentatively, therefore, it may be wise to assert the probability of some continuities before making some guesses about directions. Three continuities may be suggested, without overweening confidence that, were this text to be re-read at the end of a decade, the three continuities suggested here will be visible.

First, there will be confusions. This is not a casual banality. It is not even a banality: what is taken to be “history” or “comparative education” or the “comparative history of education” is always being rewritten. The significant question is: How quickly? Some rewritings of a field of study may not survive the retirement of a specific professor and the dispersal of disciples. Some rewritings of a field of study, such as that done by Norbert Elias, may take an inordinate amount of time to have impact. Granted that any topic – such as school furniture – can be studied by historians and illustrated by a range of examples from Argentina to Zanzibar, what makes such history comparative or international or transnational or important? The broad answer is the theory within which it is embedded. A theory of materiality, and temporality, and spatiality can transform the concept of “school furniture.” It shifts from being a theme of theoretical triviality, an urgent practical problem for school administrators or classroom teachers to deal with, to being a theme of some analytical power, because

it reveals the construction of social identity, the distribution of inequalities, including perhaps gender divisions, IQ, or previous academic achievement.

Second, particular individuals will maintain their own academic agenda. It is crucial that “pressures” – external to the university but now imported by management systems into more and more universities, and such pressures include expectations that the field of study will have “relevance” and “impact,” preferably immediate, on economic and social life – do not marginalize or trivialize the personal agenda of dedicated academics. This is perhaps especially true of those who come close to being specialists in comparative historical work. It takes time to master the language(s), it is not simple to ensure a basic residence period in the “foreign place” to begin to grasp the culture, and regular and easy access to archives is almost certainly never going to be regular or easy. It takes decades for that kind of identity to be acquired. Within comparative education, there are examples of such persons – Janusz Tomiak, formerly of the Institute of Education in the University of London or David Phillips from the University of Oxford. However, there are very few persons who can simultaneously function as good comparative educationists, serious historians of international education, and write papers on the interrelations of German and British education and also on periodization in the comparative history of education (Phillips 2002). This kind of “continuity” which is dependent on some notion of university time (and not on destructive managerialist notions of time and “impact”) is fragile.

The third continuity is that there will be an unexpected explosion of “topics,” a changing flurry of new “normal puzzles.” At the moment, the cutting edge of that explosion includes gender and identity motifs, but clearly there is also the question of else may be given “hot topic” status. One such candidate is religion and education, a theme very much open to comparative and transnational treatment but also a theme which has in the last 20 or so years been relatively neglected, while the theme of economic globalization and new forms of the governance of educational systems emerged as “comparative” topics. Another candidate for hot topic status is terrorism and the construction of peace, about which we are very ill-equipped to comment (as educationists, we tend to embrace Kant rather than Hobbes or Rousseau on the state of Poland).

And so, after a sketch of continuities, the directions? That is easier, provided existing international political and economic relations change relatively slowly and provided the history of comparative education itself is re-thought along the lines being developed by Antonio Nóvoa about which some early hints already exist in the literature (Nóvoa and Yariv-mashal 2003).

There will be three new directions:

- First, the theme of historical sociology will regain momentum (Calhoun 1996; Seddon et al. 2018).
- Second, writing comparative histories of education will become much more demanding and intellectually complex (Iriye 2013; Kocka 2003; Tröhler 2011; Werner and Zimmermann 2006).
- Third, there will be a challenge to all comparative histories of education (and comparative education) posed by K. Chen’s question: “Asia as method.”

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Histories of Institutions and Social Change

5

The Education Revolution

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Abstract

This chapter provides a brief overview of the historical expansion of mass education in the West from a social and institutional perspective. Additionally, the relationship of education with other social institution is discussed. The chapter includes controversies over the conceptualizing of education's role in social change. The theme of education's role in legitimating nation-states and world society is introduced, and an overview of education's influence on changes in other social institutions is presented. The conclusion offers some evidence of education expansion benefits for social transformation and development.

Keywords

Institutional history of education · Social history of education · Education expansion · Nation-state formation · World society

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Introduction

There are different answers to the question: How did formal education become a central social institution influencing all other sectors and cultural, social, and economic change in unexpectedly massive proportions? Approximately since the eighteenth century, what can be called an “education revolution” has occurred in the rise and growth of mass schooling for all children, advanced postsecondary training for many youth, the saturation of social mobility by education dimensions, and an ubiquitous culture of education worldwide to the point there is a coming “schooling society” that is unique among past societal forms (Baker 2014). Sociological theories of this demographic, sociological, and cultural expansion of education vary, but there is a general consensus that education reflects and drives societal change with different arguments about its role in that process. There are a variety of theories that explain the relationship between education and society – theories that both complement and contradict one another. Technical-functional human capital theory, essentially a neoclassical economic theory that includes formal education, narrowly defines education as skill enhancement and occupational placement, including some broader arguments about how educated-skills change jobs and even profit-optimizing strategies of firms. Building out from sociological functional theories, neo-institutional theoretical frameworks depict education as an institution that deepens the cultural meanings of schooling from early years up through advanced postsecondary, and this intensifies legitimation of its functions and can cause social change in other institutions. Contrary to functional and the neo-institutional are critical or neo-Marxist theories arguing that education reproduces social (dis)order by distributing individuals in predefined norms and professional roles. Differences aside, all three theoretical strands of theory about education and society attempt to assess to what degree the education revolution changes other central institutions in society. This chapter discusses this process with attention to the implications and controversies that these developments generated on the nation-state and global society levels.

Social history is often the history from below, and as such it diverges from the political history. It puts same relevance on the history of everyday life of people, as well as social institutions, such as family, gender, religion, economy, and culture, in connection to the history from above or political shifts and turmoil. On the other hand, institutional history is concerned with questions “why certain arrangements form stable institutions, and why certain social outcomes occur” (Parsons 1972; Steinmo 2008). While the social history of education tells a story about what happened after initiation of the compulsory education, or what social changes mass education has brought to society, institutional history asks why that event occurred at the first place. We will start with the latter, relying on the neo-institutional theory as a starting point of the discussion.

A critical forerunner to the neo-institutional history of education is American sociologist Talcott Parsons’ with his arguments about the society’s foundation and capacity for cultural stability and change. In his late work, he predicted that formal education, along with capitalism and democracy, was a foundational institution of

late modern society. Not so much to merely fulfill social needs, but the expansion of mass education, in particular postsecondary education, changes the culture of the global society, so that pursuing more education on the individual level becomes a norm (Parsons 1972; Parsons and Platt 1968). Education revolution, a term that Parsons coined, had its roots in the earliest Western form of the university and intensified two centuries ago, with compulsory elementary education legislation emergence in West Europe and the USA. By the middle of the twentieth-century elementary education spread globally, the secondary level of education became the norm for the entire population in the West Hemisphere (Turk and Simpson 1971). When it comes to higher education, at the beginning of the twentieth century only 1% of the university-age world population was enrolled in postsecondary programs. However, in 2000 that number had risen to 20% of the global cohort in higher education (Schofer and Meyer 2005). These trends are only going upwards. This chapter attempts to give an overview of the education expansion theories, and to discuss effects of the expansion on other social institutions.

First, on the example of four countries' social and demographic history it will be shown how compulsory education was enacted in Europe and North America. In the second part of this chapter, the relationship between education and other social institution is reviewed, including the controversies of conceptualizing education's role in social change. A debatable argument about education's legitimization of nation-states and world society is introduced followed by overview of changes in other social institutions throughout the rapid expansion of mass education. The conclusion offers some evidence on how education expansion benefits social transformation and societal development.

Institutional Histories of Mass Schooling

Schooled or *educated* are the paramount attributes that describe contemporary societies globally. In diverse cultural or political contexts, a schooling ritual is accepted univocally: after children reach a certain age, they enroll and attend school until their transition to adulthood. A student does not attend just any school. Universally, the state law charters public schools or endorses private schools to educate entire generations of children, usually starting between 5 and 7 years of age, by trained and certified teachers. The schooling process is increasingly uniform in different cultural and developmental settings, including curricular content: it happens in the classroom, supported by auxiliaries, such as textbook, notebook, blackboard (or smartboard in technologically more advanced circumstances), controlled by local or national government officials.

The world reached almost universal primary education, as well as universal enrolment in secondary education in the Western hemisphere countries (UNESCO 2017). Tertiary education enrollment rate in some countries is close to universal. The level of society's enrolment ratio in tertiary education is directly correlated with its development. The tertiary education enrolment ratio almost reached total saturation in high-income countries of Europe, East Asia, and North America.

Thus, access to tertiary education became political and socio-economic imperative. Even more, education is related to significant cultural, political, developmental, and demographic changes in modern and postmodern societies (Baker 2014). Education became so deeply related to other social institutions, such as gender, nation-state, and citizenship, changing their role and position in the society, that it is hard to imagine that this central social position education took only a century ago.

Nation-states with different cultural traditions, income levels, and political regimes, all have accredited public schools that educate students in primary, secondary or tertiary education institutions (Goldin and Katz 2008). Students of same age groups learn the content of similar complexity everywhere. Teachers are trained in specially designed programs, usually called teacher academies, and they are considered public servants. The expansion of mass schooling and its extensive institutionalization globally is a remarkable phenomenon that is now widely empirically documented by sociologists such as John Meyer, John Boli, Francisco Ramirez, and their collaborators (e.g., Boli et al. 1985; Meyer 1977; Meyer et al. 1979; Ramirez and Boli 1987; Schofer and Meyer 2005). Different theories arose hypothesizing how internal and external forces influenced the emergence of mass schooling in different countries and regions in the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some theories emphasize social control (Melton 1988), other stress the rise of *the individual*, a distinctive outcome of the emerging modern society (Boli et al. 1985), as crucial factors for the rapid expansion of education in the nineteenth century Europe. Ramirez and Boli (1987) focus on interconnected European countries and the competition among the nation-states as a key driver of education expansion (Ramirez and Boli 1987). Other theories focus on functional requirements and strategies of the economy as drivers of educational expansion (Goldin and Katz 2008). And lastly, there are arguments about the religious-moral roots of the education revolution in the religious development of the West (Baker 2019).

The basic institutional structure of the education system has not changed significantly since the beginning of the compulsory schooling. First laws that mandated compulsory education were passed in West Europe, or more precisely in Prussia and Habsburg dominions (what is later called Austria), during the eighteenth century (Archer 2013). However, the movement towards the compulsory education started already in the sixteenth century with the invention of print and the emergence of Protestantism (Ramirez and Ventresca 1992). Two monarchs that started the trend of compulsory education implementation were Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786) and Maria Theresa of the House of Habsburg (1740–1780). With their decrees on compulsory education that were enacted a decade apart one from another, they obliged their vassals to send their children to public schools, or parish schools in Austria's case (Melton 1988). Since then, compulsory schooling was adopted by other European states, and by the end of the nineteenth century, almost all European countries and some states in the USA implemented public education governed by the state. Table 1 shows the pace of adopting compulsory education legislation in Western Europe and the US. Education, according to neo-institutional theorists, became the central institution in the context of nation-state and citizenship

Table 1 Years of Compulsory Education Introduction in Western Europe and the USA

Country	Year of Introduction of Compulsory Education Legislation
Denmark	1739
Prussia	1763
Austria	1774
Spain	1813
Greece	1834
Ireland	1831
Norway	1840
Sweden	1842
Portugal	1844
Massachusetts (USA)	1852
Italy	1859
Luxembourg	1868
England	1870
Switzerland	1874
France	1882
Netherlands	1900
Belgium	1914

Source: Kurian 1988; Mitch 1992b. Some caution is warranted with these dates, as different researchers came to different conclusions related to compulsory education laws and policies enactments in European societies. Also, years here predominantly mark first mention of the compulsory education on the state level. In some countries though, as in Switzerland or, some Prussian provinces laws about compulsory education existed before they were enacted on the broader state level. In addition, it is hard to make conclusions about compulsory education on a nation-state level during eighteenth century, as a nation-state is rather modern concept, and it is not applicable in all the listed countries during the compulsory education legislation of that time

building. Soon after World War II ended, education became the primary institution in generating the world culture and global citizenship.

Compulsory schooling, as we know it today, emerged amidst rapid social change, and political and religious upheavals that started in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe (Melton 1988; Ramirez and Boli 1987). The literature on mass schooling expansion points to three historical events in Europe as generators of the compulsory schooling: (1) the rise of Protestantism, (2) the formation of nation-states, and (3) the first demographic transition marked by rapid rise of population. Moreover, while these historical events generated circumstances for compulsory schooling to emerge, the tension that social changes produced in society triggered educational rapid expansion and emergence of mass education (Meyer et al. 1992). Nevertheless, researchers are not in complete agreement as to whether the state-level legislation or private demand and behavior are the primary drivers of mass schooling and popular literacy (Mitch 1992a, b). David Mitch (1992a, b) finds discrepancies related to numbers of literate individuals in countries with compulsory schooling legislation. He argues that private demand was more important for full classroom than the legislation that mandated compulsory education for all elementary school aged children. A similar argument extends to different views on

education among religious groups, with nineteenth century European Protestants perhaps being more inclined to schooling and acquiring literacy skills than Catholics. Mitch (1992a, b) found that the socioeconomic status of an individual was far stronger factor than cultural factors in determining their probability of being schooled. For a long time, processes of industrialization and urbanization dominated the discussion about the initiation and expansion of mass education – factories were in need for the skilled labor force, and the state officials had to control the increased urban population (Collins 1971; Dreeben 1968; Schultz 1961). Even though industrialization is associated with the expansion of mass education, the compulsory education laws in some countries were enacted long time before the industrial revolution. The common schools in the USA, for example, enrolled more students in the nineteenth century in the rural areas than in the cities. But, by the early twentieth century children of urban industrial workers did attend in high numbers Catholic schools (Baker 1992; Meyer et al. 1979), which shows that public schools and Catholic schools, having similar curriculum and structure, contributed at the same time to mass schooling of American society in the aftermath of the Civil War (Baker 1999). Nevertheless, the compulsory education legislation started to emerge in countries that were lagging behind the leaders of the industrial revolution, as Table 1 shows.

Societies of eighteenth century Europe were marked by schisms between Catholicism and Protestantism, monarchies and emerging nation-states, absolutism and state bureaucracy, illiterate population and educated citizens. In the aftermath of the Peace of Westphalia, Europe was ripe for a vast cultural and political transformation to maintain peace and social progress. Historian James Van Horn Melton suggests that the social polarities within European societies, as well as the newly formed nation-states, made a perfect storm for the enactment of compulsory schooling as assumed key to social progress. Education developed a crucial role – to bring society and social order back to balance. The image of this role is one of the reasons why both social elites and emerging middle class supported this major social reform, as “literacy and mathematical skills deemed necessary for future artisans, shopkeepers, and merchants” (Melton 1988, p. 4).

In addition, Europe went through rapid demographic changes in the eighteenth century, with the population doubled in size between 1700 and 1800 (Lee 2005). Melton, in his book *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*, describes depressing circumstances in the eighteenth century Prussia’s cities and towns, that were swamped by “orphans, widows, and vagabonds” (1988, p. 24). The take-off of the first demographic transition that corresponded with a rapid growth of the population in Europe during the eighteenth century may have added to expansion of education for two reasons. First, as nation-states were forming, there was more population that needed to be socialized in national culture, political norms, and, second, people were required to be ready to contribute to the economic development and competition (Ramirez and Boli 1987). Second, during that period children were constructed as separate from adults, a social group that needs particular attention and care (Aries 1965). This institutional change played an essential role in forming the need for compulsory

education. The family was no longer sufficient to prepare and socialize children into different functions that an adult of the modern time needed to fulfill (Meyer and Rubinson 1975). The most importantly, schools were the only institution that could set the individual for the role of an independent citizen attached equally to their newly formed nation-states, for example in France, as they were to their feudal lords (Boli 1989). Recent demographic research now makes it clear that the deepening of the first demographic transition was itself a result of growing mass education in Europe, so there is likely a symbiotic relationship between the education revolution and population dynamics (Baker et al. 2011).

One of the first states in Europe that enacted the compulsory schooling was Prussia, and as Melton (1988) documented, Pietism, a reform order within Protestantism, played a vital role in these developments. Pietists were concerned with, what they described as, religious inwardness of population that left monarch's estates to find their luck in urban settings (Melton 1988). They witnessed alcoholism, prostitution, and children without proper care, swapped Prussian towns. Pietists became successful advocates of popular schooling - a solution to these social ills. In contrast to education institutions before the eighteenth century that were predominantly concerned with religion and subjects that enhanced religion, Pietists were the first that introduced so-called *Realien*, where students of different backgrounds, besides classics, were thought practical subjects as well. Therefore, the roots of vocational education and tracking of students are found within the Pietists' philosophy of education. Melton (1988) points to inventions that Pietists introduced in compulsory schooling practices that are adopted and standardized globally: the collective teaching of students in a classroom, the state approved textbooks, teacher training, even the practice of raising a hand to speak in the class.

The Prussian model of public education was the prototype for other European societies. The family or the apprenticeship was no longer sole institutions responsible for educating children. Instead, states chartered schools "to play a critical role in the socialization of the young, the maintenance of social order, and the promotion of economic development" (Katz 1976, p. 383). Nevertheless, religion played different role in emerging of mass schooling. In Prussia, Protestant priests got the highest credit for the implementation of compulsory education. However, in Habsburg Monarchy's protectorates, compulsory education was enacted despite the resistance of the Catholic Church. The idea of literate peasantry did not resonate well among Catholic priests, as they witnessed the spread of Protestantism particularly among literate population.

Nonetheless, very soon after Frederick's decrees of 1763 and 1765 that effectively introduced compulsory schooling in Prussia, Maria Theresa of Austria signed the General School Ordinance in 1774 that introduced the compulsory schooling for all children of age 6 to 13 in entire Austrian realm (Melton 1988, p. xxiii). As Ramirez and Boli (1987) find, the compulsory schooling decree in Prussia encompassed children whose families were not able to afford education or did not view it as necessary. Visionary Maria Theresa introduced "the most ambitious reform of elementary education on the European continent" (Melton 1988, p. 61). While Prussian schools emphasize practical skills and literacy, in Austrian schools,

the accent was put on memorization and oral teaching of catechism. But, as education started to expand, both Protestant and Catholic priests, especially Jesuits, focused on education of children from different social strata (Ramirez and Boli 1987, p. 12). Even though the Catholic Church lost its long primacy as a social institution and struggled with Protestant support for schooling, its infrastructure was crucial for the expansion of schooled society and forming individual citizens in newly established nation-states (Baker 2019).

The most industrial state in Europe of that era, the United Kingdom, did not implement compulsory education until late in the nineteenth century. Ramirez and Boli (1987) note that the United Kingdom had two comparative advantages over the rest of Europe. First, it was not affected by revolutions and wars, as French or Prussia in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Also, social elite did not find compulsory education as a necessity, until other nations jeopardized their position of global leaders, and their political power domestically started to crumble. Hence, in the early nineteenth century, when the House of Commons started to gain the supremacy over the House of Lords, and the USA threatened the UK primacy in the global economy, public education gained importance on the political agenda. Even though elite was served well by the network of private education institutions, internal transformations of the political system and external pressures to regain the world's economy forced the United Kingdom to adapt an education model that encompassed the entire population (Ramirez and Boli 1987). But, legislative action is often easier than its enactment, as absenteeism or ignoring the compulsory schooling, at the beginning of the mandate, was one of the most common causes for prosecution (Mitch 1992b, p. 200). It took some time for the majority of working class to appreciate the benefits of schooling. The child labor was one the most prominent barriers for compulsory education to be implemented entirely. The child labor was in high demand in factories and manufactures, as well as at home. "By 1981 only 33 percent of male workers and 15 percent of female workers" were in occupations requiring or using literacy (Mitch 1992b, p. 201). But, despite the barriers and workforce's low demand for literacy, schooling started to take-off among working class families, and by the end of the nineteenth century younger populations in some regions of England and Wales were almost entirely literate (Mitch 1992b, p. 209).

Public education expanded at the highest pace in the USA, which from a more statist perspective is counterintuitive, because the USA never implemented compulsory education legislation on the federal level, and during the nineteenth century, the USA was a predominantly rural country. Massachusetts, which was the most industrialized of all states, led the implementation of the compulsory education, but enrollments were high even before the Massachusetts' 1859 legislation. The ideology of free, rational, and responsible citizens as central to nation-state formation laid the foundations for the expansion of *common schools* and the education of the US citizens. Meyer et al. (1979) argued that the social movement of nation-building drove this rapid expansion, or, as they put it, combined "interests of small entrepreneurs in a world market, evangelical Protestantism, and an individualistic concept of society" (p. 592). Similar social movements, with significant Protestant ideology, expanded the earlier common school campaign as well as mass Catholic schools for

urban populations (Baker 2019). As in Prussia and Austria, the church infrastructure was fundamental for the expansion of public schooling. Lastly, American educators stressed that the US *common schools* were social equalizers and foundational for the equality of opportunity, in comparison with elite private schools in the United Kingdom, or German Gymnasias, institutions that focused on the education of the elites, preparing a chosen group of population for leadership positions (Pelikan 2005).

These examples show how public education systems were adopted in different states that, at the time of the mass schooling emergence, were had different government structures, and were economically and culturally quite dissimilar. Despite their different approaches to state building, socioeconomic trends, and religious traditions, the structure of education system in all four states was similar. The religious infrastructure helped in most cases for public education to reach entire generations of children, and education developed a universal mission to educate responsible, rational, and loyal citizens. This trend intensified globally and spread across all levels of education, over time creating a “post-national society” and enhancing global citizenship (Ramirez and Meyer 2012).

As the society transitioned from industrial to post-industrial, a knowledge economy and technology routed in science became dominant societal development forces (Drori 2000). Education not only responded to these changes, but played a large role in generating this transformation by the expansion of higher education horizontally (including more specialized topics in the curriculum and research agenda) and vertically (more strata of the population is getting tertiary and graduate degrees). At the beginning of compulsory education expansion, the religious scriptures and catechisms were essential sources in the education process, both in K-12 schooling and universities. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the education revolution drove an epistemological transformation enacted by the university that lead to the idea that society is humanly constructed, and the knowledge about society stems from empirical scientific inquiry without reference to deistic influence (Frank and Gabler 2006; Parsons and Platt 1973). Mass schooling worldwide spreads curricula rooted in scientific methods and critical thinking and emphasizes problem-solving based learning, instead of root memorization of historical facts, or religious scripts (Baker 2014). The theoretical and cultural consequences of this scientific and schooled world view are discussed below.

Social History of Mass Schooling

The education revolution changes societies, politics, nation-states, and individuals. Here are three particularly informative examples of that notion. First, the influence of education on nation-states building is discussed; second, argument about education’s central role in the formation of the world society and global culture is presented; and, third, unexpected influences on other social institutions are explored.

John Boli (1989) notes that, among other ideas, mass education has spread and gave greater meaning to the four-part ideology of: universalism, standardization,

egalitarianism, and individualism. He noted that education, as a state-sponsored institution, aspires to achieve these four ideas, that represent the ideal or blueprint of the modern society. The problem, as some scholars argue, is that these ideals are not fully enacted anywhere, nor they represent ideology that operates through schooling everywhere. Functional theorists, to some extent, and critical theorists especially, points that education lags behind these great expectations that societies hold. Education, according to these theories, is a rather weak institution that social elites use as a tool to allocate individuals in predefined societal roles (Collins 1971), or to reproduce their dominant status on the national (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bowles and Gintis 1976) or on a global scale (Zajda 2010). Thus, they emphasize the neo-liberal and the free-market agenda that, according to these theories, are being reproduced by the educational systems globally. The functional theory has in the past portrayed society as a static system where individuals are prearranged for a particular role in the social stratum. On the other hand, neo-Marxists or critical theorists point to education as a tool that enhances elites' power by indoctrinating the working class for occupations in subservient functions of the socioeconomic structures. With formation of obedient citizens, education reproduces the repressive social order. Conflict theory, however, assumes weak individual agency, and it does not consider education's positive trends and outcomes, and it provides often cynical representation of the relationship between education and society.

As new nation-states were formed during the twentieth century, public education had a critical role in shaping the national culture, collective memory, as well as in generating social and economic progress (Zajda 2015). As a central institution for formation of nationhood, education assumed the task of transforming individuals into modern citizens. Empirical research finds that during the process of schooling, students internalize appropriate values, responsibilities, form a political and national identity, and develop loyalty to the nation-states (e.g., Wiseman et al. 2011). This functional aspect of education was fulfilled to some extent in Western hemisphere, where the idea of nation-state had ascended.

The rise of nation-state begun with the Westphalia agreement at the end of the seventeenth century. The 30 Years war, led by Protestants and Catholics between 1618 and 1648, included national armies of France, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and Habsburg monarchy, and it left West European estates devastated. With the Peace of Westphalia agreement signed, all parties agreed that new nation-states will be formed within their territories, ruled by state governments, and they will have mechanisms in place to protect their national sovereignty. The European nation-state borders took shape. The modern polity rose, and the complicated relationship between citizens and the state begun. In these new social circumstances, the nation-state was formed for the "individual's sake, because the polity constitutes the political, economic, and social system that makes the individual's activity possible, meaningful, and rewarding" (Boli 1989, p. 42). The state came to use the education system for its own legitimization. Even more, the state used education for constructing a sense of nationhood, emotionally based affiliation and loyalty to the state, which is thought to increase the stability of the social structure. As nation-

state theorists argue, new social forms differed from the monarchies and small estates of pre-modern time in their mechanisms of controlling their subjects or citizens. Education, besides religion, was the perfect institution to connect individuals and communities to the idea of a nation. Ernest Gellner in his seminal work *Nations and Nationalism* wrote:

At the base of the modern social order stands not the executioner but the professor. Not the guillotine, but the (aptly named) *doctorat d'état* is the main tool and symbol of state power. The monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence. (2008, p. 34)

Implying Weber's notion of the state's monopoly on legitimate violence, Gellner emphasized education as the primary institution that can instill loyalty and attachment to the constructed community of a nation-state, which citizens can imagine as their own (Anderson 2006). The covert use of violence, that was the main control mechanism in monarchies and pre-modern estates cannot achieve this level of loyalty. He points that the state "needs" schools as an "exo-socialization" process to transform children away from sub-state loyalties to family, clan, village or region. Schools play a vital role in nation formation by constructing the culture and connecting it with the state, passing the knowledge about this relationship to students. Or as Meyer and Rubinson (1975) describe it, education "functions as a theory of knowledge (or cultural base) and a theory of personnel (or initiation ceremony) for the modern state" (p. 145).

The emergence of the nation-state was pivotal for the expansion of mass education, and remains a key agent of the education revolution. As education systems one after another have appeared across Europe, their *modus operandi* eventually looked very similar. Why this isomorphism (Ramiez and Ventresca 1992) occurred and continues to occur is a question that entire sociological field, focused on the historical development of institutions, is concerned about. The education revolution was driven by deep institutionalization within other social institutions: polity, family, labor, economy, religion, and gender; changing them and making them more intertwined with education. By the early 1990s sociologists of education had a maturing empirical account of the mechanism that explain relations between education expansion, state, and economic development globally (e.g., Fuller and Rubinson 1992). This research was particularly concerned to clarify why does state expand education? The basic answer was that the nation-state was foundational for the emergence of the compulsory education legislation, but the socio-political context and other institutions' role in this process cannot be underestimated. The difference between France and Italy (Hage and Garnier 1992), and the education expansion exemplified on their cases is a good illustration of this idea. French civil servants control and impose a class-based education system on its citizens. In Italy, education is open, and the control of access is loose, which results in a higher number of highly educated individuals. France imposed elitist education system, and "resisted pressure from the middle class to further expand schools" for working-class, but Italy could not control the expansion (Hage and Garnier 1992, p. 157).

Compulsory education had impact on other social institutions, such as gender and parenting. Good example of this is institutionalization of early childhood education. Early research showed that state did not follow the actual social demands of institutionalized early child day care, which was necessary due to women's higher participation in the state economy and labor force (O'Connor 1992). On the other hand, more recent research suggests that mass schooling, higher levels of education in the society, and the general education revolution contributes to higher levels of formal pre-schooling and cognitive development of young children changing the institution of parenting (Schaub 2010). As higher education expands and opens access to more people, at the same time early childhood education expands, specializes, and puts more emphasis on academically oriented curriculum and learning, besides social and emotional development (Schaub 2010). These processes and institutional changes take place globally.

Institutional isomorphism argues that nation-states mimic each other's education systems, and implement similar legislation that governs the schooling process. Nation-states across the globe have similar, often constitutionally defined, rationale for implementation of compulsory education: to provide equal access to learning, and to enhance development of the independent, rational, and skilled citizen (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Yet, institutional isomorphism does not just come out of thin air, there is a common functional logic (Baker 2014). Different countries and cultures all came to assume that education is the answer for the development of their nations, their polity, their economy, and hence is promoted as a powerful solvent for social ills. Even more, in the aftermath of the violent conflicts and two world wars that marked the first half of the twentieth century, an important goal was set for the education systems globally – a goal to maintain and promote the world peace. Over time, education curricula included more complex issues: to legitimize nation-state borders, to (re) produce national culture, to form independent citizens, to ensure socio-economic progress for all, to provide foundations for maintaining peace, and to increase social justice. It started with the idea that an individual could internalize virtues of modern and loyal citizen willingly, and it evolved to the task of assuring nation-state's progress, competitiveness on the global scale, and legitimization of the nation-states within the world society (Boli 1989; Melton 1988; Ramirez 2012). According to the neo-institutional theorists, education became a powerful social institution that other institutions became depended upon, or strongly connected with.

After the World War II and the liberation of colonies from the colonial power, education's curricula extended to international and global cooperation, conflict resolution, and social development. The chief carriers of these developments were international non-government and government organizations that were formed after World War II with the primary mission of avoiding further global conflicts and human suffering. The United Nations positioned education, specifically human rights education, in the center of sustaining the world peace. The network of nation-states emerged on the foundations of mutual respect, humanitarian assistance in times of need, and universal human rights. The idea about global culture penetrated national curricula, exposing school-age children of diverse nations to similar ideas about human and civil rights, transnational community, and environmental

awareness. The neo-institutional research came to the conclusion that education brought the idea of the world society to diverse countries around the globe (Ramirez 2012; Schaub et al. 2017). The key argument of this school of thought is that exposing entire generation to same legitimized knowledge and similar values through schooling sets foundations for the world society (Meyer et al. 1997; Ramirez 2012). The trends they found analyzing textbooks from different nations confirmed their hypothesis that educational content globally converged, despite some local or regional differences.

Narratives related to universal human rights, cosmopolitanism, environmental awareness and protection, student centeredness, diversity and multiculturalism, social justice and equality through education blur national borders generating the idea of the world society and global citizenship. These narratives are available to students in diverse sociopolitical contexts, with some variations. For example, Bromley (2009) finds that human rights theme is present in all regions of the world, with the exception of Middle East and North Africa, where social institutions are still predominantly influenced by the religion. Also, she shows that a global citizenship theme increases in all regions over time, except in Eastern Europe, as countries in that region of the world in more recent history were on the mission of the nation-building and focused on ethnocentric narratives (p. 37). Nevertheless, educational systems' content and curriculum reforms, despite national differences, overwhelmingly illustrate trends of globalized and interconnected world (Baker and LeTendre 2005; Ramirez and Meyer 2012).

A good example of a top-down approach to standardizing higher education across state borders is the Bologna Process. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 the European Union started the enlargement process. The post-socialist countries that endured major social turmoil during that time were under profound scrutiny as their requests to join the EU were expressed. Parallel to reforms of government, judiciary, economic, employment systems, the call for harmonized higher education system across Europe according to the EU guidelines was brought into effect with the Bologna Declaration. By 2018, 48 European countries, including EU members, EU candidate, EU partner, and post-Soviet countries became the part of the Bologna process. Two processes are highlighted within the Bologna Declaration: standardization and harmonization of education systems, and the competition for the global economic prevalence. The process consists of implementation of three-cycle education systems, standardization of higher education learning outcomes, and last but not the least – tackling the social dimension of higher education, or equity, inclusion and access for all social groups.

Social Institutions Under Pressure to Change Due to Education Expansion

The internal and external pressures from different social institutions have shaped education system reforms in European societies and globally since its implementation in the eighteenth century. These social institutions include civil society,

workplace, family, public health, religion. But, the expansion of education transformed these same institutions. For example, education expansion had major implications for development of new professions. Specialized knowledge that was developed within higher education generated more complex jobs that in turn required more specialized degrees (e.g., Baker 2011; Bills 1988). This ideology and charter of legitimizing knowledge, status, and professions made education central to institutional changes within the social system. The rapid increase of the higher education degrees, as some studies show, had sparked concerns about over-educated individuals that generate unsatisfied citizens (Coulon 2002). However, the human capital narrative that associated more education with more social and individual progress won, and it championed the idea of lifelong learning, which became the *conditio sine qua non* of social and economic development globally.

World society theory, on the other hand, focuses on the idea that the world culture shapes the education system, and recognizes that education influences the world culture as well. A curriculum is a state-approved legitimized knowledge, making the state governments primary agents of the education reforms. But, the curriculum is also a representative of world culture, universal human rights, cosmopolitanism, and diversity. State officials, making decisions about what children will learn, let world society ideas in the national narratives on a different pace, depending on what ideological footings they are standing on. This idea is supported with the research that found that curricula or state-approved textbooks in post-socialist countries do not emphasize cosmopolitanism or diversity, as these countries are still undergoing the building of their nation and culture, values, and internal stability (Bromley 2009). But, with external pressures of the European Union, or internal pressures of civil organizations that advocate for universal values and human rights, the education of the post-socialist countries is getting more similar to those of nation-states that their education officials aspire for them to become-similar to their Western counterparts. Thus, a convergence of the content that students are exposed to is rapidly spreading across different nations.

Research that focuses on the expansion of education claims that this process changed relations between citizens and the polity, which have become more complex (Kamens 2009). Education is conceptualized as a mobilization infrastructure that enhances democratic processes and political engagement of individuals (Lipset 1959; Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). Global social changes of the second half of the twentieth century defined universities as centers of social innovations (Baker 2014), and political upheavals (Meyer and Rubinson 1972). It is a complex construct, including the knowledge, cognitive abilities, exposure to diverse ideas of modernization and democracy, and networks of empowered and independent adults who question the social and political order and are willing to produce changes. These examples frame education as an institution that contributes to freeing and empowering individuals politically, and expands civil society.

Nevertheless, education is not a social solvent, and compulsory education or even mass higher education does not remove all inequalities in the society, and even contributes in generating new inequalities (Archer et al. 2005). Also, education cannot equalize development between nation-states (Baker 2014; World Bank

2017) without contributions of other social institutions. Differences in development and social stratification within the nation-state motivate political discourse of educational reform that would eventually solve social issues. These narratives, policies, and processes in education generated reforms that made education systems similar, with set goals related to socioeconomic development, knowledge-based society, and social justice for individual citizens. The world society research argues that the competition between states and pressures from within make education systems similar around the globe. Education does not produce the same outcomes everywhere because that is not its task. Its task is the schooling of students by competent and trained teachers, and generating scientific production and innovations. The process of knowledge and innovation production is accelerated over time, and the universities are singular carriers of these processes, making the research, knowledge-based economy, and learning, central to postindustrial society's development (Drori 2000; Drori et al. 2003). Even more, investment in education and research are now a central stage in unexpected places, or anywhere where this accelerated postindustrial global dominance and progress is the ultimate political goal (Baker 2014).

Education contributes substantially to changes in other social institutions. Population trends research shows that education is the most robust factor of the demographic transition (Baker et al. 2011; Murin 2013). The lower mortality and fertility rates are both related to education levels of population, with some mixed results in research focused on the demographic transition in Africa (Lloyd et al. 2000). The family that was the foundation of the pre-industrial society, besides the church and communities, had the exclusively responsibility for the upbringing of children before the compulsory education assumed that role. The education thus had profound effects on the family as a social institution, as well as on the transformation of childhood. Families are formed later in adult life, women are postponing marriage and motherhood, and cohabitation is becoming more popular than marriage, especially in Western countries. All these developments are positively related to higher levels of education, especially of women. And, as it was already discussed, education expansion on the tertiary level is positively associated with regime changes, because the leaders of civil movements globally are predominantly young and educated individuals with a clear understanding of the social problems, ability to elaborate them and mobilize people around their vision on how to solve them.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In just two centuries, Schooling for All became a sociopolitical mantra, foundational institution of the nation state, and key for individual's upward mobility and societal development. Narratives about nations' future depending on the education of their citizens abound, and they form favorite political scripts of state officials worldwide. Yet, these scripts about education are far beyond rhetorics, they have a cultural influence. As neo-institutional theory shows, these narratives are deeply institutionalized within the international and national organizations that spread the idea of schooled society.

The World Bank (2017) notes that although primary education almost reached universal enrolments globally, the learning outcome levels differ between and within countries, based on income, gender, and development levels. The call for high-quality education and access to equal learning outcomes for children globally is high on the World Bank's agenda, as well as other international organizations, which puts the learning in the center for enhancement of social mobility, development, and social change worldwide. UNESCO Incheon Declaration 2030 (2015) that is drafted in collaboration with other UN agencies and the World Bank, signed by more than 120 ministers of education, concluded that education is in the center of development and key for achieving other Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):

[E]ducation is a public good, a fundamental human right and a basis for guaranteeing the realization of other rights. It is essential for peace, tolerance, human fulfillment and sustainable development. We recognize education as the key to achieving full employment and poverty eradication. We will focus our efforts on access, equity and inclusion, quality and learning outcomes, within a lifelong learning approach. (The UNESCO, YEAR, p. 7)

As a result, as the institutionalization of education expands, the notion that “when delivered well, [education] cures a host of societal ills” also expands (World Bank 2017, p. 3).

Within contemporary societies, education became the primary vehicle for social change, growth, or reconstruction. Investment in education, on macrolevel, is positively associated with the economic growth, between 1% and 6% of faster growth with a 1-year increase in the average education level of population, depending on the state's development level (Sianesi and Van Reenan 2003). There is a positive association between the education level of the population of a country and political participation (Glaeser et al. 2007). Lastly, societies with inclusive education system suffer less inter-group conflicts (Bekerman et al. 2009). These findings reaffirm the need for more focus on education in other fields of research, as well as, the inclusion of other stakeholders in the everlasting conversations about educational reforms globally.

From the General School Ordinance in 1774 to UNESCO's Incheon Declaration 2030, the neo-institutional idea about education being a primary social institution expanded to unprecedented proportions. From the notion that education is central to national and social stability, to the concept that access to high-quality learning is central to global development and social justice, the process of the education's institutionalization changed how we think about school, family, polity, science, work. Expansion of education changed the culture and society, and it accelerated the post-industrial ideology of knowledge-based economy to the global level. The expectations from education to solve global issues are higher than ever, and the original idea of mass education stabilizing a nation-state polity has not changed. But importantly, with greater institutionalization of these ideas, they themselves transcend state borders, refining the definition of the global polity, and pulling multiple other institutions with them.

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New Cultural Histories

6

Lynn Fendler

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Abstract

New cultural histories are critical and interdisciplinary approaches to educational history that align with new materialist scholarship after the linguistic turn. Because of its broad challenges to conventional historiography, the premises of new cultural history are not widely accepted among historians. This chapter maps the conditions for the emergence of new cultural history and explicates ways new cultural histories are distinct from other approaches to historiography. The chapter offers several

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examples of new cultural history in the broad sense and in educational history more specifically. The chapter ends by offering some possibilities for future developments of new cultural history in educational studies.

Keywords

Historiography · Michel Foucault · Literary influences · New materialism · Research methodologies · Problematization

Introduction

Historical truth is merely a function of what is possible to write. (Marianne Larsen 2011)

New cultural history is an approach to historical scholarship that emerged in the mid-twentieth century with the work of the Annales School of Historiography in France and (by some accounts) Clifford Geertz's "thick description" work in anthropology. One primary distinguishing characteristic of new cultural history is a poststructural treatment of language as material rather than representational. Older, more representational epistemologies of structuralism posited a two-tiered system in which language symbolizes (i.e., represents) reality. In contrast, most new cultural histories reject the two-tiered representational system, and instead posit a single tier in which language itself is the stuff of reality. New cultural history, homologous with the linguistic turn, has challenged previous historiographical assumptions about objectivity, representation, and the relationship of history to historiography. Because of these broad-swath challenges, the premises of new cultural history are not widely accepted among historians. This chapter begins by mapping the conditions for the emergence of new cultural history. It continues by explicating the most salient ways new cultural histories are distinct from other approaches to historiography and the concomitant implications for historical research methodologies. Following the implications for research, the chapter offers several salient examples of new cultural history in the broad sense, and in educational history more specifically. The chapter also includes summaries of the main critiques of new cultural history and ends by offering some possibilities for future developments of new cultural history in educational studies.

Conditions of Emergence for New Cultural History

By most accounts, new cultural histories have evolved from Foucault's genealogical theories. Lynn Hunt's (1989) anthology provided one of the early collections of writings in new cultural history. Characterizing new cultural history as a departure from the Annales School, Hunt wrote:

[New cultural historians] have not simply proposed a new set of topics for investigation; they have gone beyond *mentalités* to question the methods and goals of history generally. . . . They

have endorsed Foucault's judgment that the very topics of the human sciences – man, madness, punishment, and sexuality, for instance – are the product of historically contingent discursive formations. (Hunt 1989, p. 10)

Hunt acknowledged the influential role of Foucault's genealogies, and her introduction describes new cultural history in terms of discursive critique: "The accent in cultural history is on close examination—of texts, of pictures, and of actions—and an open-mindedness to what those examinations will reveal, rather than on elaboration of new master narratives" (Hunt 1989, p. 22). Hunt notes that new cultural histories "establish the objects of historical study as being like those of literature and art" (Hunt 1989, p. 17), thereby calling attention to the influence of literature on historiography.

In order to exemplify new cultural history, this section explains and also performs new cultural history. Four of the conditions for emergence of new cultural history are critiques of objectivity, cross-disciplinarity, the linguistic turn (see ► Chap. 3, "Histories of Ideas and Ideas in Context" by Tröhler and Horlacher in this part), and the material turn (see ► Chap. 9, "Visuality, Materiality, and History" by Dussel in this part).

Critiques of Objectivity

Objectivity in historiography has been challenged since at least the 1940s (Novick 1988), notably by the work of the Annales School, and that critique was extended through work of Michel Foucault, as well as by feminist and poststructural historians. Annales School historian Fernand Braudel critiqued traditional historiography by emphasizing the importance of ordinary events in daily life, recognizing that history is shaped by the historian's perspective, and asserting that history consists of different kinds of time (geographical, social, and individual). In a recent statement on objectivity, Larsen wrote: "New cultural historians challenge the very possibility of a real past being an object of historical knowledge" (Larsen 2011, p. 16).

Among other things, Novick's (1988) book contributes a new cultural history of objectivity in the American historical profession. Novick characterizes the history of objectivity as not a simple concept but rather as "a sprawling collection of assumptions, attitudes, aspirations, and antipathies" (Novick 1988, p. 1). For the most part, Novick's particular historicist approach to historiographical issues rests on the assumption that all events have been shaped by their respective historical contexts. If we take Novick's historicism seriously, there can be no such thing as an objective account of history because we can only speculate about the historical ethos of other times and places.

The analytical dimension of Novick's argument raises another issue with objectivity, namely, that objectivity has meant different things at different times in the history of historical writing. For Ranke, objectivity in history meant to confirm that German history was unique and distinct from the history of any other country. In contrast, for some early twentieth century US historians, objective history was problematic because it failed to account for the disheartening experiences of World

War I. Further debates about whether history should be relevant and popularly accessible led to different opinions on what counted as objectivity in historical research. After World War II, many historians took up the cause of rebuilding shattered national identities, an agenda that generated yet more diverse conceptualizations of objectivity. Finally, “advocacy history” makes historiography more inclusive of marginalized groups, which raises the challenge that objectivity is perspectival and situated. These are just a few of the examples from Novick’s analysis that problematize objectivity by making reference to historical arguments about objectivity. Together with the poststructural challenges from theorists such as Foucault, the epistemic challenges to objectivity contributed to the array of conditions for emergence of new cultural history.

Cross-Disciplinary Trends

In the mid-twentieth century, the Annales School also challenged disciplinary-defined historiography. Instead of adhering to traditional disciplinary boundaries, the Annales School expanded the topics of historiography to include aspects of culture including childhood, language, and activities of ordinary life. Forth (2001) acknowledges the work of German historian Aby Warburg in the 1920s as an early contributor to new cultural history, *Kulturwissenschaft*, that included anthropological conceptions to expand historical understandings of culture. With the expansion of historiography into domains of culture, anthropology and linguistics became generative allies that provided cross-disciplinary conceptualizations and methodological inspirations for historians to write about the history of culture.

The reception of new cultural history was insofar as they focus on the materiality of language (discourse) as the object of study, they are primarily critical, and because Foucault’s theories extend (see especially Foucault 1978–1998) contributed to new cultural history insofar as they focus on the materiality language (discourse) as the object of study (they are primarily critical) and because Foucault’s theories extend across disciplinary boundaries to include philosophy, history, linguistics, science, art, and literature.

The Linguistic Turn

Most people assume mainstream history is analogous to a mirror that represents the past “as it actually was.” This truth-seeking scientific approach to historical research was exemplified by the work of Leopold von Ranke (1824):

Man hat der Historie das Amt, die Vergangenheit zu richten, die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahre zu belehren, beigemessen: so hoher Ämter unterwindet sich gegenwärtiger Versuch nicht: er will bloß zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen. (von Ranke 1824) The historian has been assigned the task of judging the past, of instructing the world to use history for the benefit of our future. This current attempt does not aspire to such a lofty aim: it simply wants to show the essence of how it actually was. [my translation]

New cultural history has emerged in the context of the linguistic turn across several disciplines. It refers to a transdisciplinary shift in the object of study from things represented by language to include language itself as one of the objects of study. Forth (2001) refers to this focus on language as semiotics and notes that: “Today there are a number of prominent intellectual historians who study the ‘poetics’ of historical writing, including Dominick LaCapra, Hans Keller, F. R. Ankersmit, Allan Megill, and Robert Berkhofer” (Forth 2001).

Sol Cohen’s (1999) *Toward a New Cultural History of Education* formulated an early version of new cultural history of education in the United States, which was taken up in the international journal *Paedagogica Historica* (see also Cohen 1996). Cohen’s version of new cultural history recognizes the materiality of language, but it stops short of a fully discursive construction of historiography. Cohen wrote:

The new cultural history...does not imply textual imperialism or pantextualism. The linguistic turn does not textualize the whole of reality. [It does, however make us] more sensitive...to the supremely political nature of language, and to the relations between language, discourse, and power. (Cohen 1999, p. ix)

In new cultural history, language per se becomes an object of study, but new cultural historians disagree about on the degree to which language overrides other possible objects of historical study.

The Material Turn

The material turn in intellectual work is conventionally regarded as a loose collection of post-Marxist approaches to social sciences. Three notable scholars of New Materialism are Karen Barad (2007), Bruno Latour (2005), and Nigel Thrift (2008). New cultural history participates and is bolstered by work in New Materialisms by its focus on language as a material actor (rather than an inert transparent signifier). In this way, the material turn is connected to the linguistic turn. However, the material turn takes things a step further by including everything on the same material plane. In Anderson and Harrison’s (2010) terms, the material plane can now include:

beliefs, atmospheres, sensations ideas, toys, music, ghosts, dance therapies, footpaths, pained bodies, trance music, reindeer, plants, boredom, fat, anxieties, vampires, cars, enchantment, nanotechnologies, water voles, GM foods, landscapes, drugs, money, racialised bodies, political demonstrations. (Anderson and Harrison 2010, p. 14)

Similarly, Latour’s (2005) Actor-Network Theory (ANT) exemplifies New Materialism, which, along with the linguistic turn, has extended the array of possible entities that might be included as objects of historical study. ANT has not only expanded the possibilities of historical objects but it has also shifted the analytical framework from linearity to networks. In ANT, as in many new cultural histories, nonhuman entities (including objects) are regarded to have agency, an active role in shaping the world.

Distinguishing Characteristics of New Cultural History

History is that certainty produced at the point where the imperfections of memory meet the inadequacies of documentation. (Julian Barnes 2011, p. 18)

New cultural history is a loose grouping of diverse approaches to historiography, and as such, there can be no definitive set of criteria for distinguishing new cultural history from other approaches to history. There are, however, several characteristics that are shared – to a greater or lesser degree – across projects that fall under the general rubric of new cultural history. Not every new cultural history project will share all of these characteristics, and there will not be consensus among new cultural historians about which projects may be properly labeled new cultural history.

Expansive Definition of Culture

Older versions of cultural history tended to understand culture to be represented by elite arts and formal rituals. In contrast, new cultural history adopts a broader and more anthropological view that culture is constituted by the events – including language – of ordinary everyday life. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz's (1973) *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture* contributed to trends in new cultural history by drawing the focus of historiography onto the language of description used to convey cultural knowledge. This expansive definition of culture has had the effect of broadening the scope of what can count as an object of historical study. In particular, everyday language per se has become a material object of study in new cultural history.

The role of language as constitutive of culture is related to the cross-disciplinary marriage of history and literature in new cultural history. When language is regarded as a material aspect of culture, discourse becomes both the object of study and the analytical frame. Hayden White's (1978) *Tropics of Discourse* is perhaps the most famous formulation of the blend of history with literature in new cultural history. White argued that the comparative history of historical accounts can be interpreted using genre theory: histories as comedy, drama, and hagiography. White contributed to new cultural history by treating language as literary culture, and by focusing on historical narrative as an object of historical study.

Another example of how language operates differently across various historiographical approaches is the case of demographic categories such as race, class, and gender. Conventional histories – including most cultural histories – tend to posit the existence of race, class, and gender in a structural sense. Discourse theorists generally critique these categories as an enactment of essentialism insofar as they assume race, class, and gender exist independently of language. In contrast, new cultural history departs from most mainstream history by treating such cultural categories as discursive constructions, that is, created by language and power interactions.

Critical Orientation

Another characteristic shared by many approaches to new cultural histories is a critical orientation toward previous versions of historiography. New cultural histories tend to reject older cultural histories that focused on high art (e.g., music, painting); they also challenge previous versions of historiography that use the conceptual and methodological tools of social history.

Regarding the critical orientation of new cultural history, Marianne Larsen wrote: “New cultural historians provided me with alternative ways to engage in historical research, and offered a means by which to think outside of old limits” (Larsen 2011, p. 5). For the most part, new cultural histories share a critical orientation relative to previous versions of historiography.

The critical register of new cultural history was established already in Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*. Not only did Foucault construct a new object of historical study (i.e., *sexuality*, as opposed to sex or gender), but the analysis in the *History of Sexuality* also challenged previous historiographical assertions about continuity (e.g., between Enlightenment and modernity) and discontinuity (e.g., between Greek and early Christian moralities). Foucault’s genealogies are examples of *Wirkungsgeschichte* (Nietzsche 1887/1998) or *l’histoire effective* (see, e.g., Dean 1994), which means their primary purpose is not truth but critique. The *raison d’être* of genealogies, as effective histories, is to problematize conventional assumptions about how we decide what is true and what is not true. According to Foucault, the point of writing history is “the endeavour of knowing how and to what extent it might be possible to think differently, rather than legitimating what is already known” (Foucault 1992, pp. 8–9). The feature of history as critique distinguishes new cultural history from previous approaches to history that assume a linear or progressive accumulation of knowledge and that strive to be mirrors or windows onto the past.

Indistinguishability of History and Historiography

Most historians assert that there is a difference between history and historiography; they say history is what happened in the past (in an ontological sense) and historiography is what is written about what happened in the past (in a representational sense). The conceptual distinction between history and historiography pervades most historiography (intellectual; conceptual; cultural; social; political) in education and other disciplines. The possibility for separating history from historiography rests on an assumption that there is a real world “out there” that exists independently of our ability to see or talk about it. Larsen (2011) wrote: “[new cultural history] focuses on the construction or production of reality, rather than the idea that texts and images simply reflect social reality” (Larsen 2011, p. 12).

In contrast, most projects in new cultural history take the position (explicitly or implicitly) that there is no difference between history and historiography. The indistinguishability of history and historiography is related to the cross-

disciplinary connections between literature and history and to the focus on language per se as an historical artifact. The indistinguishability of history and historiography seems counterintuitive, so on what basis could it be claimed that history and historiography are the same thing? One intuitive way to grasp the indistinguishability of history and historiography is to consider the term “prehistory.” The usual definition of prehistory is “the time before the emergence of writing systems,” in other words, the time before recorded events. If we begin with that customary definition of prehistory, it becomes easier to intuit that history is what is written about the past.

A second way to approach the indistinguishability of history and historiography is to consider Foucault’s archeological and genealogical work. Foucault asserted that it is impossible to verify one way or the other whether there is an objectively real world that exists independently of our perceptions. An objectively real world may exist; however, it is not possible for us to know that. As soon as we know something about the world, that thing *by definition* has come into discourse. Since we do not have access to anything until it comes into discourse, nothing exists outside of text. Everything we know about the past is constituted by discourse and in discourse, so there can be no difference between history and historiography.

A third way to think about the relationship between history and historiography is to reflect on what a miniscule proportion of world events or artifacts has ever appeared in the historical record. Most of what has happened in the world has left no trace; the vast majority of events in the past were ephemeral, not recorded, and not remembered by anyone. To illustrate this feature of history in my teaching of historiographical research methodologies, I facilitate an activity called “30-Second Histories.” The instructions are to record – by whatever means, from where we are sitting – everything that happens for half a minute. Some people focus on what is going on in the classroom itself; others focus on what is happening in their personal lives or in another country (e.g., using live Tweets). Some people focus on sounds, others on sights, and others on movements in space. Some focus on changes and others on continuity. Of course, every person in the class produces a record of the past half a minute that is unlike any other person’s, even though they were all physically present in the same place and had to account for only 30 seconds of time. At the conclusion of that activity, we try to imagine the unfathomable complexity of any attempts to record history over a longer period of time, across a much greater space, and by people who were not actually physically present at the time of the events. This activity serves to illustrate that history is what has been recorded as history; we create history by writing history. Writing about history is history. In that way, there can be no difference between history and historiography.

Other more conventional historians have been taught to separate history – as historical content – from historiography, the perspective we take on that content. It is as if history were awaiting our discovery and interpretation. In contrast, however, for new cultural historians, history not discovered; history is invented in narratives as we attempt to explain artifacts of the past.

Research Methodologies for New Cultural History

What we have are stories that the historian invents by means of language and rhetoric in order to endow the endless succession of events or facts with some order and meaning. (Marianne Larsen 2011, p. 17)

For the most part, new cultural histories regard language, i.e., discourse itself, as constitutive of culture, and that epistemological stance has implications for historical research methodologies.

In Latour's terminology: language is an actor in history. This section addresses four methodological issues for historical research that have been raised by contributions from new cultural history: the role of the archive, chronology, linearity, and presentism.

The Archive

In the late nineteenth century, when historiography started responding to pressures to become more scientific, there arose a tendency to treat archival materials as if they were data. Historians who covet the prestige of natural scientists tend to look at archival materials as if they were data that represented the past. In such positivistic traditions of historiography, archival materials become the raw data of analysis. Even now, many modern historians tend to use the terms "data" and "archive" interchangeably, which suggests an objectivist, realist assumption about the past (for an alternative to the data view of the archive, see Tröhler 2013). To convert archival material into evidence for historical research requires a series of epistemological leaps, none of which is fully justified by appeals to archival documentation.

New cultural history treats language as the material stuff of history. On that basis, it is apparent that archives are not pure, naturally occurring troves of data. Instead, archives are always already curated, which means that historians are obligated to be critical and circumspect about archival materials in any attempt to interpret them. Moreover, new cultural history is generally oriented to be critical of mainstream histories, recognizing that histories are written by the victorious elite, and that only a tiny fraction of objects in the world remain extant. Research in new cultural history is therefore skeptical of any claims to authenticity or equitable representation in archival materials. For example, Burke and Grosvenor (2013) use the evocative term "montage of gaps" to call attention to historiographical possibilities that are made possible when historians depart from extant materials to address gaps as sources of historical inquiry. Their work exemplifies new cultural history by focusing attention on the possibilities for historical study of *what is missing* from the historical record.

Chronology

Historians from many epistemological camps recognize that causal reasoning is a confounding variable of historical analysis (see, e.g., Hewitson 2014). There are

several interesting problems with chronology in historical research, and only one of the problems is the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* fallacy of interpretation. Chronology is not only an issue of fallacious inferences or perspectival bias. There are also more fundamental problems of chronology. One is the problem of trying to stop time long enough to write about it. This problem is analogous to the cartographical problem of projection: it is simply not possible to render a three-dimensional space onto a two-dimensional surface without distortion. Analogously, new cultural historians recognize the problems of trying to render four-dimensional spacetime occurrences onto two-dimensional narratives. As with maps, distortion is inevitable. As Sobe argues:

The challenge that we face as historians of education is 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. (Sobe 2013, p. 100)

In other words, at any given moment, millions of different things are happening at the same time, and historians impose temporal order on that simultaneity as a function of language. Historiographical chronology is affected by several kinds of intellectual judgments such as:

- Whose story shall we tell first?
- Should the narrative follow the chronological sequence of our research process? Or should the narrative rearrange the findings according to calendar years?
- Which of the myriad simultaneous events shall we narrate first? On what basis do we decide the sequence of the historical narrative?
- How would we know and *when* would we know whether an event in Turkey in 1919 was relevant to an event that occurred in Brazil on the same day? (see, e.g., Warde 2013)
- On what basis do we make selections about grain size, inclusions, omissions, and connections that influence what is relevant to the narrative?

In the process of composing historical narratives, historians are forced to impose a particular sequence of events. By writing, historians orchestrate the past, producing particular kinds of histories that are shaped not only by multiple chronologies of events but also by a whole array of logistical and rhetorical choices that historians make in the process of reading and writing.

Superimposed on those multiple chronologies is yet another level of complication, namely, the chronological sequence of the research process. Historians often find things in reverse chronological order – we find more recent things before we find more ancient things – and in the process of research, our earlier interpretations are very often transformed by later insights. The research process is itself chronologically complicated by memories of the past, intellectual preferences of the present, and dreams or aspirations for the future. The chronology of the research process also shapes how it is possible to perceive history, and what we habitually regard to be historically relevant. What about the order in which I remember things? Why shouldn't the chronology of my memory be methodologically relevant to the research process?

Historians have to make even more choices about sequences when we reconstruct a *post facto* account of our research methods for publication in an article or book. The narrative genre of an orderly chronological report is a convention that has been shaped by modern publication norms; Montaigne's concept of chronological order does not resemble that of Herodotus, and neither of their approaches resembles that of Carter G. Woodson. Do we start by narrating the very first encounter with the idea? Do we start with the latest, most refined, clarified, and theoretically sophisticated insights about an idea and let those insights color the whole story? Should historical articles conform to conventional narrative structures to make our research more accessible and more publishable? Or do we opt for less conventional narrative approaches (such as the film *Memento*) in order to avoid hackneyed accounts and provide fresh insights and perspectives instead? In addressing issues of chronology, new cultural histories often align with Foucault's (1978/1998) famous claim, "A genealogy of values, morality, asceticism, and knowledge will never confuse itself with a quest for their 'origins'" (p. 373). Should I begin with that quotation? What tense should I use when referring to passages in books that Foucault has written? (see also Rancière 1994). New cultural histories are shaped by the problematization of chronology in analysis and writing.

Linearity

Some traditional historiographies (e.g., Condorcet 1795) embed the assumption that history unfolds linearly or continuously over time. In contrast, new cultural history problematizes linearity and continuity in history. The characteristics of linearity and continuity shape historiography in the forms of progress, teleology, and causal inference. To problematize linearity, Nisbet's (1980) *History of the Idea of Progress* focuses on shifts in the meaning of "progress" over time. For example, Nisbet argues that the idea of progress in the Renaissance meant moving closer to the ancient Greeks. In the eighteenth century, historiographical progress referred to scientific advancement, and in the nineteenth century, the main characteristic of progress was the increase in material wealth. Whether we agree with Nisbet's categorizations is less important than the problematization of linearity in historical narratives.

Sobe uses the device of "entanglement" to talk about the nonlinearity of time and space that shape what we can know, and how we can know, in history:

Entangled history can refer to analyses of the tangling together of disparate actors, devices, discourses, and practices, with the recognition that this tangling is partly accomplished by said actors, devices, discourses, and practices and partly accomplished by the historian her/himself. The critical leverage of such an approach inheres in the attempt to develop situationally specific understandings of why-this- and-not-that. (Sobe 2013, p. 97)

Sobe challenges historians to remember that analytical tools – including notions of transfer, adaptation, hybridity, and translation – are also products of history and not independent variables that we can import without question in our attempts to organize knowledge about the past.

Presentism

Traditional historians usually regard presentism as a fallacy of historical interpretation (see, e.g., Fischer 1970). Presentism is the tendency to (mis)interpret past events through the interpretive lenses of the present. They argue that events in other times must be seen in their own respective historical contexts, which may not be readily understandable to people from another historical time. Many traditional historians strive to overcome the fallacy of presentism through methodological safeguards such as triangulation and various sorts of confirmatory evidence.

In contrast, new cultural history generally regards presentism as inevitable. Its historicist inclinations support the position that everything – including our methodological and analytical tools – is shaped by our historical situatedness, which we cannot escape. In this view, it would be anti-historical to presume we could overcome our historical specificity. Presentism is inevitable because we, as historical beings, cannot stand outside of history (see Fendler 2008). New cultural history's regard for presentism as inevitable is related to its critique of objectivity. When objectivity is impossible, and presentism is inevitable, the purpose of historical research turns away from a search for truth and toward other esthetic, ethical, and/or pedagogical aims. For many new cultural history projects, the search for truth is replaced by a purpose of effective critique, namely, history that galvanizes readers to think differently about the past.

Examples of New Cultural History

Michel Foucault's (1978) *History of Sexuality* is regarded by most to be an example of new cultural history because (1) the object of study, sexuality, is part of culture, (2) the analysis challenges historical commonplaces about sexuality, (3) the analysis focuses on discourses about sexuality and, in a performative way, affects changes in our understandings of what sexuality can mean. The three volumes of the *History of Sexuality* that were published before Foucault's death constitute only a portion of the originally planned eight-volume series. Nevertheless the substance, the historiographical approach, and the literary style of writing place the *History of Sexuality* among prominent early examples of new cultural history.

Part One of Lynn Hunt's (1989) groundbreaking anthology includes essays on theory and philosophy of history. Part Two is comprised of examples of new cultural history. Those chapters include "American Parade," "Texts, Printing, Reading," and "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative." Hunt's collection is widely regarded to be the first and in some senses the authoritative statement on new cultural history.

Culture is a very broad term in new cultural history, and Christopher Forth describes his work as "histories of gender, sexuality, and the body." For example, Forth has published histories of fat (2012, 2015). Forth describes his methodological approach to new cultural history as being related to anthropology "Unraveling the

many layers of significance that inform cultural formations is a hermeneutical operation akin to the interpretation of a literary text, and thus gives rise to what Geertz calls ‘thick description’” (Forth 2001). By combining food, bodies, and gender in a critical register, Forth’s work offers examples of new cultural histories.

Sol Cohen regards new cultural history as a combination of social history and intellectual history in which language is added to the mix of historical objects:

All social historians must deal with language, discourse, and textual sources. They must be concerned with the hermeneutics of texts, with problems of language, meaning and interpretation. And intellectual historians must be concerned with the performative function of language and texts. (Cohen 1999, p. x)

Cohen’s new cultural history of education performs the stance that history is historiography by focusing on histories of education. Cohen’s book analyzes US histories of education beginning with Elwood Cubberly, Bernard Bailyn, and Lawrence Cremin in the 1950s and 1960s. Part One ends with an examination of the influences of the linguistic turn and poststructural historiography. The second part of the book focuses on the case of the “mental hygiene point of view” and traces the history of the “medicalization of education” through rhetorical shifts in how it was possible to talk about human nature.

Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor’s work (2011) exemplifies new cultural history in their investigation of senses in educational settings. By focusing on the history of sounds, Burke and Grosvenor contribute a new and critical approach to historiographical methodology that includes paying attention to what is absent from the historical record. As Depaepe wrote: “the new cultural historians of education draw attention to ‘textual silences’ and ‘blind spots’” (Depaepe 2012, p. 143).

In her introduction, Bernadette Baker (2009) emphasizes that curriculum history has been shaped by assumptions of the nation-state. Baker calls her collection “New Curriculum History,” which takes a critical, international, and interdisciplinary perspective on curriculum history:

[T]he point of this volume is not to rescue education from itself or ‘the rest from the West’ or the margin from the center but rather to bring into question how and why some stories that are told have gained such purchase on ‘our’ subjectivities and actions, to the point that retrievals rather than rescues are no required for education to take (on) another look. (Baker 2009, p. xxxiii)

The chapters in Baker’s collection pay attention to history after the linguistic turn and challenge essential categories such as the nation.

Thomas Popkewitz’s (2013) anthology, *Rethinking the History of Education*, is similar to Baker’s in its international scope; also some of the same authors contributed to both volumes. Popkewitz’s approach to the history of education emphasizes critiques of historicism and rejection of a humanist agent. Popkewitz argues in favor of historicizing as an alternative to historicism for writing histories of education:

The decentering of the subject... should not be seen as doing away with enlightenment commitments to reason and rationality or with the possibilities of agency and change. Just the opposite!... the inscription of the actor as the ahistorical subject conserves the very framework of its contemporaneity to substitute activity and motion in studies of change. (Popkewitz 2013, pp. 17–18)

New cultural history narratives may come across as sounding unnecessarily complicated. Other kinds of historians may criticize new cultural histories as lacking clarity, order, coherence, or epistemological grounding. However, in order to clarify or ground any historical investigation, it is necessary to import from outside history some independent variable and some unwavering anchor that functions to stabilize a perspective on the past. In order to make history coherent or validated, it is necessary to invent some point of view that is itself exempted from history, and new cultural histories strive to avoid such ahistorical inventions in the process of writing history.

New cultural history historicizes everything. When everything is historicized, all points are in flux because history does not stand still, and our point of view changes constantly. In an infinite nesting of narratives, our writing of history is also part of history. New cultural histories illustrate what history looks like when we refuse to import a fixed anchor point from outside of history to structure, validate, or justify our historical accounts.

Conclusions and Future Directions

In his chapter “Dealing with Paradoxes of Educationalization: Beyond the Limits of ‘New’ Cultural History of Education,” Marc Depaepe (2012) outlined two main problems with new cultural history of education. First, he argued that education is unique, and the history of education cannot be studied using the tools and conceptual frameworks that have been useful for studying other aspects of culture. Depaepe argues that the history of education requires its own very specific conceptual frameworks. Second, Depaepe argued that new cultural history is not really new. Depaepe pointed out that there are many different approaches to new cultural history, and most of them share features of older cultural history and some social histories. The category of “new” cultural history would be better described as a hybrid of several older approaches to historiography. Depaepe’s argument is not so much a critique of new cultural history per se as it is a plea for epistemological pluralism, a diversity of approaches to educational history that will expand rather than contract the array of approaches and debates in educational historiography.

Similarly skeptical of new cultural history, Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (2001) made an appeal to broaden the array of sources that educational historians consult before rendering an interpretation of the past. Tenorth wrote:

The educational historian also requires the pictures, the images that are authentic constructions and at the same time ‘solidified intentions’ and embodied pedagogy, for the analysis of educational reality. The search is, then, not for the culture in general but the culture of the pedagogical as a particular kind of culture. (Tenorth 2001, p. 78)

I don’t know how to construct a widely accessible account of new cultural history without committing a performative contradiction. On the one hand, for historians who subscribe to representationalist views of history, or who believe there are histories “out there” for us to discover, then the descriptions of new cultural history in this chapter will not be compelling. On the other hand, if I were to attempt to appeal to archival documents as if they were evidence of *wie es eigentlich gewesen* [how it really was], I would be violating the epistemological premises of new cultural history. So this account is bound to fall short of what most historians believe a handbook chapter ought to do. In order to reflect characteristics of new cultural history, this chapter tended to include historical work that problematizes historiography rather than historical work that strives to make the past more understandable.

One feature of new cultural history that may be seen by all as a welcome contribution is that new cultural history opens up many more possibilities for history of education: more topics, more perspectives, more analytical possibilities, more directions, and more interdisciplinary collaborations (see Cazorla-Sanchez 2008). Everything without exception can be historicized. One implication of the no exemptions policy of writing history is that we as educational historians are given an opportunity and obligation to question all variables as potential candidates for historiographical scrutiny. New cultural historians historicize not only artifacts but also the very historical research tools and languages that are used to write history. All of methodological safeguards, processes of evaluation, analytical classifications, and narrative traditions are tied to, and dependent upon, relentlessly fluctuating historical contingencies of time, space, and power.

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New Curriculum Histories

7

Nancy Lesko and Sarah Gerth van den Berg

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Abstract

While a curriculum history is usually understood as a *thing* – a narrative, an interpretation, evidence, and research questions – this chapter considers curriculum history as a *doing*. This approach to curriculum history is animated by three dissatisfactions: the tendencies of curriculum history to be written and read in ways that affirm representational logics, the passivity of nonhuman matter, and the elision of thinking-feeling dynamics. This chapter is interested in how curriculum history is read, responded to, and taken into our thoughts, judgments, and actions. Drawing on new materialism and affect theories, this chapter wonders if and how curriculum history might become something else in times of crisis. This chapter considers the affective and aesthetic ties that inhibit and support transitions to new ways of thinking and doing curriculum history.

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Introduction

Techniques [for reading] are not descriptive devices— they are springboards... *They activate a practice from within. They set in motion.* (Manning and Massumi 2014 p. ix, emphasis added)

Geography and history may chronicle, emplot, and recount events (their realization), but they can tell us nothing about these events *as* events (their mode of being). (Descombes summarized by Doel 1999, p. 1, original emphasis, cited in Kaiser 2012, p. 1046)

Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962/1996) has been widely used in doctoral studies in and out of education. One of Kuhn's main claims is that science textbooks *quiet* reforms and revolutions and promote the adherence to normal science. Kuhn's language is terse, even severe: "*More than any other single aspect of science*, that pedagogic form [the textbook] has determined our image of the nature of science and of the role of discovery and invention in its advance" (p. 143, emphasis added). Textbook portraits "render revolutions invisible" (p. 140). Kuhn elaborated on the drawbacks of science textbooks: "They address themselves to an already articulated body of problems, data, and theory, most often to the particular set of paradigms to which the scientific community is committed at the time they are written" (p. 136):

Textbooks thus begin by truncating the scientist's sense of his [sic] discipline's history and then proceed to supply a substitute for what they have eliminated... The result is a persistent tendency to make the history of science look linear or cumulative, a tendency that even affects scientists looking back at their own research. (p. 139)

For students of curriculum, who may be more accustomed to educational and pedagogical aspects of academic disciplines being sidelined, Kuhn's prioritization of textbooks as central to practices of normal science can be startling. Although Kuhn places the blame for downplaying scientific innovations on textbook authors, this chapter takes up his ideas and adds the practices of *reading curriculum history texts* as part of the quieting of perspectives in the field. Kuhn's criticism informs the aims and shape of this chapter, which considers the ways that reading curriculum history texts subvert new ways of thinking about curriculum, theory, and history.

Specifically, the chapter examines how the texts *and* the reading of curricular history promote the perpetuation of a representational logic, a human-centered ontology, and the omission of attention to affect in curriculum history and theory. The interpretation offered here emphasizes the intra-actions (Barad 2007) of readers and curricular texts in which both affect and are affected by the other. While a curriculum history is usually understood as a thing – a narrative, an interpretation, evidence, and research questions – this chapter considers curriculum history as a doing (Rath 2015). The analysis draws from the teaching and reading experiences of

the authors within specific doctoral programs. This chapter addresses three aspects of reading curriculum histories: first, curriculum histories tend to focus on past and present events in ways that fix well-established categories and close off additional questions and associations; second, curriculum histories emphasize human-centered actions and ignore or trivialize nonhuman materialities; and third, curricular histories elide affect yet often assume that the exposure of true structures and effects will catalyze readers to think and act differently. The concluding section discusses two approaches to animate different histories: diffractive reading and aesthetic-affective attentiveness.

Beyond Representational Logics in Curriculum Histories

Doctoral courses in curriculum studies seek to develop students' abilities to produce critical interpretations, and Cleo Cherryholmes' *Reading Research* (1993) highlights how *readings of research* are inevitably involved in judgments of what is better and less good research. While this approach, paired with a set of theoretical readings, including critical race theory, feminism, disability studies, and neo-Marxism, offers students initial entrée to various critical perspectives, it has the effect of looking backward – to what critical readings have already established – and minimizes the opening of new vistas, questions, and movements.

One way that such stasis occurs is thru representational logics. To represent is “to bring to mind by description” also “to stand in for something or someone” (Wikipedia n.d.). Representational logics present individual persons or anecdotes as mimetic to broader structures, alignments, and power relations, thereby, tending to *fix* and *reduce complexity*. Rancière's (2006) critique of the representational regime of art, as limited to *mirroring* social and political hierarchies and contributing to a normative framework by which things can be assessed “as good or bad, adequate or inadequate” (p. 22), resonates too with the limitations of representational logics in standard genres of curriculum history texts. The “more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds” (Vannini 2015, p. 3) are mis-served by these flattening and stabilizing approaches. It has become commonplace for doctoral students to read curriculum histories as providing evidence for past racial and gender injustice, for example, in the ways that Jim Anderson (1988) portrays the Northern Philanthropists and that Herb Kliebard (1995) narrates the Social Efficiency Educators. Each social category becomes ample evidence for specific sets of power relations in US schooling. The narratives typically do not provoke additional questions. The texts and the readings seem to cover the territory of who oppressed whom and which stories can now be told. Schooling is unequal and once we identify who wins and who loses, curriculum history has been learned. Of course, schooling is unequal, but the concerns here are with how such inequalities are narrated, read, and what they might help animate. Despite the invaluable contributions of these studies, there is concern about how they are now read and what actions they make likely and possible.

Kliebard's *Struggle* sets up readers to consider schooling at the turn of the nineteenth century to be "joyless," "dreary," and "distasteful." The modernization of the curriculum has to be read as progress over the old form of schooling with its archaic McGuffey readers and blueback spellers. Although Rousmaniere's (1997) portrait of what social efficiency curricula meant for teachers vanquishes high hopes for modernization, the binaries of old/new and tradition/modern prevail. The chronological narrative soothes readers into the complacency that modern schools are better, and further questioning and additional story lines disappear.

What requires additional consideration, this chapter argues, is students' intra-actions with curriculum history, especially, the settledness of their interpretations that see individual historical figures and groups of humans as the problem. In students' intra-actions with texts, curriculum history follows the practices of schools and the teaching of history – an emphasis on facts, on right answers, and on humans as sole actors (Latour 2005). Once the histories have been read, the historical inquiry can cease and we can turn to reforming schools or teacher education. Thus, readings of curriculum history too quickly *fix and therefore reduce* the historical phenomena under study.

The categories, from Northern Philanthropists to Social Efficiency Educators, become ciphers, self-reproducing, and seldom provoke additional openings or movements. Thus, curriculum histories – like Latour's *social* – "indicate a stabilized state of affairs" (2005, back cover), in a time when inquiry about lifeworlds requires the animation of new trajectories of ideas and questions. Are there ways in which curriculum history can contribute to avoiding these representational pitfalls?

Historical Events as an Excess of Sense

Non-representational theory (NRT) provokes additional questions; ontologically it assumes that the world is not structured in the way that many theories and histories portray. NRT's style is to become "entangled in relations and objects rather than studying their structures and symbolic meanings" (Vannini 2015, p. 15, emphasis added). Thrift (2008) calls NRT a "leitmotif of movement in its many forms" and a "constant war on frozen states." Thrift (2008, p. 3) aims to "build into the blue" by putting hard questions to the given in experience, Thrift intends to bring new publics into existence who will pose questions to politics which are not yet of politics (Rajchman 1998, in Thrift 2008). For Ranci ere (2006), the aesthetics of non-representational art are disruptive to political life and catalyze a redistribution of the sensible – and the politically possible – by making visible, heard, and felt what was previously invisible or quieted.

Students often individualize and psychologize the human agents in curriculum histories. Backgrounds tend to drop away, and we are left with villainous and heroic characters (Hendry 2011). When probed to examine more closely the making of "good" and "bad" practices – it is hard to do. Students just know or feel who is right and wrong [more on this below]. It is as if readings in curriculum history laser in on the characters, and the contexts and nonhuman factors are stripped away. Multiple

readings are not probed for they tend to confuse or hamstring clear analyses, and reductive narratives with a single valence (someone is good, someone is bad) are formed. We sense that history reading practices were formed in earlier grades, and despite Cherryholmes, Anderson, Kuhn, and others, particular fixed and reductive curriculum histories are learned. David Labaree (2003) describes this problem as one of moving education doctoral students from teachers to researchers and shifting their emphasis from “the normative to the analytical” (p. 13); however, Labaree’s interpretation emphasizes the backgrounds of particular groups of individuals rather than the intra-actions involved in reading curricular histories.

Kaiser describes histories as utilizing an “after-the-act representational approach that treats events as effects whose cause lies elsewhere, external to the event in its becoming” (2012, p. 1046). The focus on *events* is already a move toward NRT (Thrift 2008; Vannini 2015). Such after-the-act representational approaches to events contain a fatal flaw since events themselves are nonlinear:

[The event] is not defined by a fixed beginning and end, but is something that occurs in the midst of a history, causing us to redistribute our sense of what has gone before it and what might come after. An event is thus not something one inserts into an emplotted dramatic sequence with its start and finish, for it initiates a new sequence that retrospectively determines its beginnings, and which leaves its ends unknown and undetermined. (Rajchman 1991, p. xi, quoted in Anderson and Harrison 2010, p. 22)

Kaiser continues, “The past is not a stable foundation on which to construct a pathway to understanding the event; it is not even the past” (Kaiser 2012, p. 1047). Hoskins (2012) writes about the commonsense temporality of “the past” – “a belief in the existence of the past as something previous, real, and retrievable.” He proposes that readers understand memory as a practice generating *the past’s perpetual arrival*, where the past continually comes into existence anew rather than “returns from what once was” (p. 1011 emphasis added).

Events understood this way, as immanent to materiality and outside of a linear temporality, are constituted by an “excess of sense” as Grosz (2017) puts it and constantly participating in a multiplicity of becomings (p. 153). The challenge for curriculum history texts and readings is to not deflect but to “capitalize on the excess of sense that is produced by the problems generated for life by events, by the irregular and unpredictable disruptions to habit and expectation that must somehow be addressed” (p. 157). Doing so is a mode of interpreting the world, of enhancing the self and enabling new forms of life; Grosz describes these “ways in which we can intensify and live in accordance with what of the sense-laden excesses of materiality—those that constitute events—we can harness” as matters of ethics and aesthetics (p. 157). What would an ethics and aesthetics of curriculum history that enables “new forms of living” look like?

The issue raised in this section is how curriculum histories might focus on past and present events in ways that minimize the fixing of the past into well-established categories which close off additional questions and associations. How might curricular histories better portray “the onflow. . .of everyday life” (Thrift 2008, p. 5) and help readers attune to the openings, anomalies, and contingencies of educational worlds?

Beyond Human-Centric Histories

Political scientist Jane Bennett (2010) argues for a “thing-power” materialism that would run parallel to historical materialism with its focus on economic structures of human power. She asks, “What would happen to our thinking about [education] if we took more seriously the idea that technological and natural materialities were themselves actors alongside and within us—were vitalities, trajectories, and powers irreducible to the meanings, intentions, or symbolic values humans invest in them?” (p. 47). Bennett’s call for a “vital materialism” connects with new materialisms (Alaimo and Hekman 2008; Coole and Frost 2010) and with Deleuzian informed approaches to research that emphasize the contingency of assemblages (MacLure 2013) and what sticks to them (Ahmed 2010). As DeLanda (2011) proposes:

Communities can’t be reduced to the people who make them up; social justice movements can be reduced to the communities that make them up. Assemblages have emergent properties. (DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory, Society, and Deleuze*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-15e7ixw78>)

Can curriculum histories display dynamic or emergent properties of what is taught and learned and of students/teachers’ identities/subjectivities?

Recognizing the human-centered ontology underpinning many curriculum histories and readings critically acknowledges that all research is “situated knowledge,” heeding Haraway’s urge to acknowledge the “privilege of partial perspective.” Traditional scientific objectivity is a “god-trick,” “promising vision from everywhere and nowhere equally and fully” (Haraway 1991, p. 191), and quieting agency distributed across the matter of curriculum (including, inexhaustively, students’ bodies, school buildings, paper and pencil nubs, iPads and Smartboards, lead in the paint, and particles in the air). Shorthand descriptions such as “white male historian” stand in for the material production of scholarly interpretations, but such critiques do not go far enough to locate and take responsibility for accounts. “Partial perspective can be held accountable for both its promising and its destructive monsters” (Haraway 1991, p. 190). It has been extremely hard for many, if not most, educational scholars to discern and acknowledge the factors that *compel* or assemble into a particular interpretation. If not from facts, evidence, theory, and research practices, then from what does an interpretation flow? While identifying authors by race, class, and gender suggests a move toward embodiment of scholarly work, “white male” typically sheds little light onto the material productions of curriculum histories. Haraway (1991) recommends the figure of the Coyote or Trickster to suggest that science studies scholars “give up mastery” and make room for “surprises and ironies at the heart of all knowledge production” (p. 199). Such a desire for mastery, according to Bennett, “prevent[s] us from detecting (seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feelings) a fuller range of the nonhuman powers circulating around and within human bodies” (2010, p. ix). That is, a desire for rational mastery obstructs our capacities for sensory awareness. Bennett continues, “These material powers, which can aid or destroy, enrich or disable, ennoble or degrade us, in any case call for our attentiveness” (p. ix).

Leander, Phillips, and Taylor (2010) compellingly portray classrooms as “flows” rather than as bounded containers. Their work highlights the continual movements and transformations within spaces that make places, including greater and lesser affective intensities among bodies. Learning environments are assembled, or composed, in unfolding and contingent activities that cannot be specified in advance. Arun Saldanha (2007) emphasizes the viscous quality of social life in which affects thicken, intensify, thin out, or dissolve. Sheehy (2004) considers the thickness of repeated learning processes and argues that introducing new learning activities has a “thinning” effect that is connected with students’ inability to “stick to” innovative methods. Such work, although not in curriculum history, has begun to provide examples of scholarship that moves beyond the “after-the-act” representational approaches. Curriculum historians have, for example, begun to consider how the architecture of schools might actively influence students and teachers (Burke and Grosvenor 2008). Ellsworth (2005) traces pedagogical volition to the assemblage of forces and things constituting the learning self and its milieu, rather than the individual subject of teacher/student.

Bennett (2010) also refers to thing-power as *distributed agency*, which could revise curriculum histories by opening up the various actors and kinds of agency. For Ellsworth (2005), that might involve attending to “the artful or banal orchestrations . . . of forces, sensations, stories, invitations, habits, media, time, space, ideas, language, objects, images, and sounds intended, precisely, to move the materiality of minds/brains and bodies into relation with other material elements of our world” (p. 24). Considering the distribution of agency across bodies, matter, and forces is another important step in providing fuller histories.

This section has argued that curriculum histories need to consider the mix of human and nonhuman actors, which is complicated and complicating work. Paul Patton (1997), for example, sketches the sets of intra-actions in the making of multiple meanings of an “airborne toxic event” in the novel *White Noise*.

Delillo’s airborne toxic event is *both a corporeal and an incorporeal phenomenon*. . . . It is at once the attribute of bodies and states of affairs (the physical interactions of chemicals, machinery, and people) but at the same time irreducible to these alone since it is constituted by what is expressed in verbal or visual statements, in the immaterial realm of the content of television coverage, radio, and newspaper reports. The nature of the event is conditioned by the meanings of these contents, along with the fears and hopes which these produce (n.p. emphasis added).

Elision of Affect

A third problem of curricular histories is the elision of affect, and the assumption that exposure of true structures and effects will catalyze readers to think and act differently. This problem is illustrated in Mark Stern’s (2012) story of a semester-long educational policy class. Stern describes a university class in which he taught critiques of neoliberal educational policy, and students were well rehearsed in the problems and consequences of these approaches. At the end of the term, the class

went to see the film, *Waiting for Superman*, which portrays the superiority of charter schools, which “save” students, and is structured by the mounting suspense of which children will win the charter school lottery. In the final scene, young people and their parents are decimated that the salvational school would not be theirs. Stern describes how all the class members left the movie crying and concludes that his teaching of unrelenting critique disallowed “educated hope,” which his students also need (p. 396).

When confronted with critical accounts of how schools create inequality, US university students often express dismay that the readings are “depressing.” Lauren Berlant (2016, pp. 393–394) writes that counternormative political struggle in “troubling times” must generate new affects and new forms “within brokenness.” How do we approach and teach this brokenness and build the possibilities to transition to new ways? Berlant also writes that middle-class “normalcy” expects that the world will be fair and gentle. What genres of reading and pedagogical practices are capacious enough for this broken present?

Eve Sedgwick maintains that too much critical scholarship places its “faith in exposure” (2003, p. 138) via various frameworks of visibility. Clarity, exposure, and critique are the methods to overcome naturalization, common sense, and ideology. In considering what knowledge does and how it incites social relations and feelings, Sedgwick claims that many critical approaches are marked by paranoia, anticipation of an uncovered truth, and suspicion. In these efforts, Sedgwick continues,

A disturbingly large amount of theory seems explicitly to undertake the proliferation of only one affect, or maybe two, of whatever kind—whether ecstasy, sublimity, self-shattering, *jouissance*, suspicion, abjection, knowingness, horror, grim, satisfaction, or righteous indignation. (p. 146)

Heather Love (2007) adds that exposure analytics tend to be accompanied by willed jumps to celebratory stances (e.g., gay pride or transformative pedagogy), which she understands as escapes from the “bad feelings” associated with exposures. Does curriculum history provide alternatives to what Jack Halberstam (2011, p. 1) calls the usual choice of stoking either naïve optimism or cynical resignation? What range of affects might curriculum histories evoke?

Thinking Movement

Affect theorists offer a nondualistic conception of affect and thought, seeing affect as a vital form of intelligence and resistance. Raymond Williams (1977) defined “structures of feeling,” as “affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but *thought as felt and feeling as thought*” (p. 132, emphasis added). Massumi (2015a) calls this simply *thinking-feeling* while others deem it an “affective intelligence” (Berlant 2011; Marcus et al. 2000; Thrift 2008). As Massumi (2015a) submits “affect is thinking, bodily – consciously but vaguely,

in the sense that is not yet a fully formed thought. It's a movement of thought, or a thinking movement" (p. 10). He elaborates in an interview:

There was always an affective dimension at play that was not as simple as the irrational opposite of reasoned discourse, but was itself a form of thinking—what I like to call a “thinking-feeling.” Affective thinking-feeling has a logic of its own that operates with and through discursive forms. (Massumi 2015c, n.p.)

Affect, according to this line of thought, is a creative, unpredictable, and vital force that offers means of interrupting and remodulating dominant modes of power and rigid normativities (Berlant 2011; Marcus et al. 2000; Massumi 2015a, b; Sedgwick 2003; Thrift 2008).

How do conceptions of affect touch notions and histories of curriculum? Affect has been deemed particularly potent for offering what Eve Sedgwick (2003) describes as “promising tools and techniques for nondualistic thought and pedagogy” (p. 1). Part of the legacy of such dualistic thinking has been a binary positioning of affect and thought in educational theory. For example, Weinstein and Fantini (1970) portray teachers and administrators as “wary” of fluctuating affective objectives in schools and likely to “retreat to [the] less dangerous cognitive domain” (p. 25). In *The Affective Domain in Education*, T.A. Ringness (1975) similarly argues that where affect and cognition are concerned, “one domain tends to drive out the other” (p. 25, emphasis added). For Ringness, only the “the highly skilled teacher” is capable of effectively producing both cognitive and affective learning without doing violence to one or the other. For the majority, “the affective domain usually loses out” (p. 25). The perceived incommensurability of affect and cognition, even by educational theorists arguing for the importance of affect in learning, has persisted with affect being positioned as at odds, even at war, with cognition. The lack of attention to affect in educational scholarship as well as in doctoral education perpetuates this dualism, as evidenced in Stern's vignette.

Affect, as Brian Massumi (2015b) argues, “provides the invitational opening for a rationality to get its hooks into the flesh. It represents the vulnerability of the individual to larger societal forces” (p. 85). In our present of fears and displacements – of uncertainties and contingencies – what Brian Massumi calls “ontopower” works through channeling affectivity and collective attunement, stoking fleshly reactivity, and engendering a “reworking of ecologies of sensation.” Is it possible to imagine thinking-feeling at work in curriculum history? Massumi tells us to look at “events,” which organize ontopower. The challenge of telling the past is one of discerning and articulating the movements of “thinking-feeling” or “intuitionisms” (Berlant 2011) in a constant stream of historical presents. It's tracing the constant flow (and gaps, pauses, stutters, and tremblings) of “being in history as a densely corporeal, experientially felt thing whose demands on survival skills map not the whole world in one moment but a way to think about the history of sensualized epistemologies in the atmosphere of a particular moment now (aesthetically) suspended in time” (Berlant 2011, p. 64). What does it mean to discern something

of the aesthetic suspension, transmission, or conventions of affect as it historically spilled from the virtual to the real and shaped the unfolding of events?

Returning to the *Waiting for Superman* anecdote, what events intensified passions around charter schools? Mehta (2013) narrates the steady upward climb of public concerns over US schooling and school-economy links, while media and edupreneurs proclaimed the poor quality of teachers and disinvestment in urban schools continued. Drawing on Berlant, Lesko and Niccolini write, “We ‘feel historical’ when the continuity of the present is disturbed and we are forced into an attentiveness to *something* off, shifting, or clicking into place” (Berlant 2010; Lesko and Niccolini 2017 p. 73). This felt historicity is emergent, transitory, and animating, like charter school lotteries and declining public attitudes toward teachers. Thinking-feeling is animated by events exerting pressure and direction yet perhaps never solidifying into what we could name as part of a context, structure, or [even] history.

This section has noted the omission of attention to affect in curricular scholarship. Curricular histories can be said to elicit only a few affects, for example, shock and outrage or a satisfaction/relief with the modernization of schooling (Sedgwick 2003). More critical or conflict-oriented research may elicit stronger responses, such as, despair. If curriculum histories evoke too little hope – how might a wider range of affects be brought into the reading of such histories? If students are asked to do more than just learn and agree with the readings, the multiple possible attachments and detachments from scholarship might be accessed.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In the introduction to *New Curriculum History*, Bernadette Baker (2009) describes the volume’s chapters as “collectively confronting the dread of a rationality confronted with what exceeds and slips its grasp” (p. ix). The authors of these new curricular histories negotiate the “finding purchase and slipping away from the structures of the taken for granted and of fixity” (p. ix). Feelings of “dread” accompany these efforts to think historically under shifting epistemological grounds. The slippage and searching for a foothold suggests a process of negotiating new ways of making sense of history and relating to historical archives. The chapter concludes with a discussion of strategies of diffraction and attention for making sense of the quieted excesses of curricular histories.

Diffraction Reading

In an interview Donna Haraway was asked, “What kind of strategy is diffraction?” She replied, “Diffraction patterns are about a heterogeneous history, not originals” (2005, p. 101). She explained, “I’m interested in the way diffraction patterns record the history of interaction, interference, reinforcement, and difference. In this sense, ‘diffraction’ is a narrative, graphic, psychological, spiritual, and political technology

for making consequential meanings” (p. 102). Haraway continued that diffraction is part of the optics branch of physics and “involves the breaking up of rays of light.

When light passes through slits, the light rays that pass through are broken up. And if you have a screen at one end to register what happens, what you get is a record of the passage of the light rays onto the screen. The “record” shows the history of their passage through the slits. So what you get is not a reflection; *it's the record of a passage* (p. 103 emphasis added).

Near the end of the diffraction conversation, the interviewer comments that Haraway has “taken a scientific model and turned it into a model of cultural critique” (p. 105). Haraway assents, “You have to register the interference [with any one story or interpretation].... The way I enjoy working is simply to make visible all those things that have been lost in an object; not in order to make the other meanings disappear, but rather to *make it impossible for the bottom line to be one single statement*” (p. 105, emphasis added).

Karen Barad (2007) also uses diffraction in her theorizing of how matter matters, and how the measurement and the measurer are always intra-active. She explains the materiality of diffraction by discussing the measurement of light. Depending on the particular apparatus used to measure light, light evidences wavelike or particle-like characteristics. While these two results have generally been viewed as contradictory, Barad draws from Niels Bohr’s work to make a different argument:

Bohr resolves this wave-particle duality paradox as follows: the objective referent is not some abstract, independently existing entity but rather the phenomenon of light intra-acting with the apparatus. The first apparatus gives determinate meaning to the notion of “wave,” while the second provides determinate meaning to the notion of “particle.” The notions of “wave” and “particle” do not refer to inherent characteristics of an object that precedes its intra-action. *There are no such independently existing objects with inherent characteristics.* The two different apparatuses effect different cuts, that is, draw different distinctions delineating the “measured object” from the “measuring instrument.” In other words, they differ in their local material resolutions of the inherent ontological indeterminacy. There is no conflict because the two different results mark different intra-actions. (note 21, pp. 815–816)

Both Haraway and Barad refuse the representationalist fixing through *words* and *things* and privilege the “ontological inseparability of *agentially intra-acting ‘components’*” (Barad 2007, p. 829). Barad writes, “We do not obtain knowledge by standing outside of the world; we know because ‘we’ are *of* the world. We are part of the world in its differential becoming” (p. 829).

How might a diffractive reading help reconfigure curriculum history? In diffraction’s profoundly materialist approach to things and worlds and to the differential becomings of things and worlds grounded in intra-actions, there are resources for the refusal of one story or one interpretation. There are no innocent readings, and Haraway encourages us to consider the possible interruptions of a trickster who leads thinking astray. The *feel* of Haraway’s situated knowledge and Barad’s intra-actions vary, yet they do appear to be alternative paths beyond representational fixing and human-centeredness of curricular history. They recruit material and multiple

historical accounts because curricular historians, histories, and readers “are part of the world in its ongoing intra-activity” (Barad 2007, p. 828). The material sensibilities of Haraway and Barad fiercely push toward less ideational and fixed curriculum histories. “There is an important sense in which practices of knowing cannot be fully claimed as human practices, not simply because we use nonhuman elements in our practices but because knowing is a matter of part of the world making itself intelligible to another part” (p. 829).

Aesthetic-affective Attentiveness

Drawing on a Deleuzian ontology of becoming, Grosz describes events as constituted by the “sense-laden excesses of materiality” and producing “excesses of sense” (2017, p. 157). Curriculum histories attempt, as do other fields with their subject matter, to order the chaos, the excess of sense, that threatens to spill over and disrupt life. Yet, ordering chaos along one plane is necessarily partial. Grosz writes that:

If no constructed plane is adequate to the chaos it addresses (without, that is, collapsing into chaos itself), since chaos abides in whatever planes are thrown over it to generate a provisional organization, then there must be a multiplicity of planes, each eternal, ever transforming, temporally directed, always further populating, available consistency of the products – artistic, philosophical, scientific – of history, each a mode of ideality that is part of and yet laid over the real, chaos, that it partially addresses. (p. 148)

The depressed or stuck feelings that students encounter when reading curriculum history may result, in part, from reading an ordering of the accumulation of curricular events only along one plane (discipline, genre, set of concepts). Part of the work of doing curriculum history might involve telling and reading curricular events along multiple planes (a diffractive practice). This could call for, as Berlant (2011) puts it, “a historicism that takes seriously the form or aesthetics of the affective event. . . in relation to the institutions, events, and norms that are already deemed history’s proper evidence, especially when that history is the history of the present” (p. 54).

The aesthetics of curricular history texts participate in bringing readers’ attention to the affective currents of history/historical events. Bennett, in calling for an aesthetic attention to *things*, suggests that “literature can direct sensory, linguistic, and imaginative attention toward a material vitality” that resists human-centered ontologies and representational logics (Bennett 2010, p. 19). Genres of curriculum histories that cultivate an aesthetic-affective attentiveness to the materiality and event of curriculum may make visible what was previously imperceptible, thus disrupting the distribution of sensible and creating space for new forms of political participation (Bennett 2010; Ranci re 2006; Stewart 2007). Different genres, styles, and material forms of historical-sense-making may help curricular histories to stammer and glow.

A historicism that takes seriously the immanent and affective qualities of the materiality and event of curriculum history might also involve different aesthetics or styles of reading. Similar to Grosz’s view of aesthetics as a corollary to an ontoethics

of transformation, enhancements, and expressions of living, Berlant describes aesthetics as also a mode of intra-acting, for “understanding how we pace and space our encounters with things, how we manage the too closeness of the world and also the desire to have an impact on it that has some relation to its impact on us” (p. 12). Bennett too frames an aesthetic of doing (i.e., curriculum history as a doing) as an “ethical task,” urging readers to “cultivate an ability to discern nonhuman vitality,” a “perceptual openness,” and a sensory attentiveness to the materiality of curricular assemblages (2010, p. 14).

This chapter has considered if and how curriculum history might become, following Lauren Berlant (2016), a “pedagogy of learning to live with messed up yet shared and ongoing infrastructures of experience” in times of crisis (p. 395). Berlant explicitly frames the affective and aesthetic ties that inhibit and support transitions to new ways of thinking and doing that are nonreproductive. If new curriculum histories are to participate in “generating a form from within the brokenness” of the present (p. 393), curriculum historians, their texts, and their readers are challenged to consider new onto-epistemological approaches.

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Feminism, Gender, and Histories of Education

8

Julie McLeod 

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Abstract

This chapter examines current debates and trends in gender and feminist inquiry in the history of education, noting the influence of feminist history more broadly, as well as influences deriving from the specific field of education. Key historiographical concerns are illustrated with case examples, most drawn from Australia. I distinguish between histories of feminism and those of gender and education and argue for greater consideration of the historicity of approaches and questions informing both endeavors. Section “Feminism, Gender, and Historiographical Motifs,” notes contemporary debates and dilemmas and revisits influential approaches and concepts, notably from the second wave of feminism and subsequent theoretical attention to the social and discursive construction of gender. The significance of identity as site of historical investigation is considered and

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connected to an analysis of generational dynamics in play, across the construction of historical problems, theories, and politics. Section “Trends in Gendered Histories of Education,” identifies shifting trends in gendered histories of education, noting national and transnational preoccupations and emerging areas of conceptual and methodological innovation. It argues for more robust attention to the multiple times and chronologies of feminist theory as it intersects with historical inquiry and reflects on what defines history of education as “feminist” today. The Conclusion points to future directions, asks how feminist histories have transformed educational history, indicates ongoing dilemmas about the purposes and definitional character of this work, and calls for an intersectional historiography of education in which gendered and feminist histories of education are seen as integral to and not only a specialist subfield in a bifurcated historiography.

Keywords

Gender history · Feminism and education · Gender identity · Feminist theory · Historiography of education

Introduction

This chapter examines gender and feminist inquiry in the history of education and offers an overview of key debates, dilemmas, and directions in this field of research. It begins by considering the invention of gender as an explicit and self-conscious category of analysis in educational research and in the history of education, specifically looking in most detail from the 1970s onward and the impact of second-wave feminism in the academy. Much spirited discussion today addresses the contours and nuances of feminist scholarship and its diverse political, theoretical, and ethical lineage and claims. This chapter revisits some of the earlier aspirations heralded by the entry of feminism into the field of educational research and practice and notes current preoccupations and trends as well as stalemates and silences. It also looks to parallel discussions in feminist history more broadly, beyond a particular focus on education, and argues that this is a crucial but not the only point of reference for understanding gender and the history of education. In doing so, it distinguishes between gender or women’s history in education and the history of feminism in education, arguing that they are related but not identical bodies of work and that this distinction is important for the history of education. A further distinction is offered by Nancy Beadie (2018) in her question as to where the analytic emphasis is placed in these compound descriptors; is it on the *feminist* historian of education or the feminist *historian of education*? The following discussion takes the emphasis on the first part, looking to what makes the inquiry feminist, while acknowledging in my closing remarks that these nuances *speak* to how the future of feminist scholarship fits in relation to the broader field of history of education: is a more properly intersectional historiography possible, or is it a cluster of subfields?

To begin, gender is approached as a keyword for educational research, one that takes form and has effects across the gamut of educational endeavors – research, policy, professional practice, working knowledge, curriculum, and so forth. This is a straightforward and a largely uncontroversial observation and one that also pertains to many if not all domains of social life and knowledge systems. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to chart how historians of education have grappled with and represented gender, the types of concepts and methods they have both drawn upon and contributed to, and the significance of this work for the wider body of scholarship falling within the rubric of history of education. The chapter thus maps historiographical concerns, illustrated with some case examples, most drawn from Australia, notes some contemporary debates and dilemmas, and points to future challenges and directions, cognizant that concurrently the keywords of feminism and gender are undergoing a process of historical transformation and reconfiguring of what they signify.

The opening section looks to the emergence of women's and feminist history as a distinct area of scholarship and notes some definitional disputes as well as contemporary orientations across this rich and crowded field. This serves as one context for mapping gender and feminist histories of education, a body of work which has also developed in critical dialogue with educational research more broadly. Importantly, these include sociological and political engagements with feminism across educational policy, practice, and scholarship. In other words, the trajectory of feminist histories of education has not been a one-way street of "borrowing" from a putatively external field called gender or women's or feminist history but rather has developed in conversation with a number of disciplinary interlocutors, as indeed is the case for varieties of educational research and educational foundations. The chapter concludes with observations on future directions and questions regarding what the contours and defining signatures of feminist history might be today and the legacy and impact of these approaches on the history of education more broadly defined.

Feminism, Gender, and Historiographical Motifs

Parallel Debates, Developments, and Dilemmas

Women's and gender history were vital to the intellectual and political project of second-wave feminism; they were at the forefront too in developing an institutional presence for feminist scholarship in the academy (Corbman 2015; David 2016). A signature trope in feminist and women's history has been a marked reflexivity about their lineage and legacy, evident in many assessments and reviews of the field and illustrated in a recent special issue of the *Women's History Review* addressing the theme of "Women's History at the Cutting Edge" (Offen and Yan 2018). This reflects in part a methodological orientation to the situatedness of knowledge claims, which has been a longstanding characteristic of feminist theory generally (Haraway 1988). More precisely, it speaks to a concern with the historicity of the field of gender or

feminist history and its twists and turns since the 1960s and 1970s, the period typically taken to mark its upsurge and institutionalization. As the feminist historian Antoinette Burton (1992, p. 28) has argued, “Histories of the past are . . . ultimately *historically* ‘situated knowledges,’” and while histories of feminism are, of course, no exception, the political investments in this project can present particular challenges, which are explored below.

Debates on the distinctions between gender, women’s and feminist history have raged for some time. Without elaborating old disputes and taxonomies here, it suffices to note that methodologically, analytically, and politically, it has been important not to elide these categories of inquiry, despite some common slipperiness in their use. Many second-wave feminist historians might have favored the nomenclature of women’s rather than gender history because of their deliberate privileging of women and femininity as the central focus of inquiry, not subordinated to or in necessary reference to masculinity. However, with increasing attention to gender relations, the performance of gender, and issues of intersectionality, it is now well accepted that one can write a gender history without centering on or even including women. These matters, however, take on a fresh significance in light of the destabilization of gender binaries and the ontological flattening out of distinctions between human and other-than human. A puzzling question is thus what now makes feminist history recognizable or distinctive as “feminist.” One standard response has been that it involves placing women or gender dynamics at the center of analysis, and beyond that it might also deploy certain theoretical resources and advance epistemic justice. The following discussion reflects on this conundrum of what makes history feminist from a variety of angles. It considers the status and ambitions of feminist history in relation to other political and theoretical approaches, and in reference to the complex social transformations taking place in which gender and feminism are themselves being reconfigured.

Ripples From the Second Wave

Second-wave feminist historians were crucial in challenging and recasting some of the received historical narratives which had focused, for example, on the public sphere of political action, nationalist histories, or major social figures and events (Offen et al. 1991). Such recovery work offered a compelling rationale for women’s studies programs that had a remit not only to research the “hidden history” (Rowbotham 1973) of women but also to understand how such partial histories shaped present-day gender relations. In critical dialogue with labor history and history from below, feminist historians both identified and critiqued indifference to or neglect of women’s experience and gender relations as well as contributed to broadening the scope of these inquiries, including advancing new social histories more attuned to gender and femininity. Attention to the private sphere, domestic worlds, and family history constituted an important strand in this work, a focus which brought to the fore questions of gender relations, their intersections with

social class and location, and the distinctive contribution of women's emotional and social labor (Davidoff and Hall 1987).

To take one example, in the case of Australia, feminist historians took a lead in exposing the gendered nature and omissions underpinning national histories and pioneering narratives of the "Australian legend" (Grimshaw et al. 1994), ones typically characterized by mateship and masculine solidarity. While postcolonial critiques have subsequently revealed other forms of violence and exclusion, notably the dispossession of Indigenous peoples that this legend masked, second-wave feminists identified the marginalization of women and the insidious effects of ungendered historical accounts that rendered women's role invisible, their voices silenced. Questions regarding the limits of national histories remain debated among feminist historians, who have also been prominent in advancing transnational histories and approaches (Bush and Purvis 2016; Camiscioli and Quataert 2017) – a point elaborated below. From the outset, then, women's or gender history has had a strong political mission, partly one of restitution and recovery and partly one that saw attending to women's experience and to gendered social relations as more than simply an additive measure of bringing women into the historical tent. For feminist historians, it was also about changing the character and scope of historical research, of changing the historical tent itself, and of what mattered in how historical accounts of the past and present were constructed.

A major concern of second-wave feminist history was thus to repudiate and unsettle older, established narratives. The revision of received stories and generation of alternative narratives about the past also of course expressed something about the character of contemporaneous concerns. For instance, attention to the history of women's domestic activities or family life, or the gendered dimensions of leadership, or labor market patterns spoke to the changing social circumstances and opportunities opening up for women and girls. Such interrogations have also been integral to the feminist rewriting of history of education, not only exploring the experiences of women as teachers, leaders, parents, and of girls and boys as students but also the ways in which educational processes and institutions are thoroughly gendered and crucial in the production, performance, and potential rearticulation of femininity and masculinity (Martin and Goodman 2011; Skelton and Frances 2009). On the one hand, this can be represented as a generational story, with feminists debunking and rewriting older histories, and positioned as the new generation and way forward. On the other hand, the dynamics of generational movement are also played out within feminist theoretical and historiographical debates.

Revisiting and Revising

Reflections on the direction of contemporary feminist history, following the earlier second-wave recovery history and the more recent discursive and performative turns (Morgan 2009; Roper 2010), convey shifting political, methodological, and theoretical agendas. Current concerns and directions within feminist history also

parallel debates across the discipline more broadly. They include engaging with the digital humanities, digital archives, and new media (Hamilton and Spongberg 2017), shifting affiliations to transnational, comparative, local, global, and entangled histories (Bush and Purvis 2016; Camiscioli and Quataert 2017), the history of emotions and the senses (Eustace et al. 2012), and diverse encounters with contemporary theoretical discussions, such as spatiality, the new materialism, and the post-human, as well as critiques of favored concepts, such as the waves metaphor to characterize the history of feminism (Mahoney 2016). Such stocktaking remains as well a feature of feminist theorizing, where trends and traditions are by turns advocated and admonished, often with an accompanying sense of generational turns and re-turns (Hemmings 2011).

One example from feminist historiographical discussions is offered as illustration. In 2010, the early modern historian Lyndal Roper summed up a frustration with what she saw then as the dominating influence of the “linguistic turn” on a generation of historians (McLeod 2001). She argued that “discourse theory can only take us so far in understanding subjectivity,” adding a now familiar observation that “discourse analysis is unsatisfactory because it cannot explain historical change, and because it lacks an account of psychology. Overemphasizing words, it does not help us understand embodiedness” (Roper 2010, p. 307). In terms of feminist history, Joan Scott’s influential formulation from the late 1980s of gender as a useful category of historical analysis (Scott 1988) both crystallized a theoretical moment and was an impetus to a raft of cultural histories of the (discursive) production of gender (Canning 1994) – the reach of which appears to be the source of some of Roper’s frustration. At its time, Scott’s work on the relationality and historically specific forms of the construction of gender marked an important break with essentialist concepts and socially determinist accounts of women’s experience; it also left a significant mark on feminist histories of education (McLeod 2017; Spencer 2010).

Subsequently, Scott (2011, p. 3) has questioned the basic assumptions underpinning her earlier work, seeing her approach to gender as a social category as having “little to do with unconscious processes” and of herself then (1980s) still operating within dualistic conceptions of public/private and reductive accounts of “cultural construction.” She reflects (Scott 2011, p. 6) that “If I had to summarize the change in my thinking as it relates to theorizing gender, I would say that the path is from sex as the known of physical bodies and so the referent for gender, to sexual difference as a permanent quandary – because ultimately unknowable – for modern subjects, and so, again, the impossible referent for gender.” For an historian of gender, this can be an unsettling experience: Scott (2011, p. 6) observes, as it “deprives her of certainty of the categories of analysis and leaves her searching for only the right questions to ask” – a proposition that invites unpacking in relation to histories of feminism and education. The point of highlighting these retrospective views has been to give a glimpse of the ongoing revisions in play in conceptualizing gender and to indicate some of the dynamic generational dialogues that animate feminist historiographical discussions – what constitutes the scope and approach of gender history is not as straightforward or singular as it might first appear.

Identity and Histories of Feminist Reform

Acknowledging and working with and from such uncertainty about gender, as Scott proposes above, represents a particular challenge for contemporary feminist historians of education. This is so because the construct of gender identity – as knowable, as a site of reform, and as a catalyst for political action and utopian endeavors – has been central to many and diverse feminist projects in education, and an example of this is offered below. Even so, as feminist educators we work in a field in which attending to the historical construction and instability of gender categories has potential conceptual and practical affordances, such as acknowledging the possibilities of education in mediating transformation of gender norms. However, at the same time, pervasive data-driven practices and policies saturate educational imaginaries, demanding neat and fixed categories of difference for measurement and reform agendas. In turn, these practices serve to firm up and stabilize gender categories, beckoning yet making difficult the critical work that historicizes and troubles those same categories.

The arguments Scott advances here are especially resonant in the present, given the cultural unsettling and fluidity of gender norms, and the challenges this presents for a feminist analysis (historical or otherwise) pinned to constructs of gender as a known category. Scott proposes (2011, p. 51) that “the history of feminism, when told as a continuous, progressive story of women’s quest for emancipation, effaces the discontinuity, conflict, and difference that might undermine the politically desired stability of the categories termed ‘women’ and ‘feminist.’” For Foucauldian scholars, among others, the stress on discontinuity and conflict is not likely to be surprising, but it is a salutary reminder of the complex challenges for feminist historiography in attending to gender, as known and unknown, and in historicizing its lineage and in a sense “undoing” itself. For histories of education, so grounded in narratives of progress and emancipation, such arguments are directly relevant to how feminist histories of the education of women and girls as well as gender relations might be told – approached more equivocally and less confidently as a march toward greater gender freedom and equality. Scott’s reflections invite a reconsideration of the prominence given to “identity” as a site of feminist conceptual, political, and historical work in education, and the following section offers an example of how feminist reforms in education constructed, projected, and deconstructed gender identities.

A Case Example: Histories of Feminism, Freedom, and Australian Schooling

A widespread remembering and stock take of second-wave feminism is well underway (Offen and Yan 2018), and this is also so in relation to feminism and education, with broad overviews as well as more regionally focused assessments of its recent legacies (Dillabough et al. 2008; Skelton and Frances 2009; Tinkler and Allan 2015). Reassessments of the longer history of feminism in education, as Spencer has

recently argued (Spencer 2018), reveal how the presence or absence of feminist activism is remembered and recast. Attention to such matters underscores the importance of recognizing the time and place in which we remember and revisit and arguably reinvent the feminist past, in education and elsewhere.

Building on this work, and in order to push the arguments advanced by Scott, I offer a brief example from the history of second-wave feminism in Australian education, drawing out the pivotal position of identity as a site of reform. There are indeed many stories to tell about the recent history of feminism in Australian education, but a dominant one can be characterized as following a “rise and fall” narrative. This is a policy and school reform story which typically begins with the second wave of feminism in the 1970s and the development of equal opportunities and nonsexist programs in schools that sought not to distinguish students on the basis of gender difference; the aim instead was to challenge sex-role stereotypes. The flourishing of feminist and nonsexist agendas in the 1970s is commonly identified as a high point of policy energy, despite acknowledged conceptual limitations regarding understandings of subjectivity, linked in large part to reliance on the sex-role construct to account for the complexities and uncertainties identity formation. Pedagogical and curriculum reforms were underpinned, for example, by notions of the sex role and by a faith in the power of clear and rational knowledge to change sex-typed behavior. This was then followed in the 1980s by attention to essential gender differences and how these played out in pedagogy and learning styles – giving rise to approaches to gender inclusive curriculum. Shifts in emphasis from the 1970s nontraditional roles and equality to the 1980s cultural difference resonated with wider shifts in feminist theorizing. This continued into the 1990s, with a focus on identity and on gender as a social construction, paralleling the rise of encounters between feminism and poststructuralism (Yates 1998).

The constitution of identity (sociologically, historically, discursively, affectively, etc.) has thus been a major focus of feminist action and scholarship (McLeod 2018). While in the 1970s the problem of subjectivity was most often articulated (and resolved) through the language of the sex role and socialization, since the 1990s, identity has been represented in a poststructuralist-inspired language as a “construction,” a discursive and social category that is “made” and open to change. Until relatively recently, gender equity reforms had been patchy as a site of official policy attention, but there has been a notable upsurge of activity in the last few years, largely in relation to sexualities and sexuality education, LGBTIQ issues, respectful relationships curriculum, and school strategies to counter gender-based violence (Ollis and Harrison 2016). Conceptually, this work has been accompanied by a focus on affect, embodiment, and new materialism, underscoring the assemblage of forces, things, and effects that shape subjectivity and, at the same time, troubling ideas of the stable, rational learning subject amendable to certain logics of reform (Renold and Ringrose 2013; Youdell 2011). This brief example serves to illustrate the complexity of taking gender identity as the locus of educational reform and historical inquiry – simultaneously fixed and unstable and constituted by equally volatile theoretical framings and investments.

Trends in Gendered Histories of Education

The chapter began by noting historiographical trends in feminist history and pointed to some shared concerns and approaches in the trajectory of gender and women's history in education. What, then, have been some of the key trends and topics explored in gendered histories of education? Numerous reviews of the "gendered politics of historical writing in history of education" (Goodman 2012; see too Spencer 2010) have documented the various stages and predominant themes as well as tensions and gaps within this field. In her 2005 Presidential address to the UK History of Education Society, Ruth Watts (2005a) reported on her survey of publications on women's and gender studies in the history of education, from 1976 [the year of her first history of education conference but a date also signaling the early flourishing of second-wave feminist history] to 2004, basing her survey predominantly on the UK-based *History of Education* journal. Examining the themes, approaches and changes explored by these studies, she asked "what historians of education can learn from this and where they should go next." Watt's insightful and comprehensive overview (see too the companion index of articles; Watts 2005b) sets out some of the key substantive and methodological concerns that exercised historians working at the intersections of gender, history, and education.

Of particular note is her identification of some of the "big ideas" that were apparent over close to a 30-year period – from, in a sense, the early formalization of a scholarly field. In summary, the big ideas include "new" sources, new ideas, concepts, and methodologies, particularly drawing from interdisciplinary insights, especially from sociology and ethnography (Watts 2005a, p. 231), social construction of masculinity and femininity, women's voice and visibility, language, sexual division of labor, separate spheres and public-private divide, class, biographical approaches, family, individuals, and intersecting social structure (ibid.): the list is indeed long and in some respects true of much historical and gender studies work during this period. Yet what is missing or underrepresented is as is revealing and perhaps even more obvious in retrospect. At the time, Watts observed that "absences included minorities and geographical concerns" (ibid.). She also noted that there was little "comparative work," "relatively few papers on masculinity", that accessing the educational lives of working-class women remained difficult and that while there had been an upsurge of papers on policy, more multilayered historical studies of policy were needed in order to shift the gaze from a predominant focus on policy makers (Watts 2005a, p. 240).

Joyce Goodman recently observed that "since Watts' overview, scholarship on working class women, minorities and masculinities continues to remain sparse; but visual, spatial, material and transnational methodologies are being adopted by researchers with an interest in gender" (Goodman 2012, p. 10). While it is not immediately clear to which group or what the term "minorities" applies, it is reasonable to presume that it refers to cultural or ethnic groups that are marginalized within particular national settings.

Cautions and Caveats

In drawing parallels between the concerns of feminist history and those of feminist history of education, two caveats or cautions should be acknowledged here. First, it is important to avoid establishing a simple one-way transmission or transfer model of influence, with the history of education a kind of passive recipient of feminist historiographical developments happening elsewhere. This would be too simplistic an account of the history of ideas, as if intellectual innovations arise from linear cause-effect relations and only happen on the pages of journals or in specialized communities of dialogue. Innovations in the history of education also emerged in the context of debates and changing practices within the wider field of educational research – the constitutive object of inquiry – including the influence of new sociology, critical pedagogies, social movements, alternative schooling, and equity and social justice agendas informed by the women’s movement, among others.

A second caution is the risk of addressing historiographical influences in a universalistic way that does not pay sufficient heed to local circumstances and contexts, as if the historiography transcends and hovers over national and regional traditions and preoccupations. This is evident not only in terms of the diverse intellectual and political histories of feminism and education in different regions but also in terms of the relative prominence given to gender and feminist histories of education among particular scholarly communities. For example, the UK journals *History of Education* (Watts 2005b) and the *Journal of Education Administration and History* (McLeod 2017; Spencer 2010; Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008) have given considerable profile to these historiographical issues and to publishing work and special issues on gender and the history of education. In contrast, as Rebecca Rogers (2014, p. 732) observed, the journal of the International Standing Conference in the History of Education, *Paedagogica Historica*, as of 2014 and since its establishment in 1961, had published only one special issue on gender. A cursory review of the pages of the US *History of Education Quarterly* similarly reveals relatively few articles in which gender and feminism are headline topics, while the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, *History of Education Review*, has regularly published papers in these fields. More schematically again, a quick scan of the table of contents of these national and international journals gives a sense of the rising interest and the fall and plateauing of gender as a category of historical concern. Plotting from the 1970s and into the 1980s, there is an evident outburst of publications on girls and women as subjects of educational and epistemological exclusion, some rising attention in the 1990s, followed by a relative plateauing with more of a resurgence of focus in recent years, particularly accompanying the affective, spatial, material, and sensory turns. Of course, these blunt observations do not claim to be anything other than snapshots and are not the result of systematic review, which would reveal a more nuanced picture. I am also putting aside for now the range of fora in which historical studies of education and gender appear; these are not confined to journals specifically tagged to the history of education but can appear in journals with a more explicit focus on gender, such as *Gender and Education* (Tinkler and Jackson 2014). Moreover, this can include studies that have an

historicizing or philosophical orientation rather than, for example, a strong archival base, an observation that pertains to innovations in historical studies of education more generally (Popkewitz 2013). This deliberately broad-brush picture, however, serves to indicate the importance of attending to the specificity of intellectual communities, cultural and regional contexts, and domains of practice in order to understand the geopolitics and historicity of feminist histories of education.

That said, feminist questions and approaches to the history of education have radically changed what researchers and educators know about and look for across a whole range of matters to do with formal and informal education – curriculum, teaching, administration, policy, student participation, and engagement, to name but a few. These histories have shifted and sharpened the focus of inquiry, looking afresh at, for example, leadership (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008; Whitehead 2016), curriculum (Hendry 2011), colonial schooling (Theobald 1996), and the lives of women educators (Weiler and Middleton 1999). In doing so, they have reframed the forms of knowledge and practices in education that are taken to count as worthy of historical investigation and as warranting a place on the historical record. Importantly, they have been part of a wave of feminist educational researchers who have brought more clearly into view the significance of gendered dynamics in shaping educational experiences, possibilities, and pathways and, in turn, illuminated the potency of the formal and informal curriculum in shaping subjectivities and ways of being in the world.

In the wake of new cultural and social histories, as well as the new sociology of the 1970s, feminism was of course not the only intellectual and sociopolitical force at work here, but it has been a particularly powerful one. This is especially evident in the deceptively simple mantra of the “personal is political,” which distilled the breaking up of the public/private sphere dichotomy and multiple associated binaries that structured intellectual work as well as educational practice and social imaginaries. This played out in educational and historical scholarship in diverse ways, such as attention to subtle and significant effects of relationships – pedagogical, peer, family, and community – as part of the remit of histories of education that went well beyond the “add women and stir” approach. But historiographical debates were not the only audience and context for how gender and feminist perspectives changed the history of education, and it is important to situate these developments in relation to the fields of historical *and* educational research.

The Times and Places of Feminism

Education is a field of practice (and not only a disciplinary practice) and insights from 1970s feminism actively shaped education policy reform agendas, notably those concerned with gender equity and the representation and participation of women and girls (Yates 1998). These agendas, in turn, lent urgency and political edge to the work of feminist historians. As discussed above, gendered subjectivity – via concepts, for example, of the sex role and later the construction of gender – was an important focus of educational policy and programs, with schools situated as

socio-spatial sites that could mediate changes in constructions and effects of gender. Further, in Australia at least, “history” was a crucial touchstone for gender equity reformers and for educators tackling sexism in schools with, for example, text books, school curriculum, and the hitherto hidden history of women the focus of much reforming zeal (McLeod 2001). Gendered studies in the history of education were thus not neatly separable from questions of policy and practice, and questions from both domains, I am arguing, permeated and shaped each other.

As with gender studies in general, feminist interventions in the history of education represented a definite, if not singular, take on the politics of (historical) knowledge. As such, they were integral to a wave of critical attention to the past/present dynamic and to how constructions of the past – the histories that feminism helps to surface and make intelligible – were shaped by exigencies of the present. Second-wave feminist critiques of contemporary social relations gave added impetus to historical studies of, for example, the underrepresentation of women in leadership, girls in science and technology curriculum, the subtle gendered dynamics of classroom pedagogies, or the reforming efforts of particular activists for gender equality. In fields such as education, the historical lineage of the present has especially palpable effects in shaping contemporary practices and forms of subjectivity – as teachers, students, parents, and so forth. While Foucauldian genealogy lays claim to a particular way of conceptualizing “history of the present,” not all feminist or gender histories of education share this conceptual lineage, yet this body of scholarship nevertheless plainly speaks from and back to the present.

In calling attention to the underrepresentation of particular social groups, the valuable overviews noted above also point to the longstanding connection of feminist history with the politics of identity, to practices of recognition and giving voice, and a commitment at the least to categorical inclusiveness as part of striving for forms of epistemic justice. That is, by including women and telling histories from different vantage points, a more “complete” account of the past is constituted, representing a kind of retrospective historical inclusion. This simple point connects to the larger question raised at the opening of this chapter as to what constitutes a feminist orientation to the history of education now and whether historical inclusiveness, of correcting the record for representational justice, remains a fundamental feature of feminist and gender histories, in or outside the field of education. Further and related challenges are posed by analyses of “intersectionality” which, in some respects, decenter gender as a primary or organizing category of analysis and insist instead on attending to the intersecting effects of multiple contexts and dimensions of subjectivity. Of course, early second-wave feminists were not oblivious to these imperatives but arguably looked more readily to class and its intersections with gender than to other interlocking aspects of identity.

Goodman’s canvassing of the field gives prominence to feminist scholarship engaging with decolonizing, postcolonial, and transnational histories, reflecting the wider reach of these approaches since Watts’ 2005 overview (see, too, Collins and Allender 2013; Goodman et al. 2009). Goodman identifies how the influence of postcolonial theory sharpened the “boundaries of racial, cultural, and gender divides” (Goodman 2012, p. 16), highlighting, for example, the implication of

gender divisions in sustaining colonial regimes; transnational histories similarly disturb (national) units of analysis and emphasize relationality and interconnectedness (Goodman 2012, p. 23). Much has been written on the merits and pitfalls of the “transnational turn” (Bagchi et al. 2014) both within and outside the history of education. The limitations of confining histories of education within a national frame are particularly marked in an era of accelerating globalization, when ideas, policies, and practices travel as if without a home or point of origin and return. Yet, as Goodman observes, “national and comparative approaches remain important for understanding the similarities and differences in the operation of gender in national and local contexts and for casting into relief evidence of sameness and difference that would otherwise be lost” (Goodman 2012, p. 23). This includes building situated histories of international movements, such as feminism, be they located in the so-called global north or global south, in the metropolitan hub with its imperial gaze, or in settler-colonial and decolonizing worlds beyond the center. A transnational angle onto the history of feminism in education is crucial for tracing points of convergence and divergence, for example, in the periodization and character of feminist activism (did the feminist “waves” happen at the same time and have much the same concerns and strategies across diverse regions?).

More recently the affordances of conceptualizing historical phenomena and events not comparatively but as entangled have gained some traction (Seddon et al. 2018), but in my view, it can risk sidestepping – giving a new name – rather than working through some of these challenges. The notion of entanglement “focuses attention on events, such as travelling ideas, people, and goods that interrupt a particular present.” It acknowledges as well “how each of these elements also has their own history” and thus “addresses issues of convergence, contingency, diverse, and unexpected collisions of forces and effects” (Seddon et al. 2018, p. 9). Even so, as I have argued with Terri Seddon and Noah W. Sobe “we should not rest on the assertion of ‘entanglement’ as a sufficient concept to account for the complexity of the present or the past. . . Rather, the imperative is to trace out the specificity of relations and the forms that unfold with particular entanglements” (Seddon et al. 2018, p. 9).

For histories of feminism, this includes, perhaps somewhat paradoxically, focused attention to the multiple times of feminism and the chronologies of feminist theory, including where subtle if persuasive expectations prevail to follow the travelling ideas of particular types of feminism, originating in some metropolitan centers, to be engaged with elsewhere, often at later times and in different historical and cultural contexts (McLeod 2018). Questions of theoretical framing and context are crucial here, along with the challenge of not rendering the Euro/Anglo/American metropole as the generating site of proper theory that can [should?] be adapted and acknowledged elsewhere. These may be familiar challenges, particularly for post-colonial and Indigenous scholars, yet they demand a more visible and critical place at the table where there is any discussion of feminist theory and its contribution to historical studies of education. These matters also return us to the questions with which this chapter opened, that is, the conundrum of what constitutes or makes history of education feminist today.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In this chapter, I have mapped current debates and trends in gendered histories of education, noting the influence of feminist history more broadly, as well as influences deriving from being embedded in a specific field of practice such as education. I have distinguished between histories of feminism and those of gender and education and argued for greater consideration of the historicity of approaches and questions informing both endeavors. This includes a call for more robust attention to the place and times of feminist theory and its imbrication in historical scholarship, and I looked to the affordances for this as suggested by transnational and entangled histories. Connected to this, I have illustrated some of the generational dynamics in play, across constructions of historical problems, theories, and politics, drawing out the significance of approaches to both the production and instability of gender as a category of identity. The question remains, however, as to the future directions of feminist and gendered histories of education – is it a niche activity, and what might be its defining signature/s?

A key question for Watts in her 2005 overview, and one that remains pertinent, was not simply documenting the number of papers on women in the history of education but asking whether the “greater presence has changed both understanding of gender issues themselves and whether it was affected the whole field (if there is such a thing), and if it has, how?” (Watts 2005a, p. 226). In the decade and more since Watt’s stock take, it is worth pausing to consider how historians of education and gender scholars might respond to such questions now. In what ways has feminist history made a difference to the questions that historians of education ask about their diverse fields of inquiry – be that schooling, higher education, curriculum, community, or vocational or popular education? Without doubt, as I have canvassed here, feminist inquiry and attention to gender dynamics and identities have transformed the scope and concerns of history of education, bringing new theoretical and substantive questions to bear. What is less clear perhaps is whether this is confined to a separate strand of gender historical research or whether it has fundamentally altered the disciplinary practices and habits of the history of education field – notwithstanding the complexities in pinning down or attempting to stabilize that definition. As Joanna de Groot has recently argued, acknowledgement of the impact and significance of gender history is “still very limited among those not centrally involved in the field” (Groot 2018, p. 109).

Two further and related tensions persist in relation to gendered histories of education. The first is how feminist historians position and frame their work conceptually, empirically, and methodologically – what makes the work feminist, and in what approaches and concerns do feminist orientations reside? The second tension is how feminist histories of education fit in relation to other critical histories. Can we now look to a more intersectional historiography of education, or does the history of education remain largely stuck in parallel or bifurcated traditions, with gender being taken care of by gender “specialists,” while the main story carries on? As de Groot proposes, tensions persist “between the aspiration both to identify and pursue women’s and gender history as discrete fields of scholarly endeavour and the

aspiration for women and gender to be treated as topics/categories which should be constitutive of all historical inquiry” (Groot 2018, p. 109). Moreover, de Groot argues, despite considerable success in opening up new fields and lines of inquiry, “what has not been achieved is the mainstreaming of either the empirical or the conceptual and methodological contributions made by women’s history to historical scholarship over the last few decades” (p. 111). This is a challenging argument for some feminists, for whom an oppositional, “outside the tent, looking in” perspective has been a crucial and perhaps indeed a defining feature of their epistemology. As Susan Morgan observed, a “gender perspective can never inhabit the historical mainstream in any epistemological sense, ‘for that would be a disavowal of its fundamentally subversive practice’” (cited in Goodman 2012, p. 24).

The direction of feminist and gender histories of education remains subject to multiple influences. I have suggested that one renewed challenge is how to position the analytic projects of these histories in relation to other theoretical, political and historical approaches. A second challenge is undertaking this crucial work of critical review in the context of globalizing geopolitical and social transformations that profoundly trouble how gender itself is understood, and how feminism tells its own history. Finally, despite the affective pull of the “subversive practice” of feminism as characterized by Morgan, in my view, the bifurcation between history of education and feminist and gender approaches to the history of education is no longer defensible.

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Visuality, Materiality, and History

9

Inés Dussel

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Abstract

The “visual turn” and the “material turn” have had a significant impact in the history of education, which is evidenced in the growing number of research that takes images and artifacts as their focus. Pictures and objects have emerged as legitimate subjects of inquiry, and there is a renewed interest in understanding them as co-constitutive of social events. Images and objects are seen as increasingly interconnected, with the visual dimension ever more evident in material studies and the material aspect more emphasized in some approaches to the history of images.

The first two sections of the chapter review two main approaches to images and objects in educational history: the semiotic approach and the ontological one. The semiotic approach analyzes images and objects as signs, discourses, or texts enmeshed in the production of space, epistemologies, and subjectivities. The ontological approach emphasizes their presence as material entities with their own history or social biography and whose coexistence produces particular effects. While these approaches are not mutually exclusive, their differences have to be taken into account when working with and on images and artifacts

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in the history of education. In the last section, I will discuss how digital technologies are changing images and objects not only in their materiality but mostly in how human beings interact with them. Together with the expansion and transformation of the archive in digital times, these new conditions pose challenges to the practice and craft of educational historians that have to be taken seriously.

Keywords

History of education · Visual history · Visual turn · Material turn · Digital technologies

Introduction

The visual and the material have been receiving significant attention in the history of education in the last two decades. Taking impulse from larger turns in historiography (Daston 2006; Mitchell 1994), several scholars have analyzed images and artifacts as records of the past that go beyond what has been kept in written archives, in the hope that they will enrich our understanding of the history of educational processes.

This expansion is visible in the growing number of articles and books devoted to these issues and also in the conceptual and methodological shifts experienced in the last years. To illustrate these variations, a parabola can be drawn between two special issues of *Paedagogica Historica*, a leading journal in the field, devoted to the visual. The first point of the curve would be the volume on *The Challenge of the Visual in the History of Education* (Depaepe and Henkens 2000), which highlighted the importance of visual sources for historians. The articles, rather innovative at the time, analyzed metaphors, icons, teaching aids, wall charts, textbooks, emblematic use, school architecture, exhibitions, film, cartoons, cigarette cards, and photographs as representations with equal value than written documents. The sources went well further than the established iconography of school systems and showed the impact of cultural studies in the inclusion of mass consumption culture artifacts such as movies, comics, and commercial goods. The contributions looked at their meanings and functions within educational settings, reading images as important elements of discursive fields within the different histories of education. The second point of the parabola would be *Paedagogica Historica*'s last volume of 2017 (Priem and Dussel 2017), which offered a reappraisal of the visual turn considering images as "objects to think with," as material artifacts that have a social biography and whose circulation and reappropriation in different contexts and visual regimes is relevant for understanding how they work and gain new meanings. The approaches taken by the authors included historicizing exhibitions and representational practices of racial and class identities; the history of a single picture through the technologies, material supports, emotional climates, and sensitivities associated with its production and reception; an analysis of children's film history through the lens of iconoclasm and the gestures of revolt; and the history of visual technologies such as photography, film, and exhibitionary practices in galleries, museums, and books. As McLeod (this volume) has stated for gender histories, it seems that in the study of the visual,

there has also been a shift toward embodiedness, with images understood as mobile objects that have a “life” or a presence that, while not humane, interacts with human history in decisive ways.

The shifts between 2000 and 2017 are supported on a number of studies that produced groundbreaking work on the intersections between the visual and the material. Among them, most noteworthy is research done on the history of educational photography and film (Comas Rubí 2010; May 2010; Warmington et al. 2011), on school culture and school architecture (Burke et al. 2013; Lawn and Grosvenor 2005), on exhibition designs and the power of display (Lawn 2009), and on the sensorial and metaphorical-material aspects of educational practices (Burke 2005; Dussel 2013; Grosvenor 2012; Vidal and da Silva 2011). A significant example of this confluence of the visual and the material are recent histories of the school desk (Castro and da Silva 2012; Depaepe et al. 2014; Meda 2016; Moreno Martínez 2005) that have reckoned images not only as an important source for studying the trajectories of school furniture or equipment but also have taken the objects as visual technologies that organize attention and sight within classrooms. Historiographical discussions about methods and trends (Depaepe and Smeyers 2014; Mietzner et al. 2005) have also been important for relocating the visual and the material within the field.

It is beyond any doubt that these shifts have received a pivotal impulse by digital technologies and cultural changes that have made it not only easier but also more appealing to work with multimodal archives. The collections of inscriptions with which historians work today are better equipped than before to preserve records of images and objects, most generally in visual formats that travel more easily across contexts – something that can now be used for objects as well, with 3-D printers. The availability of images in a digitalized world is a well-known fact; however, as will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, the challenges it poses to historiographical practices in relation to the quality and amount of sources and the instability of archives may need further examination.

Another major impulse has come from comparative, transnational, and world histories (Bagchi et al. 2014) that address the circulation and interconnection of people and objects in ways that problematize the colonial and national narratives and archives in the history of education. Considering images and objects as portable artifacts, produced by technologies and cultural industries that became increasingly global, makes them particularly well suited to feed this vibrant strand of research; one fine example is Valdeniza Barra’s study of the blackboard in Sao Paulo in the nineteenth century (2016), which shows how classroom technologies traveled across different geographies and pedagogies and become “domestic” or “local” as part of multiple and heterogeneous historical developments at different scales.

In order to understand how images and artifacts are being studied in educational history, the chapter will review two main approaches: the semiotic approach and the ontological one, referring to some of their theoretical assumptions and recent examples of scholarship in the field. (I adapt the distinction freely from Georges Didi-Huberman’s work, most notably his latest collection of essays *Aperçues* (2018), where he uses these approaches to analyze “things glimpsed,” not completely seen,

part of critical instants in which one is touched by something.) The semiotic approach analyzes images and objects as signs, discourses, or texts that are enmeshed in the production of space, epistemologies, and subjectivities. The ontological approach emphasizes their presence as material entities with their own history or social biography and whose coexistence produces particular effects, for example, in pictures or objects that carry on affective traces of the past or that produce specific bodily movements. While I do not consider these approaches as mutually exclusive, there are however important differences between the two, in their assumptions, in their research questions, and even in their ethics in relation to images and objects, which have to be taken into account when working with them in the history of education. In the closing section, I discuss how digital technologies are changing our conceptions and relationships with images and objects and transforming the ways in which they are stored and preserved for future historians. These new conditions of the visual and the material in digital times are starting to receive attention in the history of education, but there is still much more to do so that these concerns take center stage in the daily craft of historians as well as in the education of historians and of the general public. (See, for example, two recent discussions published by the *International Journal for the Historiography of Education* (“Digital Humanities: And Where Are We Heading?”, *IJHE* 2015/1, and “Post-Truth and the End of What? Philosophical and Historiographical Reflections”, *IJHE* 2017/2) and the recently launched section on Digital Methods and Media of the journal *Encounters in Theory and History of Education* (<https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/encounters>).

The Appeal of the Visual and the Material: The Semiotic Approach

There should be no doubt that objects and images were present in educational historiography well before the latest “turns” of the last two decades. They were used by historians of education in different ways: as illustrations of their arguments, as part of museum exhibits, or, less so, as archeological evidence of past practices, as in the history of writing in Ancient times. Yet it is true that, as Lawn and Grosvenor say, “[t]he materiality of schooling . . . tended to stay with museum specialists and not historians of education” (Lawn and Grosvenor 2005, p. 7).

Since the 1960s and 1970s, objects and images received a renewed impulse by radical histories that were willing to write *history from below* and give voice and flesh to the daily lives of ordinary people. Inspired by these historiographies, researchers took family albums, amateur films, or home artifacts as carriers and containers of this experience. Images and objects were taken as sources that could purvey other traces of the past of hitherto marginalized subjects – i.e., feminist histories, working class histories, and children’s histories. A renovated interest in school museums followed, with the assumption that artifacts and technologies could bring access to the daily life of schools, its minutiae, textures, and tensions (Vidal and Silva 2011). In short, they went from being “weak sources” to becoming strong ones (Dekker 2014), reliable enough to contribute to historiography.

Most of these studies stayed within the limits of a representational analysis, that is, a dualistic perspective in which signs represent concepts or realities (Fendler 2014). They have preferred content studies of who and how is being represented in pictures, or how the artifact conveys an external meaning, with theoretical frameworks that include interactionism, phenomenology, structuralism, or Marxism and Neo-Marxism and less commonly poststructuralism. These variations are not minor: if signs are stable and univocal for structuralists and interactionists, poststructural semiotics conceives the relationships between signifier and signified as one of *differance* and gives signs to a constitutive role in subjectivities (Peim 2005), moving away from representational frameworks.

Of this vast range of backgrounds, I would like to cogitate on two theorists whose effects on the semiotic and discursive approach were pivotal: Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. Both authors shared a critical orientation toward positivistic epistemologies that seek clarity, objectivity, and univocity in language (“the world as it is”) and were central to the renovation of the concepts and methods of social theory in the last decades. The choice to focus on these two theorists is related to what Yacavone (2013) says about Barthes and Benjamin in relation to visual studies – to which Foucault and material objects could be added: most commentators and theorists of the image and the material after the 1970s are indebted to their lines of thought, be it through a direct reading or through the works done by John Berger, Susan Sontag, Peter Burke, Hans Belting, or Georges Didi-Huberman. In the next paragraphs, I will sketch their ideas about the visual and the material in order to further analyze the assumptions of the semiotic approach to pictures and objects.

Roland Barthes approached the visual mainly through the photographic, with an interest in the content message and rhetoric of pictures. (I have discussed elsewhere the “capturing” of the visual by the photographic as something that has had pernicious effects in historical research: it has invisibilized other visual media and practices, and by the same token, it has impoverished the analysis of photography as a specific technological media (Dussel 2013).) In a seminal 1961 text, he stated that the photographic, being a mechanical analogue to the real, could be purely denotative and did not need a code to represent the real. Photography as a medium contained a promise of non-mediation, of an extralinguistic sign that could do, at least in principle, without the limitations and power relations of language (Barthes 1961). For him, the connotative came *after* the picture was written by display, print, and circulation and also *after* the subject brought to its viewing his/her perceptive, cognitive, and ideological categories. So, even if the photographic always carried both a denotative message and a connotative one, the presence of the denotative meant that it could still show traces of the uniqueness of the real in ways in which linguistic signs could not. There was, then, some optimism about photography’s possibilities to overcome the dominance of the linguistic structure through locating itself “*en-deçà du langage* [in this side of language]” (Barthes 1961, p. 137), in a locus not *beyond* but *before* language.

Needless to say for anyone relatively acquainted with Barthes’ work, it should be stressed that his approach was never a naïve celebration of the naturalness of

photography. He thought images and cultural artifacts could be better approached through a systematic, semiotic lens. Barthes made it clear that the first stage of “pure” denotative pictures was mythical and that the photo itself often (but not always) contained connotative procedures: tricking or manipulating the scene, posing, arranging objects, and aestheticizing an event. He also pointed to the presence of series of images that could eventually become signifying chains; an example he used was the comic effect in pictures, which can rarely be achieved by only one picture and needs repetition or typification. In both arguments, he was pointing to the possibility of analyzing pictures as a language, even if avoiding anchoring their meanings to a fixed linguistic code. Along with the semiotic lens, he advanced an approach to the ideological and social implications of images and practices, most notably in his *Mythologies* (1957), where he discussed the genre of *photo-chocs* (shocking pictures) and the 1955 MOMA exhibit “The Family of Man” as an example of the universalist visual discourse of anthropology and human rights. Through this critique, he contributed to the independence of visual analysis from art histories, shifting its concerns toward mundane practices and mass culture icons. His critical analyses were highly inspirational for the emerging cultural studies, and his conceptual operations and associations acted as a model for several generations of researchers.

After this semiotic period, Barthes later turned to a more phenomenological perspective that emphasized the personal and existential experience of pictures as cultural artifacts (Yacavone 2013). From this period are his notions of *studium* and *punctum*, the first one being the culturally determined aspects of an image (such as the ones he studied in *Mythologies*) and the second a deeply subjective experience that comes out of the image and punctures or pierces the spectator (Barthes 1985). The *punctum* appears only in the singular encounter between a photograph and its viewer; it is unpredictable, although it is related to the “imaginary excess” of the picture (Batchen 2009). As Priem and Fendler (2015) stated, with these notions Barthes suggested that research should go beyond discourse to include an affective, personal, and singular experience with images and objects that is not always mediated by language and thus recaptures what was first implied by his 1961 search for the *en-deçà du langage* in pictures. For Barthes, it became clear that the experience with images is not only visual but multisensorial, involving the crossing of multiple trajectories of bodies and artifacts, and multitemporal, as these trajectories might be disjointed or non-synchronous.

In relation to the second theorist analyzed in this section, Michel Foucault, he went through similar shifts in his study of discourse, power, and subjectivity, although he never embraced phenomenology in the ways that Barthes did (Castro 2014). Even though he did not devote major texts to the visual, Foucault frequently used images, particularly paintings, in his writings – among them, *The Regents of the Old Men’s Almshouse in Haarlem* by Frans Hals, *Las Meninas* by Velázquez, and others by Goya and Magritte (Didi-Huberman 2014). But the consideration of the visual and material was in many respects fundamental to his theorizations. For example, *The Birth of the Clinic* (originally published in 1963) and *Discipline and Punish* (in 1975) contain several references to the organization of the gaze and of

social visibility as part and parcel of power-knowledge regimes (Foucault 1973, 1977). In particular, the *panopticon* as a disciplinarian institution has obvious optical dimensions and has been used extensively in educational research as a metaphor to analyze the relationships of visibilities and power regimes in the school.

Despite the relevance of these references to the visual for understanding Foucault's theorizing, most educational researchers who took his lead privileged his notions of discourse and epistemic regimes and his emphasis on the materiality of power. In particular, the idea that practices can be analyzed according to particular discursive and epistemic regimes shaped by power relations has been most influential, together with his emphasis of the order and disorder in these regimes, and their continuities and breaks. Foucault provided a language and methods for those historians willing to study how the visual and the material are entangled in power-knowledge regimes. (In that respect, I value Foucault's effects on the historiography of education as going well beyond the tight straightjacket of the disciplinary hypothesis identified by Depaepe, Simon, and Verstraete (2014); his inspiration for the study of discourses and the materiality of power has been quite central to the renewal of educational historiography.) Another theoretical legacy of Foucault's historical work is a radical expansion of the notion of the archive, which he defined as that which has been said (statements) and seen (visibilities) (Foucault 1972). Against the centralized, colonial archive of written texts, Foucault urged researchers to look at other tracks of the past, to interrogate architectures, bodily dispositions and habits, profane activities, and any other material trace of power that could point to the configurations of a given society.

Even though there are significant differences between Foucault's discursive and material analysis of power regimes and Barthes' analysis of the photographic, both French intellectuals have inspired a strand of research in the history of the visual and the material that analyzes images and objects as signs or indexes that can be approached through discursive or semiotic frameworks. Through a symptomatic reading (Fendler 2017), these signs give entry to larger political, cultural, and epistemological configurations. As it has already been said in the introduction to this chapter, this approach does not exclude a consideration of the materiality of images or objects; particularly Foucault – via Jonathan Crary's study of visual technologies in his *Techniques of the Observer* (1991) – has been quite relevant for those scholars studying space, artifacts, and bodies in the histories of education. However, Barthes and Foucault's early writings on the rhetoric and semiotic of the image and the discursive quality of the social set the assumptions on which a critical semiotics of the image was and is still grounded: the discursive character of the visual and the material, their inscription in larger epistemic and ideological configurations, the possibility that they be *before* language and give access to a non-linguistic experience, and finally their ubiquity and mundane presence, granting the material and the visual independence from the exclusive realm of museums and antiquarians.

Two examples of scholarship show the productivity of this approach for analyzing images and objects. The first one is Nick Peim's study of two visual texts (a

photograph and a movie) that represent the teacher. For Peim, “[t]echniques for reading ‘visual’ media texts are *fundamentally* no different from techniques for reading any texts” (Peim 2005, p. 187, his emphasis). Peim identifies different procedures for reading images: semiotic, narratological, generic, intertextual, discursive, and deconstructive, which he then puts to use in order to produce a critical reading of teachers’ representation in the media. Peim confronts the positivistic semiotics that would like to fix a meaning to these media texts; he prefers to open up different analytical possibilities through interrogating what each procedure could offer and what they enable us to read in any given text. Foucault’s questioning of authorship and Barthes’ semiotics of the image figure prominently in his references.

A second example that combines the semiotic of the image with a political reading of its text is Ciavatta’s study of photographs of factory workers in early twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro (2005). Ciavatta, a social and educational Brazilian historian, analyzes the genre of factory photographs (“the great family of the factory”) in order to see the hierarchies, orders, and tensions that might not have been spoken about. Paying attention to details such as the position of tools and machines, the gaze toward or away from the camera, and the bodily gestures, Ciavatta reads these pictures as part of a visual and material regime that wanted to produce a romantic version of the factory as a community, but could not succeed in controlling all the details depicted. Ciavatta agrees with Barthes that there is an *en-deçà du langage* in photography, something that is not entirely governable and that can be referred to ruptures or tensions in power regimes. For Ciavatta, studying pictures grants access to traces of the past that are not available through written texts.

Other studies on the cultural and ideological semiotics of visual texts include work done on films and their portraiture of childhood (May 2010), on the visual tropes of schooling such as the apple and the dunce cap (Weaver 2012), and on children’s drawings as sources for a social history of childhood (Meda 2014). These works use semiotic tools for analyzing what these visual and material practices represent in relation to larger social and cultural dynamics; they also make visible that what constitutes the archive in the history of education is expanding to include more and more icons and practices, an expansion that took significant impulse from Barthes and Foucault’s earlier writings. I will now move to the second approach that will be analyzed in this chapter: the ontological perspective.

The Visual Turns Material, the Material Turns Visual

If the semiotic approach intends to decode or read the image and the object with the premise that they acquire meanings by the discourses that surround them, the ontological approach emphasizes their presence as material entities with their own history or social biography (Edwards 2015) and their active role in meaning-making as nonhuman actants in social networks (Latour 2005). The ontological perspective does not deny or exclude the discursive but claims that the latter does not exhaust the meanings and operations of artifacts. Images and objects are portable elements that move from one context to another, from one surface or medium to a different one,

and these movements accrue their meanings and currencies. With the ontological perspective, the vocabulary to study images and objects has shifted from codes and regimes to “intertextuality and remediation,” “pastiche and allusionism,” and “emulation and appropriation” (Elsaesser 2013, p. 187).

Besides Foucault and his preoccupation with the material life of power, another unavoidable reference for those interested in the ontology of images and objects is Walter Benjamin’s cultural analysis, which has experienced an unexpected revival in the last decades. His attention to the materials, technologies, and details of cultural production made him a dominant reference for those interested in a materialistic history of culture; his own biography also contributed to his fame as an intellectual nomad well fitted for troubled times.

Yet beyond the theoretical fads and fashions, Benjamin is, for the ontological approach to the visual and the material, and for those interested in their interconnections, an almost compulsory reference, although his questions and sensibility have not always been followed by those who take an ontological approach to images and artifacts. Benjamin’s contributions to what would later become the visual and material turns can be seen in his essay “Little History of Photography,” written in 1931, where he studied the emergence of photography as part of technological, artistic, sociological, and cultural dynamics. He paid attention to the development of techniques and apparatuses, their cost and availability, as well as to the contexts and social demands put on photography, to its links to other visual media such as painting or film, and to its circulation in the printed media. He also showed the affective dimensions of pictures and how they connected to social climates and aspirations. In doing this, Benjamin opened the ground for histories of the visual that took into account the material quality of images but also for histories of the material that considered the visual attributes of objects and our visual relation with them, for example, his approach to auratic experiences as those in which we invest the object “with the ability to look back at us” (Benjamin 2003, p. 338). He was among the first to underscore the influence of visual media in the reshaping of humans’ relationship to temporality and history: writing about the changes in the conceptualization of history, he saw that in cinematic times “[h]istory decays into images, not into stories” (Benjamin 1999b, p. 476) (On cinematic time, see the compelling and comprehensive study by Doane (2002)). In his approach, the visual and the material were part of what configures human experience; there is no way to extricate one from the other.

Contemporary historiographies have taken these premises into new directions. In relation to the visual, two examples can be mentioned. First, Deborah Poole proposed the notion of the political economy of the visual to study the circuits of production, circulation, and consumption of images. Taking a neo-Marxist approach, she analyzed the material practices involved in these circuits in the Andes, i.e., the photographic ateliers, painters, and postcards makers of Peru in the last three centuries, with a particular concern about race and the historical, changing production of racial difference (Poole 1997). Her perspective emphasized how race and class are visually and materially produced and that scholars should follow the path of image makers and of the objects themselves, their powers and weaknesses, and their silences and inconsistencies, to better understand the configuration of our social

world. Influenced by Foucault and postcolonial theory, Poole saw hierarchies and tensions in these visual regimes, giving weight to the particular surfaces and objects in which images were inscribed.

A different orientation is that of Elizabeth Edwards, who has produced a history of images that is informed by anthropology, and that takes the materiality of the visual seriously. Her interdisciplinary stance is most evident in her study of amateur photographers in the production of an English historical imagination; in it she followed the threads of amateur clubs, their journals, their travels and readings, their verbal arguments, and their photographic practices (Edwards 2012). Her work points to the importance of the practices of production and exhibition of images, to the lives of those who made them and to the ways in which they circulated, and to the feelings or affects that were implicated in the afterlives of the images in books, associations, and national iconographies. In her take, the history of images is part of both “an affective history and an effective history,” that is, of the concretization and the strategies of particular historical narratives that mingle artifacts, affects, and people in plural ways (Edwards 2015, p. 325).

In relation to material studies, there has been a confluence of science studies, material culture anthropologies, and Actor-Network Theory that has led to a rethinking of things and objects not as signs that stand for persons or real things, not as beings already defined, but as “becomings” and as equal partners in networks of actors. This does not imply, as was said in the introduction, that inanimate objects suddenly get a life of their own but that human history has to be understood as “an ongoing process of objectification” (Ingold 2012, p. 435). This process is not sequential, as in first there is the person and then there is the object as its mirror or consequence. Things are not material on the first place and then become meaningful; “matter constrains meaning and vice versa” (Daston 2006, p. 17). Historical inquiry shifts from being to becoming, from taking for granted what the material or the visual is to questioning its blurring boundaries and reconfigurations throughout history. The materiality of things plays a part in the complexity of networks; it is not an effect but it is co-constitutive of its weaving. Material sources, as much as textual ones, are not to be conceived as complete stories but as discontinuous, unstable registers (Steedman 2002).

These developments on the history of the visual and the material bring forth new questions about the archive that go beyond what had already been posed by Foucault’s and Barthes’ move to include more material or visual track of the past. The new materialism of images and objects raises questions about what has been inscribed, by whom, when, where, and of how a particular visual or objectual memory has been produced, defied, challenged, and transformed. The archive of images and objects, then, appears less as a repository of pictures and artifacts that, even if expanded, remains stable, than as “a space of fragility” and “susceptible of continuous reshuffles” (Edwards 2015, p. 327). Objects and images become mobile and unstable, gaining new meanings as they enter new sets of relationships.

The revalorization of the school desk proposed by Depaepe et al. (2014) is telling of this kind of approach. Confronting the rigidity of orthodox Foucaultian frameworks that see school desks as the expression of biopolitical strategies (medicalization, disciplining of the body), historians need to consider them as mediating

agencies, things that “come to life” in networks that are organizational, social, and cultural (p. 18). Attention should be given to the material circuits of the objects, design, production, and commercialization, which might explain, for example, why Oscar Brodsky’s individual foldable desk, despite being pedagogically updated and sound with the New School movement, was a failure in the first decades of the twentieth century. In their approach, artifacts are part and parcel of the *res publica* as a gathering of objects and people, interests, and arguments; they do not “stand still” but are changing along with the networks in which they are inscribed. Also, the approach to Dutch paintings offered by Jeroen Dekker (2014) shows the new connections between the material and the visual. Dekker discusses the shift from studying paintings as symbols that have to be decoded to understanding them as real objects that can speak about the history of vision and painting materials or the material practices in which they were exhibited, bought, and consumed in everyday life. The affections toward images become material too: they are granted a new materiality in the creation of social life (Fendler 2014).

A final, distinct example of the fertility of this approach can be seen in a special issue on images, education, and communism in the 1920s and 1930s in the French journal *Histoire@Politique* (I thank Karin Priem for this reference). The studies show the entanglement of pedagogies, social groups, media, and technologies in the visual pedagogies of politically radical groups in Soviet Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia in the 1920s–1930s (Bazin et al. 2017). Particularly interesting is Joschke’s study of the radical experience of workers’ photographic workshops in Berlin in the 1920s and 1930s, organized by communist and anarchist activists, in which he unveils the participation of photographic companies such as Carl Zeiss, Kodak, Scherring, and others in these educational experiences through conferences, price reductions, and demonstrations (Joschke 2017). This is similar to what Sylvie Lindeperg has found for footage done in some Nazi concentration camps in photographic ateliers, at times run by inmates, which regularly received the supply but also the expert advice of these companies on materials and film techniques (Lindeperg 2013). These examples make it evident that artifacts and technologies carried knowledge through different social groupings and even dramatically different contexts and that they were brought back and forth in trajectories that were never straightforward. Paying attention to all the actors involved in educational scenes, particularly the ones brought by images as objects and artifacts themselves, brings a richer understanding of the encounters that took place in them.

The Challenges of the Digital

As a final step in these considerations about the visual and material turns in the historiography of education, I would like to reflect on the present challenges that the digital technologies are posing to the practice of historians. The world seems to be turning “immaterial,” with the virtualization of many operations that used to require physical copresence and with new potentialities for creating forms of life and materialities hitherto unknown. The example of 3-D printers, which are only starting to develop their technical and cultural affordances, is revealing of the possibility of

reducing artifacts to bits of information and transferring them to different settings. It seems that it will be possible to record, preserve, and then share classroom objects for future historians. It is yet unclear whether this transfer will also successfully convey textures or odors, but a similar claim could be made in relation to older, industrial products; also, their chance to be preserved might increase with digitalization, although the technologies are sometimes more fragile than material records, i.e., paper or wood. With the current wave of digitization, many more questions emerge: Will digitally printed objects be granted the same affects than manufactured ones, or their ephemerality, transience, and replicability will fundamentally change the relationship to objects and images? How will this new ontology of artifacts alter the bonds that future historians will have with past records?

In relation to images, it is commonly said that we are now living in the civilization of the image; flooded with visual records, human beings seem to be privileging images as means of inscription of their experience, substituting emoticons or Vimeo for words in instant messaging and watching news on audiovisual formats rather than on lengthy paragraphs set on pages. The documents human beings are producing for the future will be significantly different from the ones that current historians are dealing with, not only in size (which some see as para-human) but also in quality. Also, digital documents are more ephemeral and transient and increasingly automatized.

This shift can be exemplified with an observation made by John Berger 50 years ago: “A photograph is a result of the photographer’s decision that is worth recording that this particular event or particular object has been seen. If everything that existed were continually being photographed, every photograph would become meaningless. (. . .) A photograph is already a message about the event it records. The urgency of this message is not entirely dependent on the urgency of the event, but neither can it be entirely independent from it. At its simplest, the message, decoded, means: *I have decided that seeing this is worth recording*” (2013, p. 25). Berger wrote this before the time of portable smartphones and the spread of the technologies for amnesic recording such as Instagram and Snapchat, which not only turn events into meaningless series of records but also literally erase or devour the record itself. Which kind of documents will these inscriptions constitute? Will they indeed be meaningless, as Berger forecasts, or will human beings find other meaning-making possibilities in these automatized records? How will they be read in the future, outside of a moment when humans are struggling for “the right of oblivion,” as in current litigations against social media platforms?

These transformations also affect the ways of reading and looking, with new practices and bodily dispositions. Images might no longer be considered as a point of entry into a world of representations but as an immersive experience that has to be touched upon and manipulated. Thomas Elsaesser, film historian, claims that “[t]he idea of a digital photo as a window to a view (to contemplate or be a witness to) ha[s] . . . been replaced by the notion of an image as a passage or a portal, an interface or part of a sequential process—in short, as a cue for action” (Elsaesser 2013, p. 240). (Elsaesser’s essay is highly illustrative of the changes in visual industries and technologies. He considers that the film and television dominance of visual culture is now waning in favour of videogames and also military and medical technologies

that produce images that are spatial and aural –even more than visual- through radars, scans, and sonars. These technologies “are redefining what an image is – not a representation to look at but a set of instructions to act on/to act with” (Elsaesser 2013, p. 245.) Digital vision is an expanded or augmented vision that sees the world as a data-rich environment, a set of multilayered spaces – the “set” here not only pointing to a collection of elements but also to the scenario, to the feeling that humans live in (post)cinematic times in which “history (and television) history is likely to become the only history our culture has an affective memory of” (Elsaesser 2013, p. 228). Even though digital technologies are centrally about codes, the semiotics and logics of these codes is increasingly opaque for those who are not programmers; what matters for most users are the experience and the actions that they call for. This experience is part of a new ontology of presence characterized by fluidity, velocity, and the simultaneity of inscriptions that make it harder for the image or object to “puncture” in the sense that Barthes studied, that is, to reach the viewer in a unique situation. The digitization of contemporary life seems to be opening a new era in human beings’ relationships with objects and images, whose traits and orientations are still undefined but whose preliminary movements raise important questions about the kinds of experiences and languages that will be available for the coming generations.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In this chapter, I have analyzed the growing scholarship on images and objects in histories of education, sketching two main approaches to their study: the semiotic and the ontological. I have discussed some of their theoretical assumptions and referents, notably Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Walter Benjamin, as well as recent examples of research in the history of education field. While the semiotic approach analyzes images and objects as signs, discourses, or texts, the ontological approach has emphasized their presence as material entities with their own “life” and whose coexistence produces particular effects in others. As has been already said, these approaches are not mutually exclusive, and their referents and assumptions travel from one approach to the other, as was seen with Barthes and Foucault; however, their emphasis are distinguishable, and have promoted different research programs and questions, each with their own fertility and sensibility. The approaches have also a distinct ethics in relation to images and objects: it can be said that the semiotic approach is more critical and mistrusting of the image and the artifact (in the end, iconoclastic), while the ontological is based on a more sympathetic and loving take on objects and pictures, attentive to their gestures and potentials (iconophilic to a large extent) (Didi-Huberman 2018). It is thus not an issue of choosing one over the other but of understanding how different research projects have located themselves in respect to some fundamental questions about images, objects, and the human experiences in relating to them.

In the closing section, I have presented some reflections on the challenges posed by the digitization of contemporary life and the dematerialization of events as well as

an increasing automation of records and traces. These new challenges show that historians working with records, past and present, have to take into account, perhaps more than ever, how these traces have been produced, in which regimes of historicity, and how their technological and material constraints shape their quality and availability. In this context, the analysis of the conditions and contexts in which objects and images are produced and experienced and of their own materiality is increasingly unavoidable, considering that we are at a moment when these conditions are rapidly changing and can no longer be taken for granted.

The final point I would like to make is that as historians, this is the time in which we live, and it is a condition on which we need to reflect. It changes not only the boundaries of the archive but also the ontological conditions upon which the relationships to history and memory are produced. It seems that the historians of the future will have to strive, even further than the current generations of scholars, to find some unique experiences in historical records, to perceive history as an encounter with alterity, with past lives, and with possibilities that show that things could have been different. How are we as a community of scholars preparing for this future that is already here? What are we doing for the historical education of the new generations? These questions should orient the work we do both as scholars and as public intellectuals who are concerned about the lives and meanings of past records as much as about their future and more generally about the experiences that human beings will have at their disposal in the years to come.

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How Theory Acts as the Retrieval Apparatus in Methods 10

Historical Thoughts on Romanticized Intellectual Practices

Thomas S. Popkewitz

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Abstract

There is a romanticism of “methods.” The social scientist romanticizes measuring devices for the retrieval of the facts of the present. The historian romanticism is in the archive as the site where methods retrieve what is true, beautiful, and the authentic. This chapter explores the faith and security in historical methods as historically ironic. The archive is not merely there to retrieve what is to understand as human life and change. The cultural principles generated in methods circulate to order the questions, selection, and interpretations of what is constituted as “data.” Embodied in historical methods are styles of reasoning that produce principles by which judgments are made, conclusions drawn, and fields of existence made manageable. The romanticizing of methods elides how methods “act” to make facts as facts!

My argument focuses on the historical dangers of romanticizing methods as the quest to define the historian’s professional competence. To make methods as an autonomous subject empties history of history and erases the political of modernity by ignoring how the objects of reflection and action are produced and enacted. Yet recognizing how theory operates in methods as a determinant of what become “the

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facts” of the past is not necessarily bad; and the embodiment of styles of reasoning is not something that can be undone to enable the historian to find truth itself. Nor it is to underestimate the role of the archives for the work of the historians. But they do require continual scrutiny as part of professional competence.

Keywords

History of science · Historical epistemology · Historical theory and method in educational history

Introduction

When in graduate school, there is often the assumption that truth comes from the faithfulness and the security of accurate technologies for doing research. These technologies are called “methods.” The assumption is expressed as “Oh, brother or sister, are thou quantitative? qualitative? Or have you exhausted all archives?” The social scientist romanticizes measuring devices for the retrieval of the present. The historian romanticism is in the archive as the retrieval of what is true, the beautiful and the authentic. The historian’s craft becomes methods as the disciplined techniques of to retrieve information. This notion of method can be contrasted with the Marc Bloch (1949/1964), a founder of the French Annales historical school and R. G. Collingwood’s (1957) discussion in *The Idea of History* as the systematic attention given to the events of the world.

The faith and security in historical methods have a historical irony. While the archive and systematic and disciplined approaches (methods) are necessary for adequacy of historical work, there is an historical irony when methods are romanticized and archives naturalized and context given historical definitions. The archive is not merely there to retrieve what is to understand as human life and change. It embodies styles of reasoning that are self-authorizing and self-referential. That is, methods embody principles about what is a problem and how the order of how life is to be understood and changed. *Methods are not merely “descriptive” but productive of the very objects of reflection and action for understanding social and personal life.*

The romanticizing of methods elides how methods “act” to make facts as facts! Embodied in the technologies of historical research are principles or styles of reason about the nature of society and the individual. The principles generated are enacted through the complex movements of thought and cultural practices that produce ways in which judgments are made, conclusions drawn, and the fields of existence made manageable within the field of history. The a priori principles about the world and people shape and fashion what is valued as the past in the possibilities of historical research and change.

Four points are explored.

1. Methods embody theories that make the “facts” of history.
2. The theories in methods making what constitutes “context.”
3. Methods as different theories in discourse analyses.

4. The archive as a theory memorializing the present.

The chapter is to make visible the principles of “reason” that circulate to order questions and notions of methods in the history of education. The argument brings questions about the historical sociology of knowledge and science into the consideration of the practices of history. It explores the necessity of theory in methods and the historical dangers of romanticizing methods, making them as the criterion of the historian’s professional competence. The danger has often its corollary of reifying “context”, the latter as the delight of historians to differentiate their modes of research from others. To make methods as an autonomous subject empties history of history and erases the political of modernity by ignoring how the objects of reflection and action are produced. Yet the discussion should not be read as against methods or the disciplining that gives systematic attention to the world, what Collingwood (1957) articulated as “science.” It is also important that recognizing how theory operates in methods as a determinant of what become “the facts” of the past is not necessarily bad; and the embodiment of theory as a style of reasoning is not something that can be undone to enable the historian to find truth itself.

Methods Are Theories: They Make the “Facts” that Become the Facts

To approach the question of methods as embodied theories, we can consider something that Jurgen Ruesch and Gregory Bateson (1951), and psychiatrist and anthropologist, wrote in *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*. In a short section of the book, they describe only four ways of knowing about the human condition. You can talk to people using surveys and/or interviews. You can participate in an event. That is, you can work as a teacher and register what it means to be a participant observer. Third, you can be a non-participant observer; that is, you can sit in the back of the classroom and record what people say and do. The fourth, you can read about a culture. You read the minutes of a faculty meeting and you look at a textbook for children or in teacher education. These are part of the culture in which people live their everyday lives. Notice, however, they did not include experiments; for experiments you have to extract human life from its natural environment in order to understand phenomena, a reality that scientists continually have to compensate for when dealing with testing of drugs, examining molecules, etc.

The methodological question that emerges from these four techniques are not why they’re there, but how the four are put to use. What are the theories that order what is to be seen and acted on as “facts” to understand human phenomena? In an appendix to another book, Bateson (1958) played with how changing concepts embodied theories that triggered different interpretations and understandings of the events examined.

Perhaps the relation of theory, method and “facts” might seem as producing a particular kind of circularity. If it is, it is an epistemological one that may be inescapable. That circularity is a “normal,” part of social sciences through the styles

of reasoning that are self-referential and self-authorizing. Self-referential in that the particular principles generated for research create boundaries about what constitutes the problem of education and the objects of schools to be distinguished and scrutinized, and what is manageable to be acted on for change. The principles generated “act” to order and classify what is possible in reflection and action.

Let me begin with two simple observations. First, Marc Bloch (1949/1964) a founder of the French *Annales* historical school, wrote that historians have only tracks left from the past; not the past itself! It is these tracks that provide traces from which history is written from the present; even when that history seeks to hermeneutically understand the past. Bloch uses the word “tracks.” Trace is used to allow for a more ambiguous existence of the past when brought into the present. The problem is understanding what constitutes the traces that are connected as ways of thinking about the past and change.

Second, methods provide “the eye” in which traces are made into facts. There are no facts until they’re made into facts as data and subjects. In saying this, do I mean there’s no reality? That things don’t exist? No, these are not my intent nor to the point. Things do happen! The events that go under scrutiny do not merely appear as a constructionist argument. Renee Magritte’s painting “This Is Not a Pipe” makes the distinction between linguistic signs and plastic elements and their equivalence of resemblance and affirmation. Classical painting is spoken about as constituting itself outside of language; yet it is in fact produced in a discursive space that reintroduced linguistic elements about what’s included and excluded.

This pipe brings into view what philosophers have distinguished. There is the ontic; that is, the things that do exist in the world. But then the ontic is placed under scrutiny because it “matters”; the scrutiny entails an epistemological process that creates a space in which its ontological objects are “seen” and acted on as things that matter, such as childhood, youth, creativity, or the child “at-risk.” These things that matter enter into the world as not only descriptions but how children and teachers are acted on and act.

To think about method as bringing things into the world is to approach theory as styles of reason. Theory, to borrow from Hacking (1992) entails a style of reasoning that governs the principles that order what matters and how to recognize, distinguish and order the objects of schools. Embodied in reflection are historically produced rules and standards that create the candidates for telling the truth about the school, the types of objects possible to recognize, the classifications to order explanations, and boundaries to what is possible as evidence for managing existence.

Peter Berger (1963) a sociologist, suggested another way to think about theory as a style of reason. He suggested that there are different modes of thinking in the human sciences (including history). Each is like climbing a small hill overlooking a valley. Each hill provides a different perspective for “seeing,” thinking, acting, and feeling.

The style of reasoning or theory is reminiscent of Kuhn’s (1970) historicizing of physics as different paradigms, sets of principles in ordering the problems, methods, and modes of interpretation. Where the Kuhnian notion of paradigm tends to be idealist and internal in its descriptions, my use of styles of reason focus on the

historical conditions in which principles are generated to order and classify what is thought of history and the historical “self”. In this respect, the discussion embodies a materialism but not as a base/superstructure or of a binary of a nominalist/realist argument.

The relation of theory and method is not a new issue in history, or in the history of education. But it is typically addressed through analytical distinctions that classifies theory as distinct and separate from method. A recent issue of the *International Journal for the Historiography of Education* (IJHE) (Popkewitz et al. 2018), for example, embarked on a discussion of the relation of theory, method and the archive. The discussion is sophisticated and provocative in pursuing multiple avenues of historical research; yet that sophistication continually points to the difficulty of historians of education to think about the relation of cultural, epistemological and historical principles that organize the field.

This philosophical insertion of method and theory as distinctive operations in historical research is evidence in the scholarship of Antonio Viñao. Viñao, an important European historian of education, is one of the few historians of education who continually addresses the question of the theoretical nature of history. The scholarship is discussed, as a “conceptual personae” (Deleuze and Guattari 1991/1994). The writings are explored as the embodying particular historical patterns of thinking and organizing thought that give intelligibility to the writing. My choice of his scholarship is to recognize the substantive contributions are being made to the history of education that paradoxically reinserts the very contemporaneous framework that requires problematization as its critical, reflective examination of theory in history.

In a recent book, Viñao argues that there is the need to think about future of the field of the history of education differently as “production of new historical knowledge and the redefining of the “cultural horizons of the history of education” (Meda and Viñao 2017, p. 6). The discussion is historically intellectually sophisticated as an exemplar of the approach to theory in relation to the methods and the archive in the history of education. The selection of theory is, the argument maintains, important as the interpretive lens that enables understanding of nuances and relation when engaging in empirical studies. The radical rethinking of the task of the historian of education is enunciated as twofold. One is to establish its theoretical object through reading outside as well as inside the literature of history and the history of education. With the object of research firmly establish through theory, the second task is examining “the empirical and material nature, rather than theoretical, of the school – it could account for what really went on in the classrooms” (p. 4). Theory, in this account of history, is what is brought into analyzing what is deposited in the archive, the latter as the sources of the true. The archive tells of “the lived experience” in schooling formalized in “individual and the collective memory” (Meda and Viñao 2017, p. 2).

The Spanish article in which Viñao (2016) writes directly to questions of theory provides a way to explore further the sedimentation of this analytical separation of theory and method in the history of education. This article, drawn to my attention and graciously translated by María Belén Hernando Lloréns as my Spanish was not

sufficient, begins with paraphrasing the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset. Viñao (1941) suggests that reality is always multiple and complex and its meaning varied as apprehended through theory. Viñao's intent is for historians to be critical through examining theory's importance; yet the argument inscribes the archival orthodoxies of positivism and empiricism that, to borrow from Benjamin (1955), empties history of history. Theory is given as an analytical imperative that is operationalized for the practices of interpreting what is already installed as the "real" of the archive. Viñao's argument directs attention to the "theory" as something "used" explicitly to organize the classes of historical phenomena studied.

Viñao's plea to use theory elides the theoretical work that has already been done to give intelligibility to the archival documents. To argue the importance of theory as separate from archival methods, as does Viñao, already inscribes the given objectification of people and occurrences as the historical phenomena and the discourses of which they are apart. Theory becomes itself technical, an analytic devise that stands outside of the archive, and which is applied to give meaning to what stands as ahistorical, "real" ontological objects to be interpreted. In Viñao's historical narrative, the archive is the repository of "truth" and the origin for methods to eradicate what is described as the blunders of "bias."

The notion of "bias" draws from a positivism to create an objective science through eradicating, or limiting, human subjectivity. But as Daston and Galison (2010) historically explore, objectivity and subjectivity are continuously connected to constitute the real and changes over time, and Schrader (2012) argues, as a chimera of science itself.

It is necessary, therefore, to be alerted to another kind of theory and one that organizes this chapter. It is a notion of theory that directs attention to "the presuppositions about our subject matter that are implied in the categories we use to define the objects of our research and to express our empirical findings" (Danziger 1997, p. 8). The principles are not empirically verified. They are a priori, internal to the rules and standards of system of thought that forms the basis of what is to be known, how it is to be known, and what counts as reasonable knowledge and reasonable people. The question about "theory" as a style of reasoning considers the conditions that make for disciplinary practices in the history of education. Theory is what shapes and fashions "what matters" as the problems, the criteria of assessing the problem, and the factors that influence or effect what happens.

The Method of Theory in Making of Context

The acting of method as a theory of "what is" can be approached through the notion of context. Context is the historian claim of its magisterial modes of research. It signifies what brings the historian to the table of modern human disciplines. The central thesis that often drives historians is they "add" to human understanding by elucidating the nuances and distinctions that emerge when examining the diversity of documents in archives. Historians give specificity to people's thoughts and the multiplicities of debates. What is needed, this kind of argument continues, is to

understand the particular way people act, how they produce meaning and how they understand the world they live in. Context is the historical methods are practices of archival work that connect, draw together and make legible traces of information. As a counter example, Tröhler and Horlacher analyze, ► [Chap. 3, “Histories of Ideas and Ideas in Context,”](#) in this volume, is explored in the origins of the history of education through theoretically engaging “the linguist turn” to conceptualize “context” in Germany and France. In the broader field of education and social sciences, the idea that context matters is expressed through the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research.

Yet lurking in the claims of context are discourses that embody theories about the order of “things,” what matters and why. If I quote from Derrida: (1995, p. 200) “Every discourse, even a poetic or oracular sentence, carries with it a system of rules for producing analogous things and thus an outline of methodology.” Context is produced through the theory which orders reflection. Three examples are examined below to illustrate how theory, method and “context” are intertwined as self-referential and self-authorizing through the rules and standards of reasoning.

My first example is David Baker’s (2014) *The Schooled Society: The Educational Transformation of Global Culture*. Baker’s study is shaped and fashioned by a theory about the trajectories of institutions as a continuous, evolutionary history of schools and society. Institutionalism is a way of thinking about the habitual social arrangements and cognitive definitions formed and, in the instance of this book, developed historically over time and place. The “neo-institutional” theory of “The Schooled Society” creates the boundaries to what are facts of importance to measure social and cultural isomorphism and differentiation. Baker argues historically that the institutionalization of schooling has produced “a quiet revolution.” The revolution is “a founding force behind the historical transformation from traditional society to modernity and on to the postindustrial society” (Baker 2014, p. 3). This revolution, Baker continues, embodies new concepts of human development, capabilities, work, expertise, and knowledge that produce and reproduce society. For example, the context of school is expressed through statistically charting the continual expansion of the average life expectancy of 5–11 years for children in schools from the turn of the century to the present. Baker also looks at how changes in the number of students in primary, second, and higher education worldwide to understand how the institution of schooling becomes globally universal to project a particular notion of society. The context of schooling is bounded by particular sets of statistical categories that were initially collected for administrative purposes but put to use to enable comparison within an institutional theory about historical context.

A different notion of context is embodied in the construction of biography; Chakrabarty (2015) *The Calling History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar in His Empire of Truth*. In the book, Chakrabarty explores the professional biography of the Indian historian Sarkar to understand how the field of history was shaped in the early decades of the twentieth century. He explored how the German philosopher and historian Ranke’s notion of history as a priestly mission was given intelligibility as a method for study in India. Sarkar believed, as did Ranke, that history is a way of telling the truth. It is to get at “the very fountainhead of information, to the written

words of the men who made history or the contemporary recorders” (Chakrabarty 2015, p. 68). Method is to stress the “importance of original primary sources, verification in references that make history as history.”

Chakrabarty uses the biography to understand how history is institutionalized as a discipline in India. His method is to understand the cultural distinctions that were embodied in Ranke’s understanding of history as a project for creating the nation. Chakrabarty argues that embedded in the Ranke’s call of history was the German nation’s transcendental mission that gave expression to the Protestant clerical calling of serving God. Ranke’s seeking truth is brought into India, along with its Christian mission that was placed within a Hindu/mystic category of nationalism. The Sanskrit word *chittaschuddi/Shuddhi* that Sarkar expressed when talking about historical studies deploys this Hindu/mystic thinking; it is the act of cleaning one’s mind or consciousness in the truth seeking of history.

The historical method in Chakrabarty’s text is to explore how ideas move from one geographical space to another. Its method assumes an institutional history, although different from neo-institutionalism of Baker’s. Chakrabarty focus is on how history is sedimented into India as a regulatory practice of a disciplinary field. The contextual differences are found in how history is given a nature as the object of study and transformed through its Indian cultural inscriptions. Sarkar is the agent of change who borrows and transposes German nationalism while retaining the nature given to history and the historian. The implicit theory of disciplines as institutions organizes the method of discourse analysis to understand the social organization for producing historical knowledge.

In Baker’s and Chakrabarty’s research, context is produced through the theories that order and classify what is to be known. Methods are the practices that connect, draw together, index and catalogue the flows and purposes for the occurring changes. Both authors assume the object of study – one the school and the other history as a discipline – in their methods. That assumption is organized through institutional theories for recognizing, organizing and interpreting the data about the changing contours of the collective bodies. It is through the theoretical principles of institutions that the discursive analyses of the statistics of the spread and changes in schooling and the language of biography are provided interpretive rules for reading of documents and constituting what matters as “context.”

The third example is Burke and Grosvenor’s (2013) study of Robson, a late nineteenth century British school architect. They ask about the life of the school inscribed in the work of the architect. Embodied in the approach to the archive is a theory as the object of historical study and its method that is different from the above. The archival work is the exploration of biography as the writing that take into account human agency and the social interventions that cultivates and develops “the reason” of schooling embodied in its architecture. The method of analysis is to track, trace and stitch together the intersections of life as different networks of pedagogical ideas, school materials with the particularities of place, and the circulation, among others, of perceptions about progress that move through Europe and North America and into biography. The study asks of the archive what makes

possible the complexity of the thinking about architecture but also schools and their historical and social context.

To return to section title of “The method of theory in making of context,” the discussion has given recognition to the world as not just there to recoup through methods. As Deleuze and Guattari (1991/1994) argue, authors are conceptual persona; that is, embodied in writing are particular ways of thinking and organizing statements that make possible and intelligible what is written as history. The three exemplars explore how theories “act” to order what is seen, thought, and acted on. Every description about the school and its progenitors deposited in the archives are accounts that has been organized in terms of certain general categories that operates on a basis of some pre-understanding of that which it theorizes. In each, theory “acts” in the creation of method and performs as the boundaries of “context” in an order of things.

Methods as Different Theories in Discourse Analyses

In this section, I approach methods as making the subject. It considers three commonplace methods of social science that are drawn into historical studies. The exploration is to explore how the subject of methods embodies ordering practices and, in effect, produce inscribed theories about the nature of people, differences and change. The three discussed are the polling of people’s attitudes, a statistical technique of correlational coefficient, and a sociology of social reproduction. As before, my intent is not to argue for their social or epistemological value but rather to historicize the ordering of methods as relationships of distinctions, differentiations and categories and not as merely technical and descriptive.

The invention of American polling in the 1920s provided a way that political policy could register how people felt toward social issues and problems. It was often portrayed as a methodology for a democratic structure to understand what is preferred. Polling was a response to the end of the American town hall meeting where the polity gathered. The intelligibility of polling gave interpretation and coherence to the possibilities of participation in the new abstract social arrangements of modern “mass” societies. America was increasingly becoming a representational democracy rather than a participatory democracy. Polling was a way of holding a sense of collective belonging. By registering people’s attitudes, feelings, and preferences, the technologies of polling made legible a way in which people could think that the collective will was responsive to individual choices. Critiquing the polling of political opinion, Walter Lipmann, an important political scientist at the time, dissented from the optimism of the new technology. He viewed polling as a method whose effects were of propaganda and manipulation of votes by emphasizing the subjective aspects of social behavior, with the outcome that social scientists ascribe a causal role to desirable and undesirable social attitudes (Danziger 1997, p. 142).

By the end of World War I, public opinion polls drew on statistical sampling techniques and prior psychological categories of attitudes that are reenvisioned as social attitudes. when brought into statistical techniques, “attitude” became

congruent with human minds reflecting the theorized qualities of American pluralistic institutions. Attitude was earlier a word to talk about the expressive functions of a painting or sculpture that suggested the inherent unity between the physical appearances and its inner reality in the nineteenth century. When brought into psychology in the early twentieth century, it gave expression to specific ways of acting, but not necessarily to the inborn nature of dispositions (Danziger 1997, p. 134). Embodied in polling methods were, theories in American social psychology that were revisioned to link the political nature of people as indistinguishable from one's personality as a whole (Danziger 1997, p. 142). Attitudes had a state of readiness, referring to an actually existing state of affairs inside the individual that made certain types of behavior occur, and these could be identified with a distinct existence (Danziger 1997, p. 145).

A different example is Karl Pearson's (1905) product-moment correlation coefficient. Pearson was an English mathematician and biostatistician who created statistical measurements commonly used in linear regression to study populations and variations within a statistical sample. Correlation coefficient analysis is considered descriptive; it identifies central tendencies and variability in normal distributions and standard deviations in experimental and control groups in medical research, analysis of student achievement tests, and relations of institutional factors with outcome variables.

The seeming descriptive statistic information embodied Pearson's a priori cultural assumptions that were given significance through its methods of measurement and calculation. Pearson saw the logical implications of scientific work on human measurement as a cultural as well as social war against inferior races. "My view, and I think it's called the scientific view of the nation," he wrote, "is that an organized whole, kept to a high pitch of internal efficiency by ensuring that the numbers are substantially recruited from the better stocks, and to keep up a high pitch of external efficiency by contest, chiefly by way of war with inferior races" (Pearson 1905, p. 46). Developed in relation to the British "Boer War" in South Africa, the statistics embodied the abstraction of "civilization" to express differences produced through the struggle of races. The product-moment correlation coefficient theorized Social Darwinism to entire nations and operationalized the abstraction into "a fact" that could be named and the effects quantified historically to show differences between civilizations, with the physically and mentally fitter races prevailing.

My example of the correlation coefficient is not to argue that the method necessarily recapitulates eugenics as the statistics moves into different research arenas today. Rather, it is to reiterate that the very inscription of the techniques to measure normal distributions and standard deviations embody notions of human nature, populations and differences that are never merely descriptive but of an interplay of the social, cultural, and historical.

This inscription of social and cultural principles is explicitly recognized by the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1984) tried to understand how society was reproduced through cultural mechanisms that were not reducible to those of Karl Marx's capital and labor. Bourdieu's exploration of the relation between social positions and cultural dispositions and habits required a statistical method that

related to his theoretical position. Contemporary statistical analyses were concerned with correlations; that is, they quantified the association between two continuous variables or quantified the strength of a relationship between typically two numerically measured, continuous variables (e.g., height and weight; school learning and educational background of family). The statistics used emerged from agricultural studies to increase crop yields. Bourdieu, in contrast, sought to show the relations between categories of people and the manner of their living (*habitus*). He turned to correspondence analysis as a statistical technique that was adequate for exploring categorical relations of people, for example, going to museums and occupation. The theoretical principles of correspondence analysis provided a tool to map topographically the differences of social positions, *habitus*, and cultural practices of groups in society.

As in previous sections, methods are never just descriptions of facts but make those facts for reflection. This is not necessarily bad but always dangerous and requires continual scrutiny in the practices of the historians.

The Archive as Memorializing the Present

The above conclusion brings me to the archive that engenders theory and memory transferred into the historian's method. Where the sociologist surveys populations and the anthropologist goes into the field, the archive is the icon of historical work. The archive serves as an external device (like museums and statues) through which memory/forgetting is constructed in modernity. Through registers, ledgers, and letters, the archive orders the past as remembrance in the present. The sum of all texts becomes what a culture keeps to attest to its own past and as evidence of a continuing identity, a record and preservation of what is to be remembered and to be forgotten.

Although its roots are in the making of science since nineteenth century, the archive is the physical site where the historian goes to make the conscious choosing of documentation from the past. The deposits of fragments or traces are indexed and catalogued, waiting to be read and used as the flows that give purpose to events (Steedman 2002, p. 68). The archive provides the positivistic facts for people to do things with, to think with, imagine by, and to remember with as a mode of being. The repository of documents ties the past to present and the possibilities of the future as events are charted and made visible.

The importance of the archive to modern historiography is not in question, though. What is in question is its romanticizing and naturalizing that empties history of history. The archive becomes the romantic space of the historical "self." The historian is the magistrate of the past. It is the magical site where the dust and smell of old books serve as the mesmerized past to incite the historian's imagination. The historical work resurrecting the past in the present and making of memory paradoxically produces forgetting (Steedman 2002).

The redemptive value given to the archive as the source of "truth" ignores the history of the archive. The archive is itself a historical practice. The word archive is

derived from the Greek Archon as the place where things begin and where power originates. In the late eighteenth century, the archive was a word assembled with a different set of practices associated with the governing of the State (Steedman 2002). In England and France, it was a place of storage and retrieval of written language, and the politics of that history was associated with administration: to identify the beginning of things (government, police, and magistracy) with the law that was to govern. The archive was the physical practice that connects, draws together, and disconnects events “by making them legible, significant and insignificant, and intelligible as information” (Stoler 2009, p. 29). By the nineteenth century, German idealistic notions about the archive claimed that history provided positivist knowledge and thus should be considered as equally important as any other human science. This notion of history traveled into but translated into historical studies in the USA as an instrumentalism different from its European counterparts (Herbst 1965).

The archive appears as a seeming universal site for housing documents of the past yet entails different interpretative framing as it moves across political/cultural spaces (Tröhler 2013). For example, German history of education texts express the vertical tension of social exclusion related to social advancement of bourgeoisie and middle and lower classes; France and Switzerland texts center on education as the ideological tensions between liberals and conservatives; and the USA where institutions focus on issues of progress and the pertinence or resilience to change (Tröhler 2014).

The archive functions through “theory” that sees and acts on the documents of the past as the material and physical site of the work of history. The cult of the archive, as Steedman (2002, p. 4) calls it, is the authority of beginnings and starting points of history. The archive generates theories that order methods embedded in relationships of distinctions, differentiations and classification that make documents alive in the recording of the past. Embodied in the archive are particular sets of concepts and ways of reasoning about the world that make its arrangements as merely the administrative “fact” of placing objects as the memory of a culture or society.

One of the central theories or styles of reasoning articulated in the archive is a particular kind of humanism. The humanism appears in the European Renaissance, related to the Reformation of the self-reflective individual who finds the inner source of truth; the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries entailed a self-awareness in which concepts of the individual and society emerge simultaneously. (Re)visioned in the Enlightenment’s cosmopolitanism was the idea of human history as having its own unique and autonomous trajectories. The inscription of this humanism is connected to a radical innovation of thinking about human diversity in the ordering and classifying of what is known outside the given theological world and the given Chain of Being. Eisenstadt (2000) argues, for example, that along with the Enlightenment’s inscription of conscious human agency in social life, there was also “a growing recognition of the legitimacy of multiple individual [and] group goals and interests, and as a consequence allowed for multiple interpretations of the common good” (Eisenstadt 2000, p. 5).

The archive embodies this style of reason in its theories of human history and its cosmopolitanism of reason and science memorializing the past as, oddly enough,

a means to think about the future. Visible in the Anglo-Saxon, French, and German-speaking enlightenments was the individual who could know and act in the world, which allowed for the human sciences and history that could lead to a discovery of an autonomous social order subject to its own laws (Wittrock 2000, p. 42). By the twentieth century, reason and rationality become are collapsed into each other and are often given in the classification of “science” in social policy, such as current reforms should be determined as useful (reasonable) only if they are supported by “scientific evidence.”

The humanism enabled the representation of the subject as an independent space from which to record the movements from past to the present but with a continuing eye to the future. History no longer searched for a return to or the transmission of God’s word. It calculated the place human life and its processes were given direction. The Enlightenment’s cosmopolitanism, for example, articulated a humanism in which human reason (wisdom and morality) and rationality (science) were universalized to focus on historical development as possible to administer for the future. That future was latter embodied in the emergence of what is taken as the modern notions of progress and notions of social improvement. The universal reason and rationality gave the potential for understanding the past and present, with humans as actors who can intervene in social life and enable change that would bring about human perfection, although questions of decay and degeneration continually accompanied this quest.

The archive embodies this humanism in its methods that order human development, growth and its penultimate of the concept of the child as an historical actor and agent; with the “facts” of the archive as the progress, decay and degeneration as the gauges of that agency. The history of the “modern” school in the nineteenth century embodied humanistic theories of children, whose “nature” has its own paths of development yet tied to social trajectories of democratization and liberalization that inscribed notions of agency and progress in its distinctions and classifications of change. The “actor” was inscribed in methods: sometimes tracing the utterances in biographies as agents identified as monuments to an educational culture; sometimes in the biography of the Swiss/French Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the American John Dewey, the Italian Maria Montessori, the Swedish reformer Alva Myrdal; the Portuguese Adolfo Lima, and the Chinese Jiangyan Shih (Popkewitz 2005); sometimes as an idea such as German educational idea of *Bildung* (Horlacher 2016); and other times as the transcendental social forces that structure materiality of schooling and its future citizen’s freedom and liberty.

The fixation on the autonomy of archival texts constitutes “history” as tracing the chronological ordering of social and individual processes often disabuse any narrative structure outside of its canon. Michel Foucault’s historical writings, for example, have been judged as not historical as he did not follow the archival canons of charting registers, ledgers, and letters as descriptive portals that carry their own sets of meanings. This reduction of the archive as the historicist canon loses sight that Foucault’s approach to history is in fact a critique of these canons.

This sacredness of the archive as a material site has its dissents and challenges that produce alternative notions of historical methods and thus theories of the

archive. One such alternative to think about the archive is the historian working on the interiority of the source; the establishing of the complex historical landscape in which the discourses present in the text are made possible as a way to think and act. Studies of art and music education and visual culture, for example, have (re)visioned the archive as the making of documents as monuments to a culture rather than the origin of its development and growth. Ó et al. (2013) for example, (re)vision historical methods to explore diverse discursive practices in the emergence of the notion of genius and inventiveness that makes possible the subject of the artist and artistic education. They argue that different discursive practices emerge in the nineteenth century to classify, differentiate, and divide human subjects. The distinctions of “genius” and inventiveness are such distinctions that produce and differentiate kinds of people at the intersection of art, schooling, and the social and educational sciences in Portugal. Dussel’s (2013) studies of visual culture, as well, gives reference to how social spaces and individuality are produced by the photograph, cinema, and museum, among others, to construct the object seen and acted on in schooling. The photograph, movie, and art are theorized as distinct categories in social life, among other objects of the past, that require methods to understand how images are made possible to “see” lived experiences.

These studies rethink the archive and its theories. The documents are no longer “data,” the given facts from which the methods of analysis interpret the assumptions and implications of what is said. In contrast, methods are to study the conditions that make possible their internal rules and standards about what can be said, thought, made into memory, and institutionalized. The methods treat documents as events to understand how the historical subjects become possible as objects of reflection and action. The archive, in a sense, becomes a verb and not a noun. It is to relate the complex iconic productions that combine available technologies, visual languages or genres, and contexts of production and receptions. Dussel argues, for example, that the visual entails the construction of the social as visual elements enter into relationships and circulate with contexts and audiences. Photographs, school museum exhibitions, school displays, textbooks, cinema, and world exhibitions, for example, are viewed as interconnected in the production of space, etymologies, and subjectivities in the educational field.

This notion of archive as method to historicize the objects taken as real is embodied in Ann Laura Stoler’s (2009) *Along the Archival Grain. Epistemic Anxieties and the Colonial Common Sense*. Stoler focuses on the archives established by the Dutch in Indonesia during their colonialization. She looks at the grid of practices that give intelligibility to the documents that are lodged in them. What is stored in the Indonesian archive are the subject to coordinate and their counterpoints which to push. The archive, she argues, pulls in some facts, orders them into qualified knowledge and ways of knowing. There is “an archival form, prose style, repetitive refrain, arts of persuasion, affective strains that shape rational responses, categories of confidentiality and classification, and not the least, genres of documentations” (Stoler 2009, p. 31). It produces particular kinds of people through the data created for auditing the state commitments for public good and for racial differentiation. “The pulse of the archive” established the categories of the kinds of people in the

colonies and metropol; and what could, should, and not be done or said that colluded and collided on the edges of racial categories the constricted political space of the Dutch colonial conditions.

The archive is a site of governing. It was a place to assign people to clusters for state scrutiny, “and in these clusters were ways of living that congealed into problems, condensed into ontological categories about who people were and should be, and these practices rendered in political things to be acted on by the auditing of the state as its commitment to the public good” (Stoler 2009, p. 31).

Method as a “Matter of Ultimate or Penultimate Thoughts”: Concluding Consideration

The discussion has explored how methods of historical studies are never merely technologies to apply to interpret the past, with theory standing outside of what lies in the retrieval of archival materials. Theory or styles of reasoning, as explored, generate principles about what are the objects to know and how that knowing is to occur. The two are intertwined. Embedded in methods of the historical writing are categories and distinctions that order and classify the things that they represent. There are different styles of reasoning; each allows different kinds of ways of thinking that congeal as “theories” about the past, present, and also producing memory that is important in the anticipating the potentialities of the future.

The continual scrutiny of styles of reasoning is important for professional competence. In particular, I argued that it is dangerous for memorializing the archive as the repository of the truth of historical scholarship. The archive is itself embodies theories of history that generate principles that narrate “the nature” inscribed as society, individuality and change. This chapter focused on how the archive is often considered as a noun; “things” as determinates of history; a place to visit, to smell its dust, and to locate the documents that allow the historian to find the traces to interpret the past as a memory of the present. To recognize the archive as a theory or embodied style of reason, in contrast, allows one to escape this chimera of realism. The archive is a verb; its documents are the events to understand how the historical subjects become possible as objects of reflection and action. The methods of history (and its embodied theories) are to understand how particular kinds of knowledge becomes qualified as ways of knowing and auditing what matters.

Perhaps this is a way to reinhabit history with history?

To romanticize the archive and to treat methods as merely tools to gain access to the past denudes historical inquiry of its history. To bring back Thomas Kuhn’s (1970) understanding of the paradigmatic qualities of historical methods by asking how they entail modes and classifications about what is seen, what is acted upon, and what is seen as the problems under scrutiny. It is also to recognize that methods are not institutionalized. They are a pragmatic practice not decided prior to research. Methods are, as Giorgio Agamben (2009) profoundly observes in human sciences, are a “matter of ultimate or penultimate thoughts” which follows, not precedes,

practical application and can “legitimately be articulated only after extensive research” (Agamben 2009, p. 7).

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Part II

Schools as Contested Sites: Research in the Field



Schools as Contested Sites

11

Research in the Field

Tom O'Donoghue

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Abstract

Given the richness of the topics, research approaches, and analyses portrayed in the chapters that follow in this part of the handbook on schools as sites of contestation, it is hardly surprising that there is no unanimity as to what constitutes the parameters of this subfield within the history of education. Furthermore, it is reasonable to hold that there should not be unanimity. Nevertheless, scholars are in need of some guidance if they are to suggest areas that are worthy of further investigation, as well as new areas of research to be opened up. This chapter, and those which follow, serves such a function.

Keywords

Schools · Curriculum · Contestation · Historical research approaches · Research agenda

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Introduction

In the early years following the establishment of “history of education” as a distinct area of study, research in the field tended to be conducted more in university schools of education than in university history departments. Concurrently, the study of the history of education was prominent alongside the study of psychology of education in courses for the preparation of teachers. The notion was that by introducing student teachers to both areas, teaching could be given a professional footing, with psychology of education providing a scientific basis for pedagogical approaches and history of education allowing one to locate one’s work within a great tradition. At least three major aspects are discernible in the history of education programs offered: the ideas of the ideologues of the subject, the history of institutions nourishing them, and a narrative study of education systems with a focus on acts of parliament and “great men.”

The range of justifications for offering programs in these areas to student teachers has been summarized by Campbell and Sherington (2002). They claim that the approach in Britain was in the Whig tradition, that in the USA set out to “to justify contemporary public school systems as the triumph not only of ‘reform’ but ‘history’ itself,” and that in Australia was “to produce ‘heroes’” and “helping to provide prospective educators with a sense of being part of a socially progressive vanguard.” Furthermore, by the late 1960s, the subject was so firmly entrenched in courses in Britain that Simon (1966, p. 91) could argue as follows:

There is no need to make a case for the study of the history of education as an essential aspect of the course offered to intending teachers. It has long been accepted as such in most colleges and universities and is almost universally taught in its own right as part of the education course.

Within a few years, however, such a position was no longer acceptable. The argument was that just because something has been studied and taught for a long time does not mean that it should continue to be. The application of developments in psychology and philosophy to education issues seemed to those of a neo-liberal disposition to approximate more to the everyday concerns of teachers, while sociology of education and comparative education seemed to offer more valid perspectives than history on the workings of education institutions and systems.

Midwinter’s (1970, p. 3) observation at the time also demonstrates that the approach being taken by historians of education did not help their cause. “Education history,” he argued, “is too often studied as a series of legislative enactments, with its students jumping from one Act of Parliament to the next, like mountain goats from peak to peak.” A long-term outcome was that it is now rare to find history of education taught as a separate subject to student teachers in many parts of the world. Indeed, thinking has changed to the extent of bringing about a situation where there is a tendency to dismiss all foundation subjects of education as being irrelevant to the student teacher’s future role.

The approach to the discipline within schools of education led to historians in other fields being disdainful of it. Yet, from the late 1950s, a great flowering of work

in the history of education was underway within university history departments. In the USA, for example, Bailyn (1960), following the growing emphasis on the “new social history,” argued for a focus on history of education and the history of society more broadly, and also for it not to be concentrated solely on the history of schooling. While such work and that of others were not all in the same vein, new questions emerged, as did new methods of investigation and new interpretative frameworks, especially from the social sciences. A particular emphasis was on studying historical relationships between social class and education. This led to the emergence of a range of historical works in a variety of areas, including gender and education, childhood and education, adolescence and education, and adult education. It also led to the adoption of a new sophistication in the writing of the history of education in more traditional genres.

Overall, the new emphasis was on examining education historically in terms of its broad environmental, social, economic, and political contexts. This involved ensuring that education developments would be studied in their relationship to the wider world of physical and climatic conditions, population movements, technological changes, structure of society, the economy, and the prevailing philosophical and religious views. Furthermore, a new interest in case studies emerged as historians became aware of their potential to investigate significant regional variations in education in the past within any society. Many also took heed of the advice offered by Marwick (1971, p. 146) to historians working in all domains that one “should always be on the look-out for elements of continuity, for illuminating parallels and comparisons drawn between one age and another and between one country and another.”

Notwithstanding the exposition so far, there was no desire to move away from the history of schooling within history of education research. Rather, the desire was to approach the topic in a more critical manner than had previously been the case. Thus, new works covered what are arguably the three main interrelated aspects of schooling on which one can focus, namely, access, structure, and process. Specifically with regard to the process of education, studies were undertaken on its principal subsections, namely, aims and policy, curriculum, teaching and learning, and management, administration, and leadership.

Within the context portrayed so far, it is arguable that more than any other area, it is the research that has been undertaken on the history of the school curriculum that has highlighted the need to study schools as contested sites. Research in this vein took off in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s. It includes those undertaken by McCulloch (1987) on England and New Zealand, by Musgrave (1988) on Australia, and by Tanner and Tanner (1989) in relation to the USA. These researchers demonstrated impeccable scholarship in terms of their contribution to the historical record. Associated arguments on why it and related works are important because of their contribution to contemporary debate, including what they reveal about the purposes of curriculum, were forthcoming. For example, Kliebard and Franklin (1983) argued that examining the history of curriculum could help one arrive at a good understanding of why school curricula developed in the directions they did. Such an understanding is valuable, they held, because

any curriculum as it has appeared over time can be an important indicator of what a society wants to preserve and pass on. Regarding this, Rawling (2000, p. 210) noted a tendency in "education systems to use national curricula to reassert national identity, national heritage and national values." This point was taken up later by Whalley et al. (2011, p. 381) in their assertion that curricula can be "creatures of circumstance," influenced by national needs, histories, and government-driven skills and employability agendas.

The pioneering work of Goodson (1987), which commenced in the 1980s, was a particular motivator for many. The starting point in his position is that the curriculum is "a social artefact, conceived of and made for deliberate human purposes" (Goodson 1987, p. 260). This definition overcomes any notion of curriculum as a "given" and the associated risk that it can lead researchers to adopt narrow perspectives and ahistorical epistemologies that take present-day understandings of the past for granted.

Goodson (1987) argued that a consequence of not engaging in the study of the history of curriculum by adopting his approach could be "historical amnesia." This, he argued, could lead to curriculum reinvention rather than development (Goodson and Marsh 1998). Also, he rejected any view of the written curriculum as a "neutral given," stating that one of "the perennial problems in studying curriculum is that it is a multifaceted concept, constructed, negotiated and renegotiated at a variety of levels and in a variety of arenas" (Goodson 1992, p. 299).

Goodson and Marsh (1998) also pointed out that within the history of the school curriculum, the history of the school subject was seriously under-investigated. This they saw as being a major deficit in the accumulated corpus of education research. In similar vein, Goodson and Medway (1990, p. 299) called for an understanding of how "curriculum prescriptions are socially constructed for use in schools; studies of the actual development of courses of study, of national curriculum plans, of subject syllabuses and so on." Goodson also argued that historical studies of school subjects could offer local detail of curriculum change and conflict and identify individuals and interest groups who contributed to curriculum intention and motivation. "Thereby," he concluded, "sociological theories which attribute power over the curriculum to dominant interest groups can be scrutinized for their empirical potential" (Goodson 1992, p. 309).

Goodson (1983) further argued for engagement in historical studies on all subjects in the school curriculum across all levels of education systems. Such studies, he asserted, could allow one to examine complex changes historically, rather than snapshots of unique events, so that one could reveal the political interests and motivations of those individuals and groups who have championed elements of curricula. Focusing on the recurrence of events over time, he argued, can make it possible to discern explanatory frameworks.

The latter point was also taken up by Hargreaves (1989, p. 56), who argued that school subjects are "more than groupings of intellectual thought. They are social systems too. They compete for power, prestige, recognition and reward." Later, Popkewitz (2009, p. 301) revisited this position, calling for an examination of the history of school subjects since they provide "historically-formed rules and standards that order, classify and divide what is 'seen' and acted on in schooling."

Related arguments for undertaking research along the lines proposed by Goodson were also put forward. These include the argument that engagement in the study of curriculum history “is essential for improving the character of curriculum reform efforts” (Tanner 1982, p. 40). On this, Bellack (1969) and Hazlett (1979) expressed the view that those who work in curriculum development have an inadequate understanding of curriculum efforts in the past. More recently, Freathy and Parker (2010) put forward a similar view, namely, that there is a need to engage in disciplined inquiry on the history of curriculum to counterbalance the work of researchers adopting narrow perspectives and ahistorical epistemologies that take present-day understanding of the past for granted and thus help to generate a form of ideological fundamentalism.

While various scholars (Braine 2005; Burton 2007; Green and Cormack 2008; Popkewitz 2011; Tan 1993) have adopted Goodson’s position in order to study a range of school subjects, McCulloch (2011, p. 86), in 2011, commented as follows regarding the overall challenge presented:

... it failed to penetrate the disciplinary boundaries of education, history and the social sciences, but had instead generated uncomfortable tensions over its nature and potential contribution, although it continued to develop and to offer new contributions in succeeding decades.

In similar vein, O’Donoghue (2014), specifically in relation to Australia, as with Seddon (1989) 25 years earlier, recognized a great need for much research on the history of curriculum in Australia. Also reflecting on the Australian context of curriculum history, Campbell (2014, p. 1) perceived that there was a lack of “a broad, cohesive, historical study of school curricula from colonial to more modern times.”

Studies from other foundation disciplines also brought to the forefront the need to consider schools as contested sites in relation to such other areas as education policy, pedagogy, and management and administration. The need to consider the matter in terms both of specific historical cases and of historical antecedents to the current situation was also highlighted. For example, the sociological work of Ball (1994a, b) and Ball and Bowe (1992) has been influential in alerting us to the importance of viewing education policy analysis as involving a cross-sectional investigation across five contexts, which are not necessarily successive: the context of influence, the context of policy text production, the context of practice, the context of outcomes, and the context of policy strategies. In particular, Ball stressed a position holding that each context represents an area of contest and tension as different parties within the policy process struggle to bring their interests, ideologies, and “points of view” to the fore. This is also a notion that such a position prevails as much at the microlevel of the school as it does at the macro- or central bureaucracy levels and that attention should be given to historical influences as well as to contemporary factors in the study of tensions and contestation. Furthermore, the position applies not only to contemporary policy contexts but also to those that prevailed in the past, again including at the school level.

Regarding how decisions on pedagogy can lead not just to contestation but to open conflict, the work of Smith and Knight (1978) was pioneering. It detailed the

controversy that took place in Queensland, Australia, about the “values clarification” and “values free” pedagogical approaches central to Jerome Bruner’s social studies course known widely by its acronym, MACOS. The course was seriously criticized by religious fundamentalists over a period of 4 months and eventually was removed from state schools in Queensland by the Cabinet in January 1978. Bringing the event to the notice of an international audience, Smith and Knight (1978) illustrated not only how fundamentalist Christian writings and MACOS pedagogical approaches were diametrically opposed to each other but also that the contestation that eventuated might have been avoided if cognizance had been taken of the historical basis of the cultural presuppositions that existed within a significant proportion of the society.

Here it is also apposite to mention the impact of the *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. Its influence in relation to the central focus of this chapter was particularly strong in recent years while under the editorship of Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter. Among other areas, they promoted work indicating how the history of the administration of schooling can be re-conceptualized. In this, they encouraged researchers, both implicitly and explicitly, to add a historical dimension to the work of the likes of Apple (2003) that indicates how structures of education administration can operate to privilege some forms of knowledge, that of the privileged, and reject “other” knowledge, that of the marginalized. One response has been the emergence of a body of scholarship which has also exposed the existence historically of contestation at the level of the school, as well as work that both provides insights on how it was masked over time in particular countries and indicates how it failed to be expressed in others.

Much of the work considered throughout this chapter was conducted using established historical approaches. Newer approaches have also been used. In some cases, scholars have drawn from social science methodologies, including those related to micro-sociology and social semiotics (Chapman and O’Donoghue 2013; O’Donoghue and Chapman 2011). New approaches in the use of oral history have also been used, including those drawing on insights regarding memory, communities, and intersectionality (May and Proctor 2013; Potts 2001; Trotman 2008; Welsh 2003). There are also works which indicate that there is plenty of scope for research involving the examination of photographs (Vick 2009), using visual analysis methods from design history (Frith and Whitehouse 2009), and using film analysis (May 2006). Furthermore, historians of education adopting methods and theories drawn from media studies have made valuable advances in investigating schools as contested sites. Finally, the relatively new field of the history of the emotions, sensations, and feelings (McCulloch and Woodin 2010) indicates uncharted territory fertile for exploration.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Among a number of interrelated central issues in education around which the history of schools as contested sites can be organized, education policy is the one that is most interrelated with the others since it is a feature of all of them and thus needs to

be considered in relation to each. While much of the attention in the early part of this chapter focused on this matter in relation to curriculum, cogitation of it in relation to access to schooling and to the structure of schooling also suggests avenues for further investigation in terms of contestation. Regarding access to schooling, a particular avenue for future research arises from considering the extent to which for the great range of Indigenous people around the world it was available at all, was deemed to be problematic both for themselves and for providers, and was exclusionist or inclusive, and the various ways in which the patterns that existed were contested by both colonized and colonizers. The same can be said in relation to irregular schools and schooling. This is a very fertile field for further investigation on how graduates of such schooling fared in later life relative to their “regular-schooled” peers, including in relation to those who went on to attend university. Also, the historical dimension to the contestation taking place at the present time in certain jurisdictions, with state education departments making life uncomfortable for many who choose irregular schooling, has not been a focus of any major projects in the history of education.

Regarding the structure of schooling, there is also much scope for further research, including on the nature and extent of contestation in this domain. It is easy to forget that at the end of the nineteenth century, three-quarters of the world’s population was located in agricultural countries and the majority within them had hardly been touched by formal education at the basic foundational level. How, then, did many respond at the time of first provision of schooling and to the structures for such provision, driven as these structures were by a desire to “civilize,” regulate and control “the masses”? Did local populations embrace what was prescribed officially, did they resist it, or was the pattern different from place to place and from group to group? A particular aspect of this matter that is worthy of much more study relates to the many situations where the language of instruction in the school was that of the colonizer rather than the colonized. This applies as much to church-run schools as it does to state schools. Also, while much is known about the various conflicts between church and state on the provision of education, not as much is known about contestation within particular religious groups on the provision made by their respective churches and of the responses of church leaders.

A further matter which arises from cogitating another point illustrated in the following chapters is that it would be historically anachronistic to think of primary- and secondary-level education both in European and in Latin America countries as being universally sequential. On this, there may be a tendency in some quarters to assume that children in all national systems with universal provision of primary school education tended to commence schooling in their early years. This assumption can, however, be troubled by reading autobiographies of peasant peoples from the beginning of the twentieth century, where many record that they did not commence schooling until they were 10 years of age. This makes one wonder about the extent to which this may have been a pattern in particular places and at particular times, and on the extent to which it represented contestation of -schooling, or at least of its perceived importance relative to other duties to be performed. Similarly, one wonders on the extent to which there was contestation of co-education, which was prevalent in many schools system run both by states and

by the churches for many years, and on the nature of any such contestation, including on the part of students and parents.

The matter of the contestation of the school curriculum, which was very much highlighted early in this chapter, also features prominently in the chapters that follow. This is particularly so where curriculum is seen as being the prescription of the formal knowledge, skills, and values to be taught in the school. Much less clear, however, are the contestations that took place in relation to those activities which schools promoted outside of the classroom, including sporting competitions, music and drama productions, outdoor education, and public speaking. What is most likely, however, is that there certainly was contestation in these domains as the activities in question often have cultural associations which can bring different social and cultural groups into conflict regarding what is appropriate for one's children to be taught and to experience. Reflecting on this matter also brings to the fore the dominant point throughout all of the following chapters, namely, that no curriculum is politically neutral. Rather, it has to be viewed as the product of a number of social, economic, and political forces.

Back in 1988, in one of the few surveys available at that point on the history of the primary school curriculum in England over 200 years, Vlaeminke (2002) concluded that developments until the 1980s can be considered to have been evolutionary and piecemeal, as opposed to confronting such big issues as "what education is for and how much national effort should be invested in it" (1998, p. 13). He went on to state that the outcome of dealing with the "competing claims of nationalism, regionalism, social class and religious denominationalism have never been fully resolved" and that responding to economic influences resulted in "a long history of compromise, evasion and partial solutions" (Vlaeminke 2002, p. 14). Much work still remains to be done in elaborating on and refining this proposition for other constituencies for the same period. Regarding the patterns which evolved in some places, what was involved was the maintenance for a long time of a notion that a "broad general education" intersecting with competencies and skills for the adult world should be provided, while in others there was selection and narrow specialization from a relatively young age. Again, the nature and extent of contestation of this situation by various stakeholders is worthy of much further investigation.

In the following chapters, accounts of contestation in relation to teaching and learning also feature. The nature of this contestation is made particularly clear in considerations on the nature of childhood and on the "materialities" and iconography of the school. On this, there is also room for much more research, including on contestation of the approaches to teaching and learning deemed to be appropriate for boys and for girls and in relation to different times and in different contexts. This, it is arguable, is the one field more than any other within the history of education where there is a need to generate creative research approaches, especially to investigate teaching and learning from the point of view of learners themselves. Also, those prepared to respond do not need to restrict themselves to the study of the classroom.

Another area of investigation relates to the extent to which we have come to accept descriptions of industrial-age schools as having involved the concentration of masses of children into heavily routinized, regulated, and controlled classes, where

they were taught by teachers who were held in high regard by a largely uneducated society. A related view is that this situation was the product of a masculine society which valued dominance and exploitation, and where institutions were hierarchical, homogeneous, and conformist. It is not being suggested that these generalizations lack validity. However, what is in need of investigation is the nature and extent of any variations from the general pattern and the reasons that may account for them.

In similar vein, the contention that over the last 20 years the major stress which has been placed on the promotion of an outcomes-based approach to learning has been accompanied by a view that what has happened internationally has meant that there has been a shift from a teacher-input model to one in which the emphasis is on what students are expected to learn and achieve. The claim is that through adopting such a model, students have been empowered in their learning. Whatever the truth regarding the latter claim, there is nothing new about emphasizing what it is students should know and be able to do at the end of a lesson, program, or course, especially at the high school level. This is because for generations, teachers have been guided by the demands of public examinations, seeking from year to year to second-guess the questions that would be asked and the minds of the examiners. Contestation of this practice needs to be investigated further, as does contestation of alternative practices engaged in by teachers trying to pursue more liberationist approaches to teaching, particularly by students who feared that such approaches might not help them in their efforts to maximize their results in public examinations so that the door to university, to white-collar positions, and to the professions might be opened for them. Finally, there is a need to replicate for all countries the approach taken by Reese (2013) in his study on the history of testing by authorities in schools and by education institutions in the USA, including the history of contestation in the domain, and its legacy.

The Remaining Chapters

The chapters which follow exemplify to various degrees the potential of addressing issues like those noted above, as well as others. ► [Chap. 12, “Church, Religious Institutions, the State, and Schooling”](#) Rosa Bruno Joffre and Carlos Martínez Valle, entitled ‘Church, religious institutions, the state, and schooling’ is concerned with interaction historically on the part of the Christian churches and other religious institutions with the state and schooling. On this, they explore such interactions in early modernity, including in relation to the German principalities and the influence of the Prussian construction of public schooling in the Americas. They also examine interactions of the church and state in the expansion of mass schooling, especially in relation to the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches. Furthermore, consideration is given to secularization in light of appropriations of religious pedagogical practices and the transfer of the sacred to the secular for various purposes. The chapter closes with a brief overview of the relationship between the state, education practices, and religious institutions in the Islamic world.

► [Chapter 13, “Childhood and Schooling of the Young,”](#) by Thomas Walsh, traces the evolution of thinking and provision in relation to the schooling of young children from antiquity to modern times. A particular focus is placed on the advent of mass schooling in the nineteenth century and the debates and tensions that emerged as countries explored the possibilities of providing schooling to all children. Three case studies, aimed at illuminating the fact that there was a variety of societal response to the demand for universal education, follow. These case studies relate to Ireland, Sweden, and England.

► [Chapter 14, “Primary School Education,”](#) by Susannah Wright, considers the varied aims and education practices and the interests and experiences of different parties involved in building, funding, administration, curriculum design, and teaching in primary schools (sometimes termed elementary schools) which were provided for mass education. Following an introductory section, she considers the internationalization of “monitorial” schooling in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on Latin American and Indian contexts. Secondly, the teaching of civic morality in English elementary schools from the 1870s to the eve of the First World War is detailed. Thirdly, primary schooling in Russia from the 1890s to the 1840s is examined.

The more specific case of the place of women in education is the focus of ► [Chap. 15, “Gender, National Identity, and Education.”](#) Here, Jane McDermid problematizes the field by centering on the place of women in the history of education in Scotland. While being of interest and of value substantively, the chapter also demonstrates how a gendered analysis of the history of education in one country could be applied more broadly to address such matters as perceptions of distinctiveness and national identity, including in relation to the education of females.

► [Chapter 16, “Colonial Education,”](#) by Joost Coté considers colonial education as experienced by children of both colonists and colonized, with particular reference to schooling between 1880 and 1920, in the Dutch colony of the East Indies, the Japanese colony of Taiwan, and the British Australian colonies and early Australian Commonwealth during the period. The author argues that, despite cultural, demographic, political, and structural differences, significant similarities existed in colonial education practices in the period across the three constituencies. These demonstrate not only the pervasive influence of metropolitan “new education” pedagogical philosophies but also underlying similarities across different imperial and colonial regimes.

Howard Lee and Greg Lee’s ► [Chap. 17, “Indigenous Schools and Schooling,”](#) describes schools and the schooling processes historically in relation to Australia, Fiji, and New Zealand. It sets out a concise historical context for each setting in relation to elementary and post-primary schooling emergence, provision, and change, with specific reference to Indigenous schooling arrangements, developments, and subsequent controversies. In so doing, some of the more important and far-reaching consequences of the dominance of non-Indigenous people’s thoughts and actions over Indigenous persons in the schooling arena are analyzed.

Loretta Dolan’s ► [Chap. 18, “Irregular Schools and Schooling,”](#) highlights the emergence of a number of alternative education choices in both the USA and Europe

during the twentieth century. She points out that alternative education does not just embrace pedagogy within a physical setting but also pays attention to alternative spaces in which instruction may be given. She then goes on to explore the ideologies and spaces of alternative education that challenged the prevailing orthodoxies in Western countries by asking the question, what is “regular” in terms of schooling? This is addressed by focusing on “home-schooling,” “distance education,” and “Rudolph Steiner schooling.”

Gary McCulloch and Tom Woodin, in ► [Chap. 19, “Compulsory Educational Provision,”](#) point out that compulsory schooling involves a basic presumption that there is a duty as well as a right for all children in a society to go to school under certain conditions for a particular period of time. This, they argue, introduces the question of when the period of enforcement should begin and when it should end. Considered against such a background, they review the growth of compulsory education around the world, especially over the past two centuries, the contested nature of this development, and its relationship to social and economic change in the modern world.

Finally, Frederik Herman’s ► [Chap. 20, “Iconography and Materiality,”](#) engages in a hermeneutic exploration of the iconography of the material landscape of education. He examines visual-material representations of “materialities” and “spatialities” as cultural images with the aim of providing insight into processes of meaning-making and the attribution of symbolic values to educational artifacts and environments. His overall argument is that an overabundance and endless repetition of such visualizations have led to the inculcation and generalization of a rather specific and narrow, yet stable, visual-material imagination of schooling, disguising the changing meanings of the material landscape of schooling over time and in different contexts.

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Church, Religious Institutions, the State, and Schooling

12

Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Carlos Martínez Valle

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Abstract

This chapter provides a *longue durée* historical synthesis of the interactions between religious institutions and governments in the development of schooling in the Western world, and to some extent in the Islamic world, and also engages with related explanatory theories. The complexity and extension of the theme requires using comprehensive sociological paradigms, such as that of neo-institutionalism, to explain the expansion of mass schooling. Historiographical paradigms, such as confessionalization (Reinhard 1997), open ways to interpret interactions between churches and states in early modernity. Also, historical

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concepts such as governmentality (Foucault 2000, p. 202) are useful for unveiling school functions and the development of the schooled subject, while the concept of secularization, also problematized in this chapter, is a tool for examining transfers of the sacred to the secular and intertwined political agendas. The analysis pays particular attention to context and cultural and social processes, as well as processes of differentiation that affected not only the state but the churches themselves.

Keywords

Catholic Church · Protestant churches · Islam · Mass schooling · Secularization

Introduction

The chapter first explores the relations between Catholic and Protestant churches, states, and schooling in early modernity, in particular, the German principalities and the influence of the Prussian construction of public schooling in the Americas. In the second part of the chapter, the emphasis is placed on the interactions of Church and state in the expansion of mass schooling. There are subsections on the relationship between the Catholic Church and the state, and between the Protestant churches and the state. These are followed by a section in which the understanding of secularization is problematized in light of appropriations of religious pedagogical practices and the transfer of the sacred to the secular for other purposes. The chapter closes with a brief overview of the relationship between the state, education practices, and religious institutions in the Islamic world.

Christianity and Modern Schooling in the Early Contours of Modernity in Western Europe

In Western Europe, the Christendom era started in 312 AD, when Emperor Constantine adopted Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire and thus set the basis for a relationship and power alliance between church and state. People lived in a society in which one worldview and value system was dominant in the institutional order; to an important extent, in the minds of individuals, every member was assumed to be Christian, even as other beliefs and religions – those of Muslims, Jews, and pagans – could be privately and even publicly practiced (McLeod 2003). This association of church and state was questioned at various points. The Church offered monastic, parish, and cathedral schools, yet illiteracy was high in this world of clerical literacy.

There were different philosophical and institutional political and religious breaking points in the late Medieval and Early Modern Ages, such as the creation of the university in the thirteenth century as an embryonic modern institution with openness, rather than monastic enclosure, at its center. Also in this period, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) reconciled Aristotle with Christianity. Intellectually, there

was a movement toward individuality that took shape with Renaissance humanism, from the fourteenth century onward. However, the transformation of cultural practices and technologies, including writing practices involving innovations such as printing and the progressive use of paper, influenced intellectual life and schooling. On this, Illich refers to Comenius' *Didactica Magna* (The Great Didactic), originally published in 1657 (Bruno-Jofré and Igelmo Zaldívar 2012), when arguing that the world opened up through the creation of the page in late medieval times as it allowed for the later development of modern pedagogy.

The late Middle Ages and the Renaissance brought a humanistic vision and commercial expansion. Thus, for example, from the fourteenth century in Italy, there were different kinds of schools: Latin and vernacular communal schools and freelance masters (private tutors), who provided opportunities to study the humanities, and in many cases, also arithmetic for commerce purposes, while other schools led to newly created universities (Grendler 1989). The Protestant Reformation, a central element in the ideological and political configuration of modernity, broke Christendom and influenced the development of schooling in German Protestant principalities. In his early writings, Martin Luther favored forms of familiar and religious indoctrination (preaching). However, the need for bureaucratic and religious cadres, people's indifference toward or ignorance of the new confession, and the need to indoctrinate them in the Lutheran doctrines led to Luther's pleading for vernacular and Latin schools that would be under secular municipal or princely administration. Confessionalization of the population in the evangelical principalities under the motto *cuius princeps eius religio* (the religion of the ruler was to dictate the religion of those ruled) was the driving force behind the passing of more than 100 school rules (Schulordnungen) that established or reformed existing German schools for girls and boys in different municipalities and principalities. Their curriculum consisted of the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, Luther's Catechism, and basic reading and writing (Hauer 2000; Strauss 1978).

One of these principalities, the southwest German Duchy of Württemberg, organized a school network including *Volksschulen* in 1559; in 1619 and 1639, the Duchy of Weimar and the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, respectively, established a similar network with compulsory attendance, free books, and paid teachers. There was a symbiotic participation by the church and the state in the promotion and control of these schools and a transfer of sacrality to political power. Confessionalization, more than any religious idea, was the central force of the education impulse of the Early Modern Age.

One way to approach the relationship between state, churches, and diverse forms of education is provided by the "confessionalization" paradigm developed by Wolfgang Reinhard (1997) and Heinz Schilling (1988). The paradigm offers a means to analyze the relations among state, religion, and education forms in the Early Modern Age from 1540, the time of the Colloquy of Worms, when Christendom was broken, to 1648, with the Peace of Westphalia, when religious division was accepted. The authors point out that, in that period, Calvinism, Catholicism, and Lutheranism often served in similar ways as instruments for state building in Western Europe. In turn, the state fostered the confessionalization of the state

population (the subject), for example, by increasing the presence of religion in schools, forbidding other religious faiths, or subsidizing quasi-official churches. A case in point occurred in early seventeenth-century France, when the Jesuits and the Oratorians, encouraged by the monarch, occupied the extensive net of municipal colleges as part of the offensive against Protestantism (Huppert 1984).

Pedagogical Thinking

Both the Protestant and the Catholic reforms generated intense pedagogical activity linked to pastoral work. The governing of the soul converged with a government of the self that would be used by the state later on. The literature had highlighted Johannes Amos Comenius (1529–1670), a Moravian, the last bishop of Unity of the Brethren, and author of the *Great Didactic*, as a major point of reference in modern education. However, from early modernity, the Catholic Church also had schools and school networks that incorporated and/or created emerging modernist pedagogical components. The Jesuits (whose congregation was approved by Rome in 1540) developed education as a primary ministry within a decade, embodying, as O'Malley (2014) has stated, a new era for formal education in Roman Catholicism. Within the context of Reformation and early modernity, the Jesuits had an operation of full-fledged schools for male students, with a curriculum influenced by Thomism as well as by Renaissance humanism. Bugnard (2006) argued that the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* was diffused and applied on a large temporal and spatial scale, and passed to programs and the pedagogical habitus of the twentieth century a school culture contributing to a model of pedagogical order that advocates of “new education” would consider traditional.

In the seventeenth century, which was a time of spiritual renewal in the Catholic Church, new pedagogical approaches were developed, particularly in France, within the framework of doctrinal disputes that even challenged the authority of the Pope. Two examples involved Minim Fray Nicholas Barré, founder of the Institute of Charitable Teachers in 1666 (later Sisters of the Infant Jesus), and his spiritual advisee, Father Jean Baptiste de La Salle, founder of the Institute of the Christian Brothers; these founders developed methods to teach the three R's in the vernacular and to evangelize, as well as organizational and material components that controlled space and time. The Charitable Teachers of Barré worked with girls, while de La Salle taught boys. These founders had a concern with childhood at a time when awareness of childhood as a specific stage in life – that had begun in the Middle Ages – intensified, while Catholic spirituality placed great emphasis on the infant Jesus (Depaepe and Smeyers 2008).

The efforts of religious institutions and the existence, in many cities, of informal parent-funded schools offering utilitarian teaching of the three R's, however, did not lead to a perceived need for more extended literacy. Emerging religious institutions in various parts of Europe could not make literacy universal. This explains, in part, the impulse that caused enlightened absolutist monarchies to focus on school provisions.

School Provision: Prussia and Its Influence

In the eighteenth century, a time when regulations regarding compulsory schools began, there were already blueprints for state-directed education that were linked to enlightened absolutism. These blueprints were pioneered by absolutist monarchs like Frederick V in Denmark, Maria Theresa in Austria, and Frederick the Great in Prussia (Green 1990; Van Horn-Melton 1988). Frederick II issued the Prussian school codes of 1763 and 1765, which ordered that compulsory schooling be provided for all children between the ages of 5 and 13 or 14. These decrees also regulated school hours, school vacation periods, fees, and penalties for parents who failed to send their children to school. They included standards for teachers and their licensure, textbooks, discipline information, and curriculum. Between 1750 and 1800, various state governments, through what would later become the unified Germany, took responsibility for education.

The creation in 1787 of a secondary school board in Prussia produced another level of state control, while the *Allgemeine Landrecht* law of 1794 gave the state the rights of supervision and state regulation of schools (Green 1990). Early in the nineteenth century, Humboldt, as Head of the Bureau of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction, created the *Volksschule* system, a state administrative structure supervising a network of elementary schools. Because of the Law of 1810, education was a secular activity and was compulsory for 3 years (Green 1990). The passing of this law, however, does not imply success in its application. In Prussia and other German states, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, the awareness of external threats was heightened and led to a reorganization of schools and the creation of the State Department of Public Instruction. There was concern around the implementation of policies and effectiveness of the schools; teachers were sent to train with Pestalozzi, and, once they had finished their training, they were made directors of newly created Normal Schools. By 1840, a national system of education was consolidated. The Prussian example was an important point of reference for other states, and the unification of the North German Confederation with the Southern German states in 1871 under the domination of Prussia made the school an important tool for ideological unification under one language in the imagined nation.

Those in charge of forming the imagined nation gathered in their conceptions of education and schooling the dominant understanding of social stratification and gender. Thus, the intersection of social status became clearly delineated in the newly created German school system with parallel lines that did not meet. Lower and middle class children went to the *Volksschule* and then to some kind of continuation school, while the children of the upper classes could transfer to the Gymnasium (the highest level of secondary school, which prepared students for higher education) and then eventually to university. The domestic ideal was linked to women's acquisition of knowledge, an approach also revealed in the translations into German of educational materials circulating across the borders in Europe at the time (Mayer 2012).

The Prussian construction of public education was appropriated in the Americas and brought a hidden projection of schooling, the notion of a self-governed member

of society that generated another kind of relationship between the governor and the governed. The *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction Publique en Prusse*, submitted by Victor Cousin to the French Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1831, describes in detail the Prussian system and the organization of the Prussian Normal School, greatly influential across the Atlantic. It became a central document guiding Horace Mann's design of the Massachusetts system, and influenced Egerton Ryerson's *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, as well as the Argentinian architect of public education Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, through Mann. Ryerson, a Methodist minister, made clear in the preface to his report that, as Cousin said, the experience of Germany, and in particular of Prussia, could not be lost (McGarry 2012).

McGarry (2012) noticed an observation made by Cousin in relation to the role of the state in public education. On one side, the education minister, especially in Prussia, had great central power issued by an absolute monarch; on the other, the branches had flexibility and sufficient freedom of action. McGarry argues that what Cousin saw was a government animated not only by coercive obedience to the sovereign but also by a shift in which the governed participated in their own governance. The state would be strengthened by forming its citizens, creating a sense of citizenship that took on a strong patriotic tone in line with the unification of the northern and southern states of Germany and the building of the German Empire (Rohstock and Tröhler 2014). Mass schooling acquired a multinational global dimension and a fragmented quality. This is the topic of the next section.

Interactions of Church and State in the Expansion of Mass Schooling

The notion of a nationwide public school system under state control has been linked to the emergence of the nation-state (particularly from the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815) and citizenship. The development of public education systems in the nineteenth century, as Green has argued, “can only be understood in relation to the process of state formation, where this is understood in a non-reductive way which gives weight to both political forms and their economic and social conditions of existence” (Green 1990, p. 77). Thus, social historians have pointed out that mass schooling preceded the industrial revolution, and was aimed at reconstructing the individual either as a member of the nation-state or of a rationalized society (Boli et al. 1985; Maynes 1985). Other researchers have explored more closely why, in some cases, mass school attendance and funding took place outside of state initiatives, such as in the northern United States (Beadie 2010). Comparative studies conducted by Stanford's neo-institutionalist researchers have shown, for example, that state compulsory schooling laws were not necessarily reflected in an increase in enrolment rates; the two variables work with different chronologies depending on the particular national context (Boli et al. 1985; Soysal and Strang 1989). These researchers provide a multi-variant analysis that distinguishes between top-down and bottom-up ways of creating mass schooling. In the first case, nation-states

promulgated laws of compulsory schooling, while in the second case, members of society themselves founded schools and the students were registered on a voluntary basis.

Relevant factors favoring the expansion of schooling were an individual cultural ideology, an exchange economy with market freedom, and political rationalization, with the latter consisting of both expansion of state authority and expansion of citizenship in a given society. Among the individualist ideologies favoring the expansion of education, the neo-institutionalists refer to religions that promoted direct relation with God. These religions could be in the form of national churches or decentralized religious institutions, as was the case with many denominations in the northeastern United States. At the same time, liturgical churches such as the Catholic Church and feudal political organizations acted as deterrents of mass schooling, both from above and from the bottom up (Boli et al. 1985). This neo-institutionalist theory thus provides an interesting starting point for a general analysis of the positive and negative relations between state, civil society, and religious organizations in the making of mass schooling. However, historical contexts further contextualize these assertions. For instance, during the nineteenth century, although many European countries experienced such revolutions and political changes as the liberal revolts of 1848 affecting France, Germany, Italy, the Habsburg Empire, and Denmark, the development of the education system, including enrolment policies and rates, kept its own pace (Gemie 1995). Thus, Harrigan (2001) was able to study the diffusion of schooling as a social and cultural process rather than as a political or policy development.

During the inception of mass schooling and until the creation of fully centralized education systems, schooling was mainly provided and administered at the local, rather than state, level. Therefore, for this period, the role of local elites including religious ones, the participation of the population in local governments, and balanced access to property and property structure (and therefore the existence of expectations and the need to have access to education) explain education enrolment better than the types of governments and education laws. Beadie (2010) studied voluntary and market-based support for schools in New York State in the early republican era (1790–1840), and found high levels of mass schooling attendance and funding prior to and outside of state initiatives. In nineteenth-century Spain, provision for primary education was left to the municipalities. School attendance was higher in smaller sized municipalities with an even distribution of mid-range, market-oriented agrarian properties and a situation where women could inherit property, so that political participation was easy; this was the case in areas north of Old Castile, while attendance was lower in more economically developed areas (Nuñez 1992).

During most of the nineteenth century, in the early industrialized era of *laissez-faire* liberalism in England and Wales, state elites were reluctant to intervene and make educational provisions. The Church of England and, in concurrence with it, other Protestant denominations became the major educative agents. As a private matter in which parents had the last word, family economy, culture, and expectations determined school enrolment, which was lower than in continental Europe and in the

northeastern states of the United States, due to the lack of support and regulation (Green 1990). Education enrolment was, at least until the twentieth century, lower than in some British colonies like New Zealand, Australia, and Canada (Lindert 2004).

An interesting arrangement was promoted through The Common Schools Acts of 1846 and 1850, drafted by Egerton Ryerson in an effort to forward the development of Canada West, nowadays Ontario, which shows the complexity of state control. Curtis (1988, p. 17) has noted that Ryerson set the basis for a form of hegemony and for agreement among the governing classes in Canada West. Education under the 1850 Act became public education with a large centralized system that had a strong central authority with regulatory power, information gathering procedures, and discipline. But the system also included a mix of locally elected trustees and appointed and semi-autonomous County Boards. The model was repeated in newly created provinces (Curtis 1988, p. 132). The public system and the Catholic Church had different arrangements depending on the province, with the Church often carving out its own space in the system. The system had as its center a bureaucratic “education state,” but in practice, and by design, rural school boards retained considerable control over many fundamental aspects of the education process on the ground. Thus, the convent school, for example, run by nuns in the province of Manitoba, was itself quite often the public school in Franco-Manitoban areas. Interactions between states and churches could generate at moments either lines of fracture and opposition, convergence, negotiations, or compromises involving various kinds of accommodation, but time and place have always played a role in the characteristics of those interactions, as the case of Canada shows.

The Catholic Church and the State

The relations between the Catholic Church and states took on different characteristics from the relations between Protestant churches and states, each with its own range of variations. The Holy See (the Vatican) felt under attack and reacted against rationalism, liberalism, socialism, the separation of church and state, and consequently against the modern state, with *Quanta Cura* and its appended document *Syllabus Errorum*, in 1864, and the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, in 1907. A papal-centric ultramontane view dominated the Church from the time of Vatican Council I (1870). However, the Church cannot simply be reduced to the Vatican, its center.

The Holy See built alliances with conservative and reactionary forces and attacked constitutional and liberal states. The conflict between liberal constitutional states and the Church gave way to the so-called culture and school wars all over the Western world in places where Catholics had a strong presence. Specific examples are the French school wars that took place between 1789 and 1905 (Hugonnier and Serrano 2017); two Belgian school wars, in 1879–1894 and 1950–1959 (Clark and Kaiser 2003); the Spanish school wars, in particular in the First and Second Republics, in 1873–1874 and 1931–1936 (De Puelles Benitez 2010); and the school wars in Mexico, from the Reform Laws to the Cristero Rebellion (Meyer 1979). The

“culture and school wars” had similar characteristics throughout different countries in Europe and the Americas: the expulsion of the Jesuits (a measure already taken by absolutist governments of the eighteenth century) and other Catholic orders and congregations, teaching restrictions for religious congregations in other cases, state control of priest formation, and teaching supervision in confessional schools.

These tensions were not only the product of confrontations between different ideologies and forces but were also rooted in the process of disentangling the Church and the state. The latter was part of the ongoing functional differentiation exemplified in the cultural wars that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, in Baden, Germany (Badische Kulturkampf) (Ammerich and Gut 2000). In this case, the Church no longer accepted that ecclesiastic appointments needed to be approved by the state, and so claimed the right to educate its own priests and to independently administer its properties. The state of Baden (Grossherzogtum Baden) wanted to keep its privileges and impose stronger control on Catholic schools. The law on school supervision (Schulaufsichtsgesetz) increased the rights of the state over Catholic education and created schools with mixed confessions.

Beyond issues of church and state, Catholic schools cultivated a gendered culture of schooling, supporting an ideal of domesticity and purity that required segregation of sexes; this ideal was quite common in society to the point that, after laicization, teachers dressed with the humility of nuns and were expected to conduct themselves as nuns (Harrigan 2001). In the case of France, during the period between the “Falloux Law” of 1850, which reorganized public instruction, and Jules Ferry’s laws of the 1880s, there was a period of cooperation between the Church and state in achieving universal primary schooling in France. The Falloux Law’s provisions allowed religious orders to teach. This led to an extension of primary education to girls and an expanding of secondary schooling for males (Harrigan 2001). Cooperation ended with the Third Republic and the Ferry Laws that secularized schooling. In such liberal secular states as the French and Spanish republics, which established the separation of church and state, the school was expected to play a central role in the formation of the republican citizen.

Protestant Churches and the State

The relationship between Protestant churches and the state developed its own features depending on the historical setting. In supposedly religiously homogeneous Northern Europe (Scandinavia and Germany), Lutheran national churches often served as instruments of the states in the development of schooling, rather than being their religious competitors. These established Protestant churches were not seen by governments as deterrents of modernity. Thus, there was no need to adopt Jacobinism and impose a clear separation between the state and national churches. As a result, secularization processes were smoother and religion did not become a political cleavage, as occurred in Catholic countries (Morgan 2002). However, the specificity of historical analysis brings nuance to this overall statement. For example, late in the eighteenth century, the Prussian State, in the process of creating a

universal school system in Prussia, took up the ideas coming from German Pietism. A religious renewal movement that focused on practical piety and that was more egalitarian than Lutheran Orthodox clericalism, Pietism attempted to restore the unfulfilled spiritual process of Reformation through education (Gawthrop 1993; Shantz 2013). Pietism was also relevant in the milieu in which Pestalozzi grew up in Zurich.

Pietism, whether in opposition to the national Church, as in Sweden, or within it, as in Denmark-Norway, had a role also in the initial national education systems of the northern countries. In Denmark-Norway, from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, different forms of Pietism and then rationalist religious ideas, but not the Orthodox Lutheran Church, were the forces behind the decrees of 1739 and 1741 that established – albeit without financial support from the central government – a common school devoted to preparing students for religious confirmation. For a century, in Norway, this system was served by parish deacons and ambulant seasonal teachers, who basically taught Bishop Erick Pontoppidan's *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism* as preparation for Confirmation, and basic reading and writing, but not always arithmetic. The ambulant teachers taught for only some weeks in rural parishes on different farms (Veit 1991). Therefore, both religious homogeneity and the existence of a national church as factors in the creation of mass schooling should be qualified.

In the case of the United States, the American Revolution disestablished religion – the Anglican Church and other denominations – thus affecting the provision of forms of education. Religious revivals and crusades of various kinds such as temperance were not enough to educate the public on the necessary civic values and the right way of living. These events led education reformers like Horace Mann to argue that the formation of republican citizens required a public school system aimed at promoting the common good.

Problematizing Secularization

Increasingly, from the mid-nineteenth century, formal education was placed under state control even as there were provisions for religious institutions to have their own elementary and secondary schools. This control was affected by the provision of certification for teachers and students based on official curricula, and by school inspections. This process ensured the creation of systems composed either of only state schools or of various combinations of state schools, or of private schools that were publicly funded or in other cases subsidized by the state. There was a range of configurations: the Separate Catholic School Board in Saskatchewan, Canada, publicly funded since the foundation of the province in 1905, but within the regulations of the Department of Education; France in the Third Republic, when Catholic schools were eliminated and ordained teachers could not teach; France after the Debré Law of 1959, which allowed Catholic schools to function under state conditions (Hugonnier and Serrano 2017); and the 1985 Spanish law (LODE) that established the public funding of private, mainly Catholic, schools (de Puelles

Benitez 2010). Given the process of social secularization in France and Spain, and the lack of religious staff, most of the private and publicly funded Catholic schools have now become part of an education subsystem serving the elites and middle classes, rather than sites through which to cultivate the faith (Martínez Valle and Serrano 2017).

These configurations were the product of long historical processes of secularization, the complexity and nuances of which are currently being unveiled. Processes that transferred the sacred to the secular for the purpose of generating instruments to achieve political ends are just as important to examine as the secularization of people's consciousness. The understanding of this transfer is particularly useful for understanding curriculum and school practices in English Canada, as well as in the US, and even in German schools, although it is an issue that requires further analysis. In English Canada, even as education was under provincial jurisdiction, public schools, considered non-sectarian, had a Protestant ethos until the post-World War II era. Religion was often inserted in programs of study related to the teaching of manners and morals. For example, the *Programme of Studies for Elementary Schools*, for grades I to VI, issued by the Department of Education of the province of Manitoba, contained the following italicized note in the Grade I section under the heading "Manners and Morals": "Teachers should not fail to inculcate in the minds of all children in the school, (a) Love and Fear; (b) Reverence for the name of God; (c) Keeping of His Commandments" (Manitoba Department of Education 1927, p. 5). This governing of the soul through creating dispositions and sensitivities and enhancing sympathetic feelings was supported by the "readers" used in Manitoba's public schools and by selections for studies in the upper grades. Those dispositions conveyed the traits of a good citizen. Thus, even as many new national education systems, including those involved in the "school wars," portrayed themselves as either secular, neutral, or national, they incorporated underlying values that were components of the religious outlook of the ruling elites and of the majority of the population. Under the guise of a non-sectarian, secular school, the state would build a political instrument for controlling or marginalizing "minority" religious options, as was the case in the culture wars (Kulturkampf) of 1871–1878.

The 1872 Law of School Supervision (*Schulaufsichtsgesetz*), which imposed government control of education after the unification of Germany, was designed to marginalize Catholics as well as conservative Lutherans, debilitating political parties linked to them (e.g., *Zentrum*, a Catholic political party). It also aimed to suppress the use of the Polish language, which was spoken by Catholic priests in schools (Pflanze 1971). Similar processes have been detected in relation to some Australian states, including New South Wales, where the secularization discourse was used during colonial times in order to marginalize Irish Catholicism, and, in the current day, Islam (Low 2014). On this, secularization needs to be examined within the context of power relations and struggles.

The school itself as an institution is often examined as a secularized version of Christianization (Bugnard 2006). Even if the school appears as a component of the modern state as a secularized institution, it comprises secularized symbols and rituals related to Christianity and to Christian education, which are the result of cultural

transfers (Depaepe et al. 2008). Recent research indicates that state control of education did not obliterate the direct influence of practices used by churches such as political catechisms, which were secularized religious catechisms used for social and political purposes. Buttier (2012), for example, examined a large corpus of political catechisms from the French Revolution to the First World War that were widely used for political education, morals, and civics. Another example is provided by Buchardt (2013), who examined curriculum and pedagogical strategies as micro-political forms of state and state building. Her study shows how, during the first 40 years of the twentieth century, theologians in Denmark helped to transform religion into a pedagogized category of culture in state mass schooling, while creating new school knowledge – a case of the “sacralization of the state.” For example, the “School Book Commission” issued a report with suggestions for revising the content of “religion and history,” grouping them together with Danish and cultural components of geography as a family of school subjects. Overall, then, the process of secularization and its relationship to public schooling is inscribed in the interplay of the sacred and the secular at societal levels, and intertwined with state politics and the construction of the self-governed citizen in modern society.

The State, Education, and Religious Institutions in the Islamic World

Schooling is not just a Western and modern creation. What became new in the West was mass schooling and the functions of schooling, but the history of schools can be traced back to antiquity. Non-Western countries developed their own schooling traditions with different degrees of formalization and within the contours of their historical developments. Islam quickly expanded to occupy large geographical spaces, diversifying in the process, due to both internal divisions and contextual influences from the places where Muslims lived – from China to Western Africa, and nowadays throughout the world.

Islamic culture has a rich internal differentiation. The main division between Sunnis and Shias is enriched by different schools of law, different mystical currents (*Taşawwuf* or Sufism), and forms of popular religiosity from the specific cultural contexts in which Islam was introduced. Teaching circles, which operated in or around the mosques or on Sufi premises, became progressively formalized, and in the eleventh century these were institutionalized in different forms of *madāris* (plural of *madrasa*). *Madrasa* designates different schools of various levels of education, but the term was more extensively used for advanced education; lower education institutions are commonly referred to as *kuttāb* (plural, *katātīb*), or *maktab* (plural, *makātīb*). The early *madāris* were established and endowed through private charitable means, not by governments or religious organizations (Berkey 2007).

Madāris became the model for the European Colleges (Makdisi 1981). Politically, these acts of charity were aimed at gaining prestige or support for a family or individual. However, donors did not tend to interfere with the teachings in the *madāris* (Makdisi 1981). During the Islamic middle period (1000–1500), this first

institutionalization did not lead to change of content, and teaching methods continued to be based on informal individualized instruction without a formalized program. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in particular during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566), the Ottoman Empire (1299–1922) created a state-linked institutional religious hierarchy (Zilfi 2006). The progressive bureaucratization of the state and the institutionalization of religion converged in the notion of the school as a political instrument, an idea that became generalized from the sixteenth century.

The language of the state found its justification in early accounts of the origins of Islam at a time when there was a selective and contextualized appropriation of intellectual European discussions and education arrangements. It was a transformative process. Internal (the Greek Uprising, 1821–1829) and external threats to the Empire coming from Russia (12 Russo-Ottoman wars between 1568 and 1918), the Holy League (Habsburg Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Venice, and Russia, from 1683 to 1699), and France (invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798) reinforced processes leading to the institutionalization of the state and education. In the late eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, military pressure led to the establishment of open, Western-style, military-based naval and engineering academies (in 1773 and 1793, respectively). Other academies, also of a civil character, followed. A similar process took place in Egypt and Tunisia. The transformation continued with the creation of primary schools and the adoption of French-style *lycées* with the aim of accomplishing a Western style system parallel to the traditional one (Grandin and Gaborieau 1997).

In the nineteenth century, when European powers colonized almost all of the Islamic world, the colonizers brought colonial government, a new education organization, and Christian missionary schools of different denominations, creating education fragmentation in the colonies. Western religious missions and schools were, from the sixteenth century onward, involved in the colonization process. However, the missions were not always a mere instrument of the metropolis and acted with different degrees of independence. Local traditional education institutions creatively answered the challenges posed by Western education and colonization in general, although a lack of resources hindered their evolution. Furthermore, the education transfer was multidirectional and took place also from the colonies to the metropolis. Western educationists took up local education ideas or used the colonies for education experiments that were later implemented in the metropolis. An interesting example was the Madrasa system, developed into the Monitorial System of the Episcopalian Bell (Tschurennev 2008).

After decolonization, the new nation-states and their civil societies sought to define not only their individual identity but also their collective identity (e.g., pan-Arab, pan-Islamic) and the role of religion in their societies. Given their previous historical developments, the new states had a high diversity of institutional arrangements for the provision of education. This diversity came from context-specific combinations of various colonial schools and traditional forms of schooling. The reduction of education dualism (or more, if considering mission schools) was one of the main issues in the developmental policies of postcolonial states (Haschim 1996; Tan 2014). For instance, in Morocco, the qur'anic schools (usually called *masjids*, or

mosches) have functionally become preschools with a religious focus, and they continue to be financed mainly by communities and managed privately, while the advanced center of “original education,” the *madrassa qarawiyin*, has become a branch of the state university (Eickelman 2007). In Indonesia, the most populated Islamic country in the world, the reformist orientation of the *ulama* (scholars), and their identification with nation building in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has resulted in the creation of a double system of *madrassa-state* school, as *madāris* flexibly adopted the general curriculum of the state schools (Azra 2007).

Conclusion and Future Directions

The expansion of schooling as a feature of modernity is central to the analysis of the relations between churches, religious institutions, religious movements, education, and the state. In the interplay between these, the diffusion does not appear as specifically linked to a particular generalizable cause, such as the industrial revolution, urbanization, or state laws of compulsory schooling, but to myriad and sometimes local and/or national specific determinants. Thus, as an example, in Prussia, there were various factors at play, including the influence of enlightenment and an enlightened elite, the presence of “pietism” and practical piety, the push generated by interstate conflict, the creation of the nation-state, and the need to develop both an army and a bureaucracy.

Although it is a plausible and traditional hypothesis that religious ideas, such as the obligation for believers to read the Bible in the vernacular, initiated schooling, this conception has proven difficult to sustain. Other factors seem to be more influential in leading to the development of schooling and literacy processes. As the example of Luther shows, religious rivalry (which forced an indoctrination of the population), the interest of religious and secular governments in their own reproduction, and the increased power of secular authorities along with their symbiosis with the church seem to be more powerful driving forces for schooling than soteriology. The confessionalization paradigm allows for an understanding of the intertwined relationships between the three poles in the Early Modern period. One thesis regarding this paradigm is that similar processes happened in the spaces of the three main confessions. The Catholic reform and its encounter with modernity and with the Protestant reforms led also to schooling being fostered in the Catholic world. Thus, the Catholic Church played an important role in the expansion of mass schooling through the work of teaching orders and congregations, and often entered into open conflict with the state, particularly liberal republican ones.

The neo-institutional paradigm opened new avenues of understanding, including, for example, that compulsory schooling is not necessarily related to an increase in enrolment. The objective in the expansion of mass schooling was the reconstruction of the individual, either as a member of a nation-state or of a rationalized society. An interesting feature has been the repercussions of the Prussian model and its appropriation in the Americas, from Canada to Argentina. Also, it was not the only initiative for implementing compulsory education systems during the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, as shown by the school reforms of the Habsburg Empire. However, in the inter-state system, the Prussian model represented the model of a triumphant state, which was equated with an effective school. The model was also read as generating another kind of relationship between the governor and the governed, a relationship involving a notion of self-making and self-control.

Processes of secularization are more intricate than the mere loss of faith, dominance of scientific ideas, and seclusion of religion in the private sphere. The equation of secularization, modernization, and progress adds difficulties to understanding the relationship between the sacred and the secular. This is in need of exploration, especially in relation to the processes through which the sacred was transferred to state institutions to be used as an instrument to achieve political ends, and its relation to hidden curricula in schools, the education and political role of confessional schools, and the move of the new citizens of modernity to preserve their own cultures and identity. What is clear, however, is that the understanding of the sacred and the secular was indeed more difficult when the purported heralds of modernity were foreign colonial powers.

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Abstract

This chapter traces the evolution of thinking and provision in relation to the schooling of young children from antiquity to modern times. Key milestones in relation to developments on the conceptualization of children and schooling are documented. These milestones are contextualized within the wider societal influences that catalyzed thinking relating to education, including social, religious, economic, and cultural stimuli. A particular focus is placed on the advent of mass schooling in the nineteenth century and the debates and tensions that emerged as countries explored the possibilities of providing schooling to all children. Issues around class and gender are integral to this exploration. Three case studies, one relating to Ireland, one to Sweden, and one to England, illuminate the societal response in these jurisdictions to the demand for universal education. More recent

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developments in the extension of educational provisions to younger children and to children beyond compulsory schooling, as well as the impact of transnational policies on education, are explored in the concluding section.

Keywords

Ireland · Sweden · England · Conceptualization of childhood · Schooling

Introduction

This chapter critically examines the impact of schooling on the conceptualization of children and on their childhood experience and indeed the corollary – the impact of the conceptualization of children on the provision of schooling. James and Prout (2015) assert that it is more accurate to speak of childhoods rather than childhood to accommodate the myriad of experiences depending on variables at a macro level such as the social and political system and at a micro level such as class, age, culture, gender, ethnicity, ability/disability, birth order, geography, and time. While biological immaturity is a universal occurrence, childhood is a social and cultural phenomenon that is constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed on an ongoing basis by societies, adults, and children and their interaction with one another (Cleary et al. 2001; Montgomery 2009). Since the beginning of time, children have been considered as pure, bestial, innocent, corrupt, tabula rasa, reasoned, inadequate, constrained, or free depending on the contradictory and evolving views of adults (Jenks 1982). While a focus on schooling is the main thrust of this chapter, it will also delineate the socio-institutional, pedagogical, and ideological context in which key milestone events occurred.

In historical terms, there have never been such high levels of intense State interest and involvement in the lives of families and children. It is hard to imagine societies without any State-supported formal schooling in the postmodern age of the twenty-first century. And yet schooling and school systems are relatively young in the overall evolution of modern societies. Prior to the 1800s, there was a myriad of educational options available such as private tuition, labor, and apprenticeships, but educational provision has become dominated by the school in the past 200 years (Zeihner 2009). As Lassonde (2013, p. 212) states, “the perceived necessity for mass schooling had a very long gestation period because the impetus to shape all children’s development depended first upon a fundamental reorientation of the individual to the state.”

Through education systems, perhaps more than any other social institution, the State intervenes in the parent-child relationship. It is the schooling process that provides the graded structure through which most children experience and progress through childhood. During this time, education has been expanded to cover entire populations and social classes previously not considered in need of education, the timing for schooling has increased, and extended services have been delivered through schooling. The rise of formal schooling in many countries from the nineteenth century as the dominant educational agency revolutionized attitudes to

childhood. Gradually, the format and content of schooling became more prescribed and had the effect of delineating children's time and space (James et al. 1998) and indeed that of their parents.

This chapter now moves to trace the development and evolution of education and schooling for young children, delineating this across three eras – antiquity, medieval times, and the modern era. This is followed by three case studies on the development of schooling for young children in three contrasting jurisdictions, namely, Ireland, England, and Sweden. The chapter concludes by discussing some of the key debates, tensions, and directions relating to childhood and the schooling of the young.

Antiquity (up to Fifth Century AD)

It is difficult to grasp the complexity of childhood and schooling throughout a vast geographical region over an extended timescale where the experience of childhood was dependent on issues such as social status, geography, gender, culture, and religion. The level and type of education attained in antiquity were largely related to gender and social class. The experience of childhood and education was only available to the privileged few, most notably the wealthy, the free, and males. For others, such as the children of slaves, parents could not protect or nurture their children or allow them to experience childhood as an extended time of leisured maturation. Education was prioritized for boys over girls as males were seen as future leaders in society and was only accessible by the upper classes. The education of males was sometimes undertaken privately by tutors in a household, but there were also provisions made for schooling outside the home to extend their experiences in interaction with others. Bradley (2013) notes the shifts in antiquity from a polytheistic world to a monotheistic world dominated by Christianity. The spread of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism had a huge impact on the traditional conceptualization of children and on how they were educated. Monotheism spread the universal potential and protection of childhood to more and more children and led to a conceptualization of children as people with distinct needs (Grubbs and Parkin 2013).

As early as the fourth century BC, Plato had developed a modern program for the education of children that focused on the mind, body, and soul (Grubbs and Parkin 2013). While Plato's *Laws* focused primarily on law, central to this was how Greeks should be educated. As enunciated by Plato:

Education (*paideia*) is the drawing or leading of children to the right principles as enunciated by the law and confirmed by the experience of the oldest and most worthy. (Plato, *Laws*, 695d, cited in Patterson 2013, p. 365)

Plato proposed compulsory education as he saw children as belonging to the *polis* (city state) as opposed to their parents and advocated that education was a wider concern for the betterment of society. The education provided in Quintilian's

Oratorical Institute for upper-class Roman boys was similar to the philosophy of Plato and focused on the emotional and ethical development of the moral character and on developing character and civic leaders (Bloomer 2013). Dunne (2007) notes the insistence in antiquity on instilling a care for justice in individual citizens as the foundation of a just and fair society. This saw responsibility for education entrusted to the State for select citizens with an emphasis on such citizenship, and this was prioritized above family education. As Bloomer (2013, p. 458) states:

Yet following Aristotle, the ancients believed that the human being naturally wants to know and to be educated: theorists from Plato to Quintilian believed that the best man was the educated man and that education could make a man good.

The type of education promoted by Plato in Athens was wider than that advocated in Sparta, where there was a very strong emphasis on military education. Kennell (2013) reports that the system of education in Sparta was predicated on the production of efficient and obedient soldiers and good child-bearing women. In Sparta, formal education began at age 7 and lasted until age 30 when men entered the army and became full citizens.

For the upper classes in Ancient Rome, “paedagogi” were employed to tutor boys in the home and to accompany them to school, and they were also involved in their wider education and protection (McWilliam 2013). This education, largely in literacy, music, and athletics, began around the age of 7. This was envisaged as a way to instill discipline and order in young boys so that they would be efficient soldiers and leaders in society. Literacy was seen as central to education, and trained scribes worked in administration from the third century BC (Bloomer 2013). While upper-class girls were often very well educated, the process largely took place in the private home by means of tutors with a view to preparing women for domestic roles and to manage the household. It was often undertaken by extended family members or tutors, depending on the relative wealth of the family (Beaumont 2013).

For the majority of children from lower classes in antiquity, it is probable that they had a minimum educational experience. Bradley (2013) asserts that such educational experiences would have been through a focus on practical learning, through trades handed down inter-generationally, and through apprenticeships to master craftsmen and craftswomen. He went on as follows:

I suspect that many children in antiquity, particularly those who lived in rural villages and hamlets, learned more from the plough, the hoe, the sickle and the pruning fork – the emblems of the seasons widely displayed in mosaics – than they ever did from schoolbooks.

In similar vein, Fass (2013) highlights that in Ancient Greek and Roman civilization, it was evident that children were objects of care and observation and their importance to the future of society was recognized as childhood was seen as a time of preparation for those lucky enough to experience it. Play and toys were central to children’s lives, and children were visible in families and communities, leading Bradley (2013, p. 35) to conclude that they “were valued and valuable.”

Medieval Times (Fifth to Fifteenth Century AD)

Ferrano (2013) notes that the experience of childhood in medieval times was often affected by such elements as class, famine, war, and disease. While Aries (1962) asserted that the concept of childhood or of education was absent in medieval society, there is ample evidence that childhood as a concept and education as a social provision were inherent in medieval society. While there were no formal systems of education for the majority of children in medieval times, individuals and societies made provisions for transferring knowledge and skills to children. Ability to attend schools, however, was largely dependent on family circumstances. There was a range of educational options, mostly open to the children of the elite and in urban areas, including private tutors, boarding schools, endowed schools, church schools attached to cathedrals and monasteries, vernacular schools offering education in the local language, and basic schools that provided for a rudimentary education in literacy and numeracy.

The nature of education began to diversify, and certain schools provided a curriculum resonant of the schools of Ancient Greece and Rome, some with a more distinct religious orientation, some with a commercial and industrial focus, and some with a more holistic educational experience. Increased urbanization and commercialization brought a shift away from instruction using religious texts to more Greco-Roman cultural models (Ferrano 2013). With the advent of the printing press in the fifteenth century and Luther's call for universal elementary education, Northern humanism spread. This placed a focus on character and moral development influenced by the Protestant reformation. As new scientific approaches developed, epistemological tensions emerged between these and religious beliefs, leading to a greater diversity of educational provision. Stearns (2013) observes that new forms of education evolved in line with societal developments, with more time being dedicated to schooling and more formalized and demanding structures. There were fewer public opportunities for the education of girls, and their main options for their future were marriage and religious life. The principal focus in convent education was reading, writing, sewing, and manners.

Extended provision for education in the Middle Ages was largely related to moral and spiritual development with a basis in ecclesiastical and religious discipline, especially the spread of Christianity and Judaism. Following a period of persecution of Jews and Christians in Greco-Roman civilization, these religions flourished with the demise of the ancient empires. A positive concept of children was inherent in the Bible, and a central tenet of both religions was education. For the Jews, the synagogue became central to prayer and study, and young children studied the Bible rather than a literary corps. Monastic schooling became more widespread for Christians from the fourth century, and it focused on providing education for both orphans, oblates, and the children of the wealthy. In tandem, Christians placed a strong emphasis on moral education within the home and within communities, and this broadened the focus of education beyond academic achievement. Schools attached to cathedrals began to develop across Europe from the twelfth century, and many of these developed into universities. Humanists also began to establish

schools from the fifteenth century based on the classical Greco-Roman tradition, offering an education rich in grammar, literature, history, rhetoric, and philosophy. The age of 7 gradually assumed significance in relation to the lives and education of young boys. For Catholics, age 7 marked a milestone in relation to accountability for committing mortal sin, and later in Protestant circles age 7 heralded a greater responsibility for fathers in the building of their child's moral character.

Renaissance and More Recent Times

A number of factors coalesced from the 1700s onward to make the demand for and necessity of education a greater priority in Western societies. These included such significant political, economic, religious, and social developments as the reformation, the counterreformation, renaissance, humanism, the scientific revolution, the transfer from feudalism to capitalism, the rise of the nuclear family, the enlightenment, the romantic movement, and industrialization (Hendrick 2009). These changed all aspects of human relationships, including those of man/wife, monarch/subject, owner/slave, and adult/child. The interplay of these transformations also led to the emergence of an industrialized, capitalistic, and gradually urbanizing Europe in which nation states slowly became committed to the values of humanism, science, secularism, reason, individualism, and the rule of law.

A changing society had a profound effect on the expectations and conceptualization of children. There was a tension between the traditional Christian or evangelical conceptualization of the child, influenced by the doctrine of original sin, and the romantic and enlightenment view of the child as inherently good and innocent (Wolff 2013). Initially, only a particularly privileged class could afford the luxury of a childhood as most children remained a potential contribution to the family economy through work at home or through child labor (Jenks 1996). By the 1700s, a view emerged that all children were entitled to certain common rights in childhood. Moreover, in the post-reformation world, parents were seen to be responsible for the moral and spiritual as well as the physical well-being of their children. Childhood as a formal social category emerged and had its conventions and discourses accompanied by societal structures, including education, to process the child as a uniform entity (Jenks 1996). The influence of Rousseau's thinking, followed by that of Edgeworth and other enlightenment thinkers, had a profound effect on the contemporary conceptualization of childhood. However, childhoods were experienced in different ways and as Fass (2013, p. 11) asserts, "it was not experienced as a period set apart in its own world of play and schooling for most children until the twentieth century, after labour laws and school requirements carved it out of previous social spaces."

While the aristocratic and upper classes had always provided education for their children (most particularly boys) and could afford time and space for "childhood," the possibility of mass education only became a serious consideration from the early nineteenth century. The changing nature of society brought new challenges for the governance of populations, and schooling was perceived to be an influential

institution to inculcate civility and order among children and indeed wider society. Lassonde (2013) argues that it was this fundamental reorientation in the relationship between the individual and the State that catalyzed the need for mass education in order to shape the development of all children. Compulsory education became the answer for a number of issues, including social control, creating a loyal and informed citizenry, reducing crime, and equipping youth to make a living and to fashion future workers to the needs of economies.

The upper and lower classes had traditionally resisted any imposition of education, due to the fact that the upper classes were happy with the status quo and the lower classes felt that apprenticeships and domestic work offered more in terms of present utility and future occupations (Wells 2009). However, for the middle classes, education offered the potential of attaining social status and leadership positions in society. Moreover, the characteristics of mass education such as dependence, protection, segregation, and delayed responsibility resonated well with middle-class values. The dominant view among the middle classes was that childhood required education as a moral imperative and that the State needed to make schooling compulsory so that it would be met. What started as a middle class phenomenon became a social and moral imperative for all children over time (Dunne 2007; Hendrick 2015; Prout and James 1997; Schnell 1978).

By 1700, two dominant concepts of children had emerged: children should be objects of affection and attention and that children were fragile creatures of God who needed to be safeguarded and reformed (Lassonde 2013). This tension between the hope for the naturally innocent child and the fear of his or her potential innate corrupt nature was evident in the provision of education. Proponents of the evangelical view that the child was inherently evil proposed that education was needed to break the spirit of the child and to instill obedience. Opponents of this view during the Romantic Movement, such as Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Edgeworth, advocated that education was needed to reveal the inherent goodness and uniqueness of the child.

Schnell (1978) notes a shift in thinking about education from privilege to rescue so that children could be rescued from the contamination of adult society. For children who did not conform to middle class concepts of childhood, the State became responsible for the care and protection of such “delinquent children” in refuges, asylums, orphanages, reformatories, industrial schools, and juvenile courts to ensure society was protected. In these, a rudimentary education was often provided alongside the expectation of hard work which was seen as necessary to remedy the moral deficiency of children. Compulsory schooling was also a response to the concerns in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods around idleness, abnormal development, and delinquency. As Boyden (2015, p. 170) states, the “fear was that childhood innocence if not properly directed and trained at home and in school could give way to riotous and immoral behaviour.” Hendrick (2015) also notes that the advent of compulsory education led to the development of a compulsory relationship between the State and parents around the issue of child welfare, which was subsequently extended to public health and other welfare services.

The nature of schooling changed over time but was initially not stratified by virtue of age, with classes forming sporadically and informally (Grant 2013). Progressively, chronological age and single classrooms for various age grades became linked to cognitive growth and social development rather than a more organic progression through stages of education. These categories to distinguish children in aptitude and maturity were refined in the culture beyond schools, and developmental averages became new targets (Lassonde 2013). Aries (1962) argues that the institution of schooling had the effect of removing children from adult society as schools became spaces for the collective socialization of children away from the world of parents.

It was really only in the nineteenth century that childhood as a universal aspiration of States became widespread and mass schooling became somewhat available, yet the privilege of childhood remained linked to race, class, wealth, and gender (Fass 2013). Gradually and tentatively, largely from 1800 to 1900, Western societies began to develop and extend provision for schooling to all children, and mass schooling became a policy aspiration. The timing and nature of this provision depended on a number of factors but were invariably influenced by industrial and economic development, responses to various wars, the expansion of empires, ideological beliefs, political stakes, sociocultural beliefs, and the desire to create more loyal and governable classes (Wells 2009). What was once the preserve of the wealthy became somewhat accessible to all, albeit with different levels of opportunity depending on means. Gradually, education, which had once occurred in many places, became associated with children and the institution of schools. Schooling also reinforced many adult attitudes to children, including corporal punishment and the instilling of obedience. There was an emphasis, to varying degrees, on educating for moral, social, cultural, and economic purposes. Legislation was introduced not just to protect children outside of the home in terms of labor laws but also to protect them against abuse from their own parents. Wardle (1974) and Heywood (2013) argue that compulsory schooling rather than labor legislation was the most powerful influence in ending child labor and that schooling eventually replaced work for children. Such State concern and intervention strengthened in the twentieth century, with the Welfare State being increasingly used to ensure the rights of children are met holistically through legislation and the creation of associated institutions. On this, Hendrick (2015) asserts that while the concept of childhood was ambiguous in 1800, it was clearly defined legislatively, legally, socially, medically, psychologically, politically, and educationally by the early twentieth century.

Case Studies

Three case studies have been chosen to illustrate how the general trends outlined in the previous sections were introduced and managed within individual countries. The nature and timescale for the development of schooling for young children were heavily influenced by a number of sociocultural factors, including political, social, religious, economic, and cultural. The relative weight of these influences varied from

jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and while each country was influenced by general principles and structures, each created a schooling system that responded to its needs within these national limits. The three countries examined are Ireland, England, and Sweden.

Ireland

Ireland has a long and proud tradition of education spanning back to the Middle Ages when the monastery and Bardic schools provided education both in Ireland and across Europe (Coolahan 1981). While this education was limited in nature to a small cohort of the population, provision for education began to develop in the sixteenth century in the form of Charter Schools. This tradition was interrupted by the effects of the Penal Laws introduced in the seventeenth century which forbade the education of Catholics. The response of the Irish population was to pay for private tuition for young children to attend what became known as “hedge schools” owing to the precarious nature of their location. There were greater State-sponsored and philanthropic-sponsored provisions for Protestant children in Ireland at this time, most notably through the Kildare Place Society.

By the early 1800s, there was concern among churches and the State as to the provision of education in Ireland. The potential of the “masters” operating the hedge schools to be politically subversive and morally dissolute (Dowling 1935) caused angst for the churches and the State. While the State and particularly the Catholic Church had a very different vision for education, both understood the potential of education to achieve its own ends. For the State, schools could be agents of socialization, politicization, and assimilation to increase loyalty to the British Empire among a volatile and increasingly rebellious Irish populace (Harford 2009). Control of the education system for the churches represented an opportunity to instill religious loyalty and create loyal adherents to their particular faith (O’Brien 2013).

Following much debate and discussion, a national school system was established in 1831. This was underpinned by the principle that children of all faiths would be educated in the same school and that there would be a separation of secular and religious education. In the absence of a substantial middle class, the churches became the natural partner of the State at a local level. The main focus of the curriculum was on literacy and numeracy, flavored by a strong moralizing influence in the textbooks provided and sanctioned. While the mixed denominational principle was commendable, it ultimately proved unworkable given the historical and deep-seated acrimony between the various denominations. Ultimately, the various denominations etched away at the mixed denominational principle, and the system was de facto denominational by 1900.

The evolution of the conceptualization of childhood in Irish society is traceable through the curriculum developments between the 1830s and contemporary times. From the 1830s until 1900, it was that of a passive recipient of knowledge to be learned and regurgitated. This discourse was challenged by a revised curriculum introduced in 1900 which was strongly influenced by wider international educational

developments (Walsh 2012), seeking to celebrate the uniqueness of the child and to develop his and her inherent creativity and goodness through sensory engagement and inquiry. It was closely aligned to Jenks's (1996) "Apollonian" conceptualization of the child. The radical nature of such a change in conceptualization proved challenging in terms of implementation, and much of its underpinning philosophy did not gain traction in schools.

Following the achievement of political independence, the philosophy underpinning the curricula introduced in the 1920s returned to a more "Dionysian" approach which was strongly influenced by the pervasive influence of the Catholic Church (Whyte 1990). In line with Catholic social doctrine, the State played a subsidiary role in the provision of social services, including education, which was seen as a role of the Church (Glendenning 1999). In a postcolonial context, a major emphasis was placed on national identity and nation building, and children were instrumental in this national approach. This is most evident in the centrality given to the Gaelic language in the school curriculum and the role of schooling in the language revival crusade. The conceptualization required a closed curriculum, a passive role for children, and a strict adherence to rules and discipline. Relationships were characterized by a hierarchical and authoritarian tone.

Devine (2008) argues that the twin pillars of Catholicism and nationalism framed the construction of childhood in Ireland until the 1960s. The dominant discourse was on child dependency and protectionism as opposed to enabling participation, an ideology of childhood that was subsequently enshrined in the Constitution of Ireland (1937). This conceptualization of children dominated the education system until the 1960s when thinking and curriculum policy shifted to more child-centered and discovery-based approaches (Walsh 2012). The State gradually became more assertive in safeguarding the rights of young children, and education policy focused more on the holistic development of the child. While policy and curricular documents have espoused this philosophy in the last half century, there is much evidence that historical legacy issues still influence the schooling of the young and that the early years of elementary education are still dominated by a didactic and authoritarian approach (Gray and Ryan 2016; OECD 2004).

England

As in other jurisdictions, the development of provision for schooling in England was complex and took place at the interface of many social, political, industrial, and economic factors over a protracted period of time. Overall, Wardle (1974, p. 167) asserts that provision for schooling was not imposed, stating:

...schooling is not something which has been forced upon an unwilling public by an all-powerful establishment, but something which has been granted, rather grudgingly at times, as a result of overwhelming demand.

From the 1600s in England, education was seen as an avenue of social mobility for the middle and upper classes in an increasingly hierarchical society. Education was

also seen as being necessary, alongside religion, in the formation of gentlemen and gentlewomen. At this time, schooling was only available to a minority. Petty schools provided a rudimentary education to the poor, free schools provided a rounded curriculum, and grammar schools were underpinned by a classical curriculum. While children fortunate enough to attend a school began at age 6 or 7, the education of the nobility began earlier in the home with tutors or governesses. For the upper and middle classes, being apprentices in the houses of other aristocrats where they would learn social skills was common. However, apprenticeships were gradually replaced by private tutors, boarding grammar schools, and education abroad. From the 1600s, there was increased provision for the education of aristocratic girls, and this education was equally rigorous for both sexes (Wardle 1976).

In the 1700s in England, education was seen as being a private concern rather than the responsibility of the State, and the level of education procured reflected the person's social standing. The focus was on intensive provision for a small minority rather than on extensive provision. A variety of private schools offered educational provision, and these were clearly delineated along the lines of their expected outputs, from clerks to university entrants. Ultimately, their purpose was to prepare the child for the role ascribed at birth. The number of charity schools, operated by organizations such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was in decline at this stage. Sunday Schools, pioneered in the 1780s by Robert Raikes, focused on religion and Bible reading and were the first attempt at providing a universal elementary education. They were operated by amateur teachers, and the outcomes for pupils were poor owing to the low-quality instruction and the confinement of the curriculum to reading and religion.

The Sunday Schools were followed by the provision of "day schools" along the lines of the Lancaster monitorial system, with often up to 500 pupils per teacher. Sunday Schools and Day Schools were seen as a means to inoculate children against subversive and revolutionary ideas. As Wardle (1974, p. 90) has stated:

...most moderate and liberal opinion favoured elementary education for the labouring classes, provided that it was strictly limited in content, strongly disciplinary in tone, and not employed as an instrument for social levelling.

The short duration of day schools, the poorly trained teachers, the irregular attendance of pupils, and the difficulty of erecting a school building and financing a school resulted in only basic educational attainments by pupils. Throughout the 1700s, debate also ensued about the nature of childhood with varying religious, romantic, and psychological views informing the purpose and character of education.

While middle-class Victorians objected to State involvement in education in political terms, they supported its introduction as they felt that poor parents were not undertaking their responsibilities. There was a belief among some that schooling was a means of reconciling the lower classes to their role in life and that the education of the masses should be more limited and inferior to that of those who paid for it privately (Wardle 1976). Many wealthier parents continued to school in the home, and a number of private boarding schools and other institutions were

established for those who did not want to send their children to charitable or public schools. There was a gradual realization that the focus on the individual rather than the collective led to inequity and social injustice as not all parents could afford an education for their children.

While State involvement in education had been resisted in the 1700s due to fear of infringement on parental rights and fears of religious indoctrination, public concern for the provision of education was evident by 1800. This was part of a wider reversal of *laissez faire* policy where the government was willing to spend money to address social issues. The decline of British industry, the rise of nationalism and nation states, and the emergence of the working classes as a political power by the mid-nineteenth century catalyzed the need for State intervention in schooling as was the trend internationally (Wardle 1974). There was also a fear about the rise of socialism, and there was a desire to show the benefits to workers of capitalism in terms of social services. The motivations for providing education included the development of good soldiers, loyal citizens, national identity, religious study, and language acquisition. Two distinct groups emerged in the debate around the provision of universal schooling, and these were divided along religious lines – the National School Society was church-based and feared the effects of proselytizing, while the British and Foreign School Society was established by the dissenters who favored a secular system with time being set aside for religious instruction as required by the State.

Grants were provided from the 1830s for schools and for teacher training, while inspectors were appointed giving the government a greater awareness of educational provision. Pupil attendance remained a major issue, and in the 1840s, most pupils only attended for 1–2 years and completed their education by age 10, while approximately one-third of children never attended school. “Payment by results” was introduced in 1862, being seen as the cheapest way to ensure a minimum education for the masses. The Elementary Education Act (Forster) (1870) provided for education to be administered by school boards or school attendance committees that could levy rates and make schooling compulsory. As Forster has stated:

Upon this speedy provision of education depends also our national power. Civilised communities throughout the world are massing themselves together, each mass being measured by its force; and if we are to hold our position among men of our own race, or among the nations of the world we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual. (quoted in Wardle 1976, p. 33)

Compulsory schooling was introduced from 1876. This largely eradicated truancy by the 1890s and also greatly reduced child labor. By 1893, schooling was compulsory to age 11, and the principle had been established that all children would receive a certain minimum education. The reforms of 1902 increased the power of the government to be a policy maker in education, a function which had been undertaken by local boards up to this point. Further reforms by Lloyd George in 1906 extended the role of schooling and introduced school medical services, enhanced provision for children with “mental and physical handicap,” and industrial and reformatory schools.

Over the course of a century, the State replaced the home, churches, and charitable organizations as the provider of and policy maker for education (Selleck 1968). The tradition of mass education in England from the early 1800s was to act as an agent of social control, placing an emphasis on inculcating thrift and industry in children to counteract pauperism through philanthropic, charitable, and punitive measures. It was also used as a means to address perceived inadequacies within the home or community, especially as increased urbanization led to higher levels of concentrated poverty and social unrest. By the early 1900s, there was a focus on meritocracy, and there was a hope that education would decide which children were allocated to the various social classes rather than the bias of birth.

Sweden

In medieval Sweden, formal education was under the auspices of the Church, monastic and cathedral schools that had been established in the twelfth century. These used many of the texts common across Europe at this time. Post-reformation, the Protestant churches required the people to read the Bible. This resulted in a focus on literacy education from the mid-1500s. In the seventeenth century, there was a fusion of Church and State under a new Lutheran monarch, with the Church becoming a department of the State. Educational provision was extended, and the earlier “cathedral schools” became State grammar schools. A Church law was introduced from 1656, making the parish priest responsible for the teaching of catechism and the curate responsible for the teaching of reading. This resulted in an increase in pupil participation in education from 10% in 1700 to 50% in 1800 (Boucher 1981).

While Sweden remained a rural and nonindustrialized community into the 1800s, the changing political climate witnessed a weakened monarchy and a loss of status internationally for the nation. Increasingly, there were calls for the provision of universal elementary education and for the reform of grammar school education to include more technical and scientific education. As Boucher (1981, p. 6) states, “an increasingly complex society looked for a literate, skilled and morally sound population.”

Following a number of commissions and attempted reforms, compulsory elementary education in “Folkskola” was introduced in 1842 by the Elementary School Act under the Ministry for Church and Education Affairs. Initially the focus was on scripture, Swedish, arithmetic, and some handicrafts. This was later extended to incorporate history, geography, nature study, gymnastics, art, and singing. However, this provision took a generation to embed into society, although it gained greater traction in urban centers initially. Elementary education was the responsibility of the municipality, which placed an emphasis on the importance of local interests and initiative (Stenholm 1970). The introduction of State grants for teacher salaries in 1875 increased State control of schools, and a number of reforms from the 1880s formalized the structures of elementary education. In terms of concepts of childhood, Landahl (2015) asserts that the abolition of the monitorial system in Swedish schools

in the 1860s contributed to an increasingly emotional pedagogy where emotions became central to control and teaching. Love of God, country, parents, school, and those in superior positions was central to this change, and the shared emotional space of classrooms played an integral role in creating a new social order.

The notion of a common school and a utilitarian curriculum was accepted by the 1920s. This led to a democratization of education which involved a 6-year education in a “basic school” followed by 4 years in a “lower secondary school” for all children. Further structural changes were introduced in the 1940s, leading to three distinct levels of compulsory education from age 7 to 16. In the climate of the era, there was a focus in curricula on the individual needs and personality of pupils as well as on developing socially oriented citizens using a broad-based curriculum (Boucher 1981). While structural changes were again introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, the main aim of education continued to focus on the promotion of personal and social development of children through working in groups and individually. As Stenholm (1970, p. 36) put it at the time:

...the function of the school is to co-operate with the home in promoting the personal development of each individual student, by giving him or her the opportunity to work according to his own aptitudes and interests.

From the 1960s, the aims of compulsory education were to impart knowledge, to develop skills, and to nurture pupils in collaboration with families to become happy individuals and competent and responsible members of society. Elementary education was accompanied by the right to free travel to school, free materials and lunches, and access to medical services within schools. The key focus of Swedish education from this time was the strengthening of democratic principles of tolerance, freedom, cooperation, respect for truth and right, respect for human life, and the right to personal integrity (Boucher 1981).

Parallel to the elementary school system from the nineteenth century was a system of preschools or play schools for children aged 5 to 7 years old as Sweden became more urbanized and industrialized. This ranged from structured educational activities for children from better-off families to full-time provision focusing on care for children in poorer families or from single-parent families (Karlsson Lohmander and Pramling Samuelsson 2015). This parallel system operated until the 1960s when women entered the workforce in larger numbers and the demand for childcare grew. Provision for early childhood education became formalized with the Preschool Act 1975. This initiated provision for 5- and 6-year-olds and extended provision to more rural areas and for children with special educational needs. Teaching in the preschool was to be based on negotiation and dialogue among teachers, parents, and children. All children from age 1 were given the right to attend a preschool, whether their parents work or not, and their primary motivation has become the needs of the child above providing a service to working parents. Compulsory schooling still begins in the year in which the child has his or her seventh birthday. There is a clear link between the curriculum for preschools and that for the compulsory phase of schooling. The first national curriculum for preschools was introduced in 1998 as the first

step on the educational journey for children in Sweden (Engdahl 2004), and a preschool class was introduced in schools for 6-year-olds. This offers more formal learning experiences as part of the transition to compulsory schooling. Democratic processes are integral to school life in Sweden, and parents and children are consulted as teachers and schools frame their programs, schedules, and methods.

Debates, Tensions, and Directions

While many debates and tensions exist internationally on childhood and the schooling of the young, this section focuses on three of these, namely, the increased globalization of conceptualizations of childhood and educational provision, the enhanced provision for the schooling of children through early childhood education and post-compulsory education, and the recent international trends in the provision of schooling.

In a period of advanced globalization, there has been much effort to harmonize education policy and to universalize experiences of childhood across the globe. Mass education is now seen as being a fundamental human right, along with literacy and numeracy, all being understood as vital for personal and societal development. A number of international structures and conventions underpin this universalization, including the Declaration on the Rights of the Child by the League of Nations (1924) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (1989). The UNCRC is the most widely signed rights' treaty in the history of international law. Many commentators assert that it is underpinned by the ideologies of social work and the legal profession in the Western world and neglects to pay sufficient attention to the varied social, economic, cultural, and political factors in countries across the world that inform conceptualizations of childhood (Boyden 2015; Montgomery 2009; Wells 2009). This promulgates a vision of childhood as a separate space protected from adulthood, with children being entitled to special protection, opportunities to play, and rights of participation. Montgomery (2009) asserts that the UNCRC takes little account of cultural relativity as it sets definitive universal standards based on the westernized version of an autonomous rights-bearing citizen and provides for the inalienable right of children to attend school, privileges education over work, and consumerism over productivity.

This has been especially true of jurisdictions in the Global South which are often the recipients of models, systems, and targets that emanate philosophically and structurally from the Western world. For example, the focus on competition in Western societies threatens to undermine the principle of community solidarity that underpins many societies in the Global South and the quest for compulsory schooling for all undermines the traditional contribution many children made to their families and communities (Corsaro 1997; Jenks 1996; Wells 2009). The quest for compulsory schooling for all, promulgated by powerful institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations, often limits the time available for play and recreation for children who continue to work alongside their schooling. Boyden (2015) notes that this has the potential to disenfranchise children and their families in

other cultures, where children's "interests" and "needs" are largely understood in terms of their "responsibilities" and "duties." Wells (2009, p. 167) asserts that this is akin to a neoliberal model of childhood where there is a focus on independence over interdependence, on school-based over work-based learning, on a liberal political philosophy, on the ethics of liberal individualism, and on child autonomy and rational choice.

In many countries, the rights and needs of the community are prioritized over those of the individual, and the age at which children are expected to contribute to the household varies considerably from Western norms. As Boyden (2015, p. 186) states:

Thus, for many children, schooling acts neither as a channel of upward social mobility nor as an instrument of social change and personal development but as yet another medium of social control. Worse still, it can further disadvantage the poor child by acting as a drain on income and undermining the direct transmission of culture.

The increasing emphasis on the safety and protection of children in modern societies has, arguably, led to higher levels of regulation and control over their lives than ever before. Children's use of their time and the spaces they occupy are largely determined by adults to an increasingly higher age in homes, schools, and wider institutions. Globally, there are trends for increased State support and involvement in universal early childhood education, and children are spending longer periods of time in compulsory schooling (Dunne 2007). Moreover, new institutions in the form of after-school programs and holiday-period camps have developed exponentially in recent years, further regulating and structuring the wider educational experiences of children.

Childhood and schooling are also being extended later into adolescence and to such new categories as teenagers, youths, and adolescents which have emerged since the mid-twentieth century, to ages at which most would have been employed in the past (Jenks 1996). Increasingly, children are understood to be social actors and integral agentic members of society, actively influencing their own lives and the lives of those around them, rather than being incomplete and passive members in a process of becoming (James and Prout 2015). In reality, however, children have little influence on the structures and institutions that most affect their lives, including schools (Prout and James 1997).

Internationally, there is a trend toward more centralization of education policy, and while teachers are increasingly well educated, opportunities to exercise teacher professionalism and teacher autonomy are being reduced. Sahlberg (2011) has termed recent trends in this regard as GERM – the Global Education Reform Movement. This is characterized by increased standardization of educational provision, a focus on core subjects, the prescription of curricula, the transfer of models from the corporate world, and the high stakes accountability policy. This global movement has a substantial impact on the learning experiences and outcomes of children in schools. Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) propose an alternative to GERM that builds on the principles of an inclusive shared vision for education, where

learning is creative and demanding and where the system is evidence-informed. As they state, this can bring together “government policy, professional involvement, and public engagement around an inspiring social and educational vision of equity, prosperity and creativity in a world of greater inclusiveness, security and humanity” (Hargreaves and Shirley 2009, p. 71).

Conclusion and Future Directions

Schools as institutions now exercise a monopoly as the agents in the provision of education worldwide. This schooling has been continuously extended in nature both in terms of early childhood education and the provision of extended lifelong learning opportunities in educational institutions. The conceptualization of young children has evolved and is ever-evolving in modern society. Schooling has been central to this process of socialization and is developing in line with social, political, economic, and personal demands of the modern global world. The challenge for countries around the world is to develop education systems that constantly respond to these changing needs in a culturally sensitive and constructive way.

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Abstract

Primary schools, sometimes labeled elementary schools, have typically been the first educational institutions to educate all but a small minority of the population. This chapter considers the varied aims and educational practices and the interests and experiences of different parties involved in building, funding, administration, curriculum design, and teaching in and attending these schools which provided for mass education. Following an introductory section, three case studies – selected to consider a geographical and cultural range across different educational structures and political and policy regimes – are provided to offer insight into curriculum and pedagogy over the period from 1800 to the mid-twentieth century. Firstly, the internationalization of monitorial schooling in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on Latin American and Indian contexts, is considered. Secondly, the teaching of civic morality in English

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elementary schools from the 1870s to the eve of the First World War is reviewed. Thirdly, primary schooling in Russia from the 1890s to the 1940s is examined. A final section considers some important questions raised about the content and purposes of primary schooling and, with reference to the case studies, addresses methodological developments in the history of the field.

Keywords

Primary school · Russia · United Kingdom · Latin America · India

Introduction

Primary schools, sometimes labeled elementary schools, have typically been the first educational institutions to educate all but a small minority of the population. They have provided for mass education (Brockliss and Sheldon 2012). Primary schooling could, simultaneously, be linked with agendas of educating a growing electorate, nation building, dealing with population movement and expansion, and producing healthy and productive, but content and pliable, workers. It has combined useful functional knowledge with aims of religious and/or moral formation and instilling patriotism and civic pride. Wider socializing agendas did not preclude the recognition of benefits for individuals, minimally, economic survival, and, more ambitiously for some, social mobility and occupational progression. Educators too could emphasize and idealize individual development and growth. As the foregoing discussion indicates, these aims could jostle for priority and could prove difficult to achieve in practice.

Primary schools of different types have existed in many countries for at least 500 years. The English context illustrates the possible range of institutions. Charity schools from the late seventeenth century offered schooling for a limited number of poor children, funded by churches or through bequests from local donors (Ball 1983). From the late 1700s, ragged schools were provided for the very poor in make-shift premises. Informal home- or workshop-based “dame schools” existed from the late 1500s but in increasing numbers through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Often run by untrained staff, female tutors or retired soldiers or workers who for a small fee provided rudimentary education; dame schools came in for censure from later educators. Yet they might have offered a flexible and locally appropriate form of schooling that met the needs of parents who sent their offsprings to them (Gardner 1984). Poor law and factory schools can be added to the mix. Equally varied forms of primary schools, facilitated by villages, individuals, employers, voluntary organizations, churches, and state agencies, emerged in many countries.

After 1800, typically, primary schooling in many countries extended rapidly and was offered in a more standardized manner than previously, with the involvement of churches and major employers and, increasingly, the State. This expanded form of primary schooling will be explored through presenting three case studies which span the period from the early nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century and also span three

continents. The themes of curriculum and pedagogy will be treated consecutively and distinctly in each case study, but with the acknowledgment that the boundaries between the two are permeable.

The curriculum, as Goodson (1997) has proposed, is usefully defined as a course of study, with its core teaching texts, but political and social contexts are also vital components for analysis. Differences, moreover, might exist between the “rhetorical curriculum” (what educationalists and policy-makers intended) and the “taught curriculum” (what went on in classrooms) (Franklin 1999). Pedagogy encompasses both the act of teaching and discourse about it – the “theories, beliefs, policies and controversies that inform and shape it” (Alexander 2000, p. 540). Teachers’ classroom techniques and use of texts and other resources are part of this, as are broader methodologically focused debates. Pedagogy also relates to the influence on teaching and learning of the physical design of schools, the “choreography” of schooling (Eggermont 2001), and the movements of pupils and teachers through the school, during each school day and over the whole period of school attendance.

Internationalizing Monitorial Schooling

The story of the origins of monitorial schooling around the turn of the nineteenth century, arising from attempts to cater for growing numbers of poor and vulnerable children in urbanizing Britain and her empire, is well known. Minor technical differences existed between Joseph Lancaster’s London-based experiment and Alexander Bell’s approach adopted in an institution for half-caste orphans in Madras. Yet Bell and Lancaster’s models shared a common aim of providing the rudiments of “useful knowledge” and moral training through techniques of simultaneous instruction in institutions aimed primarily at the poor. Given the need for only a single room and limited adult supervision, these institutions could – at least in theory – be set up relatively cheaply and quickly. Bell and Lancaster presented their experiments initially as effective, but context-specific, case studies. But with the support of educational societies, they soon promoted a package which could be exported throughout Britain, and her empire, and elsewhere (Ball 1983; Hogan 1989; Tschurennev 2008). A uniform system of instruction, offering a cost-effective approach to educating a growing young population, had international appeal. By the 1820s monitorial schools had appeared on five continents and in many countries, with the model disseminated by the Anglican National Society and the nominally undenominational (but in practice mostly non-conformist) British and Foreign Schools Society and by missionary organizations. Monitorial schools could be established by arms of these organizations, state governments, and local philanthropic agencies.

Transferring the monitorial model from one national context to another, however, was not a one-way movement from center to periphery but a dynamic process which influenced both the “exporter” and the “receiver.” The process of establishing monitorial schools in Latin America, for example, validated the model, rendering it universally applicable in the eyes of the missionaries who promoted it on their travels to an extent that they might not originally have envisaged. The educational

societies promoting monitorial schooling offered standardization through their training institutions, curricula, handbooks, and other teaching aids. But the model could operate differently in its different homes, influenced as by local linguistic, cultural, and religious traditions, and theories of learning and knowledge, as well as local political and material conditions. The purity of the model might have suffered in this process, and this was the source of many complaints among its proponents. But its rapid expansion, supported by state authority, in other countries may also have influenced educators and authorities in England.

From the 1830s, monitorial schools became the backbone of developing systems of elementary schooling which were, increasingly, subject to increasing levels of state funding and administration (Caruso 2005; Tschurenev 2008). Their popularity tended to wane by the mid-nineteenth century, though they had some proponents in Italy rather later in the 1860s and 1870s. Monitorial schooling subsequently suffered, reputationally, at the hands of detractors, who claimed that the most it achieved was orderliness and memorization (Ball 1983). Yet its gains, and its influence on later national systems of primary education, are of interest too.

Curriculum

The early monitorial school curriculum, as defined by its founders, was to encompass reading, writing, counting, and the teaching of religion, with a little needlework for girls, thus demonstrating both utilitarian, and religious and moral, aims. For Lancaster, monitorial schooling was to provide “useful knowledge,” and a Christian education that would train children in the practice of moral habits, conducive to their future welfare, as virtuous men and useful members of society. Children were to become “more useful and intelligent,” so they would work well in an industrializing economy, but “they would not be elevated above the situations in life for which they may be designed” (Lancaster, 1820 quoted in Hogan 1989, p. 384). The curriculum proposed was thus to provide the tools for individual employability, to impart the tenets of Christianity (in Anglican terms for Bell, in nondenominational terms for Lancaster), and to develop appropriate moral habits for an expanding population of poor children. Advocates of the overseas extension of monitorial schooling similarly had dual purposes: they saw it as a means of integrating peoples of different countries into God’s dominion and of extending the utilitarian benefits of its teaching beyond a single nation-state (Sedra 2011). What students took from this is hard to determine and relatively rarely commented on in studies. There is some indication, however, that they did not always use the system as its proponents intended. Some involved in monitorial schooling in India, for example, commented that students sometimes did not attend regularly. Even when they did, they were thought to value their schooling mainly for gaining language skills, but to ignore much of the lesson content that was memorized (Tschurenev 2008, p. 261).

In Latin America and India, the utilitarian elements of the standard monitorial curriculum – reading, writing, and some numerical components – were generally retained. Instruction, however, could be in the vernacular rather than in English; in

parts of India, vernacular instruction was recommended to avoid extending natives beyond their intended situation (Tschurenev 2008). The original menu could be expanded to meet local needs. In Colombia, for example, elements of civic ceremonial were introduced to promote loyalty to the new republican regime. Pupils were required to recite and repeat republican maxims, justifications of independence, and constitutional principles; it was intended that they would become literate in the regime's constitution and processes (Caruso 2005). Civic catechisms were also taught for half an hour, once a week, in Mexican monitorial schools (Roldán Vera 1999). In India, Christianizing motives combined with the desire to lift natives from a state of ignorance led to the inclusion of science, geography, and history, which, together, were intended to supplant superstitious Hindu ideas about the world and its composition. But a religious mission could also be constrained: colonial authorities in Bengal, for example, feared native unrest and outlawed direct religious teaching in monitorial schools under their purview (Tschurenev 2008).

Pedagogy

Monitorial pedagogy as much if not more than the curriculum was expected to maximize the system's societal benefits, particularly through achieving "order" (Roldán Vera 2005). This pedagogy comprised tightly prescribed building layout, systems of reward and punishment, and timetables of activities which kept pupils constantly busy. These arrangements were intended to facilitate supervision by monitors (older children) and a single master. The monitorial school, as it was described in the manuals issued by Lancaster and Bell and their supporting educational societies in the 1820s, could consist of one room holding several hundred pupils. The furniture was to be arranged to allow for oversight by one master and teaching by older peers (monitors). The master was to sit on a raised platform so that he could survey all pupils and monitors. Reading stations were set up along the side walls; here monitors taught "classes" of 10 to 12 students, classified and grouped according to their proficiency in the different curriculum elements, typically through a series of reading exercises relying on rote learning. Pupils sat on benches and moved from lower to higher "forms" from the front of the room toward the back, according to their progress in exercises and tests. Monitors tested their pupils and they themselves were tested by the master; academic merit for both monitors and pupils was rewarded through raised status and prizes. Pupils were expected to internalize good habits, encouraged through constant activity, repetitive processes, and approbation and prizes, and discouraged from disobedience not through corporal punishment – in theory at least – but through punishments that relied on visibility and a sense of shame (Hogan (1989) offers a good summary of these points).

Lancaster and Bell's writings suggest that the monitorial system emerged as a pragmatic response to organizational needs. It was envisaged as a means of providing utilitarian and religious education for a large and growing child population with limited material resources. Hogan (1989), however, describes a Foucauldian regime of disciplinary power, comprising hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment,

and meritocratic examination, which corresponded with the culture of an emerging market economy. Notwithstanding these different interpretations, the use of ranks, monitors, reading stations, and regular examinations was transported internationally. These pedagogical arrangements, indeed, were valued for their fit with existing theories of knowledge acquisition and schooling arrangements. The emphasis on learning by routine and habit was thought to chime with theories of the acquisition of knowledge by the young mind through sensations which had long been popular in Latin America (Roldán Vera 2005). Indian advocates of the monitorial system argued that its “mutual instruction” bore similarities to teaching approaches of long-standing, common in existing Indian schools; some even claimed that Bell’s original Madras experiment drew directly on his knowledge of Indian village schools (Tschurenev 2008).

Monitorial pedagogy was also adapted to local political circumstances. In Colombia, for example, there was a move away from the rotating of monitors, based on concerns that regular change would threaten the maintenance of consistent authority relations. This became a pressing issue for parents and state authorities alike given the volatile political situation after the wars of independence (Caruso 2005). Indeed, in Latin America more generally, a pedagogy of discipline, order, and mutual instruction was deemed a means of teaching the republican virtues of limited exercise of individual authority in society (Roldán Vera 1999, 2005). English concerns about subduing and civilizing the urban poor were, arguably, less relevant here.

Morality and Citizenship in English Elementary School (1870–1914)

English elementary schooling between 1870 and 1914 was characterized not only by rapid expansion, standardization, and centralization but also by elements of freedom and innovation. The Education Code of 1862 had already introduced common curriculum, inspection, and funding mechanisms. The “3 Rs” (reading, writing, and arithmetic) were emphasized. Up to the mid-1890s, children’s individual performance in these was examined annually by inspectors and translated into money for their schools through the payment-by-results funding regime. The 1870 Education Act stipulated that school places be provided for all children aged 5 to 10, though some stayed on for longer. Attendance became compulsory 10 years later. In 1899 the leaving age was raised to 12.

For Alexander (1995), the label “elementary” conveyed the expectations and aims of those establishing and extending primary schooling in England. For most pupils, this was to be an education in basics, though a few had the opportunity to progress through continuation grades beyond the official leaving age. By the turn of the twentieth century, curriculum documentation and guidance for teachers suggest a broadening of possible subjects and a growing emphasis on child-centeredness and pupils’ individuality in the classroom (Selleck 1968). These changing policy frameworks and theories of educational never fully determined teachers’ practice. Some

teachers challenged the restrictions of payment-by-results, encouraging creativity and trips outside the school (Burnett 1982). Others, in the early twentieth century and beyond, struggled to adjust to the greater freedoms that came their way (Gardner 1996).

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century elementary schooling in England was not just about useful knowledge. Pupils were also expected to learn about appropriate behaviors, ideals, and values, both in terms of individual morality and being good citizens. Morality and citizenship throughout this period were frequently elided in social policy discourse, though civic rather than individual morality was emphasized increasingly over time. Different, and sometimes competing, ideas about how best to impart morality and citizenship in the English elementary school are now examined.

Curriculum

By the late nineteenth century, England as a political entity had existed for a long time in comparison with other European countries. The explicit nation-building agenda evident elsewhere was not present (Brockliss and Sheldon 2012). This did not preclude a strong patriotic element in the school curriculum at this time, based on assumptions of common values, and a shared culture and identity, which pupils accessed through the curriculum in different ways. In the “readers” that were common in elementary schools, pupils developed basic literacy while learning about their country’s achievements, patriotic heroes, and powerful yet beneficent empire. The emphasis was typically on England (usually more than Britain), and positive characteristics were often associated with Christianity, maleness, and the Anglo-Saxon race (Heathorn 1995; Yeandle 2015). These textual messages were reinforced through objects in the classroom and images displayed on the classroom wall (Grosvenor 1999) and through the books, magazines, domestic products, and toys that found their way into many homes (Mackenzie 1984).

After 1905, an imperialist version of patriotism was celebrated through Empire Day on 24 May, which became a widely observed school and community event (English 2006; Horn 1988). Responses to these developments varied. Empire Day was not without its critics among teachers and educational administrators, and some ex-pupils’ autobiographical accounts reveal indifference and outright hostility to the patriotic and imperialist fare to which they were exposed (Humphries 1981; Rose 2001). Yet other autobiographical accounts suggest that pupils warmed to the call to be proud of, and strive for, their country and empire (Horn 1988).

The religious foundation of civic morality taught in English schools was, for many, to be Christian. Religious instruction lessons, though not compulsory at this stage, were on the timetable of nearly all English elementary schools. Pupils also received Christian messages through prayers and hymns in assemblies and often also in the home and through attending church and Sunday school (Brown 2009). Christian content found its way into a wide range of teaching texts, with exemplars of patriotic virtue in elementary school history readers, for instance, displaying

distinctly Christian virtues (Yeandle 2015). As with the patriotic messages in the curriculum, these Christian moral messages elicited varied responses; they could be resisted (Humphries 1981) or absorbed (Brown 2009).

These Christian foundations of civic morality did not go unchallenged, and some educators called for more international and less exclusively Christian content. The Moral Instruction League, founded in 1897, campaigned through to the 1920s for what it termed “non-theological” moral teaching in schools. The League looked beyond Christian Britain (Brown 2009) for inspiration. Its key activists were prominent in secularist organizations. It drew on international educational developments – experiments in ethical culture schools in America, and the teaching of the *morale laïque* in France – to propose moral teaching on a purely “social” or “human” basis. Forming citizens of the State in schools, the League claimed, required a core of moral sanctions acceptable to all members of that State, people of any or no religion (Bérard 1984).

Teaching for pupils up to about 9 years of age was to address such personal traits, as kindness, truthfulness, and self-control, which were deemed the basis of civic virtue. Social themes like justice, humanity, and patriotism were to be covered by children about 9–12 years of age. Potentially controversial topics like cooperation, peace and war, ownership, and ideals were reserved for pupils above this age. Much of the content for younger students was in keeping with other teaching texts of the period. Under the heading of patriotism, for example, students were encouraged to recognize positive national characteristics including freedom of thought and action, and to look up to exemplars of patriotic virtue, mostly English historical and military leaders, alongside a few international figures: Wellington, Nelson, Alfred the Great, General Gordon, Joan of Arc, and Washington. None of this was unusual. Yet references to Irish and Indian claims for self-rule as a legitimate form of patriotic expression were less typical (Wright 2009).

The Moral Instruction League’s suggestions proved popular well beyond the relatively small number of confirmed agnostics and atheists in England at the time. With more than one-in-six local education authorities adopting some form of secularly-oriented moral instruction lessons during the Edwardian years, this was beyond a niche interest. There was support in government circles for a civic morality with some secular as well as faith-based components. The League’s agenda also spoke to an ongoing concern of teachers and education administrators, who were looking for an alternative to the battles between denominations over school administration and religious instruction which, they felt, detracted from the real business of schooling. Yet the League’s human morality was widely condemned. Critics felt that a Christian foundation for moral teaching was essential if this teaching was to form the basis of good citizenship; the League’s scheme, by missing out duties to God, and by eliminating the ultimate moral exemplar in Jesus Christ, proved incomplete. There was little reference to religious faith in League materials. This was criticized as being an attack on the Christian beliefs of the majority. In what was still, according to many accounts (Brown 2009), a predominantly Christian nation, proposals for a non-faith-based morality failed to satisfy all.

Pedagogy

The rote learning and memorization prominent especially during the payment-by-results era in relation to the “3 Rs” applied also, to some extent, to schools’ civilizing and moralizing agendas too. The teaching of basic Christian doctrine through Bible reading and the catechism, for example, involved memorization and repetition. The use of “readers” might have been a little different, though evidence on their use in the classroom is in short supply. They might potentially have been used in a mechanical way, or with short excerpts only being selected. But pupils reading the texts themselves offered possibilities for different uses of and interpretations of the commonly defined content.

Many popular approaches to the teaching of civic morality in elementary schools at the time were “indirect.” Pupils would pick up patriotic and Christian messages as they learned to read. They would learn the benefits of teamwork and sacrificing individual benefit through sports and games. Respect for others and orderliness would be absorbed from the atmosphere and social relationships of the school. Systems of rewards and punishment, from prizes through to the cane, or the reporting of misdemeanors to parents, would reinforce values of timeliness, obedience, and hard work. Psychologically focused arguments about the development of character in schools supported indirect approaches. The learning of appropriate moral values and behavior in one arena, it was suggested, would transfer to other contexts because the same mental faculties would be employed. Progressive educators, moreover, emphasized the need for space for pupil’s self-expression and a gradual, emergent moral response (Roberts 2004). Indirect approaches to imparting civic morality in schools continued to be favored by many educators well into the interwar years (Keating 2011).

Some called for a more systematic, instructional, approach. The Moral Instruction League suggested regular, timetabled moral instruction lessons, organized according to a graduated syllabus accompanied by a series of teachers’ handbooks. Frank Herbert Hayward, inspector of schools for London County Council and supporter of the instructional theories of Johan Friedrich Herbart, advocated for the League’s stance on the issue. Direct instruction, he suggested, was not only pedagogically desirable according to Herbartian theory, which emphasized the importance of intellectual understanding of virtue, but was necessary to counteract the undesirable instruction that poor pupils in urban “slums” could receive at home or on the street. Yet even League activists acknowledged that many teachers were ill-prepared for giving moral instruction lessons by their previous training or experience (Wright 2013).

Primary Schooling in Russia from the 1890s to the 1940s

Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is a distinctive context, partly because of its size and partly because of the composition of its population which was mixed linguistically, culturally, ethnically, and in its religious faith. In 1900, ethnic Russians were only just a majority of the population. Jews and

Lutherans lived in the Western borderlands. The Caucasus and central Asian areas in the East housed Muslims. It was also, on the eve of the 1917 Revolution, a predominantly rural population, of which 80% were peasants (Eklof 2012). Russia from the 1890s to 1940s, also, experienced major political change, moving from the Tsarist monarchy, through the revolutionary and civil war years, to the centralizing tendencies of the Stalinist regime of the 1930s. The monarchy and revolutionary governments oversaw school building campaigns, which aimed to offer places to all children of the right age, and efforts were made to increase coordination and consistency. The Tsarist government wanted to combat illiteracy, bringing cultural enlightenment to the peasant population, and also to improve agricultural practice, while producing productive and compliant laborers for the slowly growing industrial workforce. Communists saw primary schooling as a vehicle for producing loyal and productive socialist citizens. Yet, these aims were, for most of the period, not to be achieved with all children. School attendance was not compulsory till 1930, some years after most European countries (Holmes 2005).

Primary schools in 1890s Russia were established by the Ministry of Education, the semi-autonomous local zemstvos (part government and part civil society), and the Orthodox Church, and also independently by peasants willing to pay for literacy instruction. Factories and different faith groups in the Eastern and Western borderlands formed schools too. For all of these groups, primary schools became vehicles for “disseminating values considered appropriate for the common person” (Brooks 1985, p. 35). Primary schooling in the last decades of the monarchy could be a battleground – between different administrative authorities, between state and teachers, between teachers and parents, between pedagogues of conservative or progressive persuasions, and even between rural and urban teachers with the latter seeing themselves as better trained, more organized, and more literate than their rural peers (Brooks 1985; Ruane 1994; Seregny 1989). Eklof (2012, p. 147), however, also describes a “mainstream pedagogy” whereby inspectors, teachers, and educational authorities at the local level agreed over many aspects of the content and form of primary education. Three-year schools were established in many places over the 1890s and 1900s, but in practice many parents elected for their offspring to attend for 2 years, and some children did not attend at all. Communist governments after 1930 aimed for longer periods of schooling and to develop a system that facilitated progression from primary to secondary and tertiary institutions. But curriculum content and classroom instruction could depart from the “blueprints” issued from Moscow (Holmes 2005, p. 56).

Curriculum

The primary school curriculum of the pre-revolutionary years displayed consistencies, and differences, across the different school types. Administrators and educationists might have debated the merits of progressive or conservative content (Eklof 2012). Yet reading – often using religious or patriotic texts – followed by arithmetic and writing, were prioritized in the various types of schools. Religion was present in

all school types too; zemstvo and Ministry schools aimed to uphold religion and moral understanding, with church schools devoting more time to religious training, with a focus on the Orthodox faith and Christian morality. In the decades around the turn of the twentieth century, some schools introduced an additional year of study to teach extra subjects, typically geography, natural history, drafting, and drawing in church schools and history, geography, and natural science in zemstvo schools. Such developments were encouraged by inspectors and local school boards (Brooks 1985; Eklof and Peterson 2010; Kelly 2007). But the “basics” were still very much emphasized in these years. This fitted the agenda of the State at the time. The peasantry had to be educated enough to work hard and efficiently, but not so much that they wanted to leave the land. This was an important balance to strike when peasants, although released from legal ties to their landlord under the Great Reforms of 1861, remained bound to land and commune (Ruane 1994). For peasant parents, too, their children would receive the literacy that would help them do their job and otherwise function as village members, while children’s contributions to the household economy would not be lost for too long, and features of peasant culture and norms would not be overly threatened. Primary schooling was, in some respects, adequate for both parents and the State. It also met the post-school reading needs of pupils who were able to access much of the popular reading matter that was published commercially (Brooks 1985; Eklof 1986, 2012).

In the years after 1900, zemstvo tests on ex-pupils who had left school some 5 to 10 years previously indicated that even if they failed to retain much information, they retained mastery of skills. Scores were highest for reading, followed by arithmetic; writing scores were lower, but this could be explained in part by ex-pupils switching from formal Russian to transcribing in their local dialects (Eklof 1986). For many pupils, the primary school curriculum of the time would have failed to enable social mobility or personal growth. Aims of cultural enlightenment, and transmitting civic and patriotic values, also, might have been difficult to achieve in the short time available. This did not, however, stop contemporaries fearing that schooling had the potential to challenge the existing order, which might lead to dissatisfaction with the generational order of village life and the authority of elders, and to a threatening the political status quo of the Russian State (Brooks 1985; Seregny 1989).

A decree in 1918 established “unified schools” across Bolshevik Russia; these institutions were intended to offer 3 to 4 years of schooling, so in this respect they were similar to their predecessors (Eklof 2012). Reading, writing, and arithmetic were still to be covered, but these new schools were to break with tradition by offering a “progressive” curriculum with an emphasis on creativity and “socially productive labor” which would not only develop occupational skills but create a “socialist citizenry” by molding character, shaping will, and developing a spirit of solidarity (Ball 1994, p. 132). These changes were to be supplemented by additional activities provided outside of the classroom: for primary school-age children. They were to include a range of literary, reading, drawing, science, drama, music, and hobby circles and clubs. Such grand aims could be difficult to achieve in practice, owing to lack of facilities and resources. Buildings were sometimes unfit for

purpose, and, following the disruption of the Revolution, civil war, and famine, the immediate welfare needs of orphaned, impoverished, and displaced children were often prioritized over curriculum development (Ball 1994; Eklof 2012).

The Stalinist regime of the 1930s saw, with some modifications, a return to the traditional disciplines and an emphasis on mastery of the fundamentals. Instruction in labor, favored in the 1920s, was abolished in 1937. Increasing the minimum period of schooling to 4 years, with an expectation of 7 years of schooling in urban areas, allowed for extended content to be taught. Anti-religious teaching and an emphasis on history, literature, and science – all of which could be imbued with overt political content – were added to the curriculum. Content was highly prescribed, with common textbooks, timetables, and fixed lesson plans. Pupil memoirs indicate the potential impact that such prescription could have. They could absorb ideas offered in their education, opening a path to individual advancement, and internalize political messages about improving the Soviet Union to the extent that poverty and the “removal” of teachers and family were thought to be justified. However, notwithstanding the rhetoric that emerged from Moscow, politicization and prescription of curriculum content did not totally define what teachers taught and pupils learned. Politicization of the curriculum was limited in the elementary grades, where the “3 Rs” remained dominant. Anti-religious teaching and meetings were prescribed by the Central Party, but the syllabus developed by the civil service offered very little anti-religious coverage. Experienced teachers went beyond the set curriculum or adapted content to make it comprehensible and interesting to their pupils; spontaneity and creativity could be accommodated within limits (Holmes 2005).

Pedagogy

Primary school pedagogy over time and through political upheaval demonstrated some changes, as will be clear from the foregoing discussion, but they also demonstrated continuity. Eklof (2012) describes a distinctive Russian classroom culture whereby a pedagogy of memorization and rote learning, use of textbooks, and a strict and tight timetable were combined with a romanticized view of the child and a “free” and humane environment in the school. This culture, he suggests, persisted from the 1890s into the Soviet era, surviving major political and ideological change. He describes a consensus among local school inspectors and directors, *zemstvo* employees, and the organizers of summer training schools for teachers, about the best approaches to teaching and running schools. This “mainstream pedagogy” (2012, p. 147) emphasized a tightly structured schedule, textbooks, and rote learning and memorization, classroom recitations, grammatical exercises, oral calculations, and “explanatory reading.” The authority of the teacher was unchallenged. Such a structured regime and a reliance on rote learning techniques was, perhaps, inevitable when one teacher was frequently responsible for two to three groups of students who had to be constantly occupied in some way; parallels to the monitorial regime are evident here. But a regimented pedagogy sat alongside a benevolent view of

childhood which had its roots in nineteenth-century Russian literature and fitted with the populist leanings of many teachers of the time (Eklof 2012; Kelly 2007). Child-centeredness was evident in informal approaches to speaking to pupils and was demonstrated in the condemnation of corporal punishment by inspectors, administrators, educationalists, and teachers alike (Eklof and Peterson 2010). Physical abuse did happen, personal accounts suggest (Kelly 2007), yet the existence of a strong condemnatory discourse is itself telling and a point of contrast with regimes of schooling elsewhere (Eklof and Peterson 2010; Middleton 2008).

Attempts to revise the curriculum in the 1920s were accompanied by recommendations for a radically different pedagogical approach which challenged the authority of the teacher and the dominance of the textbook, emphasizing instead learning-by-doing and pupil communal responsibility for aspects of school discipline and decisions about the running of the school. Despite intentions, some of these aims, in the face of extreme material needs and time limits, could not be put into practice. Appropriate facilities were not always available. Some teachers, moreover, feared that diverting authority from teachers to pupils might deprive teachers of hard-earned professional status and, during a period of military and social unrest, create indiscipline resulting in disciplinary problems (Ball 1994; Eklof 2012).

The 1930s saw a return to teacher authority, and rote learning and memorization techniques, along with a prescribed regime of homework and examinations each year; even rules for pupils were issued from Moscow in 1943. The centralized and uniform system made virtues of order, discipline, and authority. The State, however, lacked total control of teachers and pupils, both within and outside the classroom. Memoirs show that pupils played games in the playground and pranks on teachers. They sometimes failed to complete homework or bring books to school. Even if they disliked overt political instruction, they also remembered freedom and happiness at school and a sense of community (Holmes 2005).

Conclusion and Future Directions

This final section outlines debates and methodological dilemmas which can arise during historical research on primary school education. As a first component of tension and debate, the words used to describe these institutions vary across time and place, and these variations, arguably, are of more than semantic significance. For Alexander (1995), the terms “primary” and “elementary” are underpinned by different priorities and judgments about what this type of school is for and should do. Elementary, he argues, conveys a sense of training in the “elements,” usually prioritizing literacy and numeracy, with some attempts to instill desirable values and behaviors, while primary suggests the first stage in a much longer and more ambitious process of schooling. Different visions, moreover, could underpin the same term; the “elements” of elementary schooling, for example, could be the basic knowledge appropriate for the poor, or the skills and knowledge basic to any education, whatever the child’s social background (Ball 1983). Alexander (1995) also observes an ongoing tension, evident internationally and persisting over many

years, between progressive visions, with an emphasis on individual expression and creativity, and aims of teaching the rudiments to the masses in the elementary tradition. Yet the situation has not always been one of incompatible ideals and concomitant, differently focused, education practices. The Russian case reveals that progressive and elementary aims and teaching approaches could coexist, while secularist instructional approaches to the teaching of civic morality in English schools, controversial for their lack of Christian foundation, were criticized by contemporary educators for not being “progressive” enough in that they paid limited attention to individual development.

Debates about primary schooling, also, reflect changing societal ideas and ideals about childhood, and what children could and should do (Morrow 2013). For Hendrick (1997), increasing demands for primary schooling through the nineteenth century were underpinned by the assumption that it was appropriate for children of a certain age to spend time not at home or in the workplace but, with other children and a teacher, in a named building and learning together. This constituted a new model of childhood – the “schooled child.” Schools, of course, were among other emergent social and welfare institutions focused solely on children: children’s hospitals and charitable children’s homes are cases in point.

Bringing the mass of young children together in a common institution almost inevitably involved standardization and normalization. Pupils would emerge, to an extent, as a common product. Even progressive educators, with their emphasis on individuality and personal growth, have had a common goal in mind, even if it was a child who could be creative and develop in their own way. Mass schooling might also, to use Heywood’s words (2010, p. 16), represent a “colonization of childhood by adults,” offering unprecedented opportunities for surveillance and control. Technologies for surveillance and regulation were most prominent in the monitorial system, and arguably also in Stalinist Russia, but mechanisms for instructing in and reinforcing of appropriate values and behaviors evident in the English and Russian schools at other times too. Yet what the appropriate values to be developed were, and what the ideological foundations of those values were, was a matter of debate. If systems of instruction and reinforcement were developed, these could be in support not only of dominant religious or political ideologies but also of minority ideological perspectives.

Not everyone involved in primary school education had an equal stake in defining what this appropriate content was and how it should be taught. In this chapter’s examples, governments have been important, as have churches, organizations of local civil society, and pressure groups from within and beyond the teaching profession. Political power, finance, institutional strength and networks, and professional knowledge have had a powerful influence on decisions about curriculum and pedagogy; all have defined what has been deemed appropriate and what has been, in practical terms, possible to teach and to learn in primary schools. Although discussions focused on what was deemed good for children, children overall had only a limited say in what this was. This has, arguably, been as true of the “progressive” focus on individual development as of the “elementary” focus on learning of the basics, with some Russian schools of the 1920s perhaps proving an exception. Most

parents, too, had limited opportunity to shape the content and approach to teaching in primary schools, except through withholding their child's attendance. Parents, when mentioned by politicians, educators, or teachers, were often defined as a challenge to be overcome. This was true even of proponents of minority religious perspectives like the secularists in the Moral Instruction League who, arguably, might have been expected to advocate for those with limited voice. Notwithstanding relative lack of voice in debates about educational approaches and curriculum content, however, children's and parents' input and experience could and did shape what went on in classrooms.

Important methodological innovations, including those using visual and spatial sources (potentially part of a wider "material" and/or sensory turn, and the consideration of gender as an important dynamic in teaching and learning), are addressed in some detail elsewhere in this volume and therefore do not receive sustained attention here. Other developments, however, are touched on more fully in this chapter. A first methodological concern prominent in the case studies presented has to do with spatial dynamics. National political and cultural contexts have constituted important frameworks for developments in different countries. Local contexts, also, have informed how wider agendas might have played out in practice. At the same time, an internationalist and transnational emphasis has gained traction over the last 10 to 15 years of scholarship. It has framed discussions of monitorial schooling. Yet international debates and networks for the flow of suggestions for curriculum content and pedagogical approaches have proved important in relation to the English example too.

A second methodological innovation concerns the range of perspectives addressed. The case studies have considered both national regulations and policy and interest and pressure groups. They have drawn on evidence from classroom texts, and pupils' and teachers' individual accounts, where available. This range of sources aims to capture both the intentions of leaders and planners and practicalities on ground, along with the varied experiences and attitudes of educationalists, teachers, pupils, and parents – experiences and attitudes that varied within as well as between these groups. Yet difficulties in accessing sources that offer a voice to those with, arguably, the least power in the education system, remain. On this also, age, race, gender, social class, and sometimes ideology could militate against survival in the historical record.

Notwithstanding the range of interested parties, and the geographical and time period addressed, common patterns in attempts to provide a mass primary education system that would teach functional skills, and civilize a youthful population, have been identified. These attempts have played out in different ways in varied political, cultural, and organizational contexts and among the varied constituencies whose suggestions and responses have shaped the reality of primary school curriculum and pedagogy "on the ground." If common ground over time and across locations emerges, it is in the continued challenge of defining key emphases in what should be taught and how, while providing appropriately for scattered and differentiated, constituencies of pupils who have been encouraged and compelled to attend these schools.

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Perceptions of Distinctiveness of the Scottish System of Education Between 1872 and 1918

Jane McDermid

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Abstract

The place of women in Scottish educational history has been asserted since the 1980s, yet not only is their integration into mainstream studies halting, but any gender analysis is effectively limited to them. In 1961 George Davie challenged the myth of “the democratic intellect,” so closely associated with the Presbyterian Reformation and so central to notions of Scottish national identity, claiming that it was in fact socially hierarchical but overlooking gender. Feminist historians then exposed the myth as exclusively masculine. Yet general educational histories still tend to limit consideration of gender to a discussion of females: the only reference to gender in the index of the landmark *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* is in a subsection (“gendered curriculum”) of the entry for girls’ education, while there is no entry on either boys’ education or masculinity. As the editors Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman, and Lindsay Paterson acknowledge, discussions of Scottish education invariably return to the belief that it has been nationally distinctive particularly in its social inclusion,

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bound up in the “democratic intellect,” compared not only to England but also internationally. This chapter will apply a gendered analysis to the history of Scottish education, examining perceptions of distinctiveness and national identity with a particular focus on the period between the Education Act of 1872, which sought to revive the tradition of common provision across the country, and the Act of 1918 which brought Catholics, the largest minority in Scotland, into the national system.

Keywords

Democratic intellect · Distinctiveness · Feminization · Gender · National identity

Introduction

Considerations of gender in education policy-making are not new and have shifted emphasis over the past few decades, as seen, for example, in efforts to promote the education of girls in the developing world and to prevent boys dropping out of school in “the West” (Unterhalter 2016, pp. 111–112). Arguments for improving female education in the latter are historically linked to calls for women’s rights from the eighteenth century. Related to that has been an assumption by Western nations of the superiority of the position of “their” women compared to the male “despotism” of cultures considered less advanced (as in Eastern Europe), less developed (as in Africa), and declining (such as China and India). However, not only was gender difference taken for granted in education, whatever the system or the wider culture, but discussion of gender was generally limited to females, at least until recently when improvements in the education of girls and women have been seen as being at the expense of boys and men (Tinkler and Jackson 2014, p. 77). Yet educational reform was rarely posited for girls as an end in itself but more as a benefit to others (family, society, economy).

Most histories of education in Europe see the move to mass education as inspired by the sixteenth-century Reformation and leading Protestant reformers such as Luther and Calvin. Literacy would empower the individual lay person to free himself or herself from (Roman Catholic) priestly subjection and have direct contact with the word of God and other devotional literature. Two centuries later, the Enlightenment philosophers argued that there could be civic and material benefits from a universal system of education that was free of religious control. Moreover, the push for state provision of education, particularly at an elementary level, was not limited to Europe; by the nineteenth century, formal schooling was seen by rulers as a crucial means of socialization, and it spread across the world, from the Americas to the Antipodes and perhaps most notably to Japan (Brockliss and Sheldon 2012, pp. 1–2). While each state sought to establish a system which would serve its specific needs and culture, there was a great deal of borrowing of ideas as well as methods. In addition, whatever the type of government or the dominant religion, assumptions about gender roles and patriarchal hierarchies were remarkably similar and integral to education systems.

The case study presented in the rest of this chapter is of Scotland, which exemplifies many of these general points. The roots of its education system lie in the Reformation and specifically in its Calvinist variant. Tied to England by a shared monarchy from 1603 and absorbed into government from London by the Treaty of Union with England and Wales in 1707, Scotland nevertheless preserved its separate education and legal systems, as well as its established church. It tried through all three, but especially the first, to maintain a distinctive sense of national identity as well as to influence the other parts of the UK and increasingly to make its mark on the British Empire. Education was to prepare Scots, especially Scotsmen, for service and business in the Union and Empire, while their small and relatively poor country aspired to having a distinctive role through the export of its education system, from the common provision of parish schools to its universities and, more generally from the eighteenth century, their school of common sense philosophy. Whatever its global reach, education was central to Scottish notions of national identity, which in turn were tied to Presbyterianism, with its pretensions of fostering a “democratic intellect.” In Scottish eyes, this marked it apart from (and superior to) the socially divisive form of schooling in England which did not have a “system” of educating the masses until the Elementary Education Act of 1870.

The Scottish education tradition was much admired internationally, and aspects of it were emulated, yet by the nineteenth century, the Scots felt its distinctiveness was under threat not only from centralizing efforts by government in Westminster which sought conformity with English practices but from a variety of social, economic, demographic, and cultural pressures. At the same time, underpinning that sense of national identity and built into the education system were often unspoken beliefs about gender roles which challenged the claim to distinctiveness and, at the least, modified any notion of democratic intellectualism.

The Scottish Educational Tradition: Gender and the “Democratic Intellect”

*Mr Rhind is very kind,
He goes to Kirk on Sunday.
He prays to God to give him strength
To skelp the bairns on Monday*

This playground rhyme about the parish schoolmaster, known as the dominie, is quoted by a biographer of the progressive educationist A. S. Neill who was famously dismissed from his teaching post in Gretna Green in the south of Scotland after the publication of his book, *A Dominie’s Log* in 1915. The short verse encapsulates key elements in the educational tradition represented by Neill’s authoritarian father George and “hundreds” of other dominies, namely, the importance of religion and the central role played by the school in civilizing the children (Bailey 2003, p. 7). Along with being a central site for socialization, it is additionally argued here that the education system constructed a distinctive notion of masculinity often

overlooked or downplayed by historians of Scottish education, who tend to focus on the tradition, or myth, of the “democratic intellect.” With origins in the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, it was embedded in the Education Act of 1696 and revived by an act of 1803 in response to revelations about deterioration in the dominie’s position revealed by the *First Statistical Account of Scotland*, compiled by every parish in the country at the end of the eighteenth century (Anderson 1995, pp. 29–32).

Gender and the Education Tradition Before 1872

Although there is a debate over whether the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act dealt a death blow to the democratic tradition by introducing “inferior” English practices, the dominie remained a well-regarded figure into the twentieth century. Yet former pupils’ recollections of dominies – whether as individuals or composite figures – tend to be doubled-edged. The flyleaf to a book published in 1997 which profiles the dominie depicts him as encapsulating what Scots felt about the “Spartan brilliance” of their education system:

The Dominie was the title given to each strict Scottish headmaster who, for centuries, gave their country’s education methods a worldwide reputation for excellence. Thanks to their thorough academic drilling and coaching, bright pupils – the ‘lads o’ pairs’ as they were nicknamed – had the opportunity, regardless of their personal circumstances, to rise, in a way unknown in other class-ridden societies in times past, from humble beginnings to high achievements. (Hendrie 1997, n.p.)

Yet “Mr Rhind” also suggests the impact of the dominie was not always positive. On the one hand are fond recollections, for example, in Douglas Dunn’s 1981 poem “Dominies” which asks “Boyhood grammarians” to “forgive these gauche lines/my compromised parsings.” On the other hand are reproaches such as that of “The Widow,” who at least conceded her dead husband’s pupils “were fired by passions that [his] bookishness could share only by proxy.” This was written by another twentieth-century poet of an older generation, Iain Crichton Smith (1928–1998), a teacher of English from 1952 to 1977. Smith posits the dominie and his wife as separated by his “harem on the shelves,” as if book-learning and book-loving were masculine traits. Indeed, Smith also wrote about a schoolmistress whom he portrays as teaching for over 40 “barren” years by rote and by belt, like her male counterpart but without his depth of knowledge, imagination, or passion.

Both poets portray a strict but benevolent male figure in the classroom, in sharp contrast to Mr. Rhind who wielded the tawse, or leather strap, freely and even dutifully. “The Dominie’s Happy Lot” by an earlier poet and schoolmaster Walter Wingate (1865–1918) is closer to the children’s rhyme: very like Smith’s schoolmistress, the master drilled the children in spelling and numbers, doling out “liffies” (strokes by a leather belt on their palms) when they answered mistakenly. Whereas Dunn writes of “running riot through the iron language like a trill of angry Rs,” both Wingate’s poem and the playground rhyme convey

an almost military image of training through the iron hand of regular discipline. Indeed, even in the nostalgic reflections, there is a hint of the dead hand of dedication, of pupils having learning knocked into them, education as a rather unpleasant but essential procedure in which the 3Rs were inculcated with the aid of the 3Bs: bible, belt, and blackboard (Munn 2000, pp. 383–387).

Yet such schooling was intended to clear a path for the lad of parts (or “pairs”) in whom a great deal of national sentiment was invested, the talented boy from remote villages and humble social origins empowered by the dominie to climb into the professions, often to become a dominie in turn (Anderson 1985a). Though girls who could also stay on into the senior standards might be taught university subjects by the masters, these central figures in the education tradition were always male (Moore 1984). Indeed, Presbyterianism has been seen as constructing a particularly, even peculiarly, patriarchal society (Corr 1995, 1997). It was one where the dominie was integral to the parish school system which was to serve as both an instrument of Presbyterian authority and a cultural force distinguishing Scotland from England.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the parish schools were a source of national pride and the dominie a national treasure. Yet even before Victoria was crowned in 1837, the education system and teaching profession were under a variety of pressures besides Anglicization: a fracturing Church, industrialization, urbanization, and migration. Moreover, the British Empire provided attractive alternative employment for ambitious Scotsmen. While some women found opportunities in the colonies, none achieved the same degree of success.

The leading Presbyterian reformer, John Knox (1513–1572), had insisted that there should be a schoolmaster who could teach the children of the parish not only the basics (with the emphasis on reading to enable the individual, however lowly, to engage with the bible) but also more advanced subjects (usually of some practical or business value) and the “university subjects” (mathematics, Latin, and sometimes classical Greek) to those who could stay on in school (Anderson 1995, pp. 3–6). The dominie was expected to have had a university education (though not necessarily a completed degree). From the late seventeenth century, by law there was to be a school and a schoolmaster in every parish, paid for from the local rates, and while fees were charged, the children of the poor were to be supported. Although often a frustrated minister who was unable to find his own parish, the dominie nevertheless saw himself as, and was seen as, the embodiment of the “democratic intellect,” serving as the treasured link between parish school and university, which was distinctive to Scotland.

Clearly, this was a masculine ideal, for women in Scotland were precluded from university until the 1890s. Yet even by the 1790s, the coeducational parish school was only part of a network of schools. The dominie alone could not serve the needs of a growing population, while many teachers situated outside the parish system (in voluntary, private, and charitable schools) were female. Thus, supporting the education ideal was a gendered division of labor in teaching, where private schools catered for younger children and girls, with the schoolmistress teaching basic literacy (especially reading), as well as sewing and knitting to the girls. Where

boys were also taught these skills, it was for application outside of the home, as in making sacks or mending fishing nets (McDermid 2005, p. 69). The mistress thereby took some of the pressure off the parish school, allowing the dominie to concentrate on teaching more advanced subjects to the older children, especially but not exclusively boys. Before the early nineteenth century, such schools and mistresses were not seen as challenging but as supplementing the dominie.

His position came under scrutiny with the development of teacher training in Scotland from the 1820s, as well as the introduction from England of the pupil-teacher system in 1846. Both provided Scottish women with points of entry into the publicly funded education system and what had been an exclusively male profession. The pupil-teacher system was resented by dominies as undermining the traditional link between universities and schools by narrowing the scope of education in the latter. One response was the establishment in 1847 of the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) with the aim of protecting and enhancing the schoolmaster's professional status.

Four years earlier, the split, or Disruption, in the Church of Scotland had a great impact on teacher training as the new Free Church sought to rival the Established Church through its schools. Both aimed to preserve church control of education, and indeed the 1872 Education Act did not change the system of teacher training. Both churches also strove to maintain the scholarly traditions of the parish schools by keeping Latin in the curriculum of the training colleges for men. In contrast, the emphasis in the curriculum of teacher training colleges for women was on the narrower range of subjects which they were expected to impart to infants and girls, though dilution of "book-learning" for girls through an emphasis on domestic subjects was deemed by many parents as well as teachers to be an unwelcome English practice (Moore 1992).

Challenges to the Education Tradition, 1872–1918

In contrast to the 1870 Elementary Education Act which set up school boards to fill in the gaps left by voluntary schools in England and Wales, the 1872 Act established a national system of compulsory education organized by school boards set up in all of the parishes (over 900) across Scotland. The Scottish boards absorbed not only the parish but also burgh, voluntary, and religious schools, except for those run by the Catholic and Episcopalian churches, which opted to remain outside the national system (McDermid 2015). One result was a great program of school building even by the smaller boards. Another was a huge demand for certificated teachers which the traditional dominie could not meet. This opened up a respectable means of becoming self-supporting in a key male profession for the daughters of skilled workers and the lower middle class. By 1911, they made up 70% of school board teachers (Corr 1983, p. 7).

The sharp increase in female teachers was initially feared as being threatening not only the dominie but also national harmony by narrowing the education of the poor to the elementary branches. While the majority of mistresses in Scotland's

board schools were certificated, in contrast to the situation in England, they were still considered inferior to the university-educated master; the former was trained, while the latter intellectually educated. This was reinforced by changes to regulations in 1924, when female students who took a diploma in primary education rather than a degree (the majority) were segregated into a “women-only” course and so kept out of headships (Marker 2000, p. 285). Thus, the male-dominated education tradition was ensured, and the numerical feminization of the teaching profession did not bring gender equality. In fact, salary differentials for board teachers widened from the 1870s when the average salary for mistresses was scarcely more than half that of the masters to the 1890s when women earned on average just under half of the male salary (Anderson 1995, p. 177). While masters employed in the larger school boards had significantly higher salaries than their counterparts in smaller ones, men always earned more than women. This was another means of defending men’s dominant position in the profession.

That there was no strong equal pay movement among Scottish women teachers might be seen as an indication of the strength of patriarchy in the education system. Hence, the feminism of Isabel Cleghorn, a proponent of equal pay, who in 1911 was elected the first woman president of the National Union of Teachers in England and Wales, has been compared to the position of Elizabeth Fish, the first woman elected president (1913) of the EIS, which had opened membership to women after the 1872 Act (Corr 2008, pp. 158–164). While Fish acknowledged the legitimacy of the demand for equal pay, she judged it to be unachievable in the circumstances. The fact that women made up nearly 75% of board teachers weakened their position. Not only were male recruits to the profession still seen as dominies with the weight of tradition behind them, but their scarcity value both strengthened their predominant position within the education system and reflected the far greater professional opportunities open to them outside of it (McDermid 2005, p. 130).

Fish may be seen as the post 1872 quintessential “lass of parts.” She had been a pupil teacher in Glasgow and trained at the Glasgow Church of Scotland Training College. She then taught for the Glasgow School Board between 1881 and 1895, during which time she gained an LLA (Lady Literate, or Licentiate, in Arts) from St Andrews University. She next taught at the Pupil-Teachers Institute in Glasgow to 1907 and then at two higher-grade (effectively secondary) schools in the city, until retirement in 1925. The daughter of a Church of Scotland city missionary, she represents both the traditional close connection that existed between education and Presbyterianism and the growing belief in the nineteenth century that women ought to be well educated because self-improvement was a religious and moral duty.

Education provided Fish with a means to enter into a respected profession, locally as an employee of the largest school board in Scotland and nationally as president of the EIS. She tried to improve the position of women within the profession, but she believed that only when they had a wider choice of professions outside of the classroom would the mistresses no longer be dominated by the dominie. Also, while she saw the latter as an endangered species, he continued to monopolize headships since in practice boards privileged men. Indeed, that a tiny minority of female teachers could by the turn of the century achieve a university education

was one way of ensuring teaching retained its professional standing without seriously challenging the dominie; women's numerical predominance in schools did not alter their subordinate status, and their position in Scottish universities was peripheral.

The history of the teaching profession certainly reflects the patriarchal nature of Scottish society, but the question remains of whether it was unusually so, in thrall to Knox's infamous *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558). However, Knox's targets were not women in general. Rather, he insisted on spiritual equality between women and men and on education for all, regardless of gender or social class. Certainly, the parish schoolmaster continued to be seen as the epitome of the democratic intellect, but as his numbers decreased and the board school system expanded, women were slowly, if reluctantly, accepted as junior partners in preserving the education tradition.

Whereas the gendered nature of the "national" tradition is often taken for granted in histories of Scottish education, more attention is paid to the fact that the parish system was above all associated with the Lowlands. In the Highlands and Islands, generalized poverty meant that few lads of parts had the opportunity to move on to university. Moreover, before the 1872 Act, Highland boys as much as girls were likely to be taught by a schoolmistress outside of the parish system, with a curriculum limited to the 3Rs (taught in English). Still, even in the Highlands and Islands, that link between the parish school and the university was seen as important, though not so much for poor boys as for the sons of small farmers, tradesmen, and ministers. The Highlands were considered by the Lowlands to be less civilized, even when incorporated into the British State for recruitment for military service. This heroic figure came to prominence during the surge of imperialism in the later Victorian period. In contrast, or perhaps as a complement, to the domestic manliness of the book-loving Lowland dominie, there was the image of the Highland soldier as imperial warrior: courageous, loyal, steady under fire, and adaptable (Devine 2003, p. 305).

Like the schoolmaster, the soldier was held in higher esteem in Scotland than in England, but he is only the most evocative of imperial images, since professional men were central to the Scottish colonial enterprise as reflected in the popular conceited statement: "What do you think o' the English?" the exiled Scot was asked upon his return home from London. "I've no idea" was the reply. "I only dealt with the top men – and they were all Scots!" And behind all of them was the dominie, that stern taskmaster who dedicated his life to the school. In practice, even before the 1872 Act, dominies, especially in rural areas and small towns, often depended on their wives (and sometimes their sisters) to help run the school, and they increasingly came to depend on their daughters as pupil-teachers who would follow them into the profession. Thus, the construction of a masculinity based on the dominie – that dogged, disciplinarian father figure who presided over packed classrooms in coeducational schools and fostered those few lads of parts – contributed enormously to the shaping of national identity; and while it was a construction flexible enough to allow the wider tradition from which it emerged to incorporate women, it remained patriarchal.

The defense of the dominie after 1872 also needs to be placed within the context of fears for the education tradition under the impact of mass migration, especially of Irish Catholics. By 1910 Catholics constituted 10% of Scotland's population and nearly 18% of Glasgow's, its biggest city (McDermid 2009, p. 4). Whereas the Catholic Church remained outside of the national system, Catholic ratepayers, female as well as male, could vote and stand in elections to the school boards. Candidates tended to be local priests, with the majority serving in west and central Scotland where the Church concentrated its education efforts due to the high rates of Irish settlement. This in turn meant neglect of Catholic schools in the Highlands and Islands (McDermid 2009, p. 12).

Given the poverty of the Catholic community and the lack of support from the rates, its schools could never achieve the standards of the boards. Given too that the Protestant churches dominated teacher training and that there was no Catholic college in Scotland until the mid-1890s, most Catholic school teachers were un-certificated, with a heavy reliance on pupil teachers, the majority of both being female. The Church could not meet board rates of pay, and while it relied on religious orders to take the lead in education, lay mistresses predominated numerically; by the eve of the 1918 Education Act, only 4% of Scotland's Catholic teachers were members of religious orders, and they were concentrated in Lowland secondary schools, orphanages, and reformatories (McDermid 2009, p. 14).

Such a heavy reliance on women was also seen in the schools run by the much smaller Episcopal Church. The training college it had opened in Edinburgh for men in 1855 had been converted to a college for women 12 years later (Anderson 1995, p. 94). When a Catholic training college was opened in the west end of Glasgow in 1895, it too was for women. In view of the basic education and lack of training of the majority of their teachers, as well as poor accommodation and resources, large class sizes, and irregular attendance, Catholic schools generally offered a more elementary curriculum than those of the boards. It might, then, be seen as a financial necessity for the Church to bring its schools into the national system in 1918, but it may also be seen to be a result of 45 years of experience in working with the school boards which, though not always harmonious, was largely positive. Indeed, the 1918 Act guaranteed Catholics control over their schools, relieved the Church of a heavy drain on limited finances, and gradually contributed to the growth of a Catholic middle class (Ross 1978).

The 1918 Act seemed to bring the Scottish education system into line with England and Wales. It replaced school boards with local education authorities (LEAs), though in contrast to England and Wales where boards had been abolished in 1902, the LEAs in Scotland continued to be elected until 1929. As in England and Wales, the Act also endorsed the efforts to draw a clear distinction between elementary and secondary education, thereby breaking the link between parish school and university. Also, as in England and Wales, women greatly outnumbered the dominies. In addition, Catholics had negotiated a place within the Presbyterian system by integration and not absorption. Nevertheless, the notion of a democratic intellect, implicitly if not now exclusively masculine, persisted in Scotland.

Distinctiveness Questioned

The section will examine the Scottish claim for the distinctiveness of its educational tradition first within the UK of Great Britain and Ireland and then in the wider world. It should be borne in mind that the measure against which it was assessed was usually England and that not far behind the contention of distinctiveness lay a defensive assumption of superiority which allowed Scotland to assert itself as a (junior) partner in the British imperial enterprise. This has a parallel in Glasgow's claim to be the second city of empire in which education played a key role:

Probably no other British mercantile community of the time [second half of the eighteenth century] could claim such a high proportion of young men exposed, however briefly, to higher education. This background in schooling and study helps to explain the impressive standards of literacy in the personal and business papers of numerous Scottish factors, clerks and storekeepers. (Devine 2003, p. 91)

Scotland and the Union

Whatever the differences in types of schooling between England, Wales, and Scotland, all three nations experienced significant growth in population in the nineteenth century, in contrast to Ireland where, as a result of the Great Famine (1845–1849), there was a considerable decline, compounded by the consequential onset of mass migration which continued well into the next century. Such demographic changes had a direct impact on demand for education, while the relationship to the State shaped the official response (Raftery et al. 2007). Whereas Scotland retained its separate education system, it was increasingly subject to anglicizing pressures, especially as the growing State provision of funding (such as payment-by-results in the 1860s) always came with conditions attached.

Provision of elementary education in England and Wales before 1870 was patchy compared to Scotland, with a heavy reliance on voluntary efforts, a focus on the basics of literacy and numeracy, a preference for single-sex education, and a wide variety of schools. Yet whatever the claims to constitute a national system, the coeducational parish schools did not in practice cover Scotland, being particularly thin on the ground in the Highlands and Islands, where not only was there resort to voluntary efforts but some of these were modeled on England. For example, the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698) had a Scottish equivalent, the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, established in 1709 by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Both societies had a foreign/imperial as well as a home mission.

It was in Ireland, however, that the British state first introduced a national system of elementary education in 1831. It claimed to be nondenominational, but its aim was to culturally assimilate the predominantly Catholic Irish into the UK. It was also acknowledged that the penal legislation of the previous centuries which restricted educational opportunities for Catholics had been counterproductive. Indeed, the

masters in the unofficial “hedge” schools were admired as “poor scholars,” similar to Scotland’s dominies, and, also like them, offered a curriculum that went beyond the basics where possible. Unlike the dominie, however, the hedge master, who was independent of the Catholic Church and the British state, was criticized by both as inefficient. Both hoped that the national system would put an end to them, though in the poorest rural areas some continued to teach until the late nineteenth century. There was no equivalent in England and Wales before or after the 1870 Elementary Education Act, except perhaps in the latter’s circulating and Sunday schools where the teaching was in Welsh.

The first distinctively Welsh schools within the educational system were established by the Intermediate Education Act of 1889. Thus, whereas this act reflected the development of secondary school education in Wales and asserted a specifically Welsh identity, the Scottish reaction to the separation of secondary from elementary education was to see it as an English attack on the traditional link between parish school and university. The Welsh were now asserting their national culture through the education system, even as the Scots felt theirs was under threat.

English was the language of instruction in national systems throughout the UK. This was generally welcomed by parents, especially in areas of high migration, since it was associated with employment opportunities. This was particularly the case in Ireland and Scotland, where rates of emigration, most notably in the former, were in excess of migration. Neglect, or worse, of native languages in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales did not necessarily mean that Westminster was determined to destroy them. But whereas the native languages in Ireland and Wales, were associated with the national culture, in Scotland, Gaelic (dismissed as “Irish” by contemporary Lowlanders) was seen as a reflection of backwardness (cultural, social, and economic) whose main use in schools was to teach English.

Religion was central to schooling in all four constituent parts of the UK. Whereas the Scottish system was associated with Presbyterianism (before and after the 1843 Disruption), the Church of England sought to dominate the schooling of the poor in both Ireland, where the majority was Catholic except in the Presbyterian north, and Wales where the majority was Nonconformist (the largest denomination being Methodist). Throughout the UK, the Catholic Church relied on religious orders to provide leadership at all levels of education, though the suggestion that they were less significant in Scotland has been challenged (Kehoe 2010, p. 134). Also, the Catholic Church in Ireland generally contested the British state’s control of education even as it welcomed the 1831 Act, whereas resistance to Anglicization was less overt and arguably less successful in Scotland and Wales.

While Scotland boasted a national system for both sexes which was open to all social classes, State-funded and inspected schools throughout the Union concentrated on the poor; the private education of the middle and upper classes kept them socially apart and assured their superiority. Mediated by social class distinctions, education in all four constituent parts of the Union was concerned with gender formation, which was most explicit in the case of girls. Whatever the rivalries between the denominations, all agreed that the role of women was primarily

domestic. It is in this regard that the similarities far outweighed the differences in education across the UK. Notwithstanding the emphasis on academic or university subjects in the parish and the board school curriculum, by the late nineteenth century, working-class girls' education in Scotland was as heavily based on domestic skills as was the case in the rest of the UK (McDermid 2012). Certainly, room was made for "lasses of parts" after 1872, but the Scottish "democratic intellect" remained profoundly masculinist and, in practice, privileged a minority; very few talented poor scholars, boys or girls, stayed on, while the opportunities for those girls who did were much narrower than for boys.

Thus, the characteristic features of the Scottish tradition, notably the link between parish school and university, weakened as the State increasingly intervened in education. Some historians have used comparisons between the constituent parts of the Union both to point to similarities and to question that assumption of distinctiveness (Anderson 1985b; Houston 2002; Stephens 1998). Yet, however much the tradition had been diluted by the early twentieth century, histories of the Empire have tended to highlight the ways in which Scots, especially men, were able through their education to influence its development both in terms of the professions they practiced and the education systems introduced.

Scotland's Education Mission Abroad

A common boast among Scotsmen, especially emigrants, was that their education system not only fitted them for service in the Empire but was itself a valued export. Craig (2011) has pointed out that wherever they settled, Scots sought to replicate their educational system of parish schools and "geographically distributed" universities. He has provided many examples of this, including in America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which also show that here too was a very male tale. The education system was taken abroad by both secular and religious migrants, but perhaps it was the evangelizing mission of the Presbyterian churches that represented the national tradition most fervently and self-consciously. Certainly there were strong links between the founding of schools by Scots and Presbyterian churches in the colonies and their wider missionary endeavors, notably in Africa and India (Breitenbach 2011). It was a patriarchal mission, but women were involved at home and abroad where they pioneered female education. This was a concession, often in single-sex schools, to local customs and is a contrast to the Scottish tradition.

Usually as helpmeets to male missionaries, women became more prominent in the later nineteenth century. Indeed, Mary Slessor was one of the most celebrated of Scottish female missionaries who opened educational centers. These were, at least initially, limited to providing the basics, another contrast to the parochial tradition, and to occupational skills which were gender-specific. But where missionary activity grew, so did education work, to include, for example, training in teaching and medicine. Whereas many centers did not survive the removal of the founder, here again Slessor was exceptional (though not unique); her fame at home ensured that her work in Nigeria continued after her death in 1915. She was more unusual in

her insistence on parity in education between, and indeed in the treatment more generally of, men and women, though she accepted that curricula would be gendered. In another departure from the Scottish tradition, she sought parity in esteem between vocational and academic education. This was reflected in the establishment of the Hope Waddell Training Institute in Calabar in 1895 (Taylor 1996, pp. 127–132).

While the methods of the parish and board schools, including learning by rote and corporal punishment, were taken into the colonies, there was not always agreement on how, who, or what to teach. For example, there was a debate in India between those who insisted that education should be in English and those who favored the use of the native languages. And though the former position seems to have won the argument by the time of Victoria's coronation in 1837, the positions reversed, at least partially, following the Indian Rebellion 20 years later. The example of Alexander Duff, a Presbyterian missionary in India (1830–1834, 1840–1849, and 1856–1863), is often cited by historians of missions and empire. He was a critic of British government policy in India, but not of its imperial mission. Like Slessor in Nigeria, Duff encouraged female education, but he concentrated above all on the males. Fry (2001) contends that Duff adopted the role of dominie, seeking, through an education in English, to replace the old Indian elite with one which would reform the country and, where conversion failed, would pass on the influence of Christianity and Western learning to the Indian masses. Also, while Scottish missionaries, including Duff, could seldom claim originality, Fry insists that their practice was “more the product of an integrated [common sense] philosophy than the work of others” (Fry 2001, p. 193).

Such an education was framed by western beliefs and practices and was seen as a civilizing mission. Thus, however benevolent in intention, the practice was racist. The impact of the 1857 Rebellion was to turn the focus of many missionaries from the elite to the masses and to schooling in the vernacular, though from the beginning of their evangelizing work, Protestants had set up local language elementary schools for the poor, both girls and boys. While again the Scottish missionaries were not original in this shift of focus, Fry suggests, on the evidence of school enrolment, that they were more successful in educating (if not converting) than other missionaries (Fry 2001, p. 195).

Duff's influence was not limited to India. After his last term there, he returned to Scotland and headed the Free Church's foreign missions' committee, helping to establish missions in Lebanon, Syria, Natal, and Nyasaland. In Nyasaland alone, there were 850 Scottish schools with an enrolment of 55,000 by 1918 (Fry 2001, p. 404). Duff was recognized internationally as a leader in the missionary field. His visit to New York in 1854 grew into possibly the first international conference on missions which was held in the city. Yet his notions of who would be educated (in India he continued to focus on the elite), what they would be taught, and indeed who would become teachers, while rooted in his Scottish experience, were not unique. All were determined, by the colonial authorities as well as by missionaries, according to race as well as social class and gender, and the last in particular was constructed on the Western model.

By the early twentieth century, missionary efforts were suffering, partly from shrinking resources and partly from resistance to their civilizing vocation from the people they sought to influence. Increasingly they lobbied the British State to intervene in education at all levels. But, while Scots were involved in this (Duff, e.g., gave evidence to British government enquiries), it was not specifically the Scottish system which was fostered by the colonial authorities. Moreover, the notion of the “democratic intellect” rang hollow in the Empire for Scots were leaders in the field of eugenics and racial classification. Robert Knox, in his 1850 publication *The Races of Men*, held up the Anglo-Saxons as innately superior to all other races, including the Celts or at least the Catholic Irish. Indeed, by the early twentieth century, the emigrant Presbyterian Scots, who had been lauded as taking the best of Scotland with them, were deemed by eugenicists to be leaving at the expense of their nation. At the same time, the emigrants did not appreciate that wherever they sought to apply their education tradition, it was never simply replicated. Rather, it was adapted to the environment in which it was planted. As has been acknowledged, “while the Scots might have had a lot to teach the world, the world was likely to answer back” (Fry 2001, p. 208).

Conclusion and Future Directions

Whatever the Scottish presumption of the exceptionalism of its education tradition and whatever the caveats regarding its claim to being national, the comparative context within the UK highlights more similarities than differences, most notably in terms of gender. Yet any mention of gender in histories of education still tends to be restricted to female schooling. Even when concern is expressed over underachievement by boys (already being heard in the late nineteenth century), it is not masculinity which is examined. Rather, it is the feminization of the teaching profession which is held accountable (Houston 2009). The Scottish experience, numerically, of feminization since 1872, reflects a broad historical phenomenon in education across the world, at least in non-Islamic countries, and especially at primary and increasingly at secondary school level, though the causes may differ between contexts and systems, as was the case regarding the status of teaching in the USA (Clifford 2014) and in China, both in the Nationalist period (Cong 2007) and in the Communist period (Kwong and Ma 2009).

Anderson presented an insightful comparative analysis in 1985 when he examined education enrolment statistics for Scotland, England, France, and Germany as a means of writing Scotland into the comparative social history of education from which it had, he argued, been largely missing (Anderson 1985b, p. 459). He has had too few followers. A comparative approach which does not privilege one tradition as the archetype would challenge any claims to be exceptional and disrupt existing historical narratives of national education systems. Ironically, this relative absence from comparative studies may itself have preserved the sense of distinctiveness in Scottish histories of education. Moreover, even as Scots transplanted their education tradition abroad, they not only overlooked the innovations

made to it in other countries but underplayed the influence other philosophies and policies of education had at home. Indeed, there is a tension between Scottish beliefs that their tradition could only have a positive impact on other countries but that any outside, especially English, influence on education in Scotland was perforce negative. While various national traditions and systems of education have distinctive elements, these may not always be straightforward. The tension between, for example, democracy and meritocracy is seen in Scottish education where the interest was in the few, undermining claims to, and problematizing the statistical evidence of, inclusiveness.

As for the latter, the extent to which considerations of gender are missing or taken for granted except where female education is studied apart from boys is striking. That advances made by girls have been considered to disadvantage boys suggests the persistence of unchallenged gender norms at all levels of the system. Confirmed in higher education today, where women increasingly outnumber and outperform men in colleges and universities, this too is an international phenomenon. Weaver-Hightower cites similar concerns since the 1990s about a crisis in boys' (dis)engagement with education in Australia, Britain, Germany, Japan, Scandinavia, and the USA (Weaver-Hightower 2003, p. 475). Perhaps the biggest challenge, contemporary as well as historical, is not to use – or to stop using – the perceived education crisis in masculinity as part of a wider backlash against feminist questioning of male roles.

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Colonials and the Colonized in “Colonies of Settlement” and “Colonies of Exploitation”

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Abstract

This chapter considers colonial education as experienced by children of both colonists and the colonized in three quite different colonial contexts. It briefly considers the cases of schooling in the Dutch colony of the East Indies, the Japanese colony of Taiwan, and the British Australian colonies (and early Australian Commonwealth), focusing on the period between 1880 and 1920. This was a time when, broadly speaking, “modern” educational ideals and practices were being developed in each of the associated imperial centers and beginning to influence the structure and content of education provided by colonial authorities. The chapter argues that despite cultural, demographic, political, and structural differences, significant similarities can be detected in education practices in the three colonial contexts examined. These demonstrate not only the pervasive influence of metropolitan “new education” pedagogical philosophies but also the underlying similarities in political and cultural assumptions across different

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imperial and colonial regimes at the time. The chapter concludes by identifying what appear to be the main differences between schooling in the colonies and schooling “at home” in metropolitan centers.

Keywords

Colonialism · Colonial education · Dutch East Indies · Taiwan · Colonial Australia

Colonies, Colonialism, and Colonial Education

While it makes sense to think of “colonial education” as the education that is available in a colonial context, it is worth clarifying firstly what is understood by “colony” and who are to be considered as the recipients of “colonial education.” Does specifying “colonial education” imply that this is in some specific ways different in content or aim to other forms of education, including the education available in the imperial nations from whence colonialists came? Does the concept of “colonial education” apply to the children of “the colonizers” as well as those of “the colonized?” And what relevance did this colonial education have for pre-existing forms of education and to postcolonial forms of education? One initial general response to these questions is to suggest that a discussion of colonial education, perhaps more so than any other area of the history of education, needs to pay attention to the cultural, ideological, and political influences on decisions about pedagogical practices and curriculum content and, in particular, those related decisions concerning language mediums and the access rights.

The literature on colonialism generally differentiates between two basic types of colonies, usually defined as “settler colonies” and “colonies of exploitation” (Cooper 2005; Veracini 2013b) or “classical colonialism” (Altbach and Kelly 1978). The first type of colony is characterized by an incoming immigrant population having the intention to find a new settlement, in the process displacing Indigenous inhabitants. The latter is typically characterized by the existence of a relatively small incoming migrant community whose primary aim is the economic exploitation of a region’s resources (including its Indigenous population), rather than long-term settlement. In practice, and over time, these differences may become blurred, but the historical trajectories of each type are readily identified by their ultimate resolution in their forms of postcolonial statehood. In the former, settlers typically lay claim to, or are given control over, their own affairs and the territories of the original Indigenous inhabitants by imperial centers; in the latter independent nationhood is typically claimed by the previously colonized inhabitants through revolutionary struggle against foreign colonial control leading to the exodus of the foreigners.

The distinction between the two types of colonies has usually been seen as a key determinant of the nature of the education provided, in the first place, in terms of the type of schooling, if any, to be provided to the children of Indigenous inhabitants. At the same time, if less obviously, the schooling provided for children of the immigrant (colonizing) communities, while being largely determined by the

(changing) relationship with its imperial center, is also influenced by the need to differentiate the education received by children of the colonizing and of the colonized communities to underpin colonial power relationships. Notwithstanding local colonial interests, cultures, and institutions, in both types of colonies, imperial policies and metropolitan pedagogical practices and assumptions influence the kind of education introduced into a colonial context available to both colonial and colonized children.

One further general consideration is worth raising before turning to the three colonial contexts selected for examination: this is the distinction between colonially provided public and private (usually missionary or church-provided) education – and in the first place, elementary education – for the children of both colonizers and colonized and pre-existing and evolving forms of Indigenous education. In the period under consideration, state-provided education for settler children was typically understood as public schooling. As analysis of the history of modern state education that emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century has generally concluded, the provision of universal (elementary) state education had two fundamental objectives beyond providing elementary literacy: citizenship training and training for “work readiness” (Ramirez and Boli 1994). In Foucauldian terms this can be referred to as the “disciplining” objective of educational institutions in preparing children for participation in modernizing and gradually democratizing civil societies (Ball 2013). Marxist educational historians have particularly emphasized the role of mass public education as preparing a working class labor supply and as providing a selection mechanism to produce an efficient meritocracy to serve capitalist interests (Carnoy 1974). In both types of colonies, public education was intended to perform the same function.

More broadly, seen in the context of imperial-colonial/center-periphery relations, the education policies and practices related to both colonial and colonized communities are largely derivative of contemporary educational and pedagogical assumptions of their imperial centers. In this sense, they projected the politico-economic interests and reflected the culturo-nationalist assumptions of “imperial nationalism” (Moore 2014).

Histories of Colonial Education

The three cases of colonial education to be examined here reveal significant areas of similarity despite being products of different forms of imperial and colonial government and differences in the cultural, demographic, and power dispositions of their Indigenous populations vis-à-vis the incoming colonizers. In terms of educational history, for the period under consideration, each, firstly, reveals elements of the influence of the “new education” (Duke 2009; Karsten 1986; Selleck 1968). Central to the new pedagogy that came to engage education authorities in each of the imperial centers and their colonial outposts toward the end of the nineteenth century were the new understandings about the learner, the process of learning, and, in particular, the role of the school in preparing pupils for their place in society. In

reflecting a social imperative to impose forms of order and these insights were particularly influential in the colonial context as, seen from their imperial centers, the inhabitants of the colony, whether colonial or Indigenous, were by and large considered morally and in terms of social capital, deficient.

The Netherlands East Indies

In 1892 a beginning was made to establish a Western-style public elementary school system for Indigenous children in the Dutch East Indies. By 1914 its component parts were fairly much in place. It constituted what Benedict Anderson has critically described as a “colossal highly rationalized, tightly centralized hierarchy [which] created a self-contained, coherent universe of experience” (Anderson 2006, p. 123).

Several factors can be put forward to explain this development. In part it was a response to growing demands from better-off Indigenous families in urban Java, and in part it reflected the changing circumstances of an expanding and modernizing colony linked to significant political and cultural changes in *fin de siècle* imperial Netherlands. Space does not allow a detailing of these developments, but a number of key elements can be listed. The emergence of populist religious and political movements had influenced the democratization of the political process and cultural expression, while new imperial discourses in Europe had heightened nationalist sensibilities to the significance of the Netherlands as an imperial power (Kuitenbrouwer 1991). In its East Indies colony, with its control over the archipelago finally in view, there was a rapid expansion of the colonial bureaucracy and urban centers, particularly on the central island of Java and in the number of incoming metropolitan Dutch to fill administrative and professional positions.

Responding to calls from progressive and religious groups in the Netherlands and inter-European imperial discourse on the need for the imperial governments to accept greater responsibility for the welfare of its colonial subjects, in 1901 the Dutch government announced the beginning of a new “ethical policy” in the colony in which the provision of education was a key element (Ricklefs 2001, pp. 193–200). In the Netherlands at the time schooling and pedagogy were also under review. New child-centered pedagogical approaches associated with the ideas of Friederich Fröbel and Maria Montessori were being promoted most notably by Jan Ligthart (Bakker 2014; Karsten 1986). Translated into colonial school policy, this argued for differentiating the schooling provided to the children of *Inlanders* (Natives). It also conveniently intersected with dominant opinion among colonially born, European settlers. Already feeling disadvantaged in the face of the increasing numbers of incoming metropolitan-educated Dutch job seekers and expressed in several unsuccessful demands for colonial autonomy around the turn of the nineteenth century, they were inclined to see competition from “educated Natives” as a further threat (van den Doel 1994, pp.105–128).

The provision of elementary schools for Europeans had gradually evolved in the colony in the course of the nineteenth century, culminating in 1871 in a Fundamental Education Decree. This had formalized a secular, public, Dutch language,

elementary school system comparable to that in the Netherlands for children legally defined as European (Taylor 2009). Increasing concern had been continually expressed about the deplorable moral condition of the colony's small European population. School authorities emphasized the "limited receptiveness, the extremely low intellectual and mental capacity, the lack of attentiveness, the complete dispirited nature of the children born here" (Verslag 1850, p. 10). The majority of European children throughout the century were in fact of mixed parentage who, however, were legally deemed to be European if recognized by their European fathers. It was generally considered that their deficiencies were due to their close association with Natives, the "slaves and servants" in the home, but particularly their Native mothers at a time when "concubinage" was more common than formal marriage. In schools this home background manifested itself in "unsavoury and bastardized language" and the "reluctant, irregular and incomplete attendance of colonial children," which was further exacerbated by the "unacceptable behaviour of many teachers" and their "lacklustre interest in the vocation to which they have bound themselves" (Verslag 1850, p. 10).

Education of the Indigenous population had not been considered a responsibility of the state – this "had to be left to the exigencies of the times because of the low level of intellectual development of the Native of the Indies archipelago" an annual colonial school report stated in 1850 (Verslag 1850, pp. 2–3). It was left largely to missionary groups who, warned not to attempt proselytization among majority Muslim populations, largely operated in what were considered heathen areas in the outer archipelago. In places like the Minahassa in North Sulawesi, they established what effectively became a regional schools network in which a form of Malay, the precursor of Indonesian, was the language medium of instruction and increasingly also the lingua franca of the colonial bureaucracy and locality (Kroeskamp 1974). Here, and in Java, some Indigenous aristocratic families, whose incorporation into the complex system of colonial administration of the island's huge population had formed an essential feature of colonial rule, were permitted to enroll male children in European elementary schools. This was seen as a useful way to prepare future candidates for these administrative functions. As the colonial administration's need for more educated Native staff increased with the expansion of colonial bureaucracy so had the need for – and parental interest in having – Native children from elite families enrolled into European elementary schools (Coté 2014).

To meet these diverse challenges, then, over the course of two decades, the colonial government developed what effectively became a four-part colonial elementary school system. It consisted of standard 6-year elementary Dutch-medium schools for Europeans; standard 6-year Dutch-medium (First Class) schools for urban Indonesians; 6-year elementary Malay (Indonesian)-medium (Second Class) schools for Indonesians in provincial towns; and 3-year vernacular language, local rural village schools for the rural population. While First and Second Class Native schools imposed strict guidelines as to selection and curriculum, the latter schools were intended to rapidly provide a cheap dissemination of an introduction to a basic European "three Rs" education for the majority rural population (Ricklefs 2001, pp. 200–203; Van der Wal 1963). By 1940 this latter school type was enrolling almost

two million pupils, mainly in Java, taught by graduates from the local Native elementary school, and providing an introduction to arithmetic and literacy in their own local language. Education authorities argued that this was essential to assist the rural Indigenous population to adjust to the modern innovations that colonialism was providing. Non-state schools, more particularly the growing number of subsidized schools established by Christian missionary bodies, were similarly classified and subsidized but claimed also that its schools could convert Indigenous communities to a superior form of religious belief.

While Malay (now Indonesian)-medium, Western-style-elementary schools offered opportunities for Indonesians to gain access to low-level clerical positions in the colonial economy and bureaucracy, Dutch language literacy (and the ability to pay fees) was essential to gain access to higher education. Alongside the limited number of selective Dutch language medium elementary schools for *Inlanders*, a sequence of post-elementary, Dutch-medium, continuation schools (*Vervolg School*) and link schools (*Schakel School*) were progressively incorporated to link elementary schools to post-elementary and vocational schools. Essentially modelled on the Dutch school system, this provided an extended educational ladder that theoretically enabled the Native elementary school graduate to access the Dutch-medium, multiracial, and higher elementary school (MULO) and eventually further academic education in the *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS) or one of a series of multiracial vocational schools. These latter were established to channel, particularly Indigenous, recruits into the expanding and increasingly articulated colonial bureaucracy. Alongside a training institution for native administrative officials, the OSVIA, established in 1898 to replace three earlier “schools for the sons of Native chiefs and other high status Natives” and a training school for Native medical orderlies (STOVIA) established in 1899 to train medical orderlies, primarily to attend to Indigenous soldiers and indentured laborers on colonial plantations, a number of other vocational schools were established to meet the policy agendas of new government departments. They provided trained Native staff notably for the departments of agriculture (*landbouw*), forestry (*boschbouw*), veterinary science (*veeartsen*), and urban planning (*stedebouw*) (van den Doel 1994, p. 144). By the end of the colonial era, these had evolved into institutions that formed the basis of the faculties of the colony’s (and the independent nation’s) first university inaugurated in 1940. Moreover, a few hundred Indonesian students were enabled to enroll in Dutch universities supported by government scholarships and colonial patrons (Van der Wal 1963).

Beyond this government or subsidized mission-provided, Western-centric education system, boys in this majority Islamic society also had access to Islamic schools, *pesantren* and *madrassa*. While in the nineteenth century their curriculum was narrowly restricted to the study of the Qu’ran and Arabic language, under the modernizing influence emanating from Islamic universities in Cairo and Istanbul, where small but growing numbers of Indonesian students were coming to study by the end of the nineteenth century, the number of Islamic schools teaching “modern” subjects such as world geography and using Malay language medium was increasing. Prominent among these were the schools founded by a new Islamic

organization, Muhammadiyah, established in 1912, able to access government subsidies for accredited teachers and schools (Alfian 1989). Many other religious and ethnic communities did likewise, preparing its pupils for roles outside the colonial establishment. The Chinese community organization, Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, was one of several to similarly establish its own network of schools as this community, too, responded to events both in the colony and in China. They were modelled on schools in China emphasizing Confucian values and often featuring English language to facilitate commercial interactions with Chinese businesses in the nearby British colony and major international trading center of Singapore (Williams 1960). Attempting to counter this trend within the Chinese community, the colonial government established Dutch-Chinese schools (*Hollandsch-Chinese School*) that emphasized Dutch language and culture.

Inspired by the Montessori schools which he had studied while exiled in the Netherlands for alleged anti-colonial political activities, a Javanese noble, Ki Hajar Dewantoro, adopted the concept of “kindergarten,” to establish a number of *Taman Siswa* (garden of pupils) schools in Java. His objective was to develop a national consciousness in its Javanese pupils through a curriculum and methodology based on and imparting traditional Javanese values and the teaching Javanese language and traditional arts and crafts (Tsuchiya 1987). In Sumatra and elsewhere, schools offering similar curricula but primarily established to give expression to local ethnic and universal Islamic identity and culture countered aims of colonial schools (Noer 1973). Non-government schools specifically for Indigenous girls also emerged, established by both European promoters of girls education and by Indonesian women influenced by feminist ideals. Among these were the Kartini schools for girls from well-to-do families that honored the name of pioneer Javanese girls schools advocate, Raden Ajeng Kartini, and funded from the Netherlands (Coté 2014).

As the Indonesian nationalist movement and various religious, ethnic, and regional movements became more assertive, outspoken, and organized, the colonial government tightened its control over all Indigenous organizations, media, and schools. Also, an extensive undercover intelligence network, strict censorship, and legal proceedings were instituted to stifle public expressions of anti-colonialism. In 1925 new restrictive regulations affecting teacher registration and school accreditation were introduced, and in 1932 a so-called *Wilde School Ordonantie* further clamped down on what were referred to as “wild schools,” that is, schools established by (Indigenous) private initiative and, which by implication, represented a threat to the colonial state (Ricklefs 2001, pp. 238–239).

On the other hand, a Dutch/Malay literate Indonesian middle class had increasing access to cheap, European classics in translation, issued by the government publishing house, *Balai Pustaka*, and made available through a network of local and mobile libraries, a range of Dutch and Malay language media, and by the 1930s radio, American movies, live shows by touring artists, and regional cultural performances (Adam 1995; Jedamski 1992; Ruppin 2016). They had also been represented in the colonial consultative assembly, the *Volksraad*, since 1918, initially as government nominees, and later elected by a limited franchise. By the end of the colonial era, these Dutch literate “cooperating nationals” had

formed a majority in this assembly, but where the *Volksraad* itself lacked political authority, they were largely sidelined by the increasingly influential anti-colonial nationalist movement (Ricklefs 2001).

In the Netherlands East Indies, then, while Western-style education for the colonial subject had become essential to the development of a modern colonial state administration and economy, it was also contributing to the creation of a modern, Indonesian middle class increasingly assertive in its opposition to colonialism. The value of Western education continued to be debated however. While some progressive opinion had argued that access to Western education would help unite Indonesian with their colonizers, some anthropologists argued that colonial (Western) modernity, including Christianity, was destroying Indigenous cultures. Dominant conservative opinion feared that education would simply fuel an increasingly articulate anti-colonial rhetoric and create a class of disaffected unemployed *Inlanders* (Coté 2011; Van den Doel 1994, pp. 440–442).

It was evident, however, that Western education and modern communications had provided a new generation of Indonesian leaders with access to critical Western discourses of Marxism and liberalism and to anti-colonial, anti-imperial, and modernist religious movements abroad, to construct a discourse of national emancipation. This included both awareness of the broader context of the Islamic *Ummah* and Japan's challenge to European imperialism. For their part, on the eve of the Asia-Pacific War, colonial educationists believed that:

As a result of continuing sober and conscientious deliberation, [and with typical] Dutch thoroughness [...], the worst faults which have often crippled education in other colonial countries, have been avoided. (Brugmans 1938, p. 362)

Colonial Education in Japanese Taiwan (Formosa)

When Japan was ceded the island of Formosa under the Treaty of Shimonoseki following its defeat of Chinese forces in 1894, one of its first objectives after securing control was to replace existing Chinese schools. The school system it created was modelled on the education system and curriculum that had only recently been implemented in Japan itself, outlined in its Imperial “Rescript on Education” of October 30, 1890. This replaced the existing curriculum, the first “modern” curriculum that had been introduced by the Meiji Restoration government in 1870 that was now considered to be too liberal and too Western. The new curriculum aimed to emphasize Confucian values, albeit in an updated Japanese version, “alongside respect for the imperial system as the basis of the Japanese moral code” (Duke 2009, p. 363). To accompany the new policy, regulations were introduced to promote universal elementary school attendance, and the period of compulsory education was extended to 6 years (Tsurumi 1977, p. 29.) At the same time, the government had clamped down on private, including Christian, schools, effectively bringing all education in Japan under direct state control.

With strictly limited access to higher education, the state-controlled and highly centralized universal elementary education system was intended to ensure the effective production of “good citizens” and a disciplined workforce essential to support Japan’s rapidly developing, modernized, and industrialized economy (Tsurumi 1977, p. 93). Under this new educational regime, the Japanese school curriculum introduced Japanese children, according to one interpretation, to a “ruthless and effective socialization into Emperor worship,” and schools became “the main agencies of indoctrination” (Takeshi and Mangan 1997, p. 310). These developments in metropolitan Japan provided the model for the education system introduced in its colony.

While the colonial status of Taiwan in the Japanese empire has been variously defined, it has been argued that “the administrative structure of colonial rule in Taiwan was similar to that of British Crown Colonies in Asia and Africa,” even if “the motives and legitimizing logic underlying colonial policy making were quite different” (Takeshi and Mangan 1997, p. 313; Caprio 2009). One of these differences was the fact that, unlike the obvious cultural and racial disparities that marked European colonies in Austral-Asia, Japanese colonial education authorities were confronted by the “almost sameness” of the island’s majority Chinese population. This related, in the first place, to a shared Confucian heritage including a written form of Chinese characters, which it shared with the approximately 2.8 million Chinese inhabitants whose elite became the main target of the colonial education system. That elite had established its status through maintaining lineal relations and traditional links with the Chinese mainland that depended on the continued recognition of a traditional Chinese Confucian, examination-based, culture in which education was a central factor. Thus, Japanese colonial school authorities in Taiwan developed strategies for “un-teaching” Chinese Confucianism and promoting a new Japanese version (Tsurumi 1977) and to produce a pliable workforce to facilitate its exploitation of the new economic resources that now became available (Barclay 2015). By contrast, where it was widely accepted in Japan that Koreans shared a common ancestry (Pai 2013), colonial rhetoric claimed Japan’s intention to assimilate Koreans into a Japanese empire through its education system (Caprio 2009), while many Korean elite initially welcomed the removal of influence from China (Tsurumi 1977).

After Japanese military action consolidated its authority over the main parts of the island, colonial authorities instituted a system of elementary “Common Schools” or *kogakko*. These were designed to replace existing Chinese schools, and following a review, a further intensification of the “Japanization” of the curriculum was implemented. This increased the proportion of the curriculum devoted to teaching Japanese language to one third and introduced colloquial Japanese as the medium of instruction. It further replaced “shared” Confucian texts with Japanese classics and new texts that emphasized the historical and spiritual nature of the Emperor (Takeshi and Mangan 1997). Access to these “common schools” was gradually extended to the Chinese middle classes, and through their curriculum content and school ceremonies, Japanese culture and the political ideologies related to the “cult of emperor” were reinforced (Takeshi and Mangan 1997, p. 319; Tsurumi 1977).

Unlike the assimilationist aims claimed for educational policy in Korea, the Japanization of the curriculum was not intended to achieve the integration of Taiwanese Chinese into the Japanese community. As in the East Indies, access to schools for Japanese children was restricted, but a degree of “co-education” was extended to children of the colony’s former elite in an effort to counter the influence of the 1911 nationalist revolution in China their continued allegiance to a Chinese identity. Exclusion from post-elementary education, however, continued, with the exception of a training school for medical orderlies, and, after 1915, the Japanese Language School aimed at producing local teachers of Japanese. Chinese students more generally continued to be excluded from attending these better-equipped Japanese elementary schools, or *shogakko*, or accessing higher education institutions and the responsible positions in the colonial public service, thus emphasizing their subservient status in a foreign culture. One response was for elite Chinese families to attempt to maintain their old Chinese schools, or *shobō*, a practice which Japanese authorities unsuccessfully attempted to control (Tsurumi 1977, p. 31).

Japanese authorities had also to deal separately with the island’s Aboriginal population. Never successfully contained under former Chinese rule, conquest of Aboriginal territories and subjugation of its Indigenous population, which was estimated to be about 135,000 in 1900, were essential to gain control of the supply and trade in desired products (Barclay 2015). After an initial period of armed suppression, it was recognized that long-term organization of economic exploitation of the island’s natural resources would require direct intervention in traditional life. This, a 1913 report recommended, would require gradually changing Indigenous attitudes and practices by accustoming the Aboriginal population to the new “modern” order that Japan had brought to the island (Takeshi and Mangan 1997). Rather than direct intervention, this could be achieved by encouraging them to deal with Japanese, rather than Chinese traders, and by introducing various monetary and other incentives and disincentives to encourage certain desired practices, while other cultural attitudes and traditional practices considered undesirable – such as hunting – could be suppressed. This could be supported by undertaking intensive ethnographic and anthropological research of Aboriginal culture (Barclay 2015, pp. 71–72).

This policy of gradual penetration of Aboriginal territories was reinforced in the 1920s, by the creation of model Indigenous villages. Through the establishment of such villages, Japanese authorities introduced basic village elementary schools (*kyoikujo*) as well as “police stations, medical clinics, and Shinto shrines in villages across Taiwan” (Simon 2015, p. 88). This did not, however, prevent later revolts such, as the “1930 Musha Incident,” which led to further modification of the colonial management of Aboriginal clans (Simon 2015).

In the meantime, children of Japanese nationals in the colony were significantly disadvantaged compared to their compatriots at home. Although they had access to superior elementary schools in the colony, like their European counterparts in the Indies, to gain access to higher education, those colonial families had to send their sons to the mainland if they were to have a chance to gain responsible positions in the colonial bureaucracy. These positions were dominated by incoming metropolitan Japanese. One avenue open to them was the post-elementary Japanese

Language Schools. Initially limited to Japanese boys, but later opened to Japanese girls and selected Chinese students, its graduates were encouraged to become teachers to support the Japanization of the Taiwanese elementary school curriculum (Tsurumi 1977). In time also, well-off Chinese students were sent to Japan to undertake advanced education for this purpose.

While a latecomer to colonialism, and while in terms of both geographical and racial proximity, Japan's colonization differed significantly from European imperial expansion in Asia, similar strategies of colonial rule become apparent here. Differentiation as a means of colonial control was achieved not only through military and economic dominance and technological superiority but quite specifically also via the ideological and structural characteristics of colonial education in which control of language was a key element. At the same time, a carefully calibrated system allowed for a degree of integration intended to co-opt some elements of the colonized community to participate in the process of colonization. Japanese settlers, although in many respects privileged as representatives of the colonial authority, were nevertheless disadvantaged compared to their cousins in Japan. While their presence was essential to the island's Japanization, as was the European community in representing Europeanness in the case of the Dutch East Indies, residence in the colony in fact restricted their opportunities. While in other respects their existence as Japanese ensured their superior status in the colony, like the European children raised in the East Indies, they faced significant obstacles, primarily related to access to further schooling, if they were to be able compete with their metropolitan peers.

Colonial Education in the British Australian Colonies and States of the New Australian Federation

As exemplary "settler colonies" (Veracini 2013a), the various British settlements on the Australian island continent typically portrayed themselves in terms of a nineteenth century liberal ideology as progressive pioneering "free" societies (Moore 2014). Free of the historical prejudices and traditions that kept inequalities in place in the "old Country," in the "New World," it was argued, the state would instigate institutional structures that would support a progressive and united pioneering community. Central to this ideal of a progressive state was the provision of education. In the view of this same progressive liberal discourse, a system of church-provided denominational schools that the colonies had inherited from Britain, and which provided the first schools in its foundational years, were now regarded as parochial, divisive, and now outdated. As state subsidies to churches were withdrawn, only the Catholic Church, with its access to the unpaid services of its various male and female religious orders, was able to continue its traditional role of providing a religion-based schooling for poorer members of its congregation (Austin 1961).

Seen as radical when proposed in mid-century, by the second half of the nineteenth century, progressive liberal ideals were broadly embraced by the partially representative, semiautonomous colonial governments of the British Australian

colonies. Well before the end of the century, each had instituted a system of free and compulsory public elementary schools, which were also determinedly secular. As systems of mass public education, these were seen as essential to unite a growing incoming and settler population divided by religion and class and dispersed over huge terrains. Most clearly expressed in the colony of Victoria, they were compulsory and free, not only to express the principle of equality but also to ensure the imposition of a common ideology and that even families on the edges of respectable society would be civilized.

This progressive discourse specifically addressed the state's need to educate the white migrant and colonially born and largely working class masses. Outside this remit, a colonial elite insisted on maintaining its separate private or church-based academic school traditions, which included the provision of a local university. Through these educational institutions, this class sustained its links with and access to metropolitan structures of privilege and status. At the other extreme, as earlier British imperial policies concerning the protection of the Indigenous population faded "without external stimulation, colonial government did little" (Campbell and Proctor 2014). Native education was effectively outsourced to churches and private initiative, but as the century progressed, support for earlier missionary "experiments" in establishing self-supporting small-scale farms with Aboriginal labor alongside mission schools, began to falter in the face of European settler expansion and lack of government support. Declining Aboriginal populations and a lack of interest or outright opposition from Aboriginal parents further contributed to missionary disillusionment (Campbell and Proctor 2014).

In more urbanized areas, "vagrancy" laws intended to deal with white "urchins" paralleling similar laws introduced in urban Britain to deal with delinquent or destitute children were here explicitly extended to deal with Aborigines in town settings. In Queensland, the 1865 "Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act" authorized the removal of any destitute child under 17 found wandering or begging in the streets; any child dwelling with a reputed thief, prostitute, or drunkard; and *any child born of an Aboriginal or a half-caste mother* (Kidd 1997, p. 20, original italics). Compulsory removal of urban Aboriginals to isolated, church-administered missions provided another option for removing them from European society, although as noted, Aboriginal resistance, lack of government support, and "land grab" by enterprising colonials limited missionary initiatives. The emerging racialist discourse supported what was deemed as being the scientific evidence of anthropologists such as Baldwin Spencer that the Aboriginal race was dying out (Wolfe 1999), further contributing to the neglect of "Native education."

With the Indigenous population effectively displaced in the south, employment opportunities for Indigenous Australians were limited to the peripheries of colonial settlement, where they continued to be threatened with the expansion of white settlement (Haebich 1992; Kidd 1997). Some recognition of their labor value could be extracted by Indigenous stockman in the north and West of the continent on extensive pastoral lease holdings that absorbed traditional Aboriginal lands and by coastal communities in maritime enterprises along the northern coastline. Here and elsewhere there is evidence of the extensive use of Aboriginal child labor

and women as domestic servants, typically paid for in the form of food and lodgings (Higgins 1995; Walden 1995). This was facilitated by legislative authority authorizing the practice of extracting “rescue-able,” fair-skinned, part-Aboriginal children from “irredeemable” Native environments. Arguably expressive of “settler anxiety” (Storey 2016), if not settler guilt, following the failure of any “welfarist” initiatives (Harris 2010), for almost a century, government agents were authorized to forcefully remove selected children from their communities, producing what in more recent terminology has been referred to as the generations of the “Stolen Children” (Human Rights Commission 1997). Typically the product of incidental white male abuse of their mothers, thousands of part-Aboriginal girls and boys were removed to distant training institutions to be prepared as domestic servants or “house boys.” In the tropical north, however, new plantation owners deemed Indigenous workers inefficient and began sourcing labor from nearby Pacific Islands and, via connections with neighboring British and Dutch colonial authorities, imported Malay and Chinese indentured labor (Saunders 1982).

Towards the end of the century, with the principle that public education was the birthright of all citizens – which excluded the Indigenous population – now generally assumed, and with a universal school system more or less in place, public demand for access to vocationally relevant technical education became more evident (Ling 1984). Earlier arguments concerning the intrinsic public good of education increasingly made way for more instrumental concerns of industry and employers in securing a skilled white colonial labor force to meet the needs of a diversifying range of local industries. Discursively this found support in an “updated” moral argument which posited that access to technical education for working class colonial lads would:

Have a strong tendency to raise the social status of the worker; to make him more respected by others and by himself, and so to raise the general stamp and standard of the manhood of the majority of the population. (Connelly 1887, cited in Ling 1984, p. 99)

Nevertheless, with social hierarchies within settler society becoming more entrenched, there was little enthusiasm for an elite to respond to demands for extended educational opportunities for working class advancement (Ling 1984).

With the creation of the Australian federation in 1901 debate increasingly centered on how to make the elementary curriculum more “relevant,” and methods of teaching more effective, in engaging the reluctant (or recalcitrant) working class child to take their place in a modern democratic state. While elitist grammar school education retained its British traditions through its traditional emphasis on academic scholarship and high culture, public elementary schools needed to inculcate a new civic consciousness relevant to the new nation. The new sense of nationalism that came with federation drew on the pedagogical discourses that came to be referred to as the “new education,” to inculcate this (Austin and Selleck 1975). Civic education became a crucial new subject in the curriculum intended to inculcate an awareness, not just of the rights of citizenship but also the obligations the citizens of the new nation as part of a larger empire (Coté 2001). Through school texts, Australian

children learned of their place in the world as physically robust white representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race in the East and their responsibility to contribute to upholding “right values” in an Asian hemisphere largely under European imperial control. This emphasis on a broader imperial citizenship was further energized by Australian participation in a colonial war in South Africa and the later “Great War” in Europe.

While a reflection of an underlying consciousness of and an anxiety about the new nation’s isolation in an Asian world (McGreggor 2016), it also reflected anxieties about the dangers that lurked within (Coté 2009). Education authorities in this new federated nation of semi-autonomous states were enthusiastic supporters of psychological testing and in examining the implications of new eugenic theories as means to identify the “feeble-minded” and potential “criminal types” within white society (Cawte 1986). Physical education, which became another prominent element in discourses on public education, also reflected racial concerns linked to this sense of a shared place in the British Empire and anxieties in inhabiting this “outpost of the empire” (Storey 2016). In what was, then, one of the most democratic countries in the world, legislators voted on mechanisms to protect the boundaries of its Anglo-Saxon-ness, or at least its Europeaness, by prohibiting the entry of all “colored” people under the so-called White Australia policy, and placing restrictions on the legal rights, physical movements, and personal relations of the continent’s Aboriginal population. This led to the deportation of thousands of “nonwhites,” primarily Chinese and Pacific Islanders who had become a significant element of the colonial labor supply, although not society, and the further confinement of the Indigenous population.

Ever so slowly in the new century, post-elementary education was also made available to “the masses” to meet the demands of modern industry. In this it varied little from the opportunities available to working class families in the “mother country.” An academic secondary education *system*, however, providing access to the universities whose establishment has been almost co-terminus with the granting of colonial self-government in the nineteenth century, did not eventuate until after the Second World War. This era saw the emergence of a new democratic nationalism reflective of a postcolonial world. In this new world order, public schools were again given the task of assimilating new arrivals into a common civic code which for a few more decades maintained its exclusion of non-Europeans.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Around the turn of the twentieth century in each of the three colonial sites that have been the focus of this brief overview, education reforms coincided with major political, social, and ideological transformations taking place in the imperial centers with which they were connected. In these outposts of empire, colonial authorities were concerned to demonstrate the virtues of metropolitan cultural and political values in contrast to those of their colony’s inhabitants. In Taiwan and the East Indies, this involved the inculcation of the freshly minted ideals of the new Meiji and democratized Dutch states, respectively, while the

new Australian federation as a whole was to act as a bulwark of Anglo-Saxon virtue in Asia. In all three colonies, the assertion of civilizational superiority necessitated that their representatives in these colonial outposts, in particular their permanent settlers, upheld these metropolitan values. Colonial schools and educational policies were crucial in meeting both these objectives.

Differences in demographic ratios, of course, marked the crucial difference between the two “colonies of exploitation” and the British Australian “colonies of settlement.” In the former the colonizer was ultimately dependent upon the colonized, and although colonial rule had to be imposed and maintained by force, schooling became necessary in order to exploit the new resources that colonialism gave access to. In the latter, by contrast, the Indigenous population was (or was made) effectively economically irrelevant. From these factors flowed the specifics of colonial policies regarding school curricula and selection.

Because of the evident colonial implications of schooling in these different colonial contexts, they were central in stimulating expressions of national aspiration on the part of both the settlers and the colonized. The importance of ensuring its colony-resident representatives reflected metropolitan values accentuating the differences in schooling for colonizer and colonized but also revealed differences between metropolitan and colonial status. Policies concerning access to education contributed to generating and defining national aspiration by accentuating difference. If schooling defined social class in metropolitan societies, in colonies both class and racial differences were defined across colonial and colonized communities. Separation and exclusion were central to colonial education even where, as in much Australian education, the almost total absence of the colonized disguised this fact. This also applied to settlers *vis-à-vis* their metropolitan counterparts in all three cases. For the colonizing settler communities in both types of colonies, political and economic dependency on, as well as geographical distance from, the center of power affected the provision, content, consumption, and outcome of education.

Consideration of colonial education cannot be separated from an examination of colonial era policies more generally. As in metropolitan societies, schools in the colonial context represented crucial institutions of social construction and control. Colonial education formed an integral element of the broader colonial fabric and left its mark on the intellectual and cultural memory of the postcolonial citizen and nation (Fanon 2008; Memmi 2013). But in many ways, colonial education was no different than education delivered at the center. The policies implemented by colonial education authorities around the turn of the century drew on or at least can be seen to reflect the educational discourses of the “new education” and “new society” circulating in the center, as well as the more instrumentalist demands of a modernizing economy (Apple 1996; Carnoy 1974).

Anderson’s accusation of colonial education in Indonesia as a “colossal highly rationalized and tightly centralized hierarchy” is equally applicable to education systems in these colonies’ metropolitan centers. In both, education can be seen to be and were claimed to be, either a benign systemic form of “cultural transmission” or an instrument of cultural oppression, as a process of imposing a system of authorized

knowledge or as a process of reception and appropriation. As the East Indies case most clearly suggests, contemporary alternative Indigenous forms of education were also influenced by, if not incorporated, new curricular content and pedagogical ideas to support radically different sociopolitical ends. If education and the school as a ubiquitous institution of modernity became a crucial means for disciplining society, it also formed an important basis of liberation movements and individual emancipation.

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Indigenous Schools and Schooling

17

Policies, Practices, and Problems in New Zealand, Australia, and Fiji

Howard Lee and Gregory Lee

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Abstract

This chapter describes schools and the schooling process historically in relation to three countries, namely, Australia, Fiji, and New Zealand. It sets out a concise historical context for each setting in relation to elementary and postprimary schooling emergence, provision, and change, with specific reference to Indigenous schooling arrangements, developments, and subsequent controversies. In so doing some of the more important and far-reaching consequences of the dominance of non-Indigenous people's thoughts and actions over Indigenous persons in the schooling arena also are analyzed. The chapter further demonstrates the latent emergence of critical perspectives from affected parties about what was being delivered to them as either appropriate, relevant, or essential to their children's education, citizenship, and future success in a given society or

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community. In each of the three environments, what it meant to be an Indigenous person was subjected gradually to closer scrutiny and critique by Indigenous people themselves, with the result that it was no longer acceptable – politically, socially, and educationally – for policy makers to act unilaterally in the education policy and practice domains. The chapter outlines some initiatives taken by Indigenous people to bring about the kinds of reforms they value in their respective countries. These reforms relate usually to the revitalization of Indigenous persons' language(s), to their philosophy concerning the form(s) that a worthwhile education should assume, and to the positive prospects for their people's greater self-determination and sovereignty. Some contemporary challenges within the three Western-oriented schooling systems are identified and assessed.

Keywords

Australian education · Fijian education · New Zealand education · Culture · School curriculum · Education policy · Vocational education · Education history

Introduction

Historians of education and education policy scholars generally agreed that matters relating to Indigenous schools and to Indigenous schooling deserve a prominent place in any and all contemporary and historical inquiry on education. Among their ranks, many lament the fact that until the last three or four decades, minimal attention has been paid to critiquing the many and varied assumptions that underpinned schools and schooling provision. It was commonplace for non-Indigenous policy makers and educationists to presume that they were best placed or well placed at the very least, to decide what was needed – indeed, what was essential – in and for the school careers of Indigenous children and youth. The result has been the emergence and the application of policies that have been poorly matched to the requirements and needs of these people. Such policies were seldom the outcome of informed and open dialogue with the parents of those Indigenous children and youth who were affected directly – and, arguably, significantly – when those policies were implemented (Dudley and Vidovich 1995). Rather, what was and is evident is the presence of policies and practices that were deemed to be in the best interests of their recipients.

One consequence has been the creation of alternative schools and schooling systems that were founded taken-for-granted assumptions about the professed, and sometimes unstated, desirability of having some level of differentiation in the school curriculum. Any commonality in provision tended to be evident for citizenship reasons mostly, as part of attempts to prepare children and youth for their perceived and forthcoming roles in a given community or wider society. These roles often were different, to some extent, for people who were seen as being different from one another – Indigenous compared with non-Indigenous persons, in this instance. Within the Aotearoa/New Zealand setting named “Maoriland” from about 1900

until the early 1920s, for example, for many decades from the early twentieth century, it was thought that the “natural” role or vocation for Indigenous (Maori) people was as a farmer and as a farmer’s wife, for males and females, respectively. Such thinking was discernible at a time when Maori people were rural rather than urban dwellers, namely, until the late 1940s, after which time migration to towns and cities intensified markedly (Mason 1945). For as long as no serious scrutiny was given to what these roles were to be and should be, policies and practices affecting Indigenous peoples remained largely unchanged.

To put the point another way, the status quo persisted in the absence of any visible pressure for reform, as opposed to any advocacy of a minor change to a given curriculum subject or subject orientation. For practical purposes, this situation meant that Indigenous males and females were more likely than non-Indigenous persons to have a restricted range of vocational opportunities available to them; employment frequently was nonacademic, nonprofessional, and not well remunerated. One consequence was the lower socioeconomic status and attendant marginalization of a group of people who, prior to their urbanization, had been inconspicuous largely on account of their area(s) of residence (Hancock 1961). With greater visibility came a growing awareness by policy makers and educationists of the different and difficult situations that had befallen Indigenous persons generally, educationally, vocationally, and economically. In post-World War II societies and in the context of the emergence of independent nation states in and from the late 1940s, it was less likely that the views of Indigenous people now could and would be ignored. A predictable result was that the nature of the schooling provision that had been deemed appropriate, if not ideal or entirely unproblematic, for Indigenous pupils, began to be investigated and confronted more critically and more often.

A large part of the process of having greater awareness and interrogation of long-held ideas involved the adoption of a dialogical rather than a monological orientation toward Indigenous schooling policies and practices. In the later twentieth century, ministers of education and department of education officials were less inclined to determine curricula for Indigenous pupils unilaterally and to make education policy decrees without undertaking something approximating “consultation” with the parties affected. This bilateral approach of course made for more time-consuming and, arguably, more intense discussions and debates over Indigenous schooling matters. An alternative strategy, however, would have involved persisting with the status quo and ignoring the reality that wider input into curriculum decision, indeed, into the work undertaken within schools and the schooling process itself, was being sought by the public more actively. There is firm evidence to conclude that a strategy of status quo preservation had become more unpalatable and less acceptable politically and publicly by the late 1980s in particular. Indigenous people sought more formal recognition of their cultures, philosophy of living, and their languages in schools than had been the case previously. No longer were they prepared to tolerate a situation not of their own making, in which “assimilation ultimately means absorption and that means extinction” (Horne 1964, p. 116).

The Schooling of Maori Children: Elementary and High School

Initially in the three countries being considered, schools and schooling systems had been constructed with particular functions to fulfill. In the missionary era (in New Zealand, from 1814 to around 1870), in a country comprised of two islands about 1,000 miles long and occupying an area of approximately 168,000 square miles (Stewart 2009), the main objective was to promote denominational Christian teachings, most notably Anglican/Church of England, Wesleyan/Methodist, and Roman Catholic (Butchers 1932; Lockyer 2003). It was believed that boys and girls would be prepared well for their future vocation in life if their schooling was conducted within a religious setting and if they received elementary-level tuition in the English language, in industrial arts/crafts to develop their manual and technical facilities, and in a designated Christian faith. In New Zealand the most important audience as seen by missionary authorities was the Indigenous Maori children, in the belief that when they had become familiar with religious teachings then they would become, ipso facto, good, rural living, Christian citizens.

Non-Indigenous children were not excluded from missionary schools. Initially, Maori's interest in the missionaries' work was minimal (Lockyer 2003). Irrespective of the type of learners, then, such teaching was occurring at a time when a state or government was not involved in schools and in their provision. In other words church personnel, not state-appointed persons, were fulfilling a dual role as both educator and mentor. These roles were undertaken without much, if any, discernible debate, even when the government began slowly to signal a desire to prescribe a curriculum, albeit, a very basic one, and to contribute some funds directly to the church authorities for them to deliver that curriculum, subject to government inspection and basic audit requirements specified under the Education Ordinance of 1847, to both Maori and non-Indigenous children (Butchers 1932; Lockyer 2003; Openshaw et al. 1993). Given that in 1850 Indigenous people comprised 50% of the population of New Zealand (Parker 2005), it was highly unlikely that non-Indigenous policy makers would omit them from legislation that was concerned with schools and with schooling, particularly when they tended to view Maori as being easily demoralized and needing "[speedy assimilation] to the habits and usages of the European" (Walker 2004, p. 146).

Tailor-made, targeted, provision for Maori children was not abandoned with the introduction of nationally applicable primary (elementary) school legislation in 1877, although the New Zealand Education Act of 1877 that ushered in free, compulsory, and secular elementary schooling did not apply to Maori children. The latter, however, were able to attend primary school free of tuition fees. Politicians at the time acknowledged that relations between "Pakeha" (non-Indigenous) and Maori people had been strained severely during the land wars of the 1860s and early 1870s (Butchers 1932), referred to by contemporary Maori as "te riri Pakeha" (the white man's anger) (Lockyer 2003, p. 35). A result was that the former did not want to be seen by Maori and by the public to be inflaming existing tensions further. It was intended that Maori youth would be schooled in "native schools" exclusively, created under Native Schools Ordinances (Acts) passed in 1858, 1867, and 1871

and based in rural communities (Bird 1928). Maori children, however, began to attend education board-controlled elementary schools (i.e., schools run by regional or district education authorities) in steadily increasing numbers during the twentieth century (Butchers 1932). This situation led ultimately to the abolition of Maori schools (as the “native schools” were relabeled, from 1945) nationally, in 1969. The nineteenth-century ordinances had been deliberately introduced by the government to ascertain the interest of Maori communities in elementary schooling provision (Parker 2005), given that Maori people initially were required to contribute a portion of their land holdings for a school site and to make a contribution to the teacher’s salary *before* any native school would be erected (Butchers 1932; Lockyer 2003; Walker 2004). All instruction (reading, writing, arithmetic, geography), however, was to be delivered through the medium of English, and the teachers employed in the native schools were more often than not non-Indigenous men and women (Lockyer 2003).

There was an expectation among many Maori that their children’s schooling would be conducted entirely through the medium of English, because Maori parents believed their sons and daughters should be taught, and should use, their mother tongue in their family home only (Parker 2005). Such thinking was evident in the 1880 Native Schools Code. This legislation that was underpinned by the assumption that Maori language would be spoken in the children’s homes but that through the native schooling system, the Maoris would be “enabled to effect a more or less successful adaptation to the new [British] civilization” (Butchers 1932, p. 87). When more Maori children were able to demonstrate their proficiency in English, then revisions were undertaken to the syllabus of instruction for native schools, which had included English, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and sewing for girls spread over four standards of attainment compared with six standards for state (“ordinary”) elementary schools (Bird 1928).

From 1892, their curriculum began to resemble that of the public elementary schools more closely, and it became identical from 1929, with access to the full six standards of instruction and formal examinations also being made available (Butchers 1932). One historian of education, writing in the 1930s, declared boldly that as more Maori children (and adults) became immersed in European culture and in the Western schooling system, “prejudices and misunderstandings are steadily dying out as the two races have come to understand one another better” (Butchers 1932, p. 88). The same author also opined, optimistically, that “the story of their [Maori people’s] resuscitation as a virile and proud people living on terms of harmonious political and social equality with their British conquerors is one of the great ethnological romances of modern times” (Butchers 1932, pp. 91–92). However, it was a “romance” that was to prove short-lived (indeed, if it was true at all), owing to the urbanization of the Indigenous population that had been gaining momentum from the 1930s (Metge 1968). Notwithstanding Butchers’ advocacy of an overly romantic perspective on race relations, he nevertheless was willing to concede that “Europeans may learn much that is of value to themselves by watching and studying the recent, present, and future development of the Native [Maori] race” (Butchers 1932, p. 91).

At the elementary, native school, level, Maori children received instruction in a small core of subjects that constituted their curriculum, but it was not until the late 1920s that they were encouraged to prepare for the senior-level primary school examinations for those in Standard 5 and Standard 6 (known as the Proficiency Examination classes (Bird 1928)). The underlying premise was that Maori youth had no need for a higher-level, formal, elementary school qualification beyond the fourth standard, for employment purposes or as part of their general education, and that such a qualification was not required for the kind of work being envisioned for them. Non-Maori children attending primary school did not have this prohibition placed upon them, however, and so were able to enter the senior standard classes in steadily increasing numbers from the late nineteenth century (Openshaw et al. 1993). There is evidence, nonetheless, of a growth in Maori parental support for their sons' and daughters' success in the native schools' four standards examinations (Bird 1928); "[Maori parents had] learned from successive years of observation what was to be expected from the children in the various [standard] classes" (Bird 1928, p. 68) and were quick to regard teachers as either inefficient or worthy of congratulation. One result of this type and level of differentiation was the very low number of Indigenous people enrolled in high schools in the early-to-mid-twentieth century (Metge 1968). With children's attendance and longer period of enrolment at the latter institutions becoming more important for parents seeking upward social and vocational mobility for their sons and daughters and with a direct connection having been forged between senior high school student retention and candidacy for high-status public examinations, one significant outcome was that it was more difficult for Maori boys and girls than for non-Maori children to obtain access to higher-level schooling opportunities and to remain in high schools for longer periods of time (Adams et al. 2000; Shuker 1987). Such an outcome was to have far-reaching educational, social, and fiscal consequences for Maori children (Adams et al. 2000).

The changing enrolment pattern (from native – later, Maori – schools to Urban Education Board schools) increasingly evident from the 1930s, which gained the attention of education officials, was a consequence primarily of the movement of more Maori people from isolated rural communities to the towns and cities (Butchers 1932; Stephenson 2006). It was scarcely surprising, therefore, that there would be greater contact between Maori and non-Maori children and adults when they began to be schooled side by side in increasing numbers and with increasing frequency. In such a situation, concern was expressed more often and, arguably, more vociferously, about the extent to which Maori children's education needs, requirements, and interests were being addressed adequately. To this end, it was more likely that assumptions about different curricular provisions for Indigenous and non-Indigenous pupils would be subjected to closer scrutiny as more of these pupils came into direct contact with one another.

Debate over the "proper" direction of education for Indigenous children intensified nationally, to a considerable extent, due to increase in the awareness of the public and educationists of the academic success and subsequent success at university of secondary school Maori students at Te Aute College, an Anglican high school for Maori boys. The college's principal from 1878 to 1912, John Thornton, had gained publicity if not notoriety from the early 1900s, from his

unapologetic promotion of many able Maori students as top-class sports people and as candidates for prestigious, high-level, secondary school examinations, all of which allowed successful candidates to enter universities in New Zealand and overseas (Parker 2005). Several Maori scholars gained university degrees and proceeded to enter and to distinguish themselves in the medical, legal, dental, and teaching professions and in other professional occupations (Parker 2005). In this way they tested the conventional wisdom of the era which held that Maori youth should receive instruction in practical subjects within a curriculum that ought to be geared deliberately toward Maori adults' occupancy of manual, practical, non-academic, and unskilled or semi-skilled, low-paid vocations. Thornton was adamant that Maori communities would be well served by having Maori people working within them, in professional employment that resulted from a successful, higher, university, level of education (Butchers 1932; Parker 2005).

It is not surprising that Thornton's schooling philosophy was demonstrably at odds with that held by the majority of early twentieth-century secondary school principals and particularly non-Maori principals. The commonly held view was that Maori were "destined naturally" to work in nonprofessional occupations, that they were seldom if ever academically minded, and that they needed separate schooling provision from non-Maori children; any perceived commonalities or points of overlap between individuals would be provided for, it was believed, by having some school subjects common for Maori and for non-Maori children. According to this thesis, Maori were markedly different from Pakeha children in critical respects and were likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. Their "natural abilities" or aptitudes, interests, and aspirations were seen as being different although, as indicated above, such thinking was challenged by the publicity surrounding the academic success of Maori youth. Several Maori children found ready and tangible support for their studies, most notably at the high or postprimary school level, in the small number of boarding or residential schools created for Maori boys and girls specifically (e.g., Te Aute College for Maori boys, Hukarere College for girls, Queen Victoria College for girls, and St. Stephen's College for boys), rather than in the government-controlled native schooling system (Mason 1945). Because of the tendency for many more Maori to reside in the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand than in the South Island (Lockyer 2003; Mason 1945), colleges for Maori boys and girls were located in the former island. Nonetheless, official declarations were still being released as late as the mid-1940s concerning Maori children's allegedly limited academic aptitudes. One Minister of Education in 1945 noted, for example, that "a minority of Maori boys and girls are fitted for academic studies" and that "for some years to come, the Maori child will have special needs, which are best catered for in a school system adapted to help him [and her] meet his [and her] peculiar problems" (Mason 1945, pp. 57–58). Furthermore, Maori children should not expect to gain "the same education" wherever "equal opportunities for education" were being invoked (Mason 1945, p. 53). Rather, their schooling was designed "[to cater] specially for the needs of the Maori child" (Mason 1945, p. 53), "needs" that were assumed to be more practical than academic (Metge 1968).

Provision for Maori Language Teaching

During the missionary school era in Aotearoa, instruction of Maori youth was conducted in the Indigenous mother tongue, *te reo Maori* (the Maori language), because missionaries understood that, initially at least, they had to communicate with Maori in their own language (Lockyer 2003; Walker 2004). This meant that missionaries had to acquire some degree of fluency in *te reo*, orally at first and then in written form because hitherto it had not been a written or a recorded language. Access to imported printing presses helped in the dissemination of religious tracts that soon were translated from English into Maori for instructional purposes. Interest in the missionaries' teaching activities increased markedly when the Bible and prayers subsequently were translated into Maori and were disseminated more widely, utilizing local printing presses (Lockyer 2003). For intelligent and ambitious Maori learners, however, considerable status or prestige could be gained from acquiring literacy in English as a mark of distinction from the majority of the Indigenous people. Gradually more Maori became literate in English, with the temptation being for many to view their mother tongue as being less valuable than fluency in the English language (Walker 2004).

This situation led to genuine concern from the mid-to-late nineteenth century about the poor survival prospects of Maori people and, consequently, their language. The superintendent of Wellington Province in 1856, Dr. Isaac Featherston, had remarked that the act of "smoothing the pillow of a dying race [Maori people]" ought to be undertaken by "good compassionate colonists" who had a duty to make Maori people's forthcoming demise easier than it might otherwise have been (Keith 2001, p. 42). Significantly, Featherston emphasized the importance of showing compassion toward Indigenous people for the very reason that "[then] history will have nothing to reproach us with [as non-Indigenous people]" (Keith 2001, p. 42). Clearly he wished to present the death ultimately of all Maori people in an uncritical light. Commentators, some four decades later, sought to highlight the worth of Maori both individually and collectively, noting, for instance, that Maori crafts and arts are "so pleasing a feature of their individualism," that Maori are "a noble race," that they are "the finest people that British colonisation has ever come in contact with," and that as a group Maori will experience "glorious success" (Keith 2001, p. 42).

From the early 1900s, the notion of what form(s) a successful life for Maori might assume was increasingly being scrutinized by prominent Maori spokespersons who were adamant that English "civilization" had had harmful, long-lasting, consequences for Indigenous people, that the actions of the colonizers had "retrograded" Maori, and that Maori had gained little of value from Pakeha (Keith 2001). Such was the power of the colonizers that many Maori leaders believed there was "no alternative but to become a pakeha" (Keith 2001, p. 43). It was not a desired path, however; rather, it was seen as one that might arrest the rate of the Maori population's decline (Lockyer 2003). Accordingly the momentum of assimilation was maintained, if not accelerated, a situation that led more Maori to be transformed into "brown pakehas" (Keith 2001, p. 44). However, the latter were not without its problems because by the late 1920s, Maori leaders had come to appreciate the

considerable impact that “this [ongoing] policy of imposing pakeha culture forms on our people,” particularly in terms of undermining *Maoritanga* – what it meant to be, and to remain, a Maori man or woman (Keith 2001, p. 45) – as well as their mother tongue. From the 1930s, their advice to their people was to preserve Maori arts, culture, language, and traditions and to step up efforts to draw public and political attention to the limiting effects of assimilation upon New Zealand’s Indigenous population (Barrington 1987).

Department of Education officials, for their part, sought from 1930 to emphasize selected facets of Maori culture (e.g., arts, crafts, and dancing) in the native elementary schools and stressed the importance of practical work (e.g., woodworking, cookery, and related home management skills or domestic training), but no formal provision was made for teaching the Maori language (Mason 1945). The rationale given for this omission was that because “the Maori community begins school handicapped in language and all too often in home background” (Mason 1945, p. 53), it was deemed necessary to make available to boys and girls “the rudiments of a European academic education in order to fit the Maori for life in a pakeha world” (Mason 1945, p. 55). However, no irony was seen in the official statement that accompanied the above assertion that teachers in native schools would be able “to help the Maori, as a Maori and not as a ‘brown European,’ to adapt himself [and herself] to the modern economic world” (Mason 1945, p. 55) without prioritizing the use of the Maori language. Given that from 1905 there had been official prohibitions on Maori pupils speaking their own language in school playgrounds (Walker 2004), it was unlikely that the mother tongue would be valued in the foreseeable future. Instead, it was taken for granted that native school teachers had a primary responsibility to “[prepare Maori pupils] to compete in a Europeanized economic system” by promoting English language facility (Mason 1945, p. 55). This responsibility did not change significantly at the native district high school level for Maori students, either because academic courses and language instruction (other than in English) were not offered (Mason 1945; Shuker 1987). Academic instruction was seen to be the exclusive if not protected preserve of the high-status, prestigious, denominational secondary schools for Maori boys and girls (Mason 1945) and not the non-denominational native district high schools.

The Post-World War II Scene in New Zealand: Developments and Challenges

When viewed in the context of an assimilation policy that was being promoted actively and unapologetically throughout the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century by colonial policy makers and prominent people toward Maori persons and school-age children in particular, it was predictable that “the future” for Maori was seen to lie with their remaining in often remote rural communities, performing the practical, largely unskilled, low-status type(s) of work that non-Indigenous people wanted them to undertake (Barrington 1987; Mason 1945; Walker 2004). What had been underestimated, however, was the reality that when

more Maori came to engage with, understand, and work with English customs, culture, and the language, they began to question what was being directed their way from Pakeha (McLaren 1974). This response was a perceptive one, from an intelligent and curious people who wanted to know precisely what was being planned for them by others, socially, vocationally, economically, and educationally (Walker 2004). Such a reaction was evident increasingly from the 1920s, and it was especially marked in the post-World War II era.

The steady decline in the number of Maori people able to converse and write in their mother tongue from the late nineteenth century has been well documented in the Aotearoa/New Zealand education literature (Walker 2004). In 1900, for example, more than 90% of Maori children who entered elementary schools spoke their other tongue; six decades later, only 26% were Maori language speakers (Walker 2004). This change was a direct consequence of education policy makers de-emphasizing Indigenous person's opportunities to converse in, and engage with, *te reo* in primary and secondary schools until the latter part of the twentieth century, whereupon concern began to mount regarding the potential and imminent demise of the Maori language altogether unless urgent action was forthcoming (Shuker 1987; Walker 2004).

The Labour Government's stated policy, from 1939, of providing ready access for all boys and girls to high schools, wherein they would receive "[an education] of a kind for which he [and she] is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his [and her] powers" (McLaren 1974, p. 75), had far-reaching consequences for Maori and non-Maori children. Although Maori children were still being viewed by many politicians and education policy makers as being less academically able than their non-Indigenous counterparts, the academic success of Maori boys and girls in the denominational, high-status, Maori secondary schools persuaded some of them to revisit their assumptions about Maori people and what was "relevant" educationally for Maori (McLaren 1974; Openshaw et al. 1993).

This process, however, was to prove a gradual one because of official reluctance throughout the 1940s and 1950s in particular to admit that race relations in New Zealand were not of a high quality, that non-Maori people tended to view Maori people negatively, and to acknowledge that "a clash of cultures [was] inevitable in all modern multi-racial societies" (McLaren 1974, p. 77). The commonly held belief that true equality existed between Pakeha and Maori, and that equal education opportunities applied to both groups, has been described as having "a certain ostrich-like quality" to it (McLaren 1974, p. 77), notwithstanding the fact that more attention was being directed throughout the 1950s to finding ways to enhance Maori children's school success and to listen to and embrace Maori people's views about what they wanted from schools (McLaren 1974; Openshaw et al. 1993; Walker 2004).

By the 1960s, it had become more difficult, politically and socially, to ignore disparities and inequalities between Maori and non-Maori people, as evidenced by the publication and wide dissemination of several reports from government agencies and other parties throughout that decade (McLaren 1974; O'Malley et al. 2010; Shuker 1987). Support was expressed for greater Maori parental involvement in the

schooling of their sons and daughters, for courses to be introduced into teachers' training courses that focused on Maori education, language, and culture directly, for enhancing Maori pupils' interest in and engagement with schools, and for more serious and respectful treatment of the Maori language in schools (McLaren 1974; Simon 2000).

The task of turning the official rhetoric, no matter how sincere it might have been, into reality for Maori school children has proven especially difficult in subsequent decades (O'Malley et al. 2010; Simon 2000). Maori scholars have argued that numerous education myths relating to Maori people still persist, including myths relating to the perceived lack of value of the Maori language in schools and in the wider New Zealand society, to the alleged worth of adopting an integration and not an assimilation approach to schools and the schooling process (O'Malley et al. 2010), to the need to reduce if not eliminate perceived and real "gaps" between Maori and non-Maori people (O'Malley et al. 2010), and to the need for all pupils to gain school credentials in order to avoid being unemployed. In a competitive, capitalist society such as that in New Zealand, it has not been easy to dissuade parents and their school-age children from adopting a view where greater school retention opens up access to credentials (i.e., marketable and valuable qualifications) that, in turn, enhance job-getting prospects, given the prolonged use of high-order school qualifications for this very purpose (Adams et al. 2000; McKenzie 1983; Openshaw et al. 1993).

What lay at the core of criticisms by Maori and non-Maori scholars alike of schools and the schooling process in New Zealand were the roles that school personnel performed as part of schooling their pupils for reproducing the dominant culture, unknowingly or consciously (Simon 2000; Walker 2004). A core ingredient in perpetuating a given culture's dominance, and the consequent marginalization or minimization of another, is the level to which an Indigenous people's language is promoted actively and valued widely within a given society (O'Malley et al. 2010; Walker 2004). Recognizing the parlous state of the Maori language, several architects of *te kohanga reo* (Maori language nests, in early childhood education settings explicitly) and, subsequently, of *kura kaupapa* (primary and secondary school environments wherein teaching is undertaken mostly if not solely in *te reo*) have played a significant role from the early 1980s in actively promoting the importance of teaching in the Maori language, thereby assisting in its preservation (O'Malley et al. 2010; Walker 2004). They knew that they had to introduce, and then expand, this initiative for Maori learners because they sensed that the New Zealand government was unlikely to act first. This work proved especially challenging for Maori educators, given that for several generations their language has been discouraged, if not prohibited altogether, from primary and high schools (Walker 2004).

That substantial progress has been made in Maori language acquisition since the 1980s in particular is beyond doubt. It attests to the fact that the assimilation aim from the nineteenth century for Maori by non-Indigenous policy makers was not, and has not been, absolute, complete, or all embracing. Neither has the subsequent integration policy, "to combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct" (Metge 1968, p. 215), been

adopted without critique (Metge 1968; Shuker 1987; Simon 2000). On the ascendancy politically and educationally, however, is the view that Indigenous people must have the right to exercise autonomy in their activities and to be self-determining (O'Malley et al. 2010). The retention, and promotion, of their language in schools and in the wider New Zealand society is one means whereby this sovereignty can be demonstrated.

Australian Aboriginal Education

Australian researchers have argued persuasively that the schooling situation for Aboriginal, Indigenous, people in Australia was one that similarly involved different treatment for people perceived as being different from white Australian citizens (Horne 1964; Welch et al. 2015). The former also had encountered, and were continuing to confront, the effects of colonization that carried with it assumptions about inferior intellectual capacity and expectations concerning different positions or stations in life for members of any allegedly “inferior race” (Welch et al. 2015). Scholars concluded that “if Aboriginal people were afforded schooling at all [then] it was mostly very rudimentary in form, leading only to the most basic occupations (housework for girls, unskilled farm work for boys)” (Welch et al. 2015, p. 95). Moreover, echoing closely the policy adopted for schooling of Maori children, the assimilation approach that applied to Australian Aboriginal children’s schooling was based on the simplistic premise that merely enhancing Indigenous people’s access to white people’s education institutions that continued operating largely in unmodified form would ensure equality of educational opportunity and educational progress for all learners, automatically and without exception (Hill 1991). It also was a policy that involved a lack of agency and the absence of any form of self-determination, by Aboriginal people themselves, although it was presented as being beneficial for Indigenous persons (The Australian Department of Territories 1967). The assimilation of Aborigines into Australian communities and society, officials maintained, was necessary in and beyond the 1960s so that “all persons of Aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner and standard of living to that of other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community, enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities and influenced by the same hopes and loyalties as other Australians” (The Australian Department of Territories 1967, p. 44).

Controversy, however, arose over the extent to which Aboriginal people might lose not only their identity but also important aspects of their culture (e.g., their language, beliefs, values, and particular customs), through absorption into Australian society. It was thought in some quarters that if Aboriginals were to become successful in Western terms then their education and/or training along Western lines could result in a diminution of their beliefs, rituals, and practices, each and all of which might cease to be valued by succeeding generations of Indigenous people as the assimilation process evolved (The Australian Department of Territories 1967). A connection was forged between schooling and employment

prospects, with the result that from the 1960s most Aboriginal people attended public or independent schools and studied the normal state school curriculum taught by state-educated and trained teachers, a curriculum that was intended to provide “a sound basic education” (The Australian Department of Territories 1967, p. 105). This arrangement was thought to be essential because of the assumption that Aborigines needed to be “[prepared] for their inevitably deepening contact and association with the modern society which is enveloping them” (The Australian Department of Territories 1967, p. 93).

While there was growing recognition that for some Aboriginal people Western-style schools have been, and remain, artificial environments in which teachers are permitted to intervene in people’s lives and where there has been increasing appreciation of the desirability of having parents more closely involved in their sons’ and daughters’ schooling (The Australian Department of Territories 1967), the assimilation of Indigenous people was still being advocated enthusiastically by politicians and other influential parties. Consequently, there was discernible support for the official view expressed in the 1960s that any integration of Indigenous people, as opposed to their assimilation, should be discouraged because it represented “a protest against absorption” and had “a stronger racial and political connotation than assimilation” (The Australian Department of Territories 1967, p. 109). This situation might help to explain the importance of Aboriginal people adopting the English language as their primary but not sole means of communication, although the language usage took a variety of regional and localized forms in the Australian context (Welch et al. 2015).

As was the case in New Zealand with Maori school children, cultural considerations and experiences in learning within a non-Indigenous context did not receive serious attention by non-Aboriginal education policy makers and other influential parties until later in the twentieth century. It is a scenario, as one Australian researcher has described it, that requires much more than simply adopting a multi-cultural perspective on the schooling of Aboriginal people; rather, “[a guarantee is necessary] that the schooling process achieves not merely socialisation into the pluralistic society but true educational transformation” (Hill 1991, p. 91). Hill’s objective was the attainment of “a transcultural perspective” (Hill 1991, p. 91), notwithstanding his understanding of the difficulties involved in achieving this goal. Such a perspective, not to mention the likelihood of it being realized, was slow to materialize, however, on account primarily of the powerful legacy of British colonization of Australia and, by definition, of its Indigenous residents (Dugan and Szwarc 1987). One nineteenth-century commentator offered the following critical account of why Aboriginal people were unable to flourish as individuals and as a group: “The attempts to civilize and Christianize the Aborigines, from which the preservation and elevation of their race was expected to result, have utterly failed . . . neither the one nor the other attempt has been carried into execution with the spirit which accords with its principles” (Dugan and Szwarc 1987, p. 30). Views on Australian Aborigines as members of a dying race, similar to those in nineteenth-century New Zealand, were heard, as was the belief that should they survive (because they lived usually in areas where few white people resided), then

“education” would hold the key to their subsequent “elevation” (Dugan and Szwarc 1987; The Australian Department of Territories 1967).

As noted above, improvements in Indigenous persons’ circumstances were more likely to eventuate whenever affected parties began to voice their concerns and express demands for reform more vigorously and more widely, often through selected spokespersons and leaders (Glowczewski 2005). In Australia, with regard to Aboriginal people in particular, this agitation for reform was barely evident until 1938, when European Australia commemorated 150 years of settlement. The Aborigines Progressive Association, for their part, declared in that year that “hard words” were needed to describe the debilitating effect of colonization on native people. To this end they declared: “You [white European migrants] have almost exterminated our people, but there are enough of us remaining to expose the humbug of your claim, as white Australians, to be a civilized, progressive, kindly and humane nation” (Dugan and Szwarc 1987, p. 92). What the association’s members wanted was genuine equality with white Australians, not their “protection” or physical separation, so that Aborigines would be assured of equal education, equal opportunities, and equal rights as citizens (Dugan and Szwarc 1987). The “negative separation [approach]” had already proven disastrous for Aborigines in the 1920s and 1930s (The Australian Department of Territories 1967, p. 33).

Such equality was slow in coming however, although during and beyond the 1980s, changes in perspectives toward Indigenous people were apparent because of Aboriginal people’s campaigns, international pressures, and greater publicity associated with Indigenous people’s adverse living conditions and circumstances (Dugan and Szwarc 1987; Glowczewski 2005). Furthermore, prospects for equality were heightened with the emerging understanding that the term “Aboriginal” should not be applied to a unified, single, group of Indigenous people. Barbara Glowczewski, for example, has observed that “today, Aboriginal groups have not only different languages and cultural backgrounds, but different histories as well” (Glowczewski 2005, p. 135). She lamented that “many [people] still claim that there is such a thing as an ‘Aboriginality’ which unites everyone under the same identity, even if not everyone can agree on its definition” (Glowczewski 2005, p. 135). In this context, it is argued that encouraging Aboriginal persons to actively determine their futures (i.e., personal self-determination, in policies and in practices) and to manage their own affairs, rather than perpetuating assimilation and integration views and actions unthinkingly and uncritically, will help them with their “many-sided Aboriginality,” individually and collectively (Glowczewski 2005, p. 155). Much of value, personally and for communities, can be gained from emphasizing the persistent identities (from beliefs and language usage) and resistant identities (derived from analyses of exploitation and exclusion) of Indigenous peoples alongside local identities of congregations of Aboriginal men and women (Tcherkezoff and Douaire-Marsaudon 2005). This orientation, not surprisingly, has clear implications for the activities undertaken in schools and for schooling practices, notably, but not, exclusively, in the curriculum area of social studies.

As demonstrated above, it is abundantly clear that Aboriginal people in Australia were perceived and treated as second-class citizens for many decades and that

official optimism about the unconditionally positive effects of assimilation for and on Aborigines was seriously misplaced, if not manifestly naive. The situation was not helped by the widely held and long-standing belief that Australian Aborigines were incapable academically of benefiting from studying a school curriculum identical to that made available to non-Indigenous people (The Australian Department of Territories 1967). The result was that they were offered something different for at least half of the twentieth century, in the belief that “inborn racial disability” was responsible for lower school performance and attainments (The Australian Department of Territories 1967, p. 93). Along with the emergence of more sophisticated, research-based, cultural and sociological understanding of learning and teaching approaches evident increasingly from the 1960s, came improvements in parental and children’s views about, and attitudes toward, schools and the schooling process. This process was accompanied by a more overt, official, desire to retain Indigenous children in schools in Australia in order to encourage them to continue their education beyond elementary schools.

Education in Fiji

One major reason behind the increasing level of official scrutiny in various countries of what was being offered under the rubric of “education” lay with a greater awareness of both the lower participation and retention rates of Indigenous people in schooling systems when compared with non-Indigenous pupils, notwithstanding the introduction of policies intended to assist children’s access to and duration of stay in dedicated education settings (Welch et al. 2015). As Thaman (2015) notes in relation to several Pacific Island countries and Fiji especially (her country of birth), the more recent practice of making one kind of schooling system available to children of different ethnicity has contributed to the domination of a Western-style academic curriculum, particularly at the high school level, a curriculum directly connected to university requirements. In this milieu not every pupil will succeed at school in a strictly academic sense because some learners will wish to study a more overtly vocational and/or technically oriented curriculum, given that few aspire to attend a university.

Thaman (2015) concludes that the existence of a one-size-fits-all approach to high school curriculum design and delivery tends to diminish or suppress the all-important cultural and moral ingredients of education. Accordingly, she advocates introducing “a more flexible system that allows for a diversity of curriculum offerings as bridges between different levels and types of education” (Thaman 2015, pp. 214–215), one that enhances pupils’ success at school and helps to promote the merits of genuine lifelong learning. The architects of this system, Thaman (2015, p. 216) opines, should avoid emphasizing “abstraction and conceptualization” over “work practical, hands on experiences.” Rather, they should focus on promoting four pillars of learning in schools more broadly: learning to know, to do, to live together, and to be. Thaman (2015) is confident that in the developing and emerging nations’ context of Pacific Island schools and schooling, a meaningful synthesis can, and will, be achieved between different, but equally meritorious, aspects of education.

Much will depend, however, on “action rather than [a] ‘business’ as usual [orientation],” on facilitating “social dialogue” (Thaman 2015, p. 216), and on acknowledging and engaging with the many difficulties involved whenever any education reform, rather than a mere change, is being promoted.

Additional insights into Fiji’s colonial history, and its effects on schools and on the schooling processes, can be gleaned from Sharma et al.’s comprehensive research. These scholars describe the schooling activities undertaken by Roman Catholic and Methodist church missionaries from 1829 to 1835, respectively, in Fiji and conclude that more often than not the former placed a higher emphasis on academic, literary, instruction than did the latter. As was the situation in Aotearoa with Maori children being taught in, and exposed to, the English language, English quickly became the main language of Indigenous Fijians once Fiji became a British colony from October 1874. The colonial government there sought to retain a racially divided schooling model that culminated in the creation of three parallel systems from 1916 (Gounder 1999). This arrangement laid the foundation for what is considered to be a range of present-day inequalities in Fiji. One such inequality arose from, and was perpetuated by, the generally lower quality of schools that were located in more remote areas, similar to the native schooling system for New Zealand Maori pupils who resided in remote, isolated, communities (Stephenson 2006). Schools in urban Fijian communities, by comparison, were seen as offering higher-quality education provision. The children of Indians who migrated to Fiji in significant numbers between 1879 and 1916, to seek work in the country’s several sugarcane plantations, began attending Fijian schools in larger numbers than did Indigenous Fijians (the *iTaukei* people), and they made extensive use of academic rather than agricultural and other more overtly vocationally directed curriculum offerings, with predictably positive consequences for their social and economic advancement.

One outcome, among many, was the deepening division, if not demarcation, between rural and urban Fijian communities that culminated in significant differences in education achievement, schooling outcomes, and the reinforcement of an ethnically divided schooling model. In this respect, similarities between the schooling experiences of Australian Aboriginal people, Indigenous Fijians, and Maori are again evident, whereby children who resided in different communities had different schooling provision and opportunities available to them (Stephenson 2006). As Sharma et al. (2015) have demonstrated for the Fijian environment, the legacy of this structure has been a long lasting one both pedagogically and ethnically. It has made the more recent, twenty-first century process of school reform especially difficult, given the length of time that an academic curriculum orientation has dominated the work of schools and occupied center stage in the perceptions and practices of many Fijian residents. To put the point another way, the process of shifting conceptions of what has counted, and what should count, as being worthwhile, personally meaningful, and valuable schooling is, and will remain, undoubtedly a complex one. At its very heart lies long-standing, well-established, traditional and, arguably, conservative perspectives that might well prove obdurate or unaccommodating to reform efforts (Bakalevu et al. 2015; Thaman 2015; Welch et al. 2015).

Conclusion and Future Directions

There is abundant research evidence to support the claim that whenever people from different cultures have encountered one another, there has been a strong temptation for one group to wish to give or to transmit something(s) ostensibly of value to the other in the genuine belief that the humanity and well-being of those other persons will be elevated (Adams et al. 2000; O'Malley et al. 2010). Such thinking was evident during the missionary era, where the teaching of Christian religions and the induction of an Indigenous audience into Western ways of living were seen as indispensable to the main task of converting noble but uncivilized, allegedly "savage," people into better or superior human beings. Schools, and the schooling process, were regarded as being perfectly suited to this purpose, given that their personnel were assigned special responsibilities by officials for preserving and ideally perpetuating the dominant culture across successive generations by working closely with children (Simon 2000; Walker 2004).

In order to make school teachers' work more palatable to people from both the dominant and the non-dominant culture, mention was made increasingly of the benefits of providing access to "educational institutions" and the "need" to modify the school curriculum to suit the perceived different requirements, circumstances, and abilities of different kinds of pupils, based, primarily, on unexamined and untested assumptions about Indigenous learners and what was deemed "relevant" (and irrelevant) for them (McLaren 1974; O'Malley et al. 2010). This situation persisted for as long as there was an inability and/or an unwillingness by affected parties to analyze the messages officials sought to relay to children, through the medium of schools, by government-approved teachers in a nation's classrooms.

In the post-World War II era, however, growing awareness of the importance of considering cultural factors in education settings that were being understood better through scholarship and research endeavors meant that the status quo was no longer secure. Indigenous persons became more vocal in their critiques about their culture's and their people's comparative invisibility and marginalization and sought reforms to what was being offered for their people under the rubric of "education" (O'Malley et al. 2010; Walker 2004). Their desire for reform, in education and elsewhere, was not always received positively or acted upon promptly, with the result that prominent Indigenous people assumed responsibility for securing the sorts of reforms they desired (Walker 2004). One key motivation for them was to try to stem the decline of their language (Glowczewski 2005; Thaman 2015; Welch et al. 2015).

There is widespread consensus among education researchers that past and present-day myths about schools and the schooling process need to receive continuing scrutiny, given their powerful effects on both non-Indigenous and on Indigenous. There also is general agreement that what is being presented as well-informed, enlightened, education policy and practice warrants serious, sustained, investigation. It is likely that education policy scholars and historians of education now and in the future will find themselves engaged in uncovering and analyzing official agendas relating to the work undertaken in schools (e.g., the orientation of a given curriculum

and the reasons given for the inclusion of certain subjects and for the exclusion of others). In so doing it is hoped that they will pay careful attention to any attempts that seek to promote certain interests in education at the same time as diminishing the status of others.

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Abstract

The twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a number of alternative education choices in both the USA and Europe. Educational theorists, including John Dewey, Maria Montessori, A. S. Neill, and Rudolf Steiner, promoted child-centered learning environments with an emphasis on democratic governance involving both staff and students. However, alternative education does not just embrace pedagogy within a physical setting but also considers alternative spaces in which instruction may be given. Both these differing approaches challenge the philosophy of mainstream, state education. The aim of this chapter is to explore the ideologies and spaces of alternative education that have historically challenged the prevailing orthodoxies of this mainstream state education in Western countries by asking the question what is “regular” in terms of schooling? In examining the ideologies and spaces, the focus is on three case studies, “home-schooling,” “distance education,” and “Rudolf Steiner schooling,” and how each approach has evolved to become accepted alternatives to education provision offered by Western governments.

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Alternative education · Home-schooling · Distance education · Steiner education · Waldorf schools

Introduction

As Joan Simon has rightly observed, education is “a key function of every human society from the most primitive age” (Simon 1970, p. 4). Yet for many years, historians of education continued to treat education as being synonymous with the physical structures of the school building. In consequence, they have narrowed their focus on the formal provision of schooling at a time before society had even considered education in these terms (Simon 1970). This observation, while no longer accurate in many respects, is still valuable by way of providing the lead to the subject of chapters like this, which focuses on irregular schools and schooling, and driven by the question what is “regular” in terms of schooling?

Regular schooling is often referred to as “mainstream.” Cartwright (2012) believes this to be an environment where children are educated in a formal setting and are taught from a regulated curriculum and where attendance is compulsory. Other descriptions suggest mainstream schooling consists of “uniform clothes, books, pens, desks, facing the front, all the rest” (Kraftl 2015, p. 226). We must also consider the socialization process of schooling. On this, Thomas (1976) notes that, from early modern times, the process of learning has been synonymous with social control as a characteristic of schooling. Children are removed from the influences of the family and taught to conform to accepted norms of behavior. There is control over the physical environment that is the school – the layout of the buildings, placing of students into classrooms, and school rules (Cartwright 2012) – in addition to the formal and hidden curriculum, which mold the teacher-student relationship. This argument can partly be applied to alternative education such as Steiner education discussed below, whose unconventional methods are delivered within the context of a school building (Illich 1971). However, Symes (2012) argues that forms of alternative education, such as distance education, question the notion of schooling as synonymous with a dedicated space.

Regular schooling is also understood by a majority of people to be “compulsory.” However, in many countries including Australia and the United Kingdom (UK), parents and guardians do not legally have to send their children to school. The Department of Education in all Australian states and territories states that parents are free to consider educational options for their children other than school. In the UK, education was made compulsory for children between the ages of 5 and 10 by the 1880 Education Act, primarily to challenge the use of child labor (UK Parliament 2017). This was, however, a short-lived requirement and one that was tacitly replaced as a result of the 1944 Education Reform Act. This Act stated that the parents of school-aged children must ensure they received an education suitable to their age and ability by regular attendance at a school “or otherwise”

(Education Reform Act 1944, UK, p. 29). Many parents in the UK, however, are unaware that it is the provision of a suitable education for their children that is compulsory, not regular attendance at a school.

Clearly then, there exists a number of alternatives to formal, prescriptive education provision. The aim of this chapter is to explore associated ideologies and spaces that have historically challenged the prevailing orthodoxies of mainstream state education in Western countries. These ideologies are usually referred to as alternative education. In examining them, the focus is on three case studies: “home-schooling,” “distance education,” and “Rudolf Steiner schooling.” Before addressing them, however, it is necessary to identify the international context of alternative education.

The International Context of Alternative Education

The emergence of alternative education as an educational movement in the United States of America (USA) and Europe was influenced by the work of educational theorists like John Dewey (1859–1952) and A. S. Neill (1883–1973). Dewey was regarded as the father of the “progressive education” movement. His theories included an emphasis on child-centeredness, contextualism, the democratic ideal, and that all learning must be done by the learner. Dewey thus influenced education change in the USA and many Western countries (Schilpp 1960).

The radical approach adopted by Neill was designed to counteract the conventional education philosophies of the day and “make the school fit the child” as opposed to vice “making the child fit the school” (Neill 1962, p. 4). In 1926, he established Summerhill in the Suffolk countryside of the UK. This was a school where students exercised their agency on what lessons to attend and the only timetables that existed were for the teachers. The publication of his book, *Summerhill*, detailing the school and its ethos in regard to education, was a catalyst for the “free school” movement which emerged in the USA in the late 1960s (Kirschner 1991). Along with Steiner and Montessori, the movements of Dewey and Neill promoted child-centered learning environments with an emphasis on the school as a democratic entity, where both students and staff were concerned with governance (Nagata 2010).

Debate surrounds the area of alternative education in all countries, and there is no single definition or understanding of the term. One position highlights a holistic and child-centered approach, such as that of Montessori, Rousseau, and Steiner (Nagata 2010). Here, no power imbalance between the pupil and teacher is discernible unlike mainstream schooling, a position that some have argued has been reinforced by such education reform as the 1988 Education Reform Act in the UK (Wyness 2000). There is also, however, the argument that it serves only a minority of the school-aged population. A philosophy of education does not feature in this definition with schools and arrangements being only “alternative” because they are in opposition

to mainstream education provision (Nagata 2010). As articulated by a Danish staff member of an alternative school support organization, alternative education is there to represent the opinions and viewpoints of the minority within wider society (Nagata 2010). This is certainly the case with parents who chose to home-school their children for religious, political, and pedagogical reasons. It should be noted though that the practice of home or “fireside” education long outdates any philosophical movement mentioned in this chapter, a discussion of which is given below. Also, whatever the philosophy underpinning alternative education, parents residing in United Nations (UN) member countries have long been able to choose how they educate their child, although whether all parents are aware of this fact is debatable.

Article 26(3) of the UN Declarations of Human Rights (1948) states that parents “have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.” This position was reinforced by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which was adopted by the UN at the end of 1966. Countries party to the agreement would “have respect for the liberty of parents, and where applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions” (Article 18 [4]). Morris (2012) argues that these measures were put in place more as a means to safeguard children from propaganda by dictatorial regimes than for the good of the child. It would seem that, even for democratically elected governments like those in the UK, the right of parents historically to choose alternative education for their children resulted in some concern. Ofsted, the UK schools’ inspectorate of standards, has expressed alarm that some parents are claiming to home-school their children when in fact they are being sent to illegal schools with radical teaching views. This concern was identified by the “Casey Review” on integration because the cultural and religious practices that support these schools run contrary to “British values” (Creasy 2016, p. 5).

In some countries like Norway, a country whose education system is underwritten by the concept of “*enhetskskole*,” (“comprehensive school for all”), parents have been responsible for educating their children since 1739, when the first Norwegian school law was passed (Beck 2001). Due to demands of agricultural life, until the mid-1960s children residing in rural areas only attended school three times a week. Most children in these areas, therefore, received an education that could be described as “alternative.” Additionally, expensive private schools were few and only a limited number of alternative schools had been established by special interest groups for younger children. It was not until 1970 that the law allowed for the establishment of alternative schools, including those based on a religion different to that of the state Lutheran faith (Beck 2001).

The premise of alternative education, then, is parental choice. Nonetheless, as is apparent from the discussions on the case studies outlined below, historically, the employment of alternative pedagogies for some school-aged children has been a necessity rather than an option.

Home-Schooling

Debate surrounding alternative education can be seen very clearly in the provision of home-schooling. Here tensions exist between perceived differences in family and school values in relation to the management of areas such as bullying. In addition, some believe that parents can be more effective educators than schools by employing alternative pedagogies and by not following a prescriptive curriculum. Van Galen (1988) refers to the two types of families involved as “pedagogues” and “idealogues” (p. 54). The use of alternative pedagogies by home-schooling parents highlights the challenges mainstream schools encounter in regard to the “traditional” teaching strategies employed by them. This is particularly true for parents who have withdrawn their children from school and have experience of the pedagogical practices employed by schools. Such measures suggest that these parents are aligned with criticism of an academic nature (Van Galen 1988). Home-schooling is thus firmly placed within the enduring debate on educational reform.

For all children, education begins as a home-based activity. As has been argued by Simon (1970), it is from this social education that the sophisticated institutions of formal schooling began. Book-based learning and schooling were just the introduction of a specialized form of education targeting the needs of the Christian churches. Instruction was both casual and unplanned, ensuring that familial education prepared children for their place in the adult world. In pre-industrial Britain, working the land with their fathers taught the farmer’s son about husbandry while the artisan’s son experienced business in his father’s workshop before the days of apprenticeship. Those of high birth were tutored in the values and traditions of the family before being placed into another noble family to continue their education (Simon 1966).

Home-schooling retained the transfer of values inherent in familial education but offered an alternative context for book-based as well as other learning that was a feature of regular schooling. Within the education context of the home, provision was provided by a parent or private tutor, with the curriculum being dictated by the social status, gender, and intended careers of the child. In sixteenth-century England, for example, boys from wealthier families tended to remain in their father’s house and be educated by a schoolmaster, where they learned Latin and grammar (Dolan 2017). Girls from similar households were predominantly educated at home under a governess, who taught them to read, write, and sew (Pollock 1993). The tutor became part of the family social hierarchy and an important conduit through which family values were transmitted.

Interest in home tutoring was sparked in Europe by the Renaissance and the work of such humanists as Desiderius Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives. Between 1505 and 1506, Erasmus was tutor to Prince Arthur and Prince Henry (the future Henry VIII) of England, while Vives tutored Henry’s daughter, Mary, for 5 years from 1522 (Gordon and Gordon 1990). Royal princes and princesses including the present queen, Elizabeth II, continued to be educated at home. Elizabeth was taught such subjects as history, geography, literature, and mathematics from an early age by a Scottish governess, Marion Crawford, while both the vice-provost of Eton and the

Archbishop of Canterbury were called upon to further her education once her father ascended to the throne (Arbiter 2016).

Elizabeth was unique in her education situation as a twentieth-century child. The increasing role of state education in educating children for the economic good of a country as well as democratic ideals had eroded any notion of individualism due to standardized curricula and texts (Kirschner 1991). Overall, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a growth in state education in the Western world, whose adherence to conformity was designed to help nation states to grow by creating a uniform outlook for all in society (Kirschner 1991). Undoubtedly, this cohesive feature of state schooling in helping to rebuild Western nations in the aftermath of World War II contributed to a delay in challenging the ideologies of such education provision.

The family as tutor was the primary educator for children in such New World countries as the USA until compulsory and free education was established in the 1850s (Murphy 2013). However, it is difficult to discern if the reasoning for home-schooling children was due to necessity or was influenced by religious considerations. Arguably, geographical isolation and the lack of provision of buildings played a part in any decision to home-school children. In Norway for example, home-schooling was considered a rural phenomena right up until the 1990s, yet, by 1996, only 50 children were officially recorded there as being home-schooled (Beck 2001).

An increase in the number of home-schooled children in any country in later years is usually aligned with a loss of faith in public education, and particularly in the institutionalized practices. In the twentieth century, the growth of home-schooling became most evident in the UK and the USA toward the end of the 1970s with both countries seeing a significant increase in home-schooling families. In the UK, opposition to compulsory state education in the guise of a home-schooling movement was detected most clearly with the establishment of a UK-wide organization called "Education Otherwise" in 1977. This organization took its name from the clause in the 1944 Education Reform Act, which stated that education should be provided for each child either by facilitating regular attendance at a school "or otherwise." Numbers of home-schooling families continued to increase in the UK after this time. As stated by Reilly (2007), however, the most abundant growth was seen in the USA.

Home-schooling was once a necessity in the USA when it was an emerging nation with few established schools. Both this necessity and the attractiveness of home-schooling declined in the nineteenth and twentieth century with the push for compulsory, state education. It did however remain the only viable option for isolated rural students as well as families who home-schooled for religious reasons. Mormons kept "kitchen schools" for children aged 5 to 7, while Seventh Day Adventists firmly believed that children should remain at home (Lines 1991). As Kirshner (1991) argues, the belief that state education was a catalyst for democracy in the burgeoning nation formed schooling into something akin to an "established church" (p. 139). It was opposition to this religious status of state education and the secular nature of the curriculum that drove many devout Protestant parents to home-

school their children (Lines 1991). Those other faiths including Jewish and Jehovah's Witnesses were notable in the uptake of home-schooling in response to the secularization of the curriculum.

The religious stance was supported by Raymond Moore, who in 1969 initiated one of the most significant populist education movements of the twentieth century (Lyman 1998). A former US Department of Education employee with a professional doctorate in education, Moore consulted with developmental specialists such as Urie Bronfenbrenner of Cornell University on the best age for students to begin school. The result was a recommendation that children should not begin school until they were at least 8 years of age and in some cases as old as 12. This recommendation spawned an unexpected interest in home-schooling.

Those parents as New Age devotees who were opposed to state education due to their cultural beliefs tended to be influenced by the work of humanist John Holt (Reilly 2007). Holt was part of what is described as those of the "liberal left," who advocated a retreat from a curriculum dictated by the state. This philosophy was underpinned by progressive ideas, both historical and modern, taken from the likes of Dewey, Rousseau, Neill, and Illich (Murphy 2013). Holt, whose many publications emphasized the independence and autonomy of the child, argued that the home is the only institution that can be sincerely concerned with the individuals within it (Holt 1976). In 1977, Holt established the first major home-schooling network in the USA, but tensions were clearly evident between the mainstream education camp, including the general public, and those who subscribed to his movement.

The differing ideologies that underpinned home-schooling challenged the established order of education provision, which was not helped by negative representation in the national press. As the numbers of home-schooled children rose, tensions between parents and administrators of the public education system were evident in legal actions over parents' decisions to educate their children at home (Mayberry et al. 1995). However, three decades after Moore and Holt precipitated a home-schooling revolution in the USA, the movement was regarded as "mainstream" within education circles.

Home-schooling today is a global movement with a local application. The first ever global home education conference was held in 2012 in Berlin, a city in a country where home-schooling is against the law (Pattison 2013). Other notable Western countries where it is illegal include Sweden, which contrasts its neighbor, Norway. Debate on home-schooling, particularly in relation to issues of freedom and control, is ongoing. In the 1960s and 1970s, children, as well as their parents, became involved in this debate. One respondent to a 1967 competition run by *The Observer*, in which secondary schoolchildren in the UK were invited to describe "the school that I'd like," said that he enjoyed being educated at home by his mother because not only could he and his brother learn at their own pace, but they did not have to conform to rules and regulations (Blishen 1969). This comment certainly upholds the thoughts of such proponents of home-schooling as Holt, but tension was plainly evident throughout this historical period. In response to Holt's philosophy of education, Franzosa (1991) argued that the insular schooling of children in a home environment can have grave consequences for society as a whole, especially the

notion of a collective responsibility for its members' education. This is in stark contrast to the views of the likes of Illich (1971) who considered state education as carrying out a polarizing function.

Distance Education

“Distance education” or “distance learning” as a concept is seen most clearly today in e-learning opportunities, which have resulted from the introduction of the Internet. Particularly in the tertiary sector, geographical remoteness from an institution does not prohibit someone from taking a course. Unlike traditional, campus-based courses, e-learning offers inclusivity for those unable to attend face-to-face classes. Also, it complements traditional methods. Established universities are now viewed as being “brick and click” in recognition of this. Distance education has also seen the diversification of tertiary institutions into “massive open online courses,” which are open to anyone, anywhere in the world to study regardless of level of prior education. They offer self-paced learning, online discussion groups, online collaborative learning, and other interactive learning tools.

The same e-learning tools are available for distance education in the school setting, but unlike tertiary institutions, the physical location of where learning takes place has not changed since the introduction of an organized system of distance education. While distance education can be described as a form of state-sponsored home-schooling (Symes 2012), unlike families that home-school their children due to their rejection of the ideologies and bureaucracy of state education, parents generally choose distance education because there is no viable alternative.

Distance education in the form of correspondence schools grew as a response to the problem of educating children in such large, dispersed New World countries as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand at the start of the twentieth century. In February 1922, New Zealand opened a Correspondence School that serviced primary school students throughout the whole of the country. This was due to petitions from “backblockers” or persons from the remote and sparsely inhabited interior, as well as advocacy by various education boards (Rayner 1948). It began with 1 teacher and 100 pupils, with a headmaster being appointed in August 1923. Secondary school correspondence education was introduced in March 1929, with 50 pupils, but by 1930, the number had risen to over 300. Students who could not attend a physical school, due to reasons of “health or distance,” were allowed to enroll as well as students in employment and those whose desired subjects were not offered by their school (Rayner 1948, p. 102). By 1948, hardcopy materials mailed to the students were supplemented by radio broadcasts on all of the country’s main radio stations. Topics included stories and rhythmic movement for primary school students, while secondary school students were exposed to the likes of shorthand dictation and French pronunciation (Rayner 1948). The New Zealand Correspondence School had six teachers who visited students in their homes. This was to address any problems that could not be resolved through letters and that required face-to-face mediation.

During a polio epidemic in 1948, the New Zealand Correspondence School sent assignments to all school pupils in the country due to the closure of all schools (Rayner 1948).

In Canada each province and territory is responsible for its own education system. British Columbia on Canada's Pacific coast opened the country's first Correspondence School in 1919. John Kyle, the organizer of the province's technical education branch, provided materials to 89 primary school students, 13 of which were resident in lighthouses. Kyle commented that the materials would inject a "note of pleasure and profit into their otherwise lonely lives" (The Homeroom 2004, para 1). Unlike New Zealand, radio was not used in the British Columbia Correspondence School lessons until 1984. Neither was telephone or television. Technology was only employed for the design and production of the learning material and the administration and delivery of resources through the post (Winkelmans et al. 2010). The most thorough progression of technology on the other hand can be seen in the Australian context.

For Australia, the advent of Federation in 1901 saw the states and territories' attempt to develop schooling in farming regions, where a minimum of 20 children would be expected to attend. There was also the acknowledgment that not all children would be able to have access to a school due to geographical isolation. In Western Australia (WA), where school attendance was compulsory from 6–14 years of age at the time of Federation, students were exempt from attending school if they lived more than 3 miles from the nearest school (Lopes et al. 2011). Despite the geographical isolation, however, states and territories attempted to provide access to education by embracing innovative ways to bring the classroom to the student.

In New South Wales (NSW), a number of subsidies were available for children in remote areas to enable children to participate in education. These included bursaries for attending boarding school as well as "horse and buggy" schools where teachers were transported to where the children lived. Such schools were short-lived and all disbanded in 1923, due in part to the introduction of a correspondence school but also because of the conditions the teachers had to endure (Symes 2012). The idea of taking teachers to the students though continued to be used in other remote parts of the world. The Falkland Islands, a sheep-farming UK overseas territory, almost 13,000 kilometers from the UK, still provides a traveling teacher service for students unable to attend the small schools in the settlements. The teachers, who live with families for periods of 2 weeks in every 6, are expected to help with chores on the farm including delivering lambs and mending fences, in addition to attending to their teaching duties (Vaughn 2012). When the family does not have a teacher living with them, the children rely on the "telephone teacher," where students have a conference call with their teachers to go through their lessons.

The first Correspondence School in Australia was established in Victoria in 1909, to cater for trainee teachers who would otherwise be unable to gain their teaching qualification due to the distance they lived from a college. In 1914, the Melbourne Teachers' College enrolled the first two students, and by 1922, the school had 212 enrolled students. Material was prepared by trainee teachers and sent to the students every 2 weeks (Distance Education Centre Victoria (DECV) 2012). The school was

formally named the “Correspondence School” in 1932 before becoming the “Distance Education Centre Victoria” in 1990. NSW followed Victoria’s example in 1916 when Chief Inspector S. H. Smith responded to a plea from a mother in the northwest of the state who complained of the interruption of her son’s education due to the closure of Bingagee School. Smith undertook the teaching of the boy himself using “postal lessons,” and in October of the same year, he had gathered six students and engaged a Mr. Will Carter to continue the teaching (Ramsland 2015). Enrolments continued to grow and, in 1924, the Correspondence School was officially moved from four locations across Sydney to Blackfriars (Symes 2012). Western Australia (WA) was not far behind NSW, establishing its Correspondence School in September 1918 for any primary school students who lived more than 3 miles from a school. It began with 55 students and 1 teacher, but by the end of the year, enrolments had grown to 73 and an additional teacher was required (Rayner 1948). Secondary school subjects were added in 1922.

All states in Australia embraced new technology to help counteract the unreliability of a rural mail service. NSW introduced radio broadcasts in 1933, which featured the headmaster discussing plans for the term, while radio lessons began in WA in 1935 (Ramsland 2015; Lopes et al. 2011). In 1953, Victoria instigated short-wave radio broadcasts to complement material resources. Even though the telephone and Internet are used by the DECV today, some students still receive and submit their work by mail (DECV 2012). Established radio networks also facilitated another innovation, that of the School of the Air (SOA).

The SOA used the high-frequency network of the Royal Flying Doctor Service (RFDS) to transmit lessons to children on remote properties. The first two-way radio lesson in Australia was broadcast in 1948 to children in Alice Springs and the SOA was established in 1951. NSW established an SOA at Broken Hill in 1953, while WA commenced radio lessons in 1957 with an SAO being established in 1959 (Symes 2012; Lopes et al. 2011). There were, however, some disadvantages to this method of lesson delivery as students had to have access to two-way pedal radio sets to join in the lessons (Lopes et al. 2011). Just like mail, radio lessons were unreliable due to the atmospheric conditions during some parts of the school year (Mitchell 2005). This radio technology has now been replaced in Australian states and territories by satellite, phone, and Internet-based services (Mitchell 2005).

While the Correspondence School provided an education for geographically and physically remote students, it also gained a reputation as a place where teachers who could not function properly in a traditional classroom, either mentally or physically disabled or simply too old and infirm to teach face-to-face, could be located. Ramsland (2015) contends that the Correspondence School was often depicted as a “place of despair,” where teachers who could not cope in the traditional classroom were placed. This label was in part created by the employment of ex-World War I soldiers at the inception of Correspondence Schools, whose poor mental health on return to Australia was not suited to working in the mainstream classroom. The stigma was such that one teacher who was offered the deputy headship at Blackfriars in 1938 refused to accept the position as he said he was not mad (Ramsland 2015).

As indispensable as distance education was in providing schooling for those children unable to gain access to traditional lessons, not all aspects of mainstream schooling could be replicated by this system. Symes (2012) argues that, due to the lack of social interaction with other students, some struggled to understand the hidden curriculum of rules and regulations once they transferred to normal schools. There was also an additional burden upon family members, particularly the mother, who usually became the home supervisor. The supervisor was responsible for ensuring the student followed the teacher's instructions, but as many were lacking an education themselves, this was an arduous task (Lopes et al. 2011). In addition, there was the prospect of parent-child classes that could normally be ameliorated by having a stranger teach the child. However, the employment of the mother as the supervisor delineated distance education as a "feminized space" where her duties were not solely domestic (Symes 2012). It is also worth reiterating here that, historically, distance education supported the ideology of state education and so in a sense was not "irregular." It did, though, commence at a time when alternative education philosophies were emerging in the Western world, some of which were designed to be delivered within a dedicated space.

Steiner Education

"Steiner" or "Waldorf" education as it is alternatively known can be regarded as a "signature pedagogy" since the model is based on the philosophies and beliefs of Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) (Quiroga 2015). Steiner, a philosopher and social reformer, embraced anthroposophy, which is an obscure spiritual science that attempts to link material and spiritual aspects of human life. Steiner's pedagogical approach centered upon the notion of a person as a "threefold being" of body, mind, and spirit, which correspond to head, heart, and limb (Edmunds 2004). Within this approach, Steiner saw the development of the child as being divided into three stages – infant years (birth to 7), childhood years (7 to puberty), and youthful years (adolescent). In this respect, Steiner's thoughts are no different to those people in previous centuries. The same distinct stages of development of the child could be readily observed in "ages of man" literature from as early as medieval times and were available in texts and manuals and visible in illustrations on church walls and stained-glass windows (Hanawalt 2002). The curriculum and how it should be taught, it was held, ought to correspond to these stages.

The first stage, Steiner argued, is one of imitation. Emotions and intentions are transmitted to the child through the likes of tone of voice, physical touch, and physical movements. Children at this stage should be given the opportunity for creative play and expressive imitation (Barnes 1991). Intellectual tasks should be avoided as these will lead to a loss of power of imagination (Edmunds 2004). The second stage is a time of imagination and it is only once the child reaches the age of 7 that they should be taught to read or remember facts. Teachers of this age group are required to present the curriculum in language of the imagination and

frequently use tales, parables, and pictures to help them do this (Barnes 1991). The last stage is one of independence where students should be allowed to question freely (Edmunds 2004).

The first Steiner school was opened in Stuttgart, Germany, in September 1919. This followed Steiner's lecture to workers in the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory in the same city in April of that year. Steiner spoke to workers about the ideas contained in his book, *The Threefold Commonwealth*, suggesting that education had a role to play in establishing a new world order after the end of World War I (Uhrmacher 1995). The factory owner, Emil Molt, himself a fellow anthroposophy devotee, asked Steiner to set up a school for the children of the cigarette factory workers. Steiner agreed but only on the condition that the school offered a 12-year curriculum, be open to all children regardless of social status, and has no outside political and economic control and that pedagogy used should only be influenced by the teaching faculty (Barnes 1991). Emil agreed to the conditions and the school, taking its name from the cigarette factory, became the first Waldorf school (Uhrmacher 1995). By the time of Steiner's death in 1925, five new schools had been established. These included two within Germany and three others: one in Switzerland (1920), one in the Netherlands (1923), and one in the UK (1925). The first US school opened in 1928 in New York City (Uhrmacher 1995).

With the opening of the school came the beginning of an intensive training curriculum for prospective Waldorf teachers that is still used today. Steiner informed prospective parents in 1919 that what was important was finding teachers who had "the heart and soul for the reconstruction of our society and culture," as well as those who had the "heart and soul to raise the children of today to be citizens of tomorrow" (Steiner 2003, p. 38). The lectures Steiner used in this initial Waldorf training are recorded in three of his works, *Study of Man: General Education Course*, *Practical Advice to Teachers*, and *Discussions with Teachers*, and are still used as instructional material for Waldorf teachers today (Quiroga 2015). After Steiner died, teacher training colleges were established in Stuttgart (1928) and Dornach, Switzerland (1957), with the UK and USA following in 1962 and 1967.

Steiner education may have a loyal following but it was not without its critics. During World War II, the German Waldorf schools were forced to close because Hitler felt the ethos of individuality promoted within them did not uphold National Socialism (Edmunds 2004). Hitler was not the only critic over the years. The move of Steiner pedagogy into state-funded schools in the UK has been condemned by the British Humanist Association (BHA), stating that the curriculum is largely pseudoscientific (State News Services 2013). Despite the UK government stating that it is not acceptable to teach creationism in state schools due to its lack of scientific grounding, public funding is being directed toward Waldorf schools under the government's free school policy. This, as the BHA argue, results in taxes being used to endorse a scientifically unproven curriculum (State News Services 2013). The UK's Department for Education (DfE) ignored the BHA's concerns and that of local councils because of the diversity Waldorf schools bring to the education system. Yet as others have observed, Steiner pedagogy is not unique to its schools. Sagarin (2003), himself a Steiner-trained teacher, admits that

there is no feature that is unique to Steiner education and that non-Steiner teachers will use similar methods.

What is clear from the debate surrounding Steiner education is that, from the establishment of the inaugural Waldorf school in 1919, it has experienced a “circular development” of its organization as alternative education (Dhondt et al. 2015, p. 649). It has moved from being aligned to the progressive education movement, with highly specified schools, to one that appears as a true alternative to the neoliberal rationale found in mainstream education. But perhaps the greatest legacy of Steiner is that his philosophy can be applied in situations outside the confines of a Waldorf school. Worldwide refugee crises and disasters have seen the use of “emergency pedagogy” as a way of working with traumatized children that helps them cope with their experiences. Born out of the 2006/2007 Israeli-Lebanese conflict, emergency pedagogy is based on Steiner’s education approach by using such artistic approaches as painting and drawing as well as music and therapeutic storytelling (Ruf 2015). Emergency pedagogical interventions take place in schools and refugee camps and can include professional development seminars for teachers (Ruf 2015).

Steiner’s system is unique and created an approach to education that boasts 1063 schools in 61 countries as well as 142 teacher training centers worldwide, and it is still growing (Quiroga 2015). Criticism of Steiner education has come from people and organizations opposed to his anthroposophic methods and is not necessarily confined to curriculum issues. The National Health Service (NHS) in Somerset, UK, objected to a state-funded Steiner school being opened in Frome in 2012 because it would attract families for whom vaccinating their children was not the norm, and this would have negative consequences for others in the area (State News Services 2013). This is an indication that, despite Steiner education being endorsed by government educational authorities, it is still regarded as alternative.

Conclusion

Education is by its nature a contentious topic, inextricably linked to the political climate of society and how that society molds the citizens of the future. Alternative education challenges the prevailing orthodoxies in relation to mainstream thought and questions what knowledge is important for the transmission of values from one generation to the next. Nevertheless, as noted by Apple (2000), enduring education transformations (and, one could argue, innovations) come not from educators but from movements for social change. This is certainly true in relation to all three case studies discussed in this chapter. The great push for home-schooling in the 1970s came not from those of the teaching profession but from parents who opposed compulsory state education for ideological and pedagogical reasons, while distance education in New World countries developed through the persistence of the efforts of parents in remote communities to ensure that their children received an education. Steiner education evolved through Steiner’s belief that anthroposophy and the notion

of people as threefold beings could educate the child as an individual and without political and religious interference.

There is also debate around space in relation to alternative education and where the curriculum should be delivered. For example, distance education is only alternative because of its setting, but home-schooling has historically gone from being a necessity to one that is a sometimes a controversial choice. As a geo-historical paradigm, the use of education spaces demonstrates that a particular space is not associated with any one type of education (Symes 2012). What has not changed is the association of a suitable education with good nurture that all parents want for their children regardless of the space in which it is offered. Whether the choice made is compulsory state education or an alternative to this provision, it is usually made by the parents.

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Abstract

The nature and length of compulsory education has been one of the most strongly contested aspects of modern schooling systems. Compulsory education was at the heart of these national systems, established around the world, and constituted a key feature of modern societies. Nevertheless, the principle that there is both a right and a duty for all children to attend school for a certain period of time was fiercely debated, and there were diverse practices on the ground. In general, there has been a pattern of growing public support and then an extension of compulsion that might take decades to achieve fully. In some countries, there has been a tendency for legislation to be largely symbolic and only enforced later. Elsewhere, the law has lagged behind, and responded to, voluntary participation in schooling. The designated age for starting school varied, although most countries settled on the age of 6. The school-leaving age steadily increased in most systems despite opposition from employers, parents, policy makers, and many teachers, up to the age of 18 in some cases by the early twenty-first century. The extension of compulsory education had considerable effects on the structure of schooling, enabling the development of different stages of education, and also

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on the curriculum. It shaped the nature of modern childhood, adolescence, and the transition into adulthood in modern societies.

Keywords

Attendance · Compulsory education · Elementary education · School-leaving age · Secondary education

Introduction

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1983, compulsory schooling is the core of all modern systems of education; in all countries it constitutes the main body of formal education for virtually all children and the whole of formal education for a large percentage of them (OECD 1983). For this reason, the establishment and expansion of compulsory education represented a fundamental social transformation of the modern world. And yet, the OECD maintained, nevertheless, that in many OECD countries, compulsory schooling had remained largely unexamined, while its goals, processes, and practices have tended to be taken as given (OECD 1983). This chapter reviews the growth of compulsory education around the world especially over the past two centuries, the contested nature of this development, and its relationship to social and economic change in the modern world.

Compulsory mass schooling involves a basic presumption that there is a duty as well as a right for all children in a society to go to school under certain conditions for a particular period of time. It also introduces the question of when this period of enforcement should begin and when it should end. This set of issues has been contested in respect of different national systems at different times, and with a range of outcomes. In general, there has been a pattern of growing public support and then an extension of compulsion that might take decades to achieve fully. The overall trend has been for first a general acceptance and then an extension of compulsion over a period of time that might take decades or even more than a century in each case. There has also been a tendency in some countries for legislation to play a largely symbolic role that has been gradually complemented by a willingness and capacity to enforce laws on school attendance. In other places, the law has lagged behind, and responded to, voluntary participation in schooling.

Early pioneers of compulsory schooling included, for example, Prussia, where the school edict issued in 1717 by Frederick William I has often been hailed as the first in Europe to establish the principle of mass compulsory schooling, even if it was ineffective and never enforced (Van Horn Melton 1988, p. 46). It did lead, through a number of subsequent reforms over nearly half a century, to the General School Regulations of 1763, produced by Johann Hecker under Frederick II. This is recognized as the first compulsory education legislation, enforcing regular school attendance from the age of 5 to 13 or 14. Soysal and Strang have dated the earliest compulsory education to be introduced as Prussia in 1763, Denmark 1814, Greece 1834, Spain 1838, Sweden 1842, Portugal 1844, and

Norway 1848 (Soysal and Strang 1989, p. 278). Based on an analysis of factors that enabled or obstructed compulsory education, they note that in the late nineteenth century at least, “Compulsory mass schooling, in essence, means the state’s direct control of and involvement in education. The crucial factor is the resistance that the state met in issuing these rules: the conflict between the state and other societal groups and institutions (the church being the primary one) over education” (Soysal and Strand 1989, p. 386).

At the other extreme, in India, it proved very difficult to introduce compulsory education despite successive attempts to do so especially in the 1870s and after the creation of the Department of Education in 1910. Powerful social, political, and religious interests resisted any measures of this kind throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, according to Parimala Rao, the failure to introduce compulsory and free education in India was not due to poverty and colonial rule, but the refusal of the political leadership to place the nation’s interest above the interests of caste and class (Rao 2014, p. 175).

Although compulsory education may at first appear to be a basic and inevitable feature of modern schooling systems, extending slowly and gradually over the course of many decades on the basis of general consensus, on closer inspection, the conflicts over compulsion are particularly evident (Provasnik 2006). Tensions regarding the extension of the compulsory school age have continued into the twenty-first century, representing basic disagreements over the purposes of schooling and its role in modern societies (Woodin et al. 2013).

The Rise of Compulsory Education

Across much of the Western world, it was from the mid-nineteenth century that compulsory schooling was generally introduced, enforced, and came to appear normal. Compulsory educational systems emerged across much of Europe, North America, and Australasia at this time. Universal education was a reform associated with a specific model of nation building in Western Europe (Ramirez and Boli 1987). The concern to build and restore national pride following wars and colonial adventures was often prominent in the passing of compulsory education laws, for example, in Prussia and then France after 1871. In many cases, the rise of democracy, through extensions to the franchise, created pressures to both respond to popular demands and regulate the forms of learning and literacy. At the same time, changes in the labor market lent force to arguments for compulsion with evidence that the need for, and value of, child labor was declining, which gave rise to a corresponding fear of unregulated young people roaming the streets. Demand for skilled labor, and for a more educated and literate workforce, was beginning to be felt in diverse occupations such as the railways, post office, and clerical and administrative work. Gender issues were also evident in establishing universal education. Girls and boys were to be socialized into accepting different social assumptions about appropriate life paths for men and women (Davey 1987).

The designated age for starting school varied, although most countries settled on the age of 6. In England and Wales, the Elementary Education Act of 1870 stipulated full-time compulsory education from the age of 5, although not for any clear educational reasons. The leader of the opposition party in Parliament at the time, Benjamin Disraeli, insisted that “it was the height of absurdity to require children five years old to go to school” (Szreter 1964, p. 21). Nevertheless, this early starting age remained and was to mean, by the end of the twentieth century, that most children in England and Wales started school at the age of 4 to go into reception class at the start of the year in which they became 5 and in Northern Ireland a year earlier than this (Sharp 2002).

Positive reasons for embracing compulsory schooling took some time to embed themselves in the minds of those in positions of influence. Universal compulsory education was established gradually and, in many countries, required a series of legislative changes that helped to embed the idea that children should be in school. Even then, legal frameworks and structures did not always reflect the reality on the ground, and school attendance often fell well short of the legislative intentions. Legal stipulations were initially quite low in terms of the duration and hours of schooling. For many years after the passage of such laws, young people could be found working in industry, domestic labor, and agricultural work rather than attending school. In many cases, exemptions were allowed for a variety of reasons, not always related to employment.

In New Zealand, for example, following the Education Act of 1877, children could be absent from school if they were adequately educated elsewhere, if they lived more than 2 miles from a school, if there were impassable roads, if they are sick, or if they had already attained an adequate level of education (Ewing and NCE 1972, p. 22). Attendance remained a major issue in these circumstances, with enforcement continuing to be lax, and it was not until 1914 that it became clear that “the battle of compulsory attendance had been won” (Ewing and NCE 1972, p. 30).

In England, too, the position of the school attendance officer, established in the 1870s, was initially one of a policeman until the First World War, by which time it was beginning to become one of a welfare officer (Sheldon 2007), although caring and control could be seen as overlapping practices rather than polar opposites (Williams et al. 2001). In part, inducements to parents played a part in this battle including child benefits, travelling expenses, school materials, and medical services. These tended to be placed alongside fines and penalties, which were more feasible as the numbers of recalcitrant families and children reduced in number. Those who failed to fit with this model came to be categorized as “truants,” and later as “deprived” or “deviant,” while special forms of provision were developed to meet their needs (Richardson 1994). In this way, schools became central agencies for the creation of citizens, designed to inculcate a shared national character in future generations (Everhart 1977).

In the United States, education was significant in socializing waves of immigrants from other cultures who went through an educational melting pot of Americanization. The rapid urbanization of the United States also fostered

educational growth as a key means of handling the social tensions and the potential for social breakdown that ensued (Katz 1976). The early extension of the franchise, together with the development of common schooling, also encouraged a notion of the United States as a land of opportunity. After the early examples of Massachusetts in 1852 and the District of Columbia in 1864, most other states introduced compulsory schooling laws in the 50 years after 1870, for example, Michigan in 1871, California and New York in 1874, Ohio in 1877, and Idaho in 1884. The southern states except Kentucky (1896) and West Virginia (1897) were slow to generally lagged behind and did not pass such laws until well into the twentieth century. This allowed them to pass segregation laws that excluded former slaves from the benefits of education, although a number of black schools and colleges had been established following the end of the Civil War. Initially, laws only required attendance for a number of weeks in a year. Enforcement would also be loosely connected to or gradually related to a growing increase in the number of school places that were available.

In Alabama, the compulsory attendance law introduced in 1915 required attendance for 80 days per year but also allowed for exemptions according to distance, health, level of education, and domestic responsibilities. Enforcement was weak and almost nonexistent among black communities (Cooke and Pruet 1939). It was in this context that the landmark Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954, rejected the legal legitimacy of school segregation and gave rise to violent controversy in the coming decades. For example, Virginia elected to abolish its compulsory attendance laws in 1959 as part of its open opposition to desegregation. The issue of compulsory school attendance remained a volatile area of dispute, between on the one hand those who have argued for broader and universal education and on the other those who have sought a more limited use of education for particularized purposes and interests (Alexander and Alexander 2011, p. 286).

Raising the School-Leaving Age

So far as the upper age for compulsory education was concerned, in many nations around the world, this was increased gradually but apparently inexorably during the twentieth century. This extension of the number of years that pupils were expected to spend at school had a significant effect on both the structure and the curriculum of schooling. Yet the extension of compulsory education did not mean that educational pathways would be identical. Distinct phases of primary and secondary education could develop separately, even with a middle phase in some places, while the curriculum could become more differentiated and specialized in the later years for all pupils rather than for a small elite, although often in ways that confirmed wider divisions in terms of social class, gender, and race ethnicity. The idea of secondary education for all pupils in the age range cannot be understood fully without reference to the extension of the school-leaving age which could also be seen as

being complementary to the development of further education or occasionally as a broader type of tertiary education.

Pressure for an increased leaving age was expressed in political and ideological terms, most evidently perhaps in the Soviet Union after its establishment in 1917. The Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1919 approved a new system of universal education with the aim of creating a national system of schooling with a leaving age of 18, although this aspiration was not achieved for several decades. Following much expansion in the 1930s, a 7-year course for 7- to 14-year-olds was introduced in 1949, and this was further extended by later reforms. The expansion of the formal education system was widely seen as a fundamental means of producing the new workers who would contribute to the achievement of socialism, and developments in engineering and science proceeded rapidly. The Soviet model, which included an emphasis on literacy, was influential among other socialist countries and also encouraged Western nations to compete in increasing the school-leaving age. By the 1970s general education had become the norm in the Soviet Union for many 17- and 18-year-olds.

As state education was prolonged, a range of new interest groups made the case for further extensions in the school-leaving age, although not always in a wholehearted fashion. During the early twentieth century, teachers, professional associations, and trade unions often found themselves in the difficult position of supporting the principle of an increased leaving age, while at the same time warning against the practical issue of having to teach students who did not necessarily accept the need to remain in school (Katznelson et al. 1982).

The establishment of compulsory education and its extension through an increased leaving age were widely recognized to be a fundamental social change that merited international attention. In 1934, the first International Conference on Public Education, held in Geneva under the auspices of the International Bureau of Education with the support of the International Labor Office, addressed the topic of “compulsory education and the raising of the school-leaving age.” The event led to a series of recommendations that could be adapted to the needs of different countries, recognizing the importance of national, regional, and local conditions (IBE 1934/1979). Teaching and education in general could be expected to develop the potential for each culture according to their historical traditions; it was suggested, while secondary education would be extended at least to the age of 14 (IBE 1934/1979).

A significant aspect of the rationale for extending the leaving age was the need to protect children from the dangers of the workplace and the wider social environment and to allow them to grow in a supportive and enlightened setting. In Britain, the educational reformer R.H. Tawney was especially concerned with this priority in his regular editorial contributions to the *Manchester Guardian* (McCulloch 1996). Tawney pointed out that children who left school at the age of 14 to go to work were offered very little training in most occupations:

The choice, therefore, is *not* between school and stimulating and educative work. It is, at any rate in England, between school and work of which the greater part is non-educative

and deadening (not to mention some worse things). Any one who has seen much of working-class life knows this perfectly well. (Tawney 1940)

At the same time, extending the leaving age was seen as a way of enhancing the quality of the future workforce, and thus as an investment in the future. Indeed, the idea that extending the age of compulsory education should be seen as an investment rather than as a cost became a key argument in its favor after the Second World War.

Compulsory and universal schooling was also a key theme in social reconstruction in the period after the War. The new educational systems created in West Germany and Japan were designed specifically to foster democratic values. UNESCO embarked in a project in response to Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to encourage “the universalization and prolongation of free compulsory education.” As part of this, it commissioned a number of national studies of compulsory education in countries including Australia, Ecuador, France, Iraq, Thailand, and the United Kingdom with an overall summary by Isaac Kandel of the Teachers College, Columbia University (Kandel 1951). A number of international conferences were held including regional groupings in Southeast Asia and elsewhere (UNESCO 1951).

Another period of legislative reform occurred in several countries in the three decades following the Second World War, with the aim of raising the school-leaving age further. In Britain, the 1944 Education Act raised the age to 15, achieved in 1947 despite postwar economic problems and a lack of suitable school buildings and teachers (Cowan et al. 2012). It also recommended a further increase to 16 once this became practicable, which proved somewhat longer to achieve than was anticipated (Woodin et al. 2013). This extended process was the result of hesitations over the high economic costs and in some quarters a preference for other educational priorities such as smaller class sizes and university growth. In the early 1950s, the Conservative government came under severe economic pressure especially with the expense of involvement in the Korean War. In these straitened circumstances, it considered reducing the school-leaving age back to 14 and also increasing the age of entry from 5 to 6. It requested the Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE) to examine what the impact of shortening the period of compulsory school attendance would be, but the CACE argued strongly against such a measure and indeed made a reasoned case for extending the leaving age as both an economic and social investment (Woodin et al. 2013, pp. 78–79). Despite growing affluence, the government continued to resist a further increase in the leaving age, but the Crowther Report, 15 to 18, enthusiastically endorsed this new step forward (Ministry of Education 1959, Part Three).

The debate persisted at the highest levels of the UK government, and there were ongoing indications of dissent including among teachers who would be responsible for implementing the policy. In January 1964, when the Conservative government was in the final stages of deciding whether to accept the proposal to extend the compulsory leaving age, an article was published by one unhappy teacher who was strongly critical of this plan. Arthur Barton, a history teacher in

a nonselective secondary modern school, insisted that a large proportion of his pupils should leave school at the age of 15 or even earlier because they were not capable of benefiting from a longer school life. A typical case in his view was a pupil who he called “Wilkinson” – “a stout, stupid, rather insolent lad of 14.” According to Barton, such pupils were “reasonably teachable in their limited way up to about 12 or 13,” but after that it was better for them to leave as soon as possible (Barton 1964). This article attracted the attention of the government, since its cabinet secretary forwarded it to the prime minister to highlight the statement as one point of view. Eventually it was agreed to proceed (McCulloch et al. 2012). After a further delay caused by economic difficulties facing the next government, the school-leaving age was finally raised to 16 from 1972–1973 (see Woodin et al. 2013 for a detailed discussion of these developments).

In the Australian state of New South Wales, the Youth and Welfare Act of 1940 led to the age being raised to 15 from 1943. The same development took place in New Zealand in 1944, where rising voluntary participation tended to encourage a higher compulsory leaving age (Ewing and NCE 1972, p. 89). The avowed willingness of the British to raise the age also influenced countries across the Commonwealth (Ewing and NCE 1972, p. 92). On the European continent, in West Germany the federal states extended the duration of compulsory schooling from 8 to 9 years (Hearnden 1976, p. 66). In Spain, the General Education Act of 1970 raised the age to 14, enabling access to secondary education, as part of a general reshaping of the education system as a whole (McNair 1981).

Stages of growth tended to take place over protracted periods of time, through detailed debate and involving alliances or coalitions that shaped and reshaped educational policy. The purpose, content, and nature of schooling, and specifically primary and secondary education as distinct periods, have remained entwined in a set of thorny and enduring conflicts. From its beginning, different stakeholders advocated a range of visions for compulsory education as well as for its constituent parts, such as who it was for, should it be a common or differentiated experience, where it should take place, and, most crucially, for how long it should last. The compulsory nature of schooling has been underplayed and taken for granted, being viewed as a technical mechanism, a discrete legislative act that enabled children to remain at school for longer periods of time. Historians of education have often preferred to focus on issues such as selection and movements in favor of progressive education or comprehensive schools (Franklin and McCulloch 2007). Brian Simon recognized the raising of the age in the 1940s as one significant element in educational advance that responded to a progressive social movement. It was seen as “a rapid and major thrust forward” and underlay the development of secondary education for all. Simon’s account of raising the age to 16 is more muted and crowded out by the issue of comprehensive schooling (Simon 1991). Nevertheless, the broad issue of “secondary education for all” cannot be fully understood without reference to the nature of compulsory education. Moreover, the extension of compulsory education connects to another major postwar development, that of the expansion of higher education that was often presented as an alternative to extending compulsory education for a wider and larger group of pupils.

Compulsory education has highlighted the transition points or boundaries between school, work, and citizenship during a historical phase in which new ideas about childhood, youth, and young people were becoming prevalent. In simple terms, more schooling entrenched a sense of childhood while also prolonging it. A hierarchy of educational stages of personal development came to organize educational thinking. Schools have recognized the academic maturity of their older pupils while infantilizing them emotionally. Jane Pilcher, for example, has related changes in compulsory education to conceptions of children and childhood, which have denoted “an increasing division between the world of the child and the world of the adult, and a lengthening of the chronological markers assigned to childhood” (Pilcher 1995, p. 39).

From the late nineteenth century, the phase of “adolescence” emerged between those of childhood and adulthood. John Springhall has noted that the school-leaving age operated to postpone wage earning by the adolescent for a few years, and this postponed the responsibilities of adulthood (Springhall 1986, p. 52). School was a formative experience for middle-class and upper-class adolescents. On the other hand, for the average state-educated adolescent, leaving school and making the transition to earning wages were “rite of passage” albeit not always a straightforward one. Springhall argues, indeed, that the concept of adolescence came of age in Britain in the 1950s, leading to the first distinctive youth subcultures (Springhall 1986). Similarly, Jon Savage’s work, looking especially at the United States, also claims that the concept of the “teenager” as a distinctive phase of life was triumphant in postwar society, again linking this to the rise of consumerism (Savage 2007).

In general, compulsory education has traversed the shifting debates around compulsion and freedom. While enforcement has been a vital lever in guaranteeing opportunities through education, it has also generated contrary tendencies. Arguments about compulsory education developed alongside ideas of “deschooling” and “social control,” which focused on the harmful effects of schools (Johnson 1970). Libertarian ideals emanating from both the political left and the right have highlighted the potential for individuals, families, and communities to exert greater control over the education of children (Illich 1973). Overall, the popular acceptance of compulsory schooling surely represents a major form of mass socialization from the mid-nineteenth century onward (see, e.g., McCann 1976).

Compulsory Education in the Twenty-First Century

In the early years of the twenty-first century, lifelong learning in a “knowledge economy” became a popular notion and encouraged further developments in compulsory education. Economic globalization has helped to rationalize higher expenditure on education, which is increasingly expected to serve wider economic needs (Murtin and Viarengo 2011). International comparisons on a range of factors required encouraged proxy measures such as the duration of compulsory

education, which became an important means of judging contemporary educational systems and evaluating their success. Education for all and a state-imposed period of compulsory schooling were widely regarded as a support for human capital, for democracy, and, symbolically at least, for equality of opportunity.

Certain aspects of these arguments began to carry weight in many emerging economies such as China and Korea where the notion of the “knowledge economy” has gained ground in which skill-formation is tied into economic development. In the post 1945 period, Korea has enjoyed rapidly rising enrolment in secondary education despite the fact that, after 1953, only primary education was compulsory and free. Other so-called “tiger economies” of Southeast Asia have witnessed both rapid economic growth and increasing levels of compulsion. Yet compulsion tended to be a response to the voluntary take-up of education as well as other factors such as ethnic divisions in countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. In particular, the development of compulsory education in China has attracted attention given the country’s economic significance on the world stage. Legal measures to extend education have been coupled with a policy of devolution which has been necessary in such a large country (Woodin et al. 2013, pp. 25–27).

In some developing economies, meanwhile, child labor and slavery continued to pose difficult issues. The ILO, UNICEF, and World Bank supported calls to promote education for all children, leading to the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring universal access to primary education for all children as well as gender equality in education. This built on the Education for All movement coordinated by UNESCO and developed through the Global Declaration on Basic Education in Jomtien in 1990, followed by the Dakar framework on Education for All in 2000.

Nevertheless, in Western societies, initiatives to extend compulsory education continued to be subject to strong resistance and contestation. An interesting example of fresh developments in advancing compulsory education was in the United Kingdom, where the secretary of state for children, schools, and families, Ed Balls, advocated raising the “participation age” to 18. Balls argued that this would be the culmination of a “Fabian tradition” since the Education Act of 1918 – “our century-long campaign to extend educational opportunity and raise the education leaving age for all young people” (Balls 2007). He proposed that participation in education or training, though not necessarily at school, should increase to 17 in 2013 and to 18 as from 2015, leading to a “culture of aspiration for all.” This reform went through under the Education and Skills Act of 2008. In his support for this new measure, Balls appears to have seen it as an inevitable development that built on the reforms of the past century.

It was soon clear, nonetheless, that the extension of compulsory education remained vigorously contested. One critic, for example, was Peter Preston, a former editor of the newspaper *The Guardian* – in earlier decades an influential voice raised on behalf of extending compulsory education. Preston claimed that extending the participation age to 18 would mean “2 more futile years” that would do little to improve literacy and numeracy (Preston 2007). Many of the hundreds of comments posted on *The Guardian* website also seemed to agree with him, for example:

Frankly, if they haven't learned to read, write and count by 16, the chances are they won't be able to learn the basics anyway. We've got lots of kids at school who are just killing time until they get out. Their GCSE [General Certificate of Secondary Education] results will be poor, they know it, we know it. We try to keep them engaged by sending them to college twice a week for work experience, but lots of the low ability kids already have jobs lined up (mechanics, mainly, I don't know why) or know they will end up at Tesco. . . .

Instead of keeping teenagers on till they are 14, we should spend that money streaming the kids into those who want to continue education and those who want to learn a trade.

I strongly believe that you can't force education through somebody's throat if he doesn't want to. There are many reasons to resist – feeling to be a failure at school, not liking the ingrained middle-class atmosphere of schooling etc etc. And compulsion doesn't make it any better. . . .

Such correspondents favored “freedom” over “coercion” based on a mixture of complaints against the academic nature of the school curriculum, support for school choice, and despair at the prospects of a stubborn residue or “tail” of pupils who consistently failed in the education system.

Equally notable were the widely expressed concerns that teachers would suffer if they were obliged to teach 17-year-old pupils who did not wish to be at school. Another article in *The Guardian* in September 2011, under the heading “Raising the school-leaving age will make teachers ill,” drew on research about the extension of compulsory education in Spain, where the school-leaving age had been increased from 14 to 16 in 1998 (Tickle 2011). This research, conducted by Colin Green and Maria Navarro Paniagua of Lancaster University, found that when the statutory leaving age had been increased in Spain, secondary school teacher absenteeism had risen sharply, by between 15% and 20% (see also Green and Navarro Paniagua 2011). According to Green, ‘There is the danger that schools will become not the hoped-for platform for development, encouragement and aspiration, but instead a “holding” camp for a growing number of disengaged young people’ (Tickle 2011). In Britain, these fears underpinned the political decision not to enforce the legislation among young people and local communities.

Thus, there continued to be misgivings and disputes as to whether extending compulsory education was a necessary, or even a wise educational and social investment. Nevertheless, the compulsory age was extended to 18 in many countries in the early twenty-first century. In Australia, every state has raised the school-leaving age, which has become a widely recognized national priority (Reid and Watson 2016). A shared “collaborative federalism” was declared in 2007 (Australian States and Territories 2007), while the 2009 Compact with Young Australians stressed the need for and right of all young people to complete Year 10 and then to remain in education, training, and employment until the age of 17. These policy documents have been heavily influenced by globalized discourses of competitiveness, locating Australia “ahead,” “behind,” and “equal to” other nations according to a range of criteria. Responding to this global context has become the most significant incentive to raise compulsory attendance. In New

South Wales in 2009, for instance, the age of compulsion was raised from 15 to 17 (Reid and Young 2012). The state premier, Morris Lemma, had previously argued that the education system was becoming dated and that compulsion had to be extended in order to meet new challenges “including climate change, globalization, and the growing strength of the Chinese and Indian economies” (NSW Government 2008). This further extension also allowed for a range of vocational options to be encouraged, as opposed to a common curriculum. In Western Australia, the compulsory school-leaving age was increased to 16 in 2006 and then to 17 in 2008, with young people expected to be in full-time school, work, approved training, or a mixture of these until this age. This led in turn to problems of tracking young people as such flexible schemes could be difficult to administer. At the same time, extending compulsion has apparently been the means of dealing with attendance issues among younger cohorts, and it has been claimed that attendance is actually in decline with 30% of students in Western Australia judged to be at risk (Hodgson 2011).

The United States embodies a different model of federalism in which most states start education at 6 or 7 and complete between 16 and 18. There has been an increasing tendency for states to raise the age to 18. By June 2010, 19 states had a leaving age of 16, 11 an age of 17, and 20, including the District of Columbia, American Samoa and Puerto Rico, having raised the age to 18 (Bush 2010). This trend strongly suggests that compulsory education is being regarded as an economic benefit or investment in the face of challenges from China and other emerging economic powers. Extending education was also viewed as a convenient way of addressing a range of social problems. Research for the Bill Gates Foundation has concluded that the United States was suffering from a “dropout epidemic,” one that had a particularly harsh impact on ethnic minorities as about one half of African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans did not graduate from high school (Bridgeland et al. 2007). The “dropout crisis,” in which up to an estimated one million school children left school early, was widely associated with a range of social problems (Black et al. 2008). States such as Indiana and New Hampshire experimented with measures including parental involvement, alternative and supplementary support, connecting anti-truancy action to reengagement policies, exit interviews, early warning systems, and preventative counselling (Task Force 2007).

On the other hand, these policies challenged deeply embedded notions about freedom and suspicion of state actions. Raising compulsory education to 18 in this context would not erase strongly felt opposition to compulsory education. Attempts to raise the age in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and New Jersey were unsuccessful, with state politicians not willing to engage with the prospect of increased spending and related welfare measures. Research claiming that increased compulsion would not necessarily improve high school completion rates was popular with the critics and skeptics, especially at a time of economic recession and political polarization (e.g., Whitehurst and Whitfield 2012).

Conclusion and Future Directions

In many societies, then, the creation and extension of compulsory education has represented overall a progressive social force intended to reduce inequalities and to enforce rights. It drew on a growing acceptance of the notion that all children were potentially educable, a claim that had been strongly denied and resisted in the past. It represented a crucial move toward equality of opportunity that was hard won over many years. The widespread extension of compulsory education across many countries needs also to be located within the specific national and cultural contexts that have given meaning to this reform.

By the same token, compulsory education is not a reform that can be regarded as completely achieved or accepted. There are many in the twenty-first century who remain unconvinced that this development is an effective means of producing economic productivity. Others avoid it in order to maintain entrenched social divisions. Its ultimate success as a social institution is neither complete nor assured.

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Abstract

This chapter is a hermeneutic exploration of the iconography of the material landscape of education. It examines visual-material representations of these materialities and spatialities as cultural images and aims to provide insight into processes of meaning-making and the attribution of symbolic values to educational artifacts and environments. It argues that an overabundance and endless repetition of such visualizations have led to the inculcation and generalization of a rather specific and narrow yet stable visual-material imagination of schooling, disguising the changing meanings of the material landscape of schooling over time and in different contexts. The chapter first explores three classroom representations – an installation of school artifacts, a dollhouse-like model of a classroom, and a filmset classroom – as an entry into the stereotypical

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and popular representation of schooling and its constituent components, the icons of the materiality of schooling. The chapter next looks at two photographs of “ideal avant-garde classrooms” and explores how these images might have functioned at the time and in the context of their production as catalysts for the circulation, transmission, and production of meanings with regard to education practices and environments. By looking at these five visual-material representations, the chapter provides insight into the polysemous character of the material landscape of education; the ongoing processes of (re- or counter-)imagining, structuring, essentializing, and symbolizing educational surroundings; and, by way of conclusion, the creation and perpetuation of iconic representations.

Keywords

Imageries · Materialities · Iconography · Symbol · Image

Every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol. (Cosgrove and Daniels 2008, p. 8)

The historian needs the visual (...); the image needs the historian or historically minded viewer to read in its hieroglyphic markings the possibility of meaning. (Trachtenberg 2014, p. 422)

Introduction: Unravelling the Floating Chain of Signifieds?

This chapter centers around the following research questions: How did/does one represent and imagine education and its material landscape? What are the key components (icons) of these depictions? What do these representations tell us about the meanings assigned to education practices and environments? What do they reveal about the basic attitudes, the styles of reasoning, and the implied set(s) of knowledge and beliefs of the designer, and, more broadly, what do they reveal about the time- and context-specific attitudes toward education? Finally, how do these representations work and keep on working upon their audiences? (Edwards 2009, 2012; Poos 2016). In line with the various paradigm shifts – e.g., the visual/pictorial, material/spatial, and cultural turns – that have occurred within the humanities and social sciences since the late 1980s (Burke et al. 2010; Dant 2008; Dussel and Priem 2017; Gasparini and Vick 2008; Grosvenor et al. 1999; Lawn and Grosvenor 2005; Lutter and Reisenleitner 2002; Peim et al. 2005; Viñao 2012; Warf and Arias 2008), this chapter aims to bring to the surface various layers of meaning underlying the “materialities of schooling” and their visual-material representations (Lawn and Grosvenor 2005). It sets out to explore and disclose some of the historical and cultural patterns and symbolic conventions of presenting and depicting educational artifacts and environments. In doing so, it seeks to provide insight into what one might call a quasi-stable and quasi-universal visual-material image of schooling, an image that is a legacy of modernity and a result of attempts to simplify the complex

world of meaning or, in the words of Roland Barthes, “to fix the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs” (Barthes, p. 39).

It is this stereotypical image which nowadays seems to serve as an almost mandatory blueprint for school museums when curators design, decorate, and arrange their centerpiece. Typically, this will be a full-scale model of an “old” classroom featuring rows of school desks facing a blackboard and/or a teacher’s desk, a number of educational devices (e.g., textbooks, exercise books, wall charts), and pupils’ belongings (e.g., writing utensils, school bags) (Lawn 2010; Depaepe et al. 2014; Depaepe and Simon 2016). By following this blueprint, the museums cultivate and reinforce a particular image of schooling, so that all their centerpieces “only refer to each other and no longer to the extraordinary that went on then or there” (Smets 2013, p. 22). As a result, schooling is so often “being put to image that all imagination is being stifled. It becomes empty, devoid of magic” (Smets 2013, p. 122). In other words, this stereotypical and simplified representation of schooling obscures a much bigger variety of education “realities” and veils the various layers of meaning, the complexity, the atypical, and the counter-images that have emerged over time and in different contexts. An example of this is the dominant depiction and understanding of the school desk as a piece of furniture to sit and work at, ignoring other functions the school desk might have had in the classroom – for example, as a gymnastics apparatus – or the meanings that were assigned to the desks by their designers (Depaepe and Simon 2016; Brunelli and Meda 2017; Herman et al. 2011; Moreno Martinez 2005).

This chapter seeks to probe more nuanced, complex, and deeper strata of meaning by taking a “polysemous” approach in exploring the varied material landscape of education and its visual-material representations (e.g., installations, replicas, photos, drawings) (Tilley 1990, p. 195). These objects and representations are visible and tangible “deposits, carriers, symbols of meanings” (Cosgrove 2009, p. 363; Schlereth 1982, p. 2; Tilley 1990, p. 95). Indeed, throughout their different life phases, they are permanently subject to “social production and construction,” depending on their historical and cultural contexts and on the sociocultural practices surrounding them (e.g., designing, depicting, naming, (re)using, seeing, examining, remembering, and talking about them). These practices constantly affect and alter their (symbolic) meanings (Appadurai 1986; Low 1996; Tondeur et al. 2017), which in turn are attached to the “floating chain of signifieds” (Barthes 1977, p. 32). Moreover, the material landscape of education is not only suffused with various meanings; the attributed meanings themselves are mutable and may be challenged, inverted, or recycled in different contexts.

This enquiry draws on the fertile concept and visual method of iconography – “the theoretical and historical study of symbolic imagery” – and materiality developed by art and cultural historian Erwin Panofsky (Cosgrove and Daniels 2008, p. 1) who applied it first to religious icons and painted images (Cosgrove 2009). Iconographical analysis and interpretation – which over time have also been applied to other visual representations (e.g., photographs), spatialities (e.g., landscapes), and materialities (e.g., monuments, installations) – seek to disclose and interpret the “hermetic or symbolic meanings” of these representations, spatialities,

and materialities (Cosgrove 2009, p. 363). According to Panofsky, the meaning of artworks can be established by seeing them in their historical, social, and cultural contexts and by studying the specific symbolic resonance they may have had at the time (Rose 2015). He distinguishes between three levels of visual interpretation: the (1) *pre-iconographic* level, or the basic, factual description of what can be seen; the (2) *iconographic* level, or the identification and interpretation of conventional symbols; and the (3) *iconological* level, which seeks the “intrinsic meaning” of the work of art by examining it within the social and cultural context in which it was produced and by “ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion” (Panofsky 1955, pp. 14, 26–54, 30; 1979, pp. 185–206; 1979, pp. 207–224). Drawing and expanding upon Panofsky’s work, this chapter analyzes not so much the materialities and imageries of schooling in their contemporary context of articulation and use. Rather, it mainly explores how they and their cultural patterns and symbolic conventions kept on working, were recycled or were contested later on and/or in different contexts. One should point out that engaging in such a symbolic-interpretive exercise is “inevitably speculative and allows for alternative readings” (Kozloff 2008, p. 7).

The chapter looks at five visual-material representations of schooling and takes them as the ideal starting point to engage with the iconography of the material landscape of education and the cultural attribution, repetition, recycling, and subversion of symbolic values. Such visual-material representations of school life – be it a painting of children in a school yard, a photograph of a classroom, a technical drawing of a school building, a moving picture documenting school life, or an artistic installation of school desks in a museum – are invaluable sources for historians of education and cultural historians (Cremer and Mulsow 2017; Keck et al. 2004) as they allow us to identify crystallized conceptions of schooling and thus tell us something about the cultural, societal, or individual attitudes toward schooling and about “what school environments and educational landscapes were supposed to be, would be found to be or ought eventually to be like” (Lewis 2008, p. 179). Just like textual descriptions, they signify – that is, communicate messages and reflect and reinforce different conceptions and ideas of education – and thus actively intervene in the viewer’s understanding of schooling (Viñao 2000, p. 76).

The visual-material representations analyzed in this chapter are extremely varied in terms of their material-visual quality, their historical and geographical contexts, and the intentions with which they were created. More specifically, they are from three different countries (Italy, Luxembourg, and Belgium) and range from the beginning of the twentieth century until the present day. Rather than submitting this dispersed set of representations to a systematic diachronic comparison, the chapter presents them as distinct cases and lets them interact with each other, as it were. Hence, it approaches them as individual images that transmit and produce meaning(s) on their own but also as part of a larger dynamic visual-material field, in which schooling is permanently (re)framed, visually materially performed, and (re)configured. In sum, they are all images that feed into *the* image – the visual-material canon of education.

The second section of the chapter, “[This Is Not a Classroom](#),” looks at three classroom replicas which, for all their differences, are quite similar in the way they present schooling and the material-organizational features of the classroom (Figs. 1, 2, and 3). It seeks to tease out the meanings of these replicas as an entry into the



Fig. 1 Installation in the entrance hall of the University of Bolzano’s Faculty of Education (October 19, 2017) © Frederik Herman



Fig. 2 School scene in a shop window of a toy store in Bolzano’s shopping area (October 21, 2017) © Frederik Herman

crystallized visual-material imaginings of schooling, their icons, and symbolic connotations. The third section, “[Shooting the ‘Ideal’ Classroom](#),” deals with two contrasting images of avant-gardist milieus, depicting school scenes from 1917 to 1927, respectively (Figs. 4 and 5). Indeed, they can best be described as typical versus atypical, iconic versus iconoclastic, and image versus counter-image – which make them interesting cases to explore the contested terrain of meaning-making. This section aims to provide insight into the processes of meaning-making by analyzing these visual-material representations in their context of production and circulation and by “thickly describing” how contemporaries constructed,



Fig. 3 (continued)



Fig. 3 (a-c) Film stills from the educational film “Our Little Ones Learn to Do Sums” (1935)

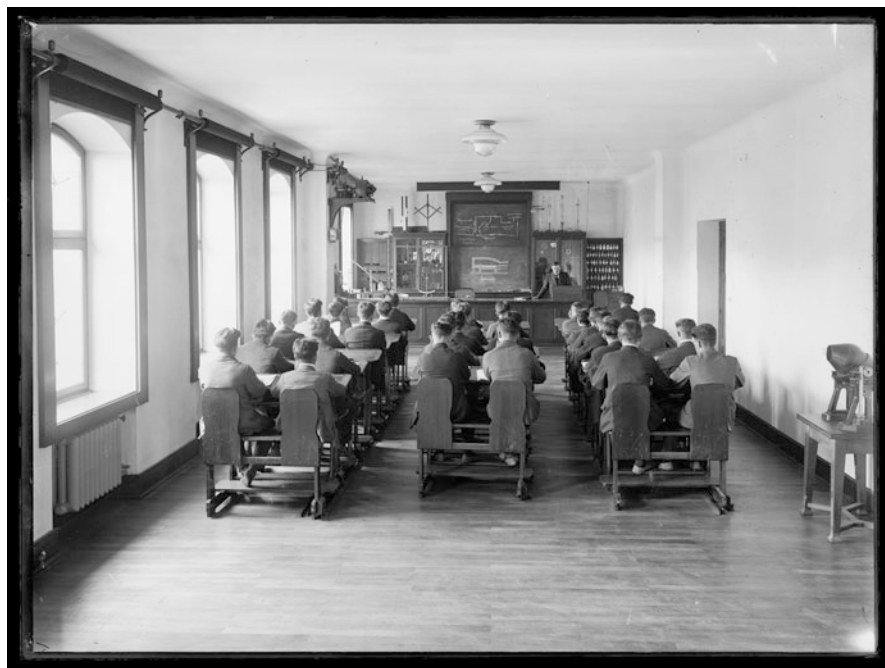


Fig. 4 Modern classroom at the Institut Emile Metz (circa 1917) © Institut Emile Metz. HISACS002206V01_52. CNA Collection

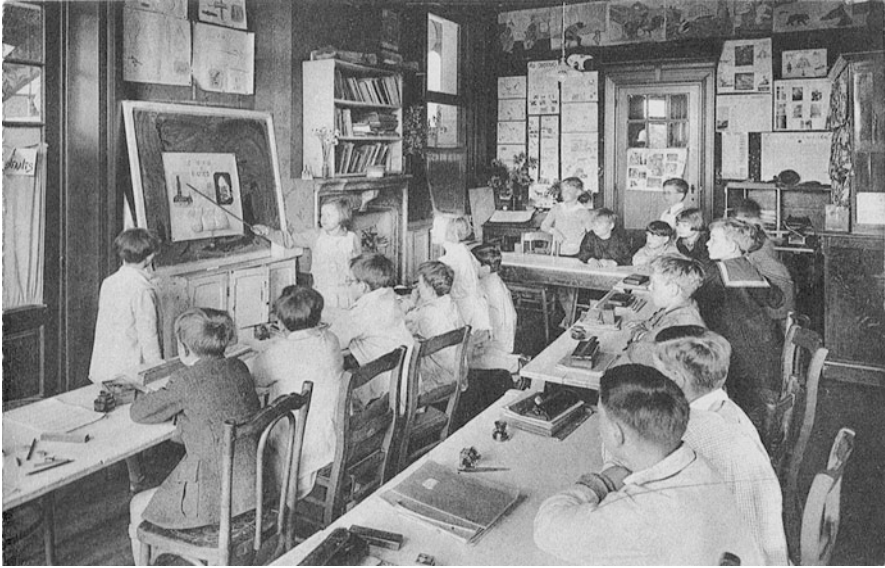


Fig. 5 “Causerie-Kindervoordracht – Speech-day” (1927–1928) (Postcard -Édition Belge, Brussels)

understood, used, and/or made sense of their material landscape of education (Geertz 1973). More concretely, the five material-visual representations will be first contextualized, followed by a brief description of what is actually displayed and then subjected to a concise iconographic analysis: an examination of the symbolic codes and ideas that might be implicated in their imagery. The chapter concludes by reflecting on how a certain iconic imagery of schooling gained permanence and was perpetuated through the many images and even counter-images, which, as “performances and performers (Edwards 2009; Priem and te Heesen 2016), have fixed the conventional material-organizational symbols or “icons of the materiality of schooling” (Depaepé et al. 2012).

This Is Not a Classroom

I would like to start this section with a nod to the Belgian surrealist painter René (François Ghislain) Magritte (1898–1967), whose most famous image is perhaps his realistic painting of a pipe with the caption *Ceci n’est pas une pipe* (This is Not a Pipe), stressing the distance between reality and its (artistic) representation. Three images of classroom representations – rather than images of “real” classrooms – here serve as a starting point for the exploration of the visual-material (re)framing and (re) configuration of the material landscape of education: two photographs taken last autumn in the South Tyrolean town of Bolzano (Italy) and three film stills. The first photograph (Fig. 1) was taken in the entrance hall of the Faculty of Education of the

Free University of Bolzano and the second (Fig. 2) in the shopping street a few hundred meters away. Figures 3a, 3b, 3c are stills from an education film, shot in 1935 in a municipal boy school in Mortsel (Belgium).

The Musealized Classroom

The first image shows an installation composed of a handful of used objects of schooling. This ensemble of materialities – a gift from the St. Andrä primary school near Bolzano, donated to illustrate what South Tyrolean classrooms looked like in the 1960s – had originally been the highlight of the Forschungs- und Dokumentationszentrum zur Südtiroler Bildungsgeschichte (FDZ; Research and Documentation Centre for the History of South Tyrolean Education). There, the materialities had been hung upside down from the ceiling of the showroom at the direction of the FDZ's scientific director Helmut Hierdeis, professor of general education at the University of Innsbruck (Austria) and founding dean of the Faculty of Education of the University of Bolzano. In March 2017, the still life was flipped again and installed in the entrance hall of the university's Faculty of Education. The installation aims to draw attention to the FDZ's ongoing research on the local history of schooling and enhance the students' historical awareness.

Mounted on a wooden stage, the installation consists of three wooden three-seater school desks, a textbook, several pages of an essay featuring a drawing, two slates, a leather schoolbag hanging from a desk's peg, a woollen cardigan draped over a tabletop, an educational device used for math instruction, and a globe on a chair. The way the pupils' belongings are exhibited gives the scenery a kind of nonchalant appeal, as if the children left in a hurry for break time. However, the disorderly impression – clutter left behind by the children – is counterbalanced by the orderly arrangement of the school desks. The desks are arranged one behind another, facing a kind of abacus and the globe on the chair. The installation seems to play with “order and disorder” and thus hints at and contrasts notions such as that of the unorganized and unsystematic young schoolchild and the structured and systemized realm of education (Depaepe 2000). The installation's arrangement also accentuates the central role of the teacher and his/her didactic instruments by putting these devices on the main stage, that is, in front of the classroom.

Some of the displayed objects also hint at a fairly fixed set of didactic and educational operations in primary schools. The didactic tools – the abacus and globe – could be said to refer to frontal instruction by the teacher, whereas the pupils' slates, for instance, bear reference to individual exercises. Without actually displaying the teacher and the pupils engaging in an educational exchange, the installation hints at the “sacred” educational cycle, which commonly started with a didactic talk by the teacher, followed by the pupils' copying from the blackboard, occasionally by individual drill and practice, and concluding with an evaluation. The school curriculum is represented by the abacus (mathematics), the essay pages and the textbook (language), and the globe (geography). The installation thus subtly attests to a relatively fixed knowledge taxonomy, with an emphasis on language and

mathematics. Finally, it could be said that the globe as well as the textbook – as symbols of the universe and sources of wisdom – refers to one of the major goals of education: opening up the unknown, complex world to the children. Indeed, the book – which, from the Renaissance onward, has become the material-symbolic metaphor for certain skills, disciplines (e.g., poetry, rhetoric, philosophy), virtues (e.g., wisdom, prudence, justice, and truth), and teaching and learning in general – lies open, hinting at the availability of knowledge to all who pore over it (Viñao 2000).

The Toy Store Classroom

A display window of a toy store served as stage for a second classroom replica. The display was installed to attract the attention of pedestrians and to make them enter the shop. It is little surprise that a school theme becomes part of the street scene and appears in several shops at the start of the school year; nor is it surprising to see a school scene appears in a toy store, as reenacting school life is a popular children's game. However, the toy-sized replica's central placement in the shop window, its careful arrangement, as well as the many details and symbols made this particular display a real eye-catcher for passersby of all ages. Indeed, through the careful arrangement of a few puppets and a miniature blackboard, two miniature two-seater school desks, a few satchels, a wall chart of Italy, and two educational posters (represented by two wooden puzzles, one with numbers and the other one with the letters of the alphabet), the shopkeeper presents a recognizable interpretation of school life. The shopkeeper's love of detail is evident in her choice of objects such as the wallpaper, the teacher's eyeglasses, the pointer stick, and the hanging of the posters. The scene is further equipped with a few, at first sight, anomalous objects such as finger puppets, an hourglass, and a stuffed donkey. These anomalies seem to hint at the designer's sense of humor and might refer to his/her knowledge about the symbolic meaning of some of these objects. Finally, in contrast to the first installation featuring real(-size) objects but no people, this miniature classroom replica is inhabited by five puppets: a female teacher-puppet and four pupil-dolls – three girls (two white girls, one black girl) and one boy.

The gender and ethnic composition of the group, the differences in clothing, and the explicit inclusion of a female teacher reflect and accentuate some nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments such as the feminization of the teaching profession, the evolution of a multicultural society and classroom, the introduction of coed education, and more individualized teaching and learning approaches. Moreover, the scene seems to use and reinforce the deep-rooted associations between the feminine, nursing, upbringing, and education. Indeed, there is a long tradition of representing education and upbringing through female figures – who were attributed a soft, caring, and patient nature. This “feminine personification of education” gradually became part of the stereotypical representation of education (Viñao 2000, p. 81). The same applies to the teacher's conventional attributes, such as the pointer or cane and glasses. These objects – which include various symbolic layers of meaning (e.g., leadership, authority, discipline, attention, and wisdom) that

go beyond the practical and everyday use of the objects – too became part of the established iconographic representation of schooling. Similar to the first installation, the desks are frontally arranged, facing the blackboard and the teacher. This signals a teacher-centered approach, that is, frontal teaching and a unilateral knowledge transfer. Mathematics, language, and geography are represented by the wall charts. The globe in the first replica is here exchanged for a wall chart of Italy, which might be understood as a reference to nationhood, patriotism, and “good” citizenship. The presence as well as the absence – there are, for instance, no religious symbols – of material referents to the curriculum serve as a vehicle for a knowledge taxonomy that reflects and reinforces the value attached to the various subjects within school.

Why did the display’s designer add an hourglass, finger puppets, and a donkey? This might be a direct and literal reference to certain teaching/learning activities and skills, such as reading the clock and telling the time, playing puppet theater in the classroom, or teaching (about mammals) with the aid of a model. However, the placing of the donkey in the back corner leads me to assume that it is also a reference to certain rules of behavior and methods of punishment of the past. Indeed, the donkey and some of its assumed characteristics – such as stubbornness, slowness, stupidity, noisiness, etc. – became a popular metaphor for pupils who behaved in this manner. Putting such pupils in the back or the corner of the classroom and/or putting “donkey ears” on their heads used to be a popular punishment in primary schools. At the symbolic level, the hourglass and finger puppets may refer to the school’s daily rhythm and timetable, the division of the curriculum into instruction, learning by practice and test time, lesson time and playtime, school terms, holiday periods, etc. (Escolano 1992, 2000; Jewitt and Jones 2005; Viñao 1998).

The first two photographs show (creative) replicas of a real or imagined educational setting, composed of a mixture of children’s toys and an amalgam of used school furniture and educational devices. The classroom installations (re)present a certain image of school life. The encounter with these classroom installations made me think of another classroom replica: the filmset of *Didactische film: Onze kleintjes leeren sommen* (Educational Film: Our Little Ones Learn to Do Sums), recorded in 1935 at the Lieven Gevaertschool in Belgium (Fig. 3) (Depaepe et al. 2002).

The Filmset

This movie – made to be shown in teacher training colleges and to teachers in the field – shows a sequence of model activities, innovative methods, and devices to teach mathematics during the first four months of first grade. Depicting a regular school day, the film is a montage of moving images shot at the actual school site and on the set. Indeed, a classroom had to be recreated on the school site for cinematographic reasons (e.g., lighting, camera angle, and mobility). To this end, a minimally furnished box-like structure was erected on the school’s playground. At first sight, one almost does not notice that it is a life-size replica. However, an aerial shot reveals that the classroom had no roof (Fig. 3c). The film was shot in the open air, which explains why the lighting in the windowless classroom was so

perfect and why the teacher is wearing a warm jacket. The first still shows a number of children entering the filmset classroom with their arms crossed and the teacher surveying them from the open door.

The second and third stills show the children doing exercises while the teacher is checking their work, correcting their body postures, and giving them feedback. The minimal furnishing consists of the teacher's stage (a platform in front of the classroom), a blackboard, a teacher's desk, wooden two-seater school desks – orderly arranged in rows separated by a passage and facing the blackboard – and several framed posters.

Here, too, “order and discipline” are reflected in the furniture's arrangement as well as in the pupils' body postures (e.g., crossed arms). However, the variety in the pupils' body postures while seated at their desks as well as the seemingly friendly (and also religiously connoted) laying on of hands by the teacher, who has left his stage, his “position of authority,” to move between the pupils, seems to indicate that order and discipline were not that strictly enforced (Fig. 3b). Indeed, a child-friendly climate is also suggested by the cartoons and drawings on the wall. Moreover, the variety in the pupils' appearances (e.g., clothing, haircut) as well as the individual guidance by the teacher seems to hint at an appreciation of individuality as well as more pupil-centered teaching and learning approaches. The teacher's stage – the podium from where he disseminates knowledge and where he stand when he writes on the blackboard – is often explained as a tool which enhances the visibility of both the children and the teacher: it allowed the children to observe better what happened in front of the classroom, and it simultaneously allowed the teacher to monitor the children. But associations with the bench in a courtroom or the altar/pulpit in a church also suggest themselves. Those are the places where justice is administered or the sacred words are spoken, by those who have the authority to do so. The (initiated) authorities are separated from their (uninitiated) audiences by a difference in height. The latter are merely expected to observe and/or to participate when asked. The “difference in height” can also stand as a metaphor both for the pupils' opportunity to rise in society by amassing knowledge and for the teacher's competence to understand the children's abilities and to translate his knowledge into “digestible” knowledge units for consumption by his pupils.

Shooting the “Ideal” Classroom

The next two images present two very different “ideal” classrooms of two progressive schools: the Institut Emile Metz, a vocational school in Dommeldange (Luxembourg), and the Decroly school L'Ermitage in Brussels (Belgium). Both schools wanted to portray themselves as in the vanguard of progress, showing off their innovative model practices. For them, photography – still a new technology in the first decades of the twentieth century – was a means par excellence to appeal to the masses, not least because of the medium's immediacy, clarity, and transparency (Edwards 2012). Both images were made to be shown and distributed to the public, as postcards or magazine illustrations.

The Modern Classroom

The first image was taken at the Institut Emile Metz, which was established in 1913–1914 as part of a wide range of social-welfare initiatives connected to the Luxembourg steel company ARBED (Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange). In need of a well-trained workforce, ARBED decided to establish a modern vocational school featuring well-equipped classrooms, a sophisticated and state-of-the-art psychophysiological laboratory, a public library, and an up-to-date swimming and sanitary facilities (Herman 2014). This image was taken in the largest classroom of the building during a physics class. The image focuses on the movable blackboard with the teacher's drawings, flanked by two cupboards containing all kinds of demonstration devices. In front of the blackboard, one can see a long demonstration table and a lectern, behind which the teacher is standing. Three rows of wooden two-seater school desks are facing the blackboard. Light pours in through four large windows, illuminating the blackboard as well as the notebooks on the pupil-apprentices' desks. The high white walls are empty. One can also see a white screen, which can be pulled down for screening movies or slide projections, automatic roller blinds, electric lighting, and a central heating system. On the right side, we see a scale model of a melting furnace.

Everything from the arrangement of the room, to the alignment of the desks, to the positioning and posture of the pupils' bodies may be said to represent the systematized and teacher-centered approach pursued at the institute. The depicted male bodies in this scene seem to proliferate and reinforce the deep-rooted associations made between the male body, the mechanical-industrial, and instruction (Herman 2014). The white wall on the right side may be said to symbolize purity and cleanliness – in contrast to the adult workers' unhealthy living and working conditions and threatening diseases, such as TBC. Alternatively, it may refer to simplicity and concentration, to innocence and resurrection, or to the pupils' introduction to a more intellectual-spiritual life. The same applies to the light that pours in through the large windows, which is often associated with enlightenment, modernity, knowledge, and the promise of a better, brighter future (Burke 2005). This image of a state-of-the-art classroom with its innovative technical and educational equipment and symbols of human genius exalts the possibilities and promise of technical modernity and mechanical progress as well as the school's progressive nature.

“The Dining Room”

Figure 5 – an image which I would like to characterize as an iconoclastic counter-image, as it moves away from the stereotypical representations of schooling and its “icons of the materiality of schooling” – was taken at the Decroly school L'Ermitage, *the* beating heart of Belgian educational reform in the first half of the twentieth century. This image, entitled “Speech-day,” is part of a series of 25 picture postcards taken in 1927/1928 depicting school life and various activities at L'Ermitage, such as

getting on the school bus, playing and resting in the country estate's garden after lunch, working in the vegetable garden, doing manual work in a workshop or in the open air, modelling animals out of clay, conducting experiments, and writing in an observation notebook. The atypical school building, Villa Montana, played a central role in this postcard series. In time, it acquired an iconic status, both literally and figuratively. Indeed, the school founders' choice to accommodate the classrooms in an atypical building and to use the complete site (the hallways, barns, dog kennels, henhouses, workshops, the park) and its surroundings (forests and the city) as extensions of the classroom mirrored their educational aspirations – that is, to break open the “prisonlike old school,” create a homelike character and child-centered approach, and break with the “narrow” interpretation of teacher-centered instruction (i.e., frontal instruction). The villa's silhouette for a short time functioned as an emblem for the school, despite the fact that the classrooms were soon moved out of the manor, due to a lack of space, and were housed in more “archetypal complexes” (Herman et al. 2011). The photograph shows a mixed group of children listening to a presentation in what we know to be the villa's former dining room.

In contrast to the other classroom representations, the children are seated at regular tables and on an odd collection of chairs. Some of them even stand or kneel in front of the small blackboard. All of them gaze at the pupil-teachers and the illustration of a monument, pointed at by a girl with a pointer. On the tables, one can see writing utensils and notebooks. The wooden panelling and walls of the dining room are almost entirely covered with lists, wall charts, educational games, posters, drawings, and assignments. A small bookshelf and a vase with flowers stand on the fireplace mantle. The lower parts of the doors and the window are covered with curtains and posters. Finally, the room also contains a sideboard and several smaller cabinets – reminders of the room's former function.

In contrast to the other images, this photograph catches the eye because of its busy – not to say chaotic – atmosphere, the mixture of objects and furniture, the atypical (class)room, and the arrangement. The crowded walls; the teacher's place in front of the blackboard taken over by two children; the absence of an adult/teacher in the image; the pointer in the girl's hand; and the sitting, standing, and kneeling pupils – all of these may be said to symbolize the school's child-centered approach and atmosphere of freedom, which strongly contrasted with what the Decrolians thought of as a “narrow” interpretation of learning (i.e., frontal teaching) in the “prisonlike old schools.” Indeed, the walls are not empty or covered with educational posters made by adults but with collages and drawings made by the children themselves – alluding to the children's central role in the learning process and the school's attempt to organize school life around the children's own knowledge production. The “coup” on the teacher is visualized by his/her absence, and the children in front of the blackboard even hold the “symbol of power,” the pointer stick, as if the school was ruled by them. The well-organized classroom of the earlier representations – with the desks in neat rows facing the blackboard and all the pupils sitting at their desks – is exchanged for a more cluttered arrangement and free(r) body postures. Some of the children are wearing white lab coat-like shirts, which are reminiscent of the white tunic worn by the Romans and Greeks and,

later, the white alb worn by Roman Catholic priests and Freemasons, referring to symbolic connotations such as purity of heart and body, (divine) wisdom, simplicity, and/or, in the context of freemasonry (a circle in which some Decrolians participated), the promise of hope after death (Herman et al. 2011).

Conclusion and Future Directions

By contextualizing and analyzing five different visual-material representations of schooling, the chapter has highlighted various imageries of schooling (the polysemous nature) and the related interlinked processes of (re- or counter-)imagining, structuring, essentializing, and symbolizing educational surroundings. It therefore does not only hint at the ongoing cultural attribution, repetition, recycling, and subversion of symbolic values and cultural beliefs but also at “how these beliefs and values may have gained permanence, power and significance through being given [visual-]material form and expression in buildings, artefacts, commodities, visual symbols, displays, rituals and so on” (Gregory 2009, p. 448).

By way of conclusion, I want to draw the reader’s attention toward some more general themes that seem to be at work in these images, namely, the icon as what I would call “minimalistic but essential frame of reference,” the “long shadow of modernity,” the “contested and safe zone,” and, finally, the “junction and negotiation between past, present, and future.” Notwithstanding the fact that the material replicas are different in terms of their materiality, form and size, and location, that they were made by different people with different intentions, and that they reach out to different audiences, they seem to have several things in common. Indeed, both the curator and the shop owner as well as the film director made use of similar material icons and arrangements to generate the feel of a classroom. Working with a minimum but apparently essential set of building blocks, the designers made replicas that are accessible and recognizable enough to allow the viewer “to situate him/herself in them” and to convince the viewer that he/she is looking at a representation of a classroom (Berger 2008, p. 11). Indeed, the configuration of a few essential and familiar material components and/or body gestures, which constitute the essence of the classroom and schooling (Depaepe 2000; Herman 2010), triggers images and memories that allow the viewers to mentally complete the “incomplete” classroom, to become part of the displayed scene, and to engage in complex meaning-making practices (O’Donoghue 2010).

As I have tried to show, these installations as well as many other representations of school life reveal the existence of dominant iconographic norms to represent schooling, which include objects (e.g., school desks, blackboards, educational devices), spaces (e.g., the classroom as nucleus and main operating base), their material-organizational quality (e.g., frontal arrangement of the desks), and symbols (e.g., textbooks, globe, pointer stick) that represent certain feelings, virtues, vices, and sins (Viñao 2000). These guidelines got reinforced every time these norms were repeated – as I have repeated them in this chapter – and still determine how we represent schooling today. A good example is the present-day installation in the

Italian toy shop window, which makes use of an iconic imagery which is, to a certain extent, “no longer the symbol united with the world it represents” (Hariman 2016, p. 24). Indeed, while education and its material landscape have changed – through, for example, the widespread use of computers and interactive whiteboards – the designer of the window display did not integrate these contemporary features but instead referred to old-fashioned, abandoned methods of punishment. He/she decided to adhere to an image of education that has been largely rendered obsolete in more recent years but which acquired, from modernity onward, a symbolic and iconic status and “became capable of universal reference” (Hariman 2016, p. 21). Over time, this image – once a sign of progress – became the norm and synonymous with order, discipline, and traditional good education. Therefore it is no surprise that it provides the blueprint for many or even most images of (old) classrooms. Another example is the photograph of the main classroom at the Institut Emile Metz. Featuring a number of high-tech educational devices, it was meant to showcase the progressive character and excellent education offered by the school. The Institut Emile Metz thus opted for an image in line with the successful conventional, or iconic, image.

However, the Institut Emile Metz published this image at a time that also saw the production and circulation of many “counter-images.” A case in point is the photograph of the classroom at the Decroly school. Indeed, new education – which challenged conventional teaching approaches and learning environments – reached its climax at the beginning of the twentieth century, and many reformers enthusiastically embraced the new educational practices and environments. These images were often iconoclastic and turned the established image upside down – at least at first sight. Indeed, while radical reformers, on the one hand, tried to break with some of the traditional icons of education (e.g., conventional school building, classroom, desk arrangement, order), they, on the other hand, subtly (re)used (some of) these icons, thus delicately fusing and balancing old and new. They did not intend their break to be too radical, since the iconic image they opposed was still surrounded by a positive aura. That is probably also why the image of the Decroly school is not too disorienting for a contemporary or modern-day viewer but easily understood as a depiction of a classroom, as it still contains enough icons (e.g., blackboard, pointer, textbooks) or references to icons (e.g., tables instead of school desks). So, in both cases – that is, whether they wanted to explicitly break with traditional education or whether they wanted to appear as not too radical – the reformers kept on referring to visual-material imaginings of schooling they rejected, thus ironically further strengthening the latter.

A final aspect I want to touch upon is the fact that the iconic visual-material imaginings presented in this chapter seem to employ a similar visual-material rhetoric and fall back on familiar cultural formula and symbolic connotations, which apparently constitute a field in which “historical” as well as contemporary “imaginings can interact, ebb, and flow” (Edwards 2012, p. 236). A good example is the dollhouse classroom in the toy store. By simultaneously integrating references to the past and to the present, it seems to appeal to different generations of passersby, allowing them to recognize what is displayed. Apparently, it does not

trouble the viewer that the representations depict incomplete, inaccurate classroom, bygone practices while also staging references to more recent developments in the field of education; instead, viewers recognize and use these representations as creative spaces of “negotiation between [past and present] realities on the one hand and image, interpretation and bias on the other” (Bruzzi 2000, p. 4). So, the icon – as a standard model of representation and frame of reference – seems to be able to unite the past, present, and future and allows us to make “meaningful connections across time” (Macdonald 2013, p. 234). As long as the icon manages to function as a space of negotiation and as a bridge between the past, present, and future, I would argue that this way of imaging schooling will endure. The question then is when or rather what radical shift(s) in education will make the icon lose this bridging function and make it a thing of the past. I guess we will know when children start drawing schools and classrooms that puzzle and confound us.

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Part III

Teachers, Teaching, and Educational Change



Teachers, Teaching, and Educational Change

21

Introduction

Kate Rousmaniere

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Abstract

This part on Teachers, Teaching, and Educational Change addresses critical historical questions about teachers and teacher practices, specifically teachers' work practices, identity, and classroom pedagogy. Drawing upon international examples, each chapter addresses major social theories and methodological questions around a particular topic in the historical study of teachers. The chapters are organized around three general themes: who teachers were; what social, economic, educational, and political forces shaped their work practices and identities; and the development of classroom teaching practices, or pedagogies.

Keywords

Teachers · Teacher professionalization · Feminization · Historiography

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Introduction

Although broad international studies are limited in their ability to highlight unique national and cultural distinctions, the history of elementary and secondary school teachers does follow some common patterns across cultures, particularly in the West. For example, common across most nations and cultures are the development of the teaching profession with its characteristic attributes of feminization, marginalized class and professional status, and tension between national standards and local conditions. Also common is the related development of higher education and state-endorsed licensure programs to prepare teachers and the development of different pedagogical theories, roughly balanced between subject-centered and student-centered approaches.

In an essay from the mid-1990s that remains very influential in the history of education field, Tyack and Tobin referred to some of these commonalities as “the grammar of schooling,” referring to the continuity of models of graded schooling, teacher supervision of students, and the organization of subject matter and pedagogy (Tyack and Tobin 1994). Other historians have noted the persistence of classroom organization such as a large group of students with a teacher at the head of the classroom; common methods of order, control, and discipline of both students by teachers and of teachers by administrators; and classroom pedagogy (Cuban 1993). Across time and place, there have been adaptations to these models, such as the development of progressive pedagogy and teachers’ struggle for authority in the school organization, but the common “grammar” or model of classroom and school organization remains the dominant model in most school systems in most nations.

There is good reason for the historic continuation of both dominant models and resistance to those models. As a publicly funded arm of the state, state school systems require some type of standard work force and work practices, thus leading to the state-sanctioned development of common practices of professionalization, teacher education, employment structures, and pedagogy. Yet students, teachers, and citizens have also sought to adapt these dominant models, and their efforts have led to changes and tensions – for example, for at least the last century, teacher unions resisted some aspects of professionalization and advocates of progressive pedagogy argued for new theories of student learning.

This part approaches the historic struggle between reoccurring dominant models and resistance to these models by focusing first on the key elements of the formation of the work force and work practices of teaching through the development of teacher education and teacher colleges, and the parallel and often intertwined development of professional stature of teaching, and struggles against that professional model through unionization. The second focus of study is on the prominent role of gender in the development of the occupation of teaching, particularly, the near-universal feminization of the teaching force which had powerful implications on teacher professionalization. The final chapter of the part focuses on different ideas about

classroom practice, or pedagogy, with a special focus on the development of progressive educational ideas.

The last chapter on classroom practice is intentionally placed at the end of the part, in part to highlight how, although teachers' work is most notable for classroom pedagogy, there are other powerful elements at play in the history of teaching that reach far outside the classroom. Teacher education and licensure, professional status, implications of a gendered work force, and other structural and cultural issues of state education shape the work of teachers as much as the classroom does. To that extent, this part focuses as much on teaching as a work practice and teachers as a distinct labor force than it does on the educational elements of the classroom. This approach draws on a wealth of recent international scholarship that explores the history of teaching as a work practice in the context of labor and employment organization (Albisetti 1993; Danylewycz and Prentice 1984; Ginsburg 1995; Lawn 1987; Rousmaniere 1997).

Woven within each chapter are discussions of the historiography (or how historians have interpreted the history of teachers in the past) and methodology (or how the history of this particular aspect of teachers' history has been researched and written). Here again, a common theme emerges across cultures: well through the mid-twentieth century, educational historians tended to emphasize political leadership and institutional histories in a largely consensus view of the positive outcomes of educational development over time. In the late twentieth century, many historians developed a more critical and political perspective on education, drawing on neo-Marxist theoretical influences to focus on those who had been disempowered and marginalized in history. This new social history approach inspired histories of teachers, students, and parents in education; focused studies on gender, sexuality, race, and class dynamics in educational history; as well as analytic analyses of the disadvantages of state education systems (Rousmaniere 2003). More recently, historians of education have adopted transnational studies of the historical intersections of educational ideas and practices across cultures (Bagchi et al. 2014; Popkewitz 2013). Different historical approaches occasioned different methodological strategies and uses of different types of sources, leading to the expansion of historical sources from traditional archives to oral history and the interpretation of photographs, architectural charts, and material culture (Bieze 2013; Danna 2015; Grosvenor et al. 1999).

The chapters in this part refer to these historical developments and rely on an understanding of teachers' work as a process in an established, if widely contested, occupation. Central to understanding these historical studies of teachers is to recognize that while there have always been teachers (including parents, elders, workers, and mentors who trained apprentices in a trade or religious practice), there has not always been an organized occupation of teaching. Only with the creation of a state system of education did the act of instruction become an organized occupation. Only with this development did teacher education programs begin to identify and promote a codified body of knowledge that defined the work

of teachers, and only then did strategies of professionalization, such as licensure and professional regulation, develop. Accompanying these formalized processes were teachers' own collective understanding, and often activism around their work, and parallel developments in the field of education, most notably the development of different pedagogical philosophies. That these wide historical patterns developed in a largely parallel fashion across international and cultural differences is a key topic of this part.

The Formation of the Teacher Work Force and Work Practices: Teacher Education, Professionalization, and Unionization

The formalization of a compulsory state education system beginning in the mid-nineteenth century in many nations led to the development of a professional body of teachers, notable for a codified body of training knowledge and standardized and regulated entry requirements. The professionalization process for teachers was not unique – the medical and legal professions followed similar models of identification and regulation – although teaching was unique in that political and economic motivations led it to be a field largely staffed by women. That teaching developed as a profession at the same time that it underwent a process of feminization makes teaching unique in that the professionalization movement was not accompanied by the increased status, remuneration, and cultural authority that came with the professionalization of the largely masculinized fields of law and medicine. The feminization of teaching was driven largely by economics – women teachers could be paid less than men, and a newly funded state system of education relied on this practice. Economic demands were accompanied by an ideological companion of new philosophies of education as a humane, caring occupation where children would be nurtured under newly developing theories of child psychology and human development. Middle-class white women, newly freed from the worst domestic labor by modern appliances and identified with popular culture images of maternal and emotional attributes, filled the role of both needed inexpensive labor and caring teachers (Albisetti 1993; Clifford 1989).

The parallel developments of professionalization and feminization led teaching into an awkward model of professionalization, or what some have called a “semi-profession,” as women teachers had none of the authority of male professionals, yet they worked under similar models of training and licensure (Arfken 1998). Feminization also limited teachers' abilities to shape their own field until the late nineteenth century when teachers around the globe began to organize in associations and unions in the attempt, first, to shape their own working conditions and, later, to impact educational policy and practice.

The topics of teacher education, professionalization, and unionization thus overlap and reinforce each other in the larger global study of how teaching became an identifiable occupation and how teachers participated in that development.

Teacher Identity

The topic of teacher identity relates to both who was recruited and permitted into the occupation of teaching and how those processes impacted school systems and teachers themselves. The prominent identity of teachers across cultures is gendered, following a process of feminization as the occupation developed. Feminization means the shift in gender and sex roles to prioritize women, although in the case of most labor groups, including teaching, a priority of women meant more of a marginalization than a reward. As scholars have long noted, the feminization of a work force – be it clerical or retail work, nursing, or teaching – commonly leads to a reduction in pay and cultural authority, replicating other social hierarchies into the work place (Barker 2005; Bolton and Muzio 2008; Strober and Tyack 1980).

The chapter in this part focuses on the development of the most distinctive, cross-cultural phenomenon of teacher identity: the role of gender in the development of the formal teaching occupation. Widely studied by historians of education, any discussion of the feminization of teaching also involves a discussion of historical methodology and particularly such methods as oral history which offers evidence of the history of women teachers that was commonly excluded from formal and official school board documents (Albisetti 1993; D’Amico 2017; Danylewycz and Prentice 1984). Both oral history and life history allow the emergence of voices that were excluded from formal documents and prioritize the subject’s perspective of the experience over that of the official record (Goodson and Sikes 2001; Weiler 1998; Weiler and Middletown 1999). This chapter engages in such a discussion and offers a case study of the history of gender and teachers in Canada with extended discussion of the impact of feminization on women teachers’ working conditions. The chapter also offers an intersectional approach to teacher identity by raising issues faced by teachers with other identities including religion, race, sexuality, indigeneity, and class (Collins 2015).

Pedagogy

The final chapter brings us back to the classroom, both the formal classroom of the school and the less formal social classroom of youth movements. ► Chap. 26, “Progressive and Informal Classrooms and Pedagogies” offers an overview of the major philosophical and pedagogical developments in education in the modern period with a study of what is commonly called progressive education. The global development of progressive education ideas introduced the notion that education was not merely the instruction of a content area but also the development of a young person and that such development required various standards of practice. Israeli history of education is used as the case study for this development, offering a dynamic transnational case study of the development and application of progressive educational ideas in a modernizing culture.

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Abstract

This chapter traces the history and historiography of teacher education from a global perspective, provides a list of key themes in the historical study of teacher formation, and concludes with promising directions for future research. Attention is paid to both Western forms of teacher education, such as the normal school and teachers' college, and pre-modern and non-Western varieties of educator formation. While early histories of teacher education often told celebratory stories of teachers and the institutions that trained them, historical work of the 1960s to the 1980s brought a new focus on race, class, gender, and social history, while histories of the 1990s and early 2000s built on these earlier themes while also centering transnational and postcolonial dynamics. While there are many exciting opportunities for historians in this field, the close relationship to policy also poses unique challenges. Historians of teacher education would do well to continue internationalizing their scholarship and taking heed of innovations in methods, sources, and their role in teacher preparation.

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Part I: History and Historiography of Teacher Education

Considering the idea of “teacher” has varied throughout time and place, the training experiences of teachers have been equally diverse throughout history. In the pre-modern era, teachers ranged from figures such as Socrates, debating with his philosopher king students in ancient Greece, to griots in Africa passing along knowledge orally from one generation to the next, to gurus instructing young Brahmin men in the Hindu scriptures, to religious leaders, parents, and tutors teaching children to read the Torah, Bible, Quran, or ancient Confucian texts. Teacher education therefore happened in a variety of settings through a variety of pathways, more often than not through informal mentoring relationships.

Historical work on teacher education is equally diverse. Some works deal directly with the nature, substance, and development of teacher education institutions and their curriculum. Others consider the experiences of teachers in these institutions, from the perspective of women, people of color, or the colonized. And still others employ history to make sense of current policy debates surrounding teacher preparation. This chapter explores both the history and historiography of teacher education and the places where teachers were taught, considering opportunities and challenges for the field and ending with promising directions for future research.

Historical Development of Teacher Education

Before the proliferation of mass education in the nineteenth century, spurring greater demand for professional training, a teacher was often qualified to teach by the mere possession of an education greater than his or her students. Tutors and governesses of the elite classes often possessed the equivalent of a secondary school degree, while teachers of modest village schools held even less. Nuns, priests, missionaries, and other religious figures often served as teachers in many parts of the world, as a literate class entrusted with moral education, rendering religious orders a very important site of teacher training. The Catholic Jesuit teaching academies claimed an international presence, for example. Some regions such as Africa, India, and Southeast Asia required more and varied experiences from educators entrusted with spiritual as well as academic learning. Yet for most of humanity, parents and elders often held the most important teaching responsibilities with no formal training at all (Edwards 1991; Herbst 1980; Reagan 2010).

Increased travel, communication, and the rise of modern empires in the nineteenth century helped spread Western [European] ideas about teacher education, giving rise to training methods with a global reach. The Prussian *schullehrseminar* provided a model of autonomous seminar-training with both

theoretical and practice-oriented curricula (Edwards 1991; Herbst 1989; Ramsey 2013). The British imperial-derived monitorial Lancaster and Madras systems also took hold across the world in the early 1800s, systems which relied on competent older students to aid a primary instructor in teaching large numbers of younger pupils (Fraser 2006; Kaestle 1973; Ramsey 2013; Tschurennev 2008). This system was adopted in such varied regions as Europe, the Americas, South Africa, and Egypt, in addition to India and other British colonies. Teachers from communities excluded from nation-building projects and educational opportunities, such as slaves and free blacks across the Americas, often provided their own teacher training through informal methods. As in the case of beloved Afro-Puerto Rican educators Rafael and Celestina Cordero, their parents started their own school in their living room when the established educational institutions in San Juan would not accept students of color. The Corderos, through this makeshift training, then went on to educate some of the island's leading statesmen, holding classes in a tobacco workshop to students of various races and classes (Del Moral 2014).

Often historians of formal teacher education begin with the advent of the normal school, which appeared in the late eighteenth century and became a global model by the mid-nineteenth century – though it is important to recognize the non-Western and pre-modern models of teacher training that existed before the European models gained international ascendancy. The *École Normale Supérieure* became the first nonsectarian normal school following the French Revolution, established in Paris in 1794 (“norm” coming from the word *normale*, or “standard”). It became a place “where citizens of the Republic already schooled in the usual sciences should be taught to teach” (Edwards 1991; Hummel 1995). Around this time Prussian teaching academies likewise formed across present-day Germany and Austria. Both models attempted to standardize and modernize the educational systems through the training of its teachers, which required a more standardized school curriculum and workforce (Herbst 1989; Ramsey 2013). Normal schools likewise sprung up in Spain, Poland, Norway, Hungary, Italy, and most regions across the continent (de Vroede 1979). Crucial to modernization and nation-building projects in the Americas as well, the first normal school in the Western Hemisphere was founded in the United States in 1834, as Horace Mann looked to the Prussian model for inspiration, soon followed by Brazil in 1835, Chile in the 1840s, Argentina in 1870, the Dominican Republic in 1875, and Canada in 1902 (Ducoing 2004; Fraser 2014; Ogren 2005; Palmer and Rojas Chaves 1998; Souza Araújo et al. 2008). Normal schools likewise appeared in Japan beginning in 1872 at the behest of the Meiji leaders, followed by China in 1895 with Beijing Normal University (Katagiri 1994; Lincicome 1995; Xiaoping 2007). These institutions aimed to provide a solid grounding of the disciplinary subjects to be taught; instruction in pedagogical philosophy and practice – “how to teach”; and in some cases apprenticeship training in practice or “laboratory” classrooms. Books, journals, and traveling teacher educators functioned to spread ideas on teacher training around the globe, popularizing the pedagogical philosophies of Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, and Dewey, among others. By the early twentieth century, the University of Chicago and Columbia University's Teachers College in

the United States also became key institutions to transmit ideas on teacher education globally, as many educators from around the world came to study there and many US American professors traveled abroad (Passow 1982).

In many countries, feminization also became the twin pillar of professionalization, as liberal republican nation-builders such as the United States' Horace Mann and Catherine Beecher and Latin America's Domingo Fausto Sarmiento and Eugenio María de Hostos mixed romantic notions of women's "natural" role as teachers and republican mothers with the pragmatic demands of ballooning educational systems. Teaching therefore became both professionalized and feminized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the project of nation-building in many parts of the world, two characteristics that would create lasting challenges for the teacher education enterprise, raising issues of status, prestige, and authority (Albisetti 1993; Fraser 2006, 2014; Palmer and Rojas Chaves 1998).

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century nation-building also coincided with the rise of European, US, Russian, and Japanese empires, impacting teacher training in both the metropolises and colonized regions of Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Caribbean, and Central Europe, as well as for Indigenous and African-descended populations in the Americas. Often European and North American teachers were trained in civilizing discourses of the "white man's burden" to educate those deemed members of inferior races and cultures in need of Euro-descended "enlightenment" (Willinsky 2000). In this context, religious orders and missionaries played a large role in teaching and therefore teacher training in the colonies. Reflecting the dominant eugenic philosophies of the day, teachers were taught to provide different types of education for different groups, inscribing race, class, and gender-based notions of citizenship into national and imperial systems, reflected in the differing form of education for Indigenous, Afro-descended, working-class, and female students. Teacher training institutes often reflected and reinforced these ideas. Teachers from colonized regions and communities also traveled to US, European, and Japanese normal schools for training and then returned to their home countries to teach, as was the case in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, China, Korea, and much of the Middle East and Africa. It is not surprising, then, that teachers' colleges became key sites of imperial negotiation, as well as anti-imperial nationalism, particularly during the age of decolonization in the second half of the twentieth century. For the first time, many newly independent nations across the Global South could educate their own teaching force with decolonized curriculums (Solaru 1964; Wolhuter 2006; Bagachi 2014). Teachers' colleges and normal schools also became key sites of revolutionary state formation, as was the case in Russia, Mexico, China, Cuba, and Nicaragua (Civera 2013; Del Moral 2014; Mikhailovich Balashov 2003; Yang et al. 1989).

During the twentieth century, various nations took different paths in regard to teacher education. For example, while in many countries normal schools eventually became university-based teachers' colleges, colleges of education, or comprehensive 4-year universities, other nations maintained the normal school tradition, while some held to a diverse system of pathways into the classroom (Darling Hammond and Lieberman 2012; Fraser and Lefty 2018). While in some countries this meant teacher

training institutions became valued and prestigious places of learning, at both the graduate and undergraduate levels, in others teaching became a low-status profession, rendering the places where teachers were taught equally maligned. Likewise, the role of the state, market, and civil society in regard to teacher education varied from place to place; in some countries such as Finland and Spain, teacher education remained highly standardized and regulated by the state, while in others such as the United States and Great Britain, pathways into teaching were managed by public as well as private colleges and institutions, particularly in the latter quarter of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. In each country, debates about what teachers needed to know and be able to do before entering the classroom remained contested. During the twentieth century, normal schools and teacher training programs also became sites of contestation, negotiation, and empowerment for women, the working and middle classes, and ethnic and racial minorities.

By 1980, at the beginning of the age of neoliberal ascendancy, a new set of practices related to teacher education migrated across borders, introducing markets and competition into some national systems, particularly in the United States, the United Kingdom, and parts of Asia, ending the university or normal school monopoly on teacher education (Apple 2001; Darling Hammond and Lieberman 2012; Moon 2013; Paine and Zeichner 2012). Border-crossing policymakers, philanthropists, and researchers helped spread new ideas about teacher education through international networks such as the UNESCO, the World Bank, the OECD, and international conferences and research journals, advocating a variety of pathways into teaching and at times challenging teacher professionalism. Other countries, such as Finland and Poland, took concerted steps to ensure that teacher training remained a well-respected professional education within the university setting. In the Global South, human and financial resources placed limits on the quality and reach of teacher education, but a growing emphasis on social justice and human rights sprung up in places such as Brazil and South Africa, while normal schools became important sites of social movement organizing in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa (Moon 2013; Paine and Zeichner 2012).

As sites where so many people passed through on their way to the world's classrooms, teachers' colleges and teacher training institutions are fascinating sites of learning, cultural contact, ideology, and power – both reflecting society's broader developments and serving as key instruments of educational and social change. Yet as understudied institutions in the history of education, they are likewise a rich area awaiting further historical exploration.

Historiographical Development of the History of Teacher Training and Teachers' Colleges

Mirroring historiographical trends in other fields within the history of education, the literature on teacher education from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century was often celebratory and rooted in the British Whig tradition, aimed mainly at school professionals who wanted to hear positive stories about the development of

their field or institutional histories of their alma maters. It is therefore no coincidence that the rise of teaching as a profession coincided with some of the first histories of teachers and the institutions that trained them. These works, such as P. Gordy's 1891 *Rise and Growth of the Normal-School Idea in the United States* and Peter Sandiford's 1910 *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales*, often told the story of increasing rationalization during an age of Enlightenment, when mass education was around the world, and progressive ideals brought rigor and modernity to the pursuit of teacher training, embodied in the normal school and eventually teachers' college housed within the university setting. While much attention was paid to the European varieties of normal schools, little recognition was given to other forms of teaching outside these institutional models, disregarding the merit of Indigenous forms of teaching and the negative effects of empire. Moreover, these histories often told the story from an elite perspective, describing the founders of these schools, the major intellectual forces guiding them, and the curriculum with scant attention paid to the experiences of school teachers themselves or the role of normal schools in society.

By the 1960s, the history of education took a more critical and outward looking turn. The US historian Bernard Bailyn, for example, critiqued the type of Whiggish institutional history that only celebrated the field's achievements in his 1960 classic *Education in the Forming of American Society*. He singled out historians of education such as Ellwood P. Cubberley, lamenting that this type of historical research had taken place "in a special atmosphere of professional purpose...in almost total isolation from the major influences shaping minds of twentieth-century historiography." Those studying teachers' colleges and teacher training therefore started telling stories about the nation through education, rather than just stories about education through history.

By the late 1960s, a "radical revisionist" trend, inspired by the radical global moment, also encouraged historians to take a sharper look at the way educational institutions, including teachers' colleges and normal schools, reflected and upheld power relations along lines of race, class, and gender. Historians of this era considered how normal schools and teachers' colleges became women's spheres and sites of feminization, empowerment, and resistance; gender would indeed become a sustaining theme in the history of teacher education for years to come. Nancy F. Cott's *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Women's Sphere' in New England, 1780–1835*, considered the role of teacher training in women's lives, for example, while Polly Welts Kaufman examined the lives (including the preparation) of women school teachers on the Western frontier of the United States (Cott 1977; Welts Kaufman 1984). British educational historian Joan D. Brown's *Teachers of Teachers: A History of the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education* offered the first recognition of women in the pursuit of training educators in the United Kingdom in 1979, though a flurry of works on British women teachers and their experiences and relationship to feminist politics soon followed (Browne 1979; Crook 2012).

More historians also began to focus on the experiences of non-white and working-class teachers in training and the way normal schools functioned in their communities. While African American scholars had been writing from this

perspective since the 1930s, as in Ambrose Caliver's 1933 *Education of Negro Teachers* and Edward Redcay's 1935 *County Training Schools and Public Secondary Education for Negroes in the South*, more works began considering the specific training experiences of teachers from Afro-descended, Indigenous, immigrant, and working-class populations in the United States and Europe but also in Africa, Australia, South Asia, and the Americas, considering the experiences of black teachers under apartheid and colonialism, for example, or Indigenous teachers in Australia and educators in pre-colonial India (Dharampal 1983; Rayman 1981; Solaru 1964).

New trends in social history also ushered in important work in the 1970s and 1980s focused on teachers' colleges from a non-elite perspective, considering the everyday lived experiences of teachers in these schools and not just the "great men" who founded them and the role of these institutions in society. Leading historian of teacher education Jurgen Herbst best reflected this methodological insight in the article "Nineteenth-Century Normal Schools in the United States: A Fresh Look" and his 1989 book *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Goodlad et al. 1990; Herbst 1980, 1989).

In fact, teacher education became a "hot topic" in the 1970s and 1980s during this historiographical revolution, serving as the theme for the first International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) in 1979, held in Leuven, Belgium. In his keynote address for the conference, the theme of which was "Teacher Training in Europe in the Period up to 1914," Maurits de Vroede called for a greater focus on teacher education from a historical perspective and an internationalization of inquiry across regional boundaries (de Vroede 1979).

Notably, de Vroede responded to Bailyn's and Herbst's critiques that much of the history of education was just "the past writ present," instead calling attention to the quality of the social and women's history of teacher education presented at the conference and its responsible links to present-day concerns.

The post-WWII era also saw a boom in the history of education from academies in the Global South, many in recently independent republics such as Nigeria and India or in countries massively expanding their higher education systems such as Brazil and China (Bagchi 2014; Omolewa 1981). Cold War exigencies also meant there was a greater interest in the nonaligned world from the centers of global power, resulting in much more academic production about the Global South from the Global North. Histories on teaching from Soviet Russia and Communist China that served national political and educational purposes also proliferated (Mikhailovich Balashov 2003; Yang et al. 1989). Yet in many countries, the history of education remained a small field, in many places taking off only in the 1970s, even in nations such as the United Kingdom, Australia, Ireland, Canada, and Japan with fairly wealthy university systems. This meant usually only one or two comprehensive works on the history of teacher training existed, as they do to this day (Crook 2012; Hyams 1979; Katagiri 1994; Vick 2007).

By the 1990s and early 2000s, new themes of transnationalism, post-structuralism, and postcolonialism brought new theoretical and methodical lenses to the historical consideration of teacher education. Historians began examining the ways

in which border-crossing networks, figures, texts, and ideas impacted the formation of teachers, as in the global influence of Dewey's pedagogical philosophy, the transnational work of Columbia's Teacher's College and its professorate, and the policy agenda of the UNESCO (Ramsey 2013; Tschurenev 2008). Other scholars applied a postcolonial and de-colonial lens to the field, writing histories of education and teacher education in a pre-European context, challenging the histories written by colonizing countries that did not respect the agency of Indigenous actors, and demonstrating how education in both colonies and metropolises was shaped by empire (Bagchi 2014; Del Moral 2014; Padovan-Özdemir 2016; Willinsky 2000). One prominent example is the use of the Madras system, an Indigenous Indian training technique, to educate British, European, and North American students in the imperial metropolises (Tschurenev 2008).

The new millennium also brought more attention and sophistication to the previous decades' work on race, class, and gender, considering how teachers' colleges functioned to build feminist movements, for example, as in the article by Steven Palmer and Gladys Rojas Chaves on the role of the *Colegio Superior de Señoritas* normal school that functioned to both "modernize patriarchy" and provide a platform for a burgeoning feminist movement in Costa Rica in the early twentieth century, Christine A. Ogren's work on the liberating power of normal schools for women and the working classes in the mid-Western United States, or Sabyasachi Bhattacharya's work on Dalit and women's education in India (Bhattacharya et al. 2001; Edwards 2001; Ogren 2005; Palmer and Rojas Chaves 1998). Scholarship also considered how the curriculum and training of teachers functioned to construct imperial hierarchies through the intimate relations of white teachers and non-white colonized students, as on the American and Australian Western frontiers or in the African colonies (Padovan-Özdemir 2016; Williams 2007). The role of teachers' colleges in political projects from the Mexican Revolution to postapartheid movements for social justice in South Africa to Chinese nation-building also shed new light on the role of teacher training for the broader society (Civera 2013; Ducoing 2004; Wolhuter 2006; Xiaoping 2007). General synthetic works on the history of teacher education continued to be written for various national and regional contexts as well, adding important empirical and analytical work to national historiographies of education, as well as works on nontraditional teacher training programs (Coolahan 1998; Crook 2012; Fraser 2006; Lincicome 1995; Milewski 2008; Souza Araújo et al. 2008).

As a general trend, at the turn of the new millennium, the historiography of education in the United States tended to focus more on race, class, and gender, while historical research coming from Europe and the Global South tended to employ more social theory and innovation in use of archival sources. Yet due to increasing interaction between national academies through international journals and conferences, fruitful cross-pollination is increasing between historians of different nationalities. Because the field remains just a small subset of the already small field of the history of education, however, many nations still only have a few works related to teacher education in their historiographies of education, while some larger national historiographical traditions (the United States stands out as an example) too often fail

to engage the excellent work of scholars researching on or within other national contexts. Financial, geographic, and language barriers also remain a challenge in this regard. Japan, for example, boasts a large and vibrant education research field, though many works are not translated to Western languages and therefore remain limited in their reach on a global scale. Australian historians of education have lamented the isolation they feel due to geographical distance. And historians of teacher education in the United States critique their place within the university pecking order, as historical research on teacher education is often viewed as low status or too “applied” in nature to warrant serious historical attention or not applied enough for those in the policy world. Yet recent insightful work on teacher training shows the great potential of focusing on the places where teachers were taught in further understanding the role of teachers and teaching in the history of education and society.

Part II: Policy Imperatives and the History of Teacher Education

The historical literature on teacher training has also long been shaped by the field's unique relationship to policy. Concern over quality in teacher training impacted the field from its very inception, encouraging the production of more histories with a specific focus on what history can teach policymakers and teacher educators about their contemporary tasks – a “usable past,” so to say. Demand for this type of scholarship increased following the 1980s, when the quality of the teaching workforce was viewed by national policymakers and global bodies such as the UNESCO and the OECD as a key factor for improving educational systems and economies (Paine and Zeichner 2012). A flurry of work from the 1980s to the early 2000s therefore engaged these debates, turning to the past to inform the often rancorous debates over teacher education, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom with the rise of the Reagan and Thatcherite New Right, but also in the Global South, deeply impacted by neoliberalism and its policy demands (Apple 2001; Labaree 2004; O'Keefe 1990; Thomas 1990). The history of teacher education therefore often falls in one of two camps: either as a story about society told through the history of teachers and their development (as the works of the last section represent) or as a history about teacher education for the purpose of reforming or improving teacher training.

While the previous historiographical section included works produced by scholars both within History Departments and Schools of Education, more policy-oriented works are almost exclusively produced by those within Schools of Education. The United States and the United Kingdom, for example, both claim a large body of scholarship of this nature, more of the “rise and fall” variety, telling a story of increasing quality and standardization with the rise of the normal school and teachers' college and then a decline in quality and prestige in the second half of the century when teacher training migrated to university-based Schools of Education or regional state universities (Crook 2012; Fraser 2006; Goodlad et al. 1990; Labaree 2004; O'Keefe 1990). Often these historical works attempt to critique the teaching

profession or argue in favor or against a certain policy agenda. In places such as Finland and Poland, in contrast, where teacher training is well-respected and amply funded, the more policy-oriented histories tell a success story rather than a cautionary tale (Darling Hammond and Lieberman 2012). In countries with strong educational systems such as China, Singapore, Japan, and South Korea, recent histories of teacher training likewise resist declension narratives, though more often complicate the glowing reviews by outside researchers by calling attention to challenges in teacher education rather than just success as seen through high test scores on international exams like PISA (Darling Hammond and Lieberman 2012). For example, Japanese and South Korean educational scholars are more likely to critique their systems for their lack of freedom and autonomy, while Western scholars often praise them as a “success” for their role in economic development (Katagiri 1994).

The demand for historians of teacher education to comment on contemporary policy debates can sometimes place frustrating challenges on scholarship, as historians can feel caught between two worlds, never satisfying either. Yet it can also create exciting opportunities for historians to enter the policy realm and share insights and a mode of “historical thinking.” Those looking for work on the history of teacher training should indeed consult all types of scholarship, that with more of an academic and humanistic audience as well as those addressing teacher educators, legislators, and policymakers.

Part III: Major Themes in the History of Teacher Education

Despite the great diversity in historical experiences with teacher education throughout time and place, a number of common themes arise. Gender and women’s history, the role of religion in teacher training, nation- and empire-building, and transnationalism surface are perhaps the most prominent themes in the extant literature. Historians of teachers’ colleges and teacher training should take note of these broader themes, as well as a number of others listed below.

Major Themes in the History of Teacher Education

- Institutional development of teacher training institutions
 - Various pathways into the teacher profession (religious orders, Lancaster and Madras systems, apprenticeship, seminars, normal schools, teaching academies and institutes, teachers’ colleges, universities, alternative certification, etc.)
 - Formal and informal sites of teacher training
- Intellectual history of teacher education
- The role of the state, civil society, and market in shaping teacher education
- Social histories and demographics
 - Who attends? Who teaches teachers?
- Curriculum development
 - What is learned?
 - What does a teacher need to know and be able to do?

- Debates on the nature of teacher training: a liberal, professional, or technical education?
- Teacher education within higher education and society – the status and labor question
- Social history of teacher education
- Race
 - Teacher training for racialized populations
 - Role in creating and maintaining racial divisions
 - Admissions and access
 - What is taught about race and ethnicity in teacher preparation curriculums?
- Class
 - Class consciousness formed in teachers' colleges
 - Recreating or challenging class hierarchies
 - Social capital or lack thereof in various national and temporal contexts
- Gender
 - Teaching as women's work
 - Teachers' colleges as female spaces
 - The politics of maternalism
 - The feminization of teacher education in the higher education landscape and society
- Teacher education and empire
 - Role in imperial imposition, resistance, and negotiation
 - Teachers' colleges as imperial networks and “contact zones”
- The role of religion in teacher training
 - Teacher education run by religious orders
 - Religious influence on curriculum
- Transnational and global dynamics
 - Movement of people, ideas, and texts through teacher training institutes
 - International conferences and journals on teacher education
 - International bodies: the UNESCO, World Bank, etc.
 - Global trends in teacher education
- Teachers' colleges as sites of politicization and activism
 - Civil society-led social movements
 - State-led revolutions
 - Labor and union organizing

Part IV: Promising Directions for Future Research

Despite the number of promising new developments in recently published work on the history of teacher training, there are also many areas awaiting study by future historians.

Despite the many valuable national histories of teacher education, and the recent contributions of transnational scholars considering border-crossing phenomenon, there has yet to be a more comprehensive global or “entangled” history of teacher

education. A synthetic work that makes sense of the rise of the normal school in a global perspective, or curricular and philosophical trends that consider more than one bi-national exchange, would be of great import for scholars looking to internationalize their understandings of the history of education broadly and teacher education specifically. The global embrace of the Lancaster and Madras systems and their link to empire, the negotiated forms of normal schools around the world and their relationship to modernity, or the global feminization of teaching during early national periods from the perspective of the teachers' college might all prove worthwhile avenues of inquiry. Any national cases that depart dramatically from global trends are also worthy of study.

Historians would also do well to move away from the stark division between a Global North and Global South or the unidirectional influence of Europe and the United States on the rest of the world. Instead, they could consider how teacher education in formerly colonized regions, Latin America and Asia, in turn shaped Western nations as well as each other and how entangled and transcultural intellectual exchange between teachers' colleges occurred in a multidirectional fashion. As Kris Manjapra stated in his work *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals Across Empires*:

As theorists of interregional and transnational studies point out, the practice of taking sideways glances toward the constellations that transgress the colonial duality is the best way to disrupt the hemispheric myth that the globe was congenitally divided into an East and West (or North and South) – and that ideas were exchanged across that fault line alone. (quoted in Bagchi 2014)

This will require a focus on state and non-state, elite, intermediate, and subaltern actors, such as Department of Education representatives that set teacher education policy, teacher educators housed in normal schools and teachers' colleges, teachers themselves, and even the communities where teacher training institutes were located.

Furthering this attempt to decolonize and internationalize the history of teacher education, historians would benefit from a greater exploration of the non-Western traditions of teacher training, in both pre-modern and modern eras. Little historical work exists on the lives and educational experiences of teachers outside the Western tradition, or valuable work that does exist has not reached a global audience. A focus on the ways in which teachers were taught outside of normal schools and subsequent progressive era institutions may shed valuable insight on the role of those teachers in society and the curricular and theoretical insights that have since fallen out of teacher education in a contemporary context. For example, what could historians of education and policymakers learn from a study of Indigenous teacher training that placed value on apprenticeship, oral literacy, morality, and experience rather than disciplinary competence and Western pedagogical philosophy?

Moreover, many key political projects of the twentieth century relied on teacher training to spur massive social change. What did teacher training look like during the Chinese Cultural Revolution and rural literacy campaign, for example? Or the Soviet or Cuban revolutions? During the Cold War in Africa and Latin America when education became highly politicized? During the twentieth century upheavals in the

Middle East? More on teacher education in newly independent nations during the age of decolonization would also prove fruitful, both for what they could tell us about those specific national experiences and the relationship between teachers' colleges and empire.

In addition to topical innovation, historians of teacher education might also consider new methodological avenues of inquiry. By considering novel sources in the study of teacher education, such as video, online resources, literature, material culture, and digital history, historians might be able to tell completely new stories and present new insights on oft-told narratives. New mapping and spatial analysis tools, for example, might present novel insight on where teacher education happened, who attended, and what the presence of a normal school or teachers' college meant to a community; or they might reveal which regions and communities were denied opportunities for teacher training.

Historians of teacher education may also want to revisit their professional commitments. As Professor of US American teacher education James Fraser has argued, overemphasis on aligning scholarly work with the standards of History Departments while neglecting a commitment to teacher preparation has removed some of historians of education from their ties to schools and educational justice (Fraser 2013). Historians of teacher education should therefore continue contemplating how their work can function in teacher training itself. If teaching is, in fact, a profession and not a technical vocation, should teachers not be well educated in the historical trajectory and thematic debates that have defined their field and understand their role as change agents in their schools and societies? Just as law schools and medical schools are now seeing the value in teaching the history of medicine and law to practitioners, Schools and Departments of Education may consider how the history of teacher training could in fact inform the practice of teacher trainees themselves, providing them with a professional identity and a rich platform on which to contemplate issues of pedagogical philosophy, teacher identity, authority, and power along lines of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Moreover, teachers in training could participate in public history projects in which they conduct research on the curriculum and experiences of teacher candidates at their own institutions. It may be a very worthwhile endeavor to see when teacher education curriculum changed, how, and why, which would better equip them to participate in contemporary policy debates about the form and content of teacher education.

As teacher education reform continually stands at the center of debate in many countries across the globe, there is no better time than to consider the historical importance and trajectory of the institutions where teachers were taught.

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Abstract

This chapter explores the history of teachers and the development of profession from a global perspective.

Keywords

Teachers · Teacher education and licensure · Profession · Teacher unions

Introduction

This chapter explores the history of teachers and the development of profession from a global perspective. For as long as there have been civilized societies, there have been teachers. Over time and across place, these individuals served different social

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roles and worked in both formal and informal spaces and capacities, at times secular and, at others, sectarian. The focus of this chapter is the history of the individuals who have worked in the compulsory education systems of nation states the world over. Also known as common or public schools, teaching in these institutions has taken on specific forms. Scholars, policymakers and teachers alike often envision the schools as local entities that at once reflect and inform specific and unique communities. Even as the various goals of public education have been lofty and broad, school reform initiatives often prove to be narrow. In studying the past, historians seek to identify moments of continuity and change. An international perspective further contributes to this project as it affords the opportunity to reflect on what is exceptional – that is, a unique product of a specific time and place – and what is emblematic of broader patterns and developments.

Guided by the simple view that public schools are local and the world is both big and changing, one might expect to find myriad diffuse, disconnected and perhaps even competing histories of teachers and the development of profession around the globe. Indeed, a survey of the expansive secondary literature reveals salient differences. However, what emerges even more powerfully from the historical studies of schools and teachers in particular localities are a series of enduring themes. First, a westernized concept imported around the globe, the discourse of teacher professionalism is both historical and transcends geographic boundaries. Second, the rise of state-sponsored public school systems and the discourse of teacher professionalism were synchronous and conjoined. Third, the histories of teachers from Latin America, Canada, and the United States and across Europe and Australia reveal that *profession* has proved to be an elusive goal for teachers. Rather than a fixed identity, historically, teachers have been enmeshed in professionalization, the processes designed to make professionals of them. Finally, around the world, today and in the past, teaching has been a woman's occupation and the gendered composition of the workforce is central to its history, discussions of profession, and professionalization projects. This chapter begins with a section on the global discourse of teacher professionalization that presents the rise of the female teacher and discussions of teacher professionalism as products of the development of public schooling. The chapter then explores various definitions of profession, considering the history of teachers within the context of theories of profession. The next section examines two key aspects of professionalization: teacher preparation and associations and unions. The final section considers questions for future research.

The Global Discourse of Teacher Professionalism and the Rise of Public Schools

Before the rise of public schooling, education took place in a range of spaces and served various ends. Mothers and ministers imparted basic literacy skills as well as powerful messages about religious beliefs and civic norms, teaching in the informal spaces of the home as well as the church. Children in destitute circumstances made their way to charity schools run by the state. Meanwhile, children from families with

financial means studied in private academies or with tutors in their homes. From the United States to Russia, before the rise of compulsory education, men served as paid teachers. Largely seasonal work completed on a part-time basis, teaching in these contexts was unregulated and temporary. Not considered a profession itself, the men who engaged in the work used teaching as a stepping stone *into* professions such as law and ministry (Mattingly 1975; Ruane 1994).

Public schools developed unevenly around the world, but by the mid-nineteenth century, they were burgeoning fixtures of westernized society. Even as historians have documented the idiosyncratic nature of public schooling by highlighting the various ways these institutions have both reflected and been shaped by local communities, social mores, rural and urban divides, political and cultural shifts, and economic developments, certain aspects of these important institutions have also proved constant over time and space. More than a commitment to the humanistic ideals of the intrinsic value of knowledge for individuals, policymakers envisioned publicly funded education as a vehicle for social reform and a powerful tool to preserve national identity. For instance, in the United States, as a wave of immigration brought millions of people to cities without infrastructure, in 1848 Horace Mann wrote that through a system of publicly supported education, “those embryos of talent may be quickened, which will solve the difficult problems of political and economical law” (Mann 1848, p. 1). Similarly, by the late nineteenth century, publicly funded schooling in Argentina arose as a social reform intended to produce a cohesive culture and integrate both new immigrants and uneducated native populations into a single “civilized” nation. In a commencement address delivered to the graduates of the Argentine Normal School in 1911, one speaker alerted future teachers that their work centered on persuading students’ parents of the importance of school, cleaning and appropriately dressing their students, as well as passing on to students “the national language, names of Argentine heroes and history of Argentina” (Morgade 2006, pp. 89–89). Teachers assumed a critical role in these social institutions. As was the case in Mexico during the post-revolution years, teachers represented a national identity and their work in the classroom served social goals that transcended the local schools (López 2013).

In calling for public schools, local and national leaders in countries around the globe imagined a social institution that would serve as a stabilizing force, offering cohesion during times of change and instability. Rooted in the western world and later imported worldwide (Clark 1998; Sweeting 2008), from South Africa to Argentina, from Hong Kong to the United States, from Sweden to Nova Scotia, and beyond, the development of public schooling led to the development of teacher professionalization. The rise of formalized compulsory education also ushered a new type of teacher into schools around the globe: women. Known as *feminization*, economic and political forces both pulled men from the schools and pushed women into them. As more lucrative employment opportunities emerged for men, women, willing to accept lower salaries because of constrained options, turned to the schools (Albisetti 1993). In addition, regional differences informed these demographic transformations with urbanization spurring the entrance of women into the schools (de los Ríos 2006; Perlmann and Margo 2001). No mere accident of

circumstances, the emergence of teaching as women's work stemmed from gendered ideas about the sort of teacher best suited for these new institutions (D'Amico Pawlewicz [forthcoming](#)). Drawing on Victorian notions of women's innate biology as caretakers as well as the work of European thinkers such as Friedrich Froebel and Johann Pestalozzi, reformers presented schools as natural extensions of the home and envisioned the new professional public school teacher as a moral exemplar held to the highest standards of feminine docility and comportment (Alridge [2007](#); Copelman [2013](#); Ruane [1994](#)). School board regulations in British Columbia, for example, stated that teachers were to teach "diligently and faithfully" and to promote "by precept and example, CLEANLINESS, NEATNESS, AND DECENCY", as well as "TRUST AND HONESTY" (Wotherspoon [1993](#), p. 93).

More than ideology, the gendered assumptions that suffused the identity of professional teachers and defined teaching as women's work had tangible effects on the structure of public schools and on teachers' work lives. Feminization fit hand in glove with the bureaucratization of the public schools and as growing numbers of women became teachers, they worked in increasingly regulated and hierarchized spaces (Hoffman [2003](#); Rousmaniere [1997](#)). As the twentieth century progressed, teachers experienced an intensification of their work that isolated them to their classrooms and defined them as the schools' workers. For instance, in 1918, Isabel Ennis, an elementary school teacher in New York City, lamented the arduous demands placed upon teachers and the myriad roles they were expected to perform, including, "an arithmetician, a historian, a grammarian, a disciplinarian, a librarian, a sociologist, a penman, an artist. . ." in addition to traits such as resourcefulness, initiative, and confidence, making it so difficult that, "teachers hardly know what to slur or what to stress in teaching" (Ennis in Rousmaniere [1997](#), p. 54). Another commentator reported that many teachers regularly went home at the end of the day little better than "half dead" (Rousmaniere [1997](#), p. 81).

Meanwhile, a new class of school men became administrators, creating a gendered hierarchy that placed teachers and women on the lowest rungs of a growing bureaucratic order (Rousmaniere [2009](#); Strober and Tyack [1980](#); Wotherspoon [1993](#)). Westernized norms of femininity were central to the idealized notion of the professional teacher and to the reforms that regulated these women workers. For instance, during the twentieth century in places as seemingly disconnected as New York City and Soviet Latvia, male administrators and school leaders controlled teachers by regulating their physical bodies according to traditional ideas of feminine aesthetics and modesty (Kestere and Kalke [2017](#); Perrillo [2004](#)). Ideals of feminine wholesomeness were integral to what it meant to be a professional teacher in public school systems worldwide, but these standards also shifted over time and across space. In the early history of many public schools systems, education leaders cast teaching as appropriate work for single women, a way station before marriage and motherhood. To ensure only single women populated the schools, policymakers enacted marriage bans that called for the immediate dismissal of female teachers who married as a way to preserve the propriety of the schools (Whitehead [2007](#)). Deriding such policies in her satirical play, American playwright and suffragist

Alice Duer Miller wrote “No teacher need apply to us/Whose married life is harmonious” (Miller in D’Amico 2017, p. 44). However, as the twentieth century pressed on, many school districts revoked these bans not because of a commitment to equity or a sense of gender justice but because of new fears of the spinster teacher and autonomous woman as gender transgressors (Blount 2000; Cavanagh 2005; D’Amico 2017).

Contested Definitions of Profession

At the time the modern teaching profession arose in the mid-nineteenth century, conceptions of profession which derived from occupations like medicine and law centered on racialized and gendered ideas of authority, expertise, objectivity, and rationality (D’Amico Pawlewicz *forthcoming*; Hine 2003; Ludmerer 1999). These formulations, grounded in white masculinity, create a layer of complexity when considering the history of public school teachers around the globe, the majority of whom have been women. Education leaders from distant and seemingly disconnected westernized societies beckoned women to state-sponsored schools to serve as teachers because of deep-rooted Victorian notions of femininity, not in spite of them. For example, as the nineteenth century came to a close, social reformers in Argentina reasoned that women would be apt teachers primarily because their work in the schools would replicate their natural work in the home (Morgade 2006). In the Netherlands, similar gendered “scripts” made it difficult for women to gain esteem and authority in the education complex and relegated them to working largely invisibly within the expanding structures of the school, serving as school caretakers and nurses or predominantly within the primary education context (van Drenth and van Essen 2008). Even J.H. Gunning Wzn, scholar in Dutch education sciences in the Netherlands in 1901, expressed strong normative gender ideals in his work concerning the educational development of children:

It must be to their charitable warmth of soul and their sensitivity that women owe their success in education. Because to my mind – and I really need all my scholarly courage to say this in our feminist times – they generally possess less natural gifts for the work of education than man. . . . (Wzn in van Drenth and van Essen 2008, p. 383)

In contexts like United States, gender and race were inextricably interwoven and forged policies that paved pathways into state sponsored public schools for white women and constructed barriers into those same schools for many women of color (D’Amico Pawlewicz *forthcoming*). In response this exclusion, Black educators were forced to develop parallel institutions and associations for teachers and students of color (Anderson 1988; Foster 1997; Hine 2003; Walker 1996). Studying various occupations, scholars have sought to identify the defining characteristics of professions and generated taxonomic classifications that differentiate professional occupations from other fields of work; expert knowledge and authority sit at the top of most lists (Abbott 1988; Freidson 1986). Using functionalist frameworks as a

yardstick of sorts, other scholars have considered teachers' work lives and posited that, rather than a full-fledged profession, school teaching is perhaps at best a "semi-profession" (Etzioni 1969; Ingersoll 2011). Even as the discourse of profession has engulfed teachers since the rise of public schooling, there has been a fundamental and historically persistent divide between the notion of the professional, writ large, and that of the professional teacher. Talk of the professional teacher – how one ought to look, behave, and be regulated – was bound up in racialized and gendered power dynamics, central to the development and maintenance of public school systems, and a primary mechanism through which school systems could monitor, control, and reform teachers (Preston 1991; Wotherspoon 1993).

In Ontario schools of the 1940s, for instance, notions of the professional teacher were purely ideological as opposed to descriptive, belying any taxonomical categorization. Instead, the prestige and autonomy suggested by the demarcation were a façade that enabled the state to enhance its control over teachers in its aim for a unified citizenry (Smaller 2015). Educational officials worked to fit teachers to the needs and immediacies of the schools in the name of professionalism. For instance, Egerton Ryerson, a founder of the Canadian school system, once said when expressing support for professional organizations for teachers, "The accomplished minds would give a tone to the others; roughness and peculiarities of manner would be rubbed off. . . men would learn. . . the manner of keeping their position in society" (in Smaller 2015, p. 143). While this "position in society" may have placed teachers in a social stratum above the residents in their communities, it also kept them under the control of the so-called educational elite.

Gender, race, and class converged over the long history of the public schools to create various definitions of the professional teacher that transcended functionalist categorization (Brown 1992; Clark 1998; Copelman 2013). Rather than a single shared definition of the professional school worker, the history of teachers is marked by debates about what that demarcation entailed. At times, those formulations offered teachers status and prestige, but at others, it sapped them of authority. At times, ideas of profession drew teachers and communities together, but at others, it served as a dangerous wedge. For instance, in the years preceding the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in the American south, Black teachers worked as community professionals. Reflecting broader social inequalities and racism, these teachers served in crumbling buildings with limited instructional materials. Occupying spaces neglected by the state, teachers joined with community members to define the goals of the school and the roles of teachers within them. In these spaces, the professional teacher worked for racial uplift and social justice as she strove to imbue communities and generations of children with feelings of love, respect, and possibility (Fairclough 2009; Walker 2000). As one Black teacher described the personal and financial sacrifices she made to support students who possessed strong determination but fewer resources, "it hurts, but you have to do these things some time" (in Walker 2000 p. 265). Similarly working beyond the formal structures of the state, though in a very different time and place, in late eighteenth-century Russia, immigrant teachers played a central role in preserving the ethnic identity of

transplanted German communities. In this context, ethnic identity and profession went hand in hand where professional identity was cultural and passed down from one generation to the next (Steinberg 2009).

In other settings, however, notions of teacher professionalism put teachers and the communities they served at odds. For instance, in the post-1970s Danish context, policymakers cast rising numbers of non-western immigrant and refugee school children as the problem for professional teachers to solve. Racialized discourses of the shifting school population stigmatized these children as social problems and “others” (Padovan-Özdemir 2016). As Gustav Bjerregaard stressed:

If the teacher involved in the work with foreign language speaking pupils is not engaged in the entire problematics of immigration and becomes conscious of the fact that he is not only a teacher, but also socially committed, he will soon reach a deadlock. (in Padovan-Özdemir 2016, p. 495)

During the same time in New York City, White school teachers clashed with Black parents and activists in the name of professional authority. Drawing on racialized notions of professionalism that traced back to schools of education, teachers identified Black parents’ calls for community control as an affront (D’Amico 2016). According to Al Shanker, the renowned teacher union leader, the attempt to elevate parent voice through the community control movement “ignore[d] the new power and integrity of the professional teacher” (Shanker in D’Amico 2016, p. 557).

Processes of Professionalization

Even as definitions of the professional teacher departed from norms established in other fields, were motivated by social, cultural, and political forces beyond the schools, and varied over time and place, two interconnected threads weave throughout this global history. First, policymakers and school reformers the world over concurred that teachers were not yet professionals, but that they ought to be. And second, these same individuals envisioned teacher professionalization as a process for the greater good that would benefit the schools and, by extension, society (D’Amico Pawlewicz forthcoming). In other fields, the mantle of professionalism afforded its beneficiaries stature that extended from two key areas: (1) esoteric expertise and knowledge that traced to the university and (2) the ability to make decisions and regulate the occupation collaboratively (Abbott 2014; Freidson 1986). Professional preparation and modes of professional representation and organization have been critical characteristics of the professionalization of other high status fields. No exception, teaching has also been broadly affected by these two defining characteristics. However, teacher professionalization has historically been instigated and managed by policymakers, education leaders, and social reformers – not teachers – and has been used as a mechanism to fit teachers to the needs of the public school system rather than to enhance the authority and autonomy of

individual practitioners or of the teaching field as a whole. In developing public school systems around the globe, regulation, standardization, and teacher professionalization fit together like puzzle pieces. As the occupation of public school teaching professionalized, transforming from a largely unregulated occupation where practitioners set the terms of their work to one that was formalized, school workers found themselves increasingly regulated and voiceless. Initiatives around licensure and teacher education as well as the rise of teachers associations and unions are critical components of the history of teachers and the development of the profession. Historical efforts in these areas simultaneously animate the ways in which teachers have been professionalized and the extent to which those endeavors have constrained them (D'Amico Pawlewicz [forthcoming](#)).

Licensure and Teacher Education

Teacher credentialing and education arose around the globe as a response to the rise of state-sponsored public school systems. Drawing on the exchange of transnational ideas, institutions of teacher preparation developed in the middle of the nineteenth century, generating a global isomorphism (Milewski 2008; Ramsey 2014). As early as 1871 in Ontario, school leaders mandated that teachers regularly attend teacher institutes as a condition of employment (Milewski 2008). Regulations passed in 1884 stated:

It shall be the duty of every teacher to attend continuously all meetings of the Institute held in his [sic] county or inspectoral division. . .and in the event of his [sic] inability to attend, he shall report to his Inspector, giving reasons for his [sic] absence. (in Milewski 2008, p. 612)

Likewise, in the pedagogical conferences of France during the nineteenth century, teachers assembled to discuss new approaches and exchange information (Toloudis 2010). It was at these conferences that school administrator Guizot emphasized that teachers could “pool their experience and spur each on by helping each other” (Guizot in Toloudis 2010, p. 592). Furthermore, a teachers’ society in Seine expressed the desire to eliminate “the state of isolation and misery by which all the teachers see them threatened at the end of an honorable, but obscure and barely lucrative career” (Seine, letter, August 1833 as cited in Toloudis 2010, p. 593). As the twentieth century progressed, key aspects of professionalization such as educational requirements and certification and licensure measures for teachers increased.

In spite of this expansion, institutions of teacher preparation and initiatives to certify and license practitioners, hallmarks of professionalization, did not necessarily afford teachers stature and authority. Beginning in the nineteenth century in British Columbia, teacher institutes were one aspect of the regulatory arm of the state and a key way to impart specific knowledge and skills to teachers under a “watchful eye” (Wotherspoon 1993). According to D. Wilson, inspector in the British Columbia schools in 1885, teachers required scrutiny and supervision in the public interest. Doing so, school leaders argued, would keep education leaders “informed of the

educational success or failure” of teachers and point out defects in their instruction as needed in hopes of building uniformity in method and message (in Wotherspoon 1993, p. 103). Teacher preparation here served as a primary means to examine and inspect school workers and to ensure that the goals of the school and state were met. From England and Wales to the United States during the twentieth century, organized teacher professional development and education centered on ideologies of excellence but restricted the engagement of teachers and centralized control (Herbst 1991; Robinson and Bryce 2013). Margaret Haley, the Chicago labor leader, lamented what she considered to be an increased automation of teaching and the misplaced duty of the teacher to serve as, “an automaton, a mere factory hand. . . to carry out mechanically and unquestionably the ideas and orders of those clothed with the authority of position, who may or may not know the needs of children” (Herbst 1991, p. 191).

Drawing on derisive gendered assumptions about the female intellect, institutions of teacher preparation taught practitioners about the norms and goals of the public schools in expedited programs but offered teachers little esoteric or specialized knowledge (D’Amico 2015). Reflecting on the entrance of women to university-based teacher education programs during the Great Depression years, one committee of professors wrote, “there is evidence at hand that an old order is passing” (D’Amico 2015, p. 339). Spurred by this recognition, programs of teacher preparation departed from the traditions of higher education that continued to define the professional preparation of doctors, lawyers, engineers, and others and instead implemented a vocationalized curricula centered on applied learning and practical knowledge. Historically, competitive exams, licensure, and education have been critical aspects of professionalization and bolstered the professional credibility of practitioners in fields like medicine and law. For teachers, however, the effect has been somewhat inverse. As one illustration, in the mid-nineteenth-century Wales, the structure of teachers’ competitive exams suited state priorities, not teachers’ professional aspirations and, as a result, weakened rather than strengthened their individual and collective professional authority and influence (Knudsen 2016). Education reformer Frederick Temple promoted the use of standardized testing for aspiring teachers, stating that it would be used for “guiding education all over the country” (Knudsen 2016, p. 519). Over time, examination-based incentives such as teacher certification and pay became little more than state tools for setting the national criteria for professional education and manipulating the guidelines for “professional” status (Knudsen 2016).

Teacher professionalization through preparation, certification, and licensure increased over the twentieth century, intensifying teachers’ work lives and making entrance into the profession more cumbersome but doing little to elevate teachers’ professional authority or to assuage criticisms of them. With few alternatives, teachers made their way through preparation programs and submitted to examination and inspection but also complained that this professionalization had little bearing on their actual work lives and offered neither protection nor stature. As was the case for Danish teachers in the early twentieth century, even as qualifications around training and certification increased teachers continued to be inspected and dismissed for less

tangible infractions such as moral deficiencies (Nielsen 1997). For instance, in 1912, local school mistress, Miss Christiane Fold, was dismissed on the grounds that she was too harsh with students. Upon receiving a complaint about Miss Fold, the rural dean, C.V. Bondo, visited Miss Fold's classroom to observe her teaching practices and manner with the students. He urged her to be a bit kinder and gentler toward students and over time expressed deep satisfaction with her willing compliance to his request. Local villagers, however, petitioned the education committee for her dismissal as they surmised that the dean's instructions had fallen upon deaf ears. Despite Miss Fold's formal statement repudiating the allegations, the high regard of her colleagues, and the dean's expressed satisfaction with her instructional methods, Miss Fold was dismissed with an annual pension equal to half of her annual salary (Nielsen 1997). In New England, teachers resented extra educational requirements, arguing that they offered little professional reward and were "belittling" (Nelson 1992). Elsewhere, organized teachers poked fun at the passing fads that defined their professional preparation, suggesting that, at best, their training was a waste of time and, at worst, completely irrelevant to their real work in the public schools (D'Amico 2015).

Teachers Associations and Unions

In spite of the increased education policymakers and school leaders mandated for teachers over the twentieth century in the name of professionalization, teachers gained neither autonomy nor control. A function of both the growing school bureaucracy and the place of women in society, teachers remained voiceless and powerless within public school systems. In many countries, women did not gain suffrage rights until the first decades of the twentieth century and, in the case of France, not until the middle of the twentieth century. Managed and increasingly regulated within the schools and powerless outside of them, teachers turned to labor organization. Associations in fields like medicine and law assumed key roles in setting standards for the profession and creating barriers for entry; these associations were one primary way practitioners in the field exerted control over their work (Smaller 2015). Teachers' organizations, in contrast, functioned differently.

In the United States, for instance, even as women could join the National Education Association alongside male education professors, school leaders, and others beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, women teachers did not have full membership rights until later in the twentieth century (Urban 2000). Vulnerable to dismissal without cause and facing low pay and wide gender wage gaps, female teachers tuned to organized labor to fight for bread-and-butter concerns but also to advocate for a specific vision of the professional teacher (D'Amico 2017; Murphy 1990). According to one Chicago school teacher, "affiliation with a large body of voters. . . [will] place the teachers on better footing" (D'Amico 2017, p. 40). The move to organize, however, earned quick rebuke from school leaders who understood teacher advocacy as both a threat to the order of the public school

bureaucracy and inappropriate for women. Around the globe, teachers fought for the right to organize and used their associations and unions to advocate for recognition and respect in the public schools and in society. As was the case in Russia during the early years of the twentieth century, outmatched by state and local governments, teachers there turned to unions to fight for authority, albeit with little success (Ruane 1994).

Fusing professional and political activism, teachers used their associations as a vehicle for social change. Upon her successful bid to become Chicago's first female superintendent of schools, Ella Flagg Young envisioned great things for teachers, particularly women teachers:

In the near future, we shall have more women than men in executive charge of the vast educational system. It's a woman's natural field, and she is no longer satisfied to do the greatest part of the work and yet be denied the leadership. ("Mrs Ella Flagg Young," 1901, p. 515 in Carter 2002)

Among the benefits of teacher association membership were insurance, welfare protection, legal advice, employment protection, and power that came from joining a collective voice. For many, association membership was an obvious decision, as expressed in 1920 by a teacher in London, "Oh yes. . . we joined the associations of one kind or another simply because we had to make our voices heard. . ." (Oram 1996, p. 107). Black teachers in the American south also became increasingly well-organized and formed local unions of the American Federation of Teachers (Fairclough 2004). This degree of organization would ostensibly grant Black teachers access to the privileges of professional status. Membership in such associations enhanced teachers' voice, offering them representation and protection they lacked within the schools, even as policymakers around the globe frequently argued that organization and, in particular, affiliation with labor were decidedly unprofessional. Historically, teachers found themselves caught in a vice between their visions of professionalism that stressed authority and voice and school leaders' notions of professionalism that prioritized comportment and deference to the school system.

Areas for Future Research

The history of teachers and development of profession is a rich field of inquiry that touches on virtually all aspects of the history of education. As explored in this chapter, questions of profession pertain to the development of state-sponsored public school systems; gendered and racialized perceptions of teachers and women in schools and society; the bureaucratic structure of the schools; the relationships between teachers, communities, and the children they serve; teacher preparation; and teacher organizations. Perhaps most important of all, the history of the development of the teaching profession brings together local school systems typically thought to be discrete and reveals a powerful global element to this past. Even as

scholars have long studied teachers and their professional development, an array of areas for future inquiry remain; five broad sets of researchable questions are highlighted below.

First, public schools are local institutions that conform to global patterns. Why was this the case? What can we learn about the forces beyond the schools that shape education? Further, to what extent were educational stakeholders aware of what others were doing and explicit about modeling or departing from other patterns and norms? How, specifically, were ideas and ideologies about teachers and schools both imported and exported? Second, what about non-western societies? What did teaching and learning look like there and in what ways did socialized gender norms inform teachers' work lives and the notion of profession? Third, the history of teachers is also the history of women workers. How did teachers interact with their employed peers in hospitals, on the shop floor, in office buildings and stores, and elsewhere? What was the product of these interactions? Fourth, even as historians have offered rich histories of teachers' lives in classrooms, in schools of education, and in their associations, comparatively little is known about the specific policies that have shaped these spaces and defined what it meant to be a professional teacher. Who created these policies and why? In what ways did factors beyond the schools inform school policy? How did teachers engage with these professionalization policies? Finally, what are the connections between the past and the present? Indeed, the past is valuable on its own terms, but it also pertains to the future. Around the globe, teachers remain objects of concern and professionalization policies persist in an endeavor to improve schools by improving teachers. In what ways might history inform these policy conversations? Perhaps most critically of all, how might this history inform teachers and how they understand their position in the schools and role in the classroom?

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Abstract

This chapter explores the global phenomenon of teachers' labor organization and association for protective worker rights. Responding to the development of mass education systems in nations across the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, teachers began to organize in associations and later labor unions to advocate for their collective benefit and for the general improvement of their workplace: the school and classroom. This process of organization challenged many emerging, and often contradictory, public assumptions of teachers as a passive feminized force, a professional force, and a public sector work force. The chapter studies the origins of teacher organization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the more recent responses of teacher organizations to neoliberal educational reforms beginning in the late twentieth century.

Keywords

Gender · History of education · Neoliberalism · Social movement unionism · Teacher associations · Teacher labor · Teachers · Unions

One of the most significant global advances of the past several centuries has been the development of mass education systems in nations across the world. Beginning in Europe and the USA in the nineteenth century, states on every continent increasingly

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equated modern nationhood and economic development with the growth of school systems capable of developing both knowledgeable citizens and “human capital.” Indeed, the notion has become so widespread that citizens in most states today expect public education as a right. Universal education, moreover, would not have been possible without the millions of people who served as teachers over the past several hundred years. Teacher labor, in fact, represents the costliest expense in offering public education, and traditionally governments have sought to keep costs down whenever possible. But teachers are human beings who require food, shelter, leisure, and respect to do their jobs well, and limiting costs means diminished working conditions. Further, while teachers directly represent the interests of the state every time they set foot in a classroom, they also have their own important expertise in both subject matter and pedagogical methods that often differs from the assumptions of policymakers and school administrators.

Within this milieu, many teachers have found the most effective way of advancing their interests is by organizing to advocate on their collective behalf (and, often, on behalf of what they see as the interests of their students and communities). This essay will consider the ways that scholars have approached the history of these organizations. Some questions considered include: should teachers be characterized as wage laborers, or should they more appropriately be considered “professionals”? How has the gender of teachers impacted their efforts to develop power as a group? (Rampbell 2009). How have unions approached social inequalities such as class and race that are reflected in the classrooms of their teachers? Finally, how have organized teachers engaged in broader political action both within and beyond the workplace?

The earliest teacher organizations in the world date to the mid-nineteenth century, as public education grew in the USA and elsewhere. In the USA, the National Teachers Association (NTA), for example, was formed in 1857 to advance the general cause of teachers, becoming the National Education Association in 1870 (the NEA would also include school principals and superintendents). In Sweden, teachers formed the nation’s first “teacher society” in the village of Vekerum in 1838; by 1879, there were 130 local organizations, and in 1880, 82 societies sent delegates to a national meeting, which resulted in a national organization to advocate for teachers (Boucher 1985). The Ontario Teachers’ Association (OTA), formed in 1860, represented an early effort to organize teachers in Canada. According to historian Harry Smaller, the OTA was “very much initiated, promoted, and subsequently controlled by provincial and local state education officials.” As in the case of the NEA, male administrators dominated the OTA, and meetings mostly only gave the veneer of listening to teachers (Smaller 2015b, p. 14).

It was not until the late 1800s – after relatively powerful labor organizations had emerged in the USA and Europe in response to industrialization – that teachers began to form veritable unions. As Nina Bascia points out, “In the United States, Canada, England, and Australia, teacher unions found their organizational footing around the turn of the twentieth century, in relation to emerging systems of mass education” (Bascia 2015b, p. 2). Considering the rise of Great Britain’s labor movement in response to industrialization, it is no surprise that teachers there were

some of the first in the world to unionize. The National Union of Teachers (NUT), organized as a national organization of craft locals that excluded a large portion of the rural, disproportionately female teaching force, formed in 1870. The NUT grew from 6880 teachers in 149 local associations in 1873 to 43,615 in 431 locals by 1900 (Lawn 1987, p. 6). Influenced by the rise of the NUT, teachers organized in Australia in the late nineteenth century: the State School Teachers' Union of Victoria (SSTUV) was formed in 1886, for instance, and the Queensland Teachers' Union (QTU) was organized in 1889 (Spaull and Sullivan 1989, pp. 42–46).

In the USA, the first teacher union was the Chicago Teachers Federation (CTF; formed in 1897), led by primary school teacher activists Margaret Haley and Catherine Goggin. Haley, especially, combined a militant unionism, conscious feminism, and a critique of the city's power structure to advocate for pensions and higher salaries for the city's female elementary school teachers, for robust school funding, and against efforts by corporate ideological interests to develop a two-tiered school system divided by class lines. The CTF would spearhead the creation of a national teacher union – the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in 1916 – and allied with organized labor in Chicago before the city's school board forced them to disaffiliate by disciplining union teachers (Murphy 1990; Rousmaniere 2005).

Teachers elsewhere sometimes sought similar labor alliances, too. Female teachers in Toronto, Canada, who formed the Women Teachers' Association (WTA) in 1885, considered affiliating with the Toronto Trades and Labor Council (TLC) in the early 1900s. By the end of World War I, teachers in the province had formed the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario (FWTAO) and made tentative steps toward negotiating higher salaries. Still, the organization wavered between being a union and a professional association (Smaller 2015b, pp. 19–22). After a series of strikes in the early twentieth century (in West Ham in 1907, perhaps the first teacher strike in recorded history, and in Rhondda and several other places in 1919), many NUT members by the 1920s worked to forge an “unofficial alliance by the teachers with the Labour Party” (Lawn 1987, p. 17).

The unabashed unionism of many British teachers by the 1920s, however, represented the exception rather than the norm, as “professionalism,” the notion that teachers held an occupational independence and a status above other working people, convinced many teachers elsewhere not to form unions (Smaller 2015a). In the USA, for example, the NEA, an organization still predominantly led by male administrators and pushing mostly for general financial support for education, emerged dominant in the 1920s and 1930s, and the AFT became what historian Marjorie Murphy has called a “gadfly union” (Murphy 1990). It was not until the years during and after World War II, as the labor movement matured across Europe and in the USA and other former British settler societies and public investment in education dramatically increased, that teacher unions in the West began to emerge with lasting collective power. Indeed, in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, teachers and other public sector workers organized for better salaries and, to varying degrees, more control over working conditions (including for teachers, smaller class sizes, enhanced due process rights, and, in some cases, more control over pedagogical techniques). In Sweden, for instance, by the late 1930s, teachers had won the right to

“negotiate their salaries with either the municipal or the central state authorities by whom they might be employed, and in 1944 these negotiations were coordinated through and conducted by the newly formed Tjänstemannens Central Organisation (TCO)” (Boucher 1985). In other nations – like the USA – such rights only emerged through serious struggle. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that most US states allowed school districts to collectively bargain with teachers, and districts often did so only after illegal strikes by teachers (Shelton 2017).

Until this time, there were virtually no academic studies of teacher organization. In fact, there was very little treatment of working people in academic history at all before World War II, and most systematic studies came from social science. Much of this work in the first half of the twentieth century centered on institutional accounts of private sector blue-collar unions which were comprised mostly of male workers and, in some cases, had enough power to push for collectively bargained contracts (in the USA, these were American Federation of Labor locals) and form viable labor parties (as in Great Britain and Australia) (Commons 1918). After World War II, social historians such as E.P. Thompson (Great Britain), Herbert Gutman (USA), and David Montgomery (USA) began to study a wider variety of workers as well as their daily experiences (Gutman 1977; Montgomery 1967, 1989; Shelton 2018; Thompson 1966). Still, only as teacher unions became impossible to ignore in contemporary politics did academic historians begin to examine their history systematically. In the USA, the power of teacher unions and teacher strikes became a major topic of public interest in the 1960s and 1970s, as teachers went on strike in hundreds of cities and towns in the 1960s and 1970s (Shelton 2017). Similar militancy occurred elsewhere on the globe. Centered in the state of Victoria, for example, strikes in Australia made teacher unions impossible to ignore during the 1970s: “By 1980 the teachers’ strike was entrenched in Victoria’s educational and industrial life. It has been this way since the mid-1960s, when Victoria instituted the first wave of teacher strikes in Australia. Of the 112 major teacher strikes in Australia between 1965 and 1981, 74 occurred in Victoria, although in actual teacher days lost Victoria only accounted for 58% of the total number” (Spaul and Mann 1987, p. 22). In Japan, in 1974, the largest national teacher union, Nikkyoso, organized a historic 1-day strike involving about 330,000 teachers across 34 of the country’s 47 prefectures in the context of a broader movement to “restore the right to strike by strikes” (Ota 1985, pp. 113–114).

Early efforts to study teacher unions focused largely on charting the emergence of the institutions themselves, in particular focusing on the question of how teacher organizations dealt with a key tension: were teachers ordinary workers, or were they professionals with a duty to the public who risked losing their status when they organized in unions? In the American academy, William Eaton’s history of the AFT and Philip Taft’s history of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT – the New York City teachers local formed in 1960) represented foundational institutional studies (Eaton 1975; Taft 1974). The first study of American teacher unionism that remains useful in contemporary historiography, however, is Wayne Urban’s *Why Teachers Organized*. Published almost two decades into the collective bargaining era, Urban’s examination of American teachers’ earliest efforts to unionize in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries situates them in the context of a growing attempt to

centralize control over teachers' labor by urban reformers in cities like Chicago and New York. Teachers responded, Urban argues, much as other workers had when faced by managerial attempts to uproot their labor conditions:

Teachers were protective and defensive; in seeking to preserve the status Quo they resembled the shoemakers of Massachusetts in the mid-nineteenth century, who fought hard against the technological changes that transformed their work from a cottage to a factory industry. Or one might see in the teachers' behavior numerous analogies to industrial capitalism that Herbert Gutman describes as typical of the behavior of several different groups of workers in the later nineteenth century. (Urban 1982, p. 42)

Some teacher activists in the USA, such as Chicago's Haley and New York City's Henry Linville, pursued broader political agendas such as women's suffrage and socialism, respectively, in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, Urban concludes, most teachers organized to "pursue material improvements, salaries, pensions, tenure, and other benefits and policies which helped raise teaching in the cities to the status of a career for the women who practiced it" and to "institutionalize experience, or seniority, as the criterion for success in teaching" (Urban 1982, p. 22).

Marjorie Murphy's foundational history of the NEA and AFT, published in 1989, also examined teachers from the vantage point of labor history. For Murphy, the "professionalism" represented by the NEA held teachers back from a "unionism" in which teachers (particularly Haley and the CTF) saw their work as intimately connected with the community. In contrast to Urban, Murphy argues that in the early days of unionization, teachers linked their demands with those of working-class Chicagoans faced with a reform agenda perpetrated on both teachers and the communities in which they taught. Teachers only became more oriented toward narrow concerns following attacks from hostile school boards and a chilling anti-communist movement over the course of the first half of the twentieth century. These attacks, however, meant that by the collective bargaining era, teachers' economic gains came at the expense of the very communities with whom they worked:

...the price of unionization – of overcoming obstacles created by professionalization, red-baiting, and consistently impoverished local tax bases – combined with the narrowing process of collective bargaining to alienate teachers from the communities they had originally intended to ally with. ...They often gained a small foothold in the economic world, but in every encounter they lost ground on the political front until finally they had very little political ground to stand on at all. Teachers' unions, which are public employee unions, are narrow economic organizations because historically that is all our conservative society has allowed. (Murphy 1990, p. 8)

Recent work has dug even more deeply into the political nature of teachers in unions in the USA. Clarence Taylor's history of the Communist Teachers Union (TU), for example, highlights the progressive possibilities of the radically oriented teacher union in New York City in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Indeed, Taylor shows that the TU embraced a version of "social unionism" that combined demands for higher salaries for teachers with calls for both racial equality and academic freedom. Ultimately, he argues that these possibilities were lost when authorities repressed

communist teachers and the anticommunist left-liberal Teachers Guild consolidated all the teacher unions in the city under the guise of the UFT in 1961 (Taylor 2013, pp. 1–8). Zoë Burkholder’s recent research, by contrast, argues that the World War II era galvanized a significant bloc of anticommunist, socially conservative teachers – some of whom undoubtedly would have represented part of the teacher union that became powerful in the 1960s – in New York City’s hotbed of radicalism as early as the 1940s (Burkholder 2015).

Around the same time Urban and Murphy examined the American context other scholars showed that there was a conscious effort by the state during the late nineteenth century to move teachers away from the labor movement in Great Britain by arguing that “professional teachers did not belong in unions” (Lawn and Ozga 1986). As Martin Lawn’s path-breaking work on early British teacher unionization has shown, however, “professionalism” could cut two ways. In his seminal study *Servants of the State: The Contested Control of Teaching, 1900–1930* (1987), Lawn argues that teachers in the NUT understood “professionalism” to be connected to craft unionism, and the concept could be mobilized to help organized teachers control their conditions of work and influence the development of the public education system. While this connection represented the basis of future solidarity, it initially only included the “certificated” male teachers and mostly excluded the growing number of female teachers in rural schools. Teachers only worked to overcome these gender divisions during the first quarter of the twentieth century: “From 1900 to 1919 teachers began to change,” Lawn argues. “They campaigned for better pay and conditions of work, and in so doing, tuned the rural world of status and servitude upside down, and in the urban areas allied themselves with progressive labour societies and trade unions. Their greatest successes came with active support from these groups and when they opened their own ranks in the NUT to other teachers” (Lawn 1987, p. 1). Ultimately, British teachers during this period saw themselves as both professionals and workers, it seems, striking a balance it would take American teachers another half century to reach.

In the US academy, more careful attention to gender by historians in the years after Urban’s *Why Teachers Organized* complicated the notion that an overwhelmingly female teaching force chose “professionalism” over unionization in the years before the collective bargaining era (Urban 1982). This development is evident in Urban’s 2000 book *Gender, Race, and the National Education Association* (Urban 2000). Urban built on the advances of historians of education Geraldine Clifford, Christine Ogren, and Kate Rousmaniere, who had looked more closely at the ways teachers experienced gender than Urban had in the early 1980s. Rousmaniere’s important study of teachers, for instance, had shown that the majority of New York City’s overwhelmingly female teachers before the 1960s “rarely joined or actively took part in [unions] in part because of often harsh administrative sanctions against union memberships, but also because of teachers’ own dissatisfaction with union policy and their own reticence or inability to take on union responsibilities” (Rousmaniere 1997, p. 7).

The shift in the field is evident from Urban’s revision of his perspective on teacher organizations between 1982 and 2000. By paying more careful attention to gender as

a category of analysis, he argues in *Gender, Race, and the National Education Association* that the NEA was able to reach more teachers than the AFT in the time before the collective bargaining era by pushing for a more equitable position for women, especially by advocating for a uniform pay scale. Whereas Murphy, in Urban's estimation, had seen the NEA as hopelessly beholden to administrators, Urban asserted:

For the period before unionization. . . the NEA in its own way paid substantial attention to the women teachers whose membership it needed to build itself into a formidable organization. This attention was never complete and principled – that is, it never developed to the point that women teachers were understood to have an existence in schools or in the NEA that was independent of their usually male administrative superiors. Yet the NEA was responsive enough to women teachers to use their membership to build into the dominant occupational organization for teachers. (Urban 2000, pp. xix–xx)

Urban concludes that the militancy of teachers in the 1960s – which he argues emanated from male high school teachers – turned the NEA into a union and one that, while paying more attention to race, paid less attention to the demands of women: “Implicit in the change of the association from one dominated by state associations and oriented toward small towns to one that looked to big city militants for leadership and direction was a denigration of the orientations and preferences of many of its women teacher members. In contrast to this decrease in the NEA's attention to and recognition of women teachers, the association as it was unionizing in the 1960s and early 1970s began to pay substantial attention to its black teachers” (Urban 2000).

Urban certainly provides a necessary corrective in understanding why female teachers were attracted to the NEA when the AFT presented a more militant, consciously union alternative. Indeed, it is clear that not all NEA teachers were simply duped into buying into the concept of professionalism. At the same time, however, we should remember that while many of the nation's most important teacher conflicts in the new era of teacher militancy were led by men, a majority of female work force in areas across the USA engaged in high-risk actions. While some of these actions took place in urban areas like Newark (1970 and 1971), Philadelphia (1970, 1972–1973, 1980, and 1981), or St. Louis (1979), there were also high-risk teacher strikes in Florida (led by the state NEA affiliate) in 1968 and small-town Hortonville, Wisconsin, in 1974 (Cameron 2008; Mertz 2015; Shelton 2017). Thousands of female teachers enthusiastically took part in these struggles (sometimes losing their jobs or even going to jail), and it is hard to fathom that many did so while actually desiring a less militant course of action pushed by male teachers.

Nevertheless, as Urban argues, a growing concern of teacher unions in the USA in the late 1960s was its intersection with the black freedom movement, and understanding this connection has occupied labor historians, historians of education, and urban historians ever since. Indeed, much of this work has examined how majority white union teaching forces in America's largest cities dealt with a disproportionately African American student population. The seminal event in this conflict

occurred in New York City in 1968. That year, Republican Mayor John Lindsay engaged in an experiment to provide several high poverty, overwhelmingly black schools with autonomy over personnel decisions. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville “community control” administrator Rhody McCoy dismissed a handful of white teachers, and the UFT engaged in a series of strikes (by all the city’s teachers) to protect the principle of due process rights.

The New York City strikes have attracted a wealth of scholarly interest. Early accounts of the event include chapters in Taft’s *United They Teach* and Diane Ravitch’s account in *The Great School Wars: A History of the New York City Public Schools* (Ravitch 1974; Taft 1974). Beginning in the early 2000s, however, scholars have engaged in a rich, sustained debate over how much culpability the majority white teaching force of the UFT and the community control advocates, respectively, shared. Some work, such as that of Daniel Perlstein, has been highly critical of the teachers for ignoring legitimate racial inequalities (including the failure of integration and the racist assumptions about the abilities of black students held by some white teachers) (Perlstein 2004). More recently, Jonna Perrillo’s research has shown that many New York City teachers opposed working toward racial inequality even earlier than the Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike (Perrillo 2012). Historian Jerald Podair perhaps best captures the tragedy of the entire situation, arguing that the conflict highlighted the “two New Yorks” that had emerged in the 1960s: one in which outer borough ethnics – like the majority of the UFT teachers – had only recently won good-paying, secure jobs through unions and due process rights and another in which African Americans in the inner-city faced impediments that could only be overcome by dramatically altering the very structure of public services in New York (Gordon 2001; Podair 2002).

Teachers won the battle, but the controversy damaged their reputation on civil rights. The UFT was the national union’s largest single affiliate, and its President Albert Shanker, firmly committed to “color-blind” meritocracy, was elected President of the AFT in 1974 (Kahlenberg 2007). Locals in other cities, including Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, were also embroiled in bitter disputes with Black Power activists in the late 1960s and 1970s (Lyons 2008; Shelton 2017). The NEA – most of its locals centered outside the nation’s cities – acquired the reputation of being more committed to racial equality. Unions in other nations seem to have faced similar tensions over racial differences between teachers, students, and communities. In England, for example, teachers have been criticized for neglecting children of Pakistani and West Indian origins as have some teachers in Australia with regard to the needs of aboriginal students (Adam 1982).

The past several decades have also seen the growth of scholarship on teacher unions in what has been called the Global South, “Third World,” or the “developing world.” In many world regions, teachers have traditionally had very limited union rights or have taught in states with very few political rights at all. Because of this reality, Gilton Klerck, Andrew Murray, and Martin Sycholt have warned scholars to be cautious of foisting universal assumptions onto the study of unions in the Global South (Klerck et al. 1997). In fact, in contrast to teacher unions in states such as the USA and Great Britain, teacher unions elsewhere have been forced into more overtly

political organizing, either because they lack lawful agency – through collective bargaining or strike rights – or because broader concerns that transcend the classroom, such as repressive military dictatorship, white supremacy, or an urgent lack of access resources for education, are paramount.

Though research on teacher unions in Africa is limited, work in the past several decades has shown how fundamental were teacher unions in the struggle to remake society in the wake of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. In South Africa, teachers – especially in black schools during the apartheid era – chafed under white administrators who linked “control over work. . .to official concerns with social control and departmental demands for loyalty and subservience.” Though teachers had mobilized against apartheid since the 1950s, black teachers organized in the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) engaged in mass demonstrations beginning in 1989. Teacher organizations, Linda Chisholm argues, were thus crucial in reshaping education and politics during and after the overthrow of white supremacy: “. . .apartheid education stimulated large-scale teacher resistance during the period of transition [1989–1994] and. . .labour process issues lay at the centre of this resistance. The reason for this was that control of the labour process approximated to broader social controls, the struggles against them operating as a metaphor for wider demands for national self-determination” (Chisholm 1999, pp. 115, 116).

As Namibians struggled to overthrow apartheid (the nation won independence from South Africa in 1990), the Namibia National Teachers’ Union (NANTU) was formed in 1989, the first national teacher union in the nation’s history. Built on regional, ethnic, and racially distinct unions, NANTU has, since its inception, worked with student activists to expand access to education across the country (Kudumo 2011). In Tanzania, the first teacher union dates to 1919, when teachers in Dar es Salaam formed a local organization. A national union (the Tanganyika Union of African Teachers) pre-dated the nation’s independence in 1961, joining the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) after World War II. Formed in 1993, the national Tanzania Teacher Union (TTU) has pushed for greater state support for education (by the 1990s, decreased support for education had led to excessively large class sizes) and, in particular, greater access to education for girls (Swai 2004).

Teachers in South Korea were galvanized to organize, as John Synott chronicles the story in his important account of teacher unionization in Asia, with broad political concerns in mind. Following the brutal suppression of protests against military dictatorship and the Cold War alliance with the USA in Kwangju in 1980, many South Korean teachers spent the 1980s organizing for civil rights for teachers, students, and their parents, an end to authoritarian education practices, and the right of teachers to form autonomous organizations. These efforts culminated with the formation of Chungkyojo, a national teacher union, in 1989. The government argued that teacher unions were illegal and that the union was a pro-communist organization advocating reunification of North and South Korea. These complaints represented pretexts for arresting many of the movement’s leaders and threatening all Chungkyojo members with dismissal. Teachers undertook hunger strikes while teaching, cultivating sympathy with students. Nonetheless, the government exacted

reprisals, firing 1,700 teachers. Many of the sacked teachers continued demonstrating, which galvanized even more sympathy from students and parents to reform the education system. Throughout the 1990s, Chungkyojo activists worked with international organizations (such as the International Labour Organization [ILO], Amnesty International, the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions [IFFTU]) and national unions in Germany, Australia, and elsewhere to push for legitimacy. International pressure stemming from South Korea's attempt to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions' negotiation of union rights in exchange for layoffs following the Asian Economic Crisis of 1997 ("restructuring" was necessary in order to get US backed IMF loan package) gave Chungkyojo an additional opening. By the end of the 1990s, the government had made the union legal, and Chungkyojo won a "tenuous legitimacy" (Synott 2002, p. 44).

Synott's work on teachers in Asia clues us into another recent development in the historiography of teacher unions that teacher unions in Asia have had to contend with the growth of an international movement toward neoliberal school reform. Though the term neoliberalism, as an analytical concept, has faced a good deal of criticism because of the many different ways scholars have defined it, it seems beyond dispute that the political economy over much of the globe has changed significantly over the past few decades. Further, fundamental in this shift has been the increased purchase of what has rightly been referred to as the "neoliberal" argument about the role of the state: from one in which the government's primary task is to ensure employment, education, and labor rights to one in which government's task is to facilitate profit-making opportunities in the market. The underlying assumption behind such thought is that private capital accumulation can better ensure wide prosperity than government intervention in the market (Harvey 2005; Peck 2010).

Before the 1970s, the international economic system was rooted in the agreements forged at Bretton Woods in 1944, which facilitated European reconstruction and the development of the world economy in the framework of the liberal capitalist order led by US manufacturing capital. In the 1970s, a global crisis in capital accumulation led to efforts by finance capital (centered in US banks) to discipline labor and to stanch state spending on social services like education (Duménil and Lévy 2004).

In the USA, this trajectory led to the steady decline of collectively bargained contracts in the private sector and in the public sector, austerity bargaining to limit the costs of services like education to the nation's poorest citizens and the labor costs of public employees, prominently including teachers (Lipman 2011). A particularly brutal form of neoliberalism occurred in Chile following Augusto Pinochet's coup in 1973 (Pinochet received personal advice about restructuring the economy from the American neoliberal economist Milton Friedman) (Klein 2007; Robertson 2008). In the 1980s and 1990s, international organizations driven by the USA such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed austerity on states across the developing world as the cost for restructuring outstanding debt. These developments in tandem have forced teachers across the globe to contend with a growing neoliberal

consensus as both politicians and administrators have attempted to radically refashion school systems (Chisholm 1999; Torres 1995). Teacher unions have thus found themselves operating in an increasingly hostile terrain. As a joint report from the ILO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2009 summarized it, “there is a general trend away from social dialogue and consultations between government and teacher unions, especially in Africa, the Arab countries, Asia and the Pacific region, and Eastern Europe. As a result, governments in these regions implement education reforms without the involvement and inputs of teacher unions” (Kudumo 2011, p. 16).

Though the ILO/UNESCO report speaks volumes, the reader should be cautioned against assuming that teachers in the developing world have been impacted most severely by neoliberal restructuring. Teachers in Great Britain, for example, have also faced devastating attacks, beginning in the 1980s. Recent work by Howard Stevenson and Justine Mercer has shown that England has represented “the vanguard in terms of neoliberal reform and the restructuring of public education.” This shift has occurred in order to save money, but just as importantly, Stevenson and Mercer argue, has been wresting control over the curriculum from unionized teachers in the service of “meeting the needs of capital” (Stevenson and Mercer 2015, p. 169).

Before 1988, British teachers “enjoy[ed] considerable control over curriculum and pedagogical issues, while collectively teacher unions were able to negotiate pay rates across the system through a process of national collective bargaining.” But in 1987, the Thatcher government unilaterally abolished teachers’ bargaining rights and in 1988 passed a “decisive” law called the Education Reform Act that “privileged a ‘consumer-driven’ market model combined with substantial amounts of central government control.” Even more recently, the Conservative-Liberal coalition that came to power in 2010 pushed for more “academies” (a rough equivalent of US charter schools) and dismantled national pay scales for teachers, giving local administrators the means to push salaries down (Stevenson and Mercer 2015, pp. 171–173).

In this context, scholars of teacher unions have attempted to chart attempts to resist such attacks and to formulate alternatives to neoliberalism. Universally, it seems clear that such efforts have been most successful when teacher organizations have engaged in what scholars have called “social movement unionism”: labor-based organization that involves the natural community allies (students and their parents) who similarly suffer under privatization and austerity.

The resistance to neoliberalism par excellence in the USA has been in Chicago, where teachers have built on the tradition begun by Margaret Haley and the CTF all the way back in the 1890s. Formed in the 1930s, the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) won collectively bargaining rights, good salaries and benefits, and robust due process rights for its members. Chicago, however, became ground zero for neoliberal assaults by policy-makers and corporate interests in the 1990s, and CTU’s leadership did very little to protect either teachers or the most vulnerable communities from these predations. A reform group, however, called the Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE) won a major union election in 2010 to take over leadership of the

union. Versed in the work of critics of neoliberalism such as Naomi Klein, the CORE leadership – led by CTU President Karen Lewis – has forged powerful connections with public school families in Chicago. Since then, the CTU has won the most successful teacher strike in US history since the 1970s and worked with parents to prominently oppose Mayor Rahm Emmanuel’s efforts to close schools serving some of the city’s poorest students (Alter 2013; McAlevy 2016; Uetricht 2014).

The British Columbia Teachers Federation (BCTF) has emerged as an important proponent of social movement unionism in Canada. Not only have they engaged in job actions and demonstrations to protect public education, but the BCTF has also advocated for social justice and helped forge international efforts to assist teacher unions abroad (Poole 2015). Electa Arenal has documented the powerful uprising against both neoliberalism and political repression through the social movement oriented teacher union movement of local “Section 22” in Oaxaca, Mexico in 2006. National unions in Mexico had been made mostly toothless by the coopting rule of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) across most of the twentieth century (the PRI maintained virtually exclusive power in Mexico until 2000). The local Section 22, however, both consciously feminist and made up of a large Indigenous population, mobilized a huge upsurge of community support against both the neoliberal order and an unresponsive state (Arenal 2007).

In England there are six different unions that compete for members, but the NUT is the largest, and “it arguably has made the most radical strategic choices in response to the major changes in English education policy” (Stevenson and Mercer 2016, p. 169). Leaders in the NUT have very recently pushed for an “explicit shift toward an organizing culture that draws on organizing practices, and associated research, that has emerged in recent decades in the United States” in addition to a “form of social movement unionism in which the union has sought to connect its industrial and political campaigns to a broader base of parental and community support.” In working with parent groups against austerity and cuts to pensions and services, the NUT, which has made connections with the CTU, is consciously modeling its tactics on the teacher organization in Chicago (Stevenson and Mercer 2016, p. 179).

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I would like to offer a couple of additional avenues where I think future scholars might want to focus. First, though it is clear that neoliberalism, structural adjustment, and privatization have impacted teacher unions in the developing world, we still do not have a systematic study of how education systems have been impacted or how teachers unions attempted to resist in many nations. It seems this trajectory has been particularly tragic given the advances many of these states made in expanding access to education in the decades immediately after World War II. A good starting point in telling this story would be to study the work of international teacher union confederations such as the WCOTP or Education International (EI – formed in 1992 when WCOTP and the IFFTU merged), which worked

to document the challenges to public education across the world from structural readjustment by the World Bank and IMF as well as offering alternatives.

Second, there are still enormous gaps in our understanding of how teacher unions relate to the communities in which they teach. This question is particularly important in the developing world. As Linda Dove has pointed out, by virtue of their position as community leaders in many postcolonial contexts, teachers have often emerged as important political leaders. In addition, in many parts of the world, such as Asia and Africa, a large portion of teachers are male (Dove 1995). How has this gender dynamic influenced relationships between teacher unions and the communities in which their members teach? In the developed world, the main gap is in the terrain where unionized teachers have related to populations outside of cities. Historian Campbell Scribner's recent book, for instance, tells the story of how teacher unions and many rural and suburban citizens found themselves at odds in Wisconsin when teachers gained collective power (Scribner 2016). More work like this will be necessary to fully understand how teacher union relations differed among urban and rural populations.

Finally, given the academy's increasing focus on transnational history, it appears that scholars should look to document the ways the history of teacher unions transcends national boundaries. One should be careful about overstating the importance of such connections, especially because the challenges facing organized teachers are so deeply rooted in national political idiosyncrasies. Nevertheless, there are a number of transnational connections that have had virtually no scholarly treatment whatsoever. The NEA, for instance, was highly involved in helping to remake the Japanese public education system during the US Occupation after World War II. Delegations to Chile by the WCOTP through the 1970s following the coup, and, from EI, to South Korea and Ethiopia in the 1990s publicized and supported teachers repressed by authorities in those states. Few of these developments have received any sustained scholarly treatment.

Moving beyond the frame of national boundaries can also pay dividends in comparative perspective, as the political scientist Nicholas Toloudis's analysis of the history of teacher unionization in the USA and France shows us. Toloudis points out that even though both nations have distinct stories of what provoked teacher unionism – in the USA, administrators sought consolidation of school systems on the local level in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and efforts in France at the same time represented a national project – the consequences were similar. Their response from teachers to reduced power was “collective.” In each case, he argues, in order for administrators to tame organized teachers, they employed a strategy of “selective engagement,” exploiting extant divisions in the teachers' ranks. In doing so, however, some teachers' organizations gained legitimacy, and these unions become “institutional actors, embedded in the state.” Though too much comparison runs the risk of flattening historical contingency, more historians should explore comparisons across national boundaries of the sort undertaken by Toloudis to look for such patterns in what appear to be very different conditions (Toloudis 2012, pp. 7–8).

As is evident from the wide-ranging scope of scholarship on the past and present of teacher unions that has been written so far, there have been enormous advances in

the field over the past half century. Still, even many of the oldest questions – on the relationship between professionalism and unionism, for instance, or the role gender has played in teachers' enthusiasm for unionization – are far from settled (D'Amico 2017). It will be up to new scholarship to further refine this existing work, in addition to exploring the new terrain I outlined above. One hopes the future historiography of teacher unions and associations will be as exciting as what has been written over the past few decades.

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A Call for More Men and Its Historical Impact on Women Teachers

Kristina R. Llewellyn and Elizabeth M. Smyth

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on gender and teachers – a topic whose historiography is complex and highly relevant to the theory and practice of education today. Specifically, historians of gender and education provide a necessary challenge to ahistorical calls for more men in teaching today. This chapter looks to how historians of education offer a challenge to contemporary masculinist discourses of teachers that are often rooted in the “failing boys” crisis. These discourses relate to historical debates about the causes and implications of the feminization of teaching both in religious and secular systems. In addition, historians of education, albeit to a more limited extent, trouble the concept of gender as binary and monolithic in shaping women teachers’ identities, by addressing the lives of racialized, Indigenous, and non-conforming individuals. This chapter provides a historiographical overview of gender and teachers by refocusing on the work of

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women as educators. We conclude that we need more literature on the history of the teaching profession that challenges the call for more men and diversifies the white, cis woman teacher.

Keywords

Women teachers · Feminization of teaching · Gender and work · Men teachers · Gender and professionalism · History of education

Introduction

Like history generally, the history of education has been overwhelmed by tales of the role of education in state formation and the men that seemingly both managed the schools and created the policies that governed them. This began to change in the 1970s as scholars of education, influenced by the methodologies of social history, turned their attention to examining the diversity of teachers, pupils, and to some extent, the parents who had heretofore been more or less ignored (Lawr and Gidney 1980). Feminist historians significantly contributed to this growing scholarship as they gave substantive and sustained attention to women teachers. This is an unsurprising focus given the extent to which families, communities, and governments have turned to women to educate the young. Women's demographic dominance as educators is an international, cross-cultural, and long-standing phenomenon, albeit not a natural one. The first comprehensive collection on women teachers, covering Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States, edited by Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald, challenges any easy assumption that women were naturally suited to the teaching profession or were simply victims of gendered school structures as they represented an ongoing supply of cheap labor (Prentice and Theobald 1991).

What is surprising is that a promising start to scholarship in the field has not resulted in a more robust body of literature (Llewellyn 2012). A relative dearth of scholarship about women teachers can be attributed to several factors, not the least of which is the status of teachers and the status of the history of education itself. History of education has long been relegated to scholars resident in faculties of education, rather than departments of history – faculties that have the unenviable status of professional schools, and sometimes, because of their origins as government-sponsored normal schools, are geographically separated from main university campuses (Smyth 2008). Teaching has been generally neglected by labor historians as a source of study because it stands between the working and professional classes. Many feminist scholars have neglected teaching to examine more groundbreaking occupations for women (Rousmaniere 1997). Documentary histories of professional associations for women teachers in the twentieth century have garnered perhaps the most consideration by researchers (French 1968; Staton and Light 1987). Other studies in the field mostly conform to the longstanding preference for an examination of white, middle-class, cis-gender, elementary teachers. This reflects the prevailing segregation of the workforce. The less often told, perhaps less accessible story –

albeit an essential and important story of the gendering of education – concerns those women who did not fit the normative, maternal image of femininity.

This chapter focuses on gender and teachers – a topic whose historiography is complex and highly relevant to the theory and practice of education today. Specifically, historians of gender and education provide a necessary challenge to ahistorical calls for more men in teaching today. This chapter looks to how historians of education offer a challenge to contemporary masculinist discourses of teachers that are often rooted in the ‘failing boys’ crisis. These discourses relate to historical debates about the causes and implications of the feminization of teaching both in religious and secular systems. In addition, historians of education, albeit to a more limited extent, trouble the concept of gender as binary and monolithic in shaping women teachers’ identities, by addressing the lives of racialized, Indigenous, and non-conforming individuals. This chapter provides an historiographical overview of gender and teachers by refocusing on the work of women as educators. We conclude that we need more literature on the history of the teaching profession that challenges the call for more men and diversifies the white, cis woman teacher.

As a context, we focus on developments in Canada, with some brief comparative reflections to other Western nations. There are many reasons for our choice of this strategy. First, our scholarship and teaching are rooted in Canada, engaging with issues related to the intersections of gender, democracy, religion, and education. Second, Canada’s history exemplifies some of the complexities of the study of gender and teachers, including the study of Indigenous peoples and settler society, typified by the trauma of residential schooling; agrarian and resource-based economies transitioning to manufacturing and knowledge-based; the separation and intersection of church and state; multitiered governance over education and democracy (i.e., federal, provincial, and municipal levels – with the provinces having the lion’s share of responsibility over education in the elementary and secondary school panels); and linguistic and cultural diversification with official policies for bilingualism and multiculturalism. Third, we are keenly aware that a history of gender and teachers is heavily shaped by geographical particularities and an attempt to provide a global perspective, and even a pan-Canadian perspective, in one chapter on the topic would be wanting.

We have developed this chapter in three sections, each of which highlights both the literature and the divergent methodological approaches – from critical policy analysis to oral history – that historians have used to bring new claims about gender and teachers to the forefront. The first section begins in the present, addressing the multinational calls by teacher regulatory bodies for more men in the profession that have emerged since the millennium. We consider how masculinity is constructed in relation to femininity within policy statements. We maintain that these calls ignore the breadth of historical literature that shows gender as actively constructed and regulated for the teaching profession. In particular, we explore how contemporary policies are inattentive to heteronormative, colonial idealizations of teachers.

The second section examines the foundation of binary conceptions of the teaching profession. We unravel the historical trends of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries surrounding the transformation of teaching from a

male-dominated profession to its feminization, considering both denominational and secular public education settings. This section reveals historiographical debates across geographical contexts for the causes of feminization, demonstrating that this trend is rooted in oppressive constructions of the woman teacher as a second-class citizen.

The third section explores the implications of feminization for gender and teachers' work over the course of the twentieth century. We discuss elements of leadership (i.e., men as managers, women as service-providers); moral regulations (e.g., mother images, community expectations, threats of lesbian teachers); and working conditions (e.g., pay equity, teaching subjects).

We contend in the conclusion that the literature on gender and teachers, like the profession itself, remains far too defined by whiteness and binary gender. We draw attention to emerging scholarship that is transforming the history of teaching by addressing the history of LGBTQ2 teachers, as well as racialized and Indigenous women teachers. In short, this chapter historicizes current debates about gender and teachers, which is required to raise gender justice consciousness for policy officials, teacher educators, and teacher practitioners.

A Call for More Men

In 2004, the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT), the professional regulatory body representing teachers in Canada's most populous province, issued a report entitled *Narrowing the Gender Gap: Attracting Men to Teaching*. The goal of the report was to "develop a philosophical framework for and a practical response to the perceived need to attract men to the teaching profession" (Bernard et al. 2004). The report cited that men account for only 30% of Ontario's almost 200,000 teachers and that the presence of men was diminishing in schools (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 6). The authors concluded, based on an online survey, focus groups, and other research data, that a lack of male teachers is a problem because "boys need to witness positive role modeling" for quality education, particularly character-building (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 24). Quotes from students appearing in large print make the case: "'Men are competitive /macho'; 'men wouldn't choose teaching as a first choice career'; and, 'men don't feel comfortable dealing with students who are emotional'" (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 23). According to the findings, men are perceived as "harder, discipline-driven, and somewhat incapable of the nurturing role" and thus are not attracted to a "feminine" profession. For men, teaching has a "diminished status. . .low starting salaries and limited career advancement. . .[and] fear of being falsely accused of sexual misconduct or physical abuse" (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 25). Put another way, we should be alarmed for a profession that is overwhelmingly populated by women.

The authors cite national studies from Britain, Australia, the United States, and other countries, that have also sounded their alarm. A 2002 Australian federal study *Boys: Getting It Right!* noted widespread concern for the decline in male teachers,

particularly at the primary level, and recommended an urgent address of remuneration to attract necessary male role models for boys (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 9). That same year, the National Education Association (NEA) in the United States urged specific recruitment of men into the profession, including shortened university programs, scholarships, and addressing low salaries. NEA reasoned that inferior remuneration “lowers the prestige and social value of a career in teaching;” and men go into teaching for the subject whereas women do so “to nurture and develop children” (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 13). Based on these international findings and the results of their own study, the Ontario report recommended a multi-arena marketing, recruitment, and career mentorship strategy, albeit stopping short of calling for higher salaries and easier promotion paths for men as in other part of the world (Bernard et al. 2004, p. 2).

The OCT report, like those on the international scene, is deeply rooted in the late twentieth century construction of a postfeminist world in which the crisis is for masculinity. The final recommendation called for research into the connection between the achievement of boys – the “failing boy crisis” – and the presence of male teachers. Headlines in Canada, similar to other Western nations, have raised public concern that boys are falling behind girls in literacy and that young women are making up more than a majority of undergraduate students enrolled in universities (Abraham 2010; Epstein et al. 1998). International research demonstrates that the crisis for boys and their men teachers fails to acknowledge the social construction of masculinity as white and heteronormative. Canadian sociologist of education Carl James, himself a black male and a teacher educator, maintains that the male role model argument is premised on the stereotype of fatherless black boys with smothering mother-figures who cannot teach them to be “real” men (James 2012). Blye Frank and his coauthors suggest that the call for more men is premised on the heterosexual ideal – a man who can teach younger children with displays of physicality, rationality, and achievement to refute charges of being “sissy” or “gay” (Frank et al. 2003). The answer to the crisis is framed as a re-masculinization of schools, which is deeply problematic for men and nonbinary individuals who do not observe normative identities.

The crisis is equally troubling for women teachers. In the zero-sum game of educational attainment, boys’/men’s underachievement is set against girls’/women’s overachievement (e.g., women’s equity going too far). The reader can conclude from reports like the OCT *Narrowing the Gender Gap* that women teachers may continue their “natural” role as nurturers for the love of children and *not* for remuneration and status. Men, in contrast, have legitimate claims to greater professional compensation. The detriment of this male breadwinner ideology for women teachers is often overlooked in contemporary literature. Educational historians, however, demonstrate how the preservation/panic over male teacher privilege has been inextricably linked to the feminization of teaching and the exploitation of women’s labor in schools since the nineteenth century. While women emerged as numerically dominant in schools, their presence was rooted primarily in biological and socially determinist concepts of gender that marked them as second-class citizens.

The Feminization of Education

In Canada, as was the case in much of the western world, the nineteenth century was marked by the feminization of teaching. Before the nineteenth century most state-recognized teachers were men. By the end of the 1800s, 77 per cent of public school teachers were women, and by 1915 the percentage reached a peak of 83 (Sager 2011, p. 143). Historians have greatly debated the causes of this movement. Early North American scholarship noted that a sexual division of labor emerged to support the development of publicly funded, compulsory school systems (Prentice 1975). The central thesis by historians was that the rapid growth of schools required women's cheap and flexible labor. Schools still preferred men as teachers. Preference for men was particularly great for more prestigious secondary schools, because women's access to universities was relatively new (Burke 2007). But there were not enough men that wanted to teach given an increasing number of job opportunities within the expanding industrial economy and urban centres. A gendered division of labor was justified by a prevailing cultural framework of separate spheres. Scholars such as Mary Ryan and Janet Guilford demonstrate that teaching became acceptable as an extension of the domestic sphere (Guilford 1992; Ryan 1990). A woman could respectably exercise her supposed biologically determined maternal instincts within the public sphere by teaching children. Teaching as paid labor by the state extended predominately to young, unmarried, and Protestant women. Officials valued their labor to support familial economies that were changing from subsistence agrarian lifestyles and to support schools that were developing as agents for state formation. James Albisetti maintains that this economic rationale for feminization holds across European and North American literature (Albisetti 1993).

While a pattern is clear, Canadian historians have long recognized that there were uneven rates and causal differences for feminization based on regional variations, including male immigration, fertility rates, teacher certification, marriage bans, school growth, poverty statistics, and labor markets. (Harrigan 1992). Marta Danylewycz et al. drew upon census data to show that "the existence of a pool of older, immigrant men, who were willing and able to teach" may have played a role in rural resistance to women in teaching" (Danylewycz et al. 1983, p. 98). Also drawing on quantitative data, Eric Sager sets forth the relationship between urbanization and feminization, arguing that the "relative unavailability of men appears to be a condition for the hiring of women" (Sager 2011, p. 149). Taken together, these two studies clearly indicate that the use of census and statistical analysis does not readily allow us to understand why women took up the teaching call despite officials' continued desire for more men.

To reduce the feminization of teaching to exploitation ignores the active choices women made to teach, at times long before public, compulsory schooling developed. Qualitative studies, often based on women's diaries and education reports, ensure we do not undervalue nor underestimate women's agency in the feminization of teaching. Women taught for adventure, independence, respectability, and vocational/religious purpose (Coulter and Harper 2005). Jane Errington, for example, has systematically documented the extent to which entrepreneurially minded women

established schools in their homes in the early nineteenth century throughout what was known as the colony of Upper Canada (i.e. Ontario today) (Errington 1995). Jean Barman, through a biography of sisters Jessie and Annie McQueen, accounts for the British migration of women who sought financial stability and intellectual pursuits by teaching on the west and east coasts of nineteenth century Canada (Barman 2003).

Perhaps the clearest example of women's active choice to teach is the robust literature about vowed women. Women from Roman Catholic and Anglican traditions fulfilled their religious mission by providing educational leadership – establishing and running schools – throughout Canada. In 1639, members of the cloistered Congregation of St Ursula (the Ursulines) sailed from France to establish schools for settler and Indigenous children throughout New France. In the schools they operated, teaching sisters encouraged pupils to consider joining the orders. As with their secular sisters, teaching sisters were paid lower wages and expected to do work well beyond the walls of the schools (e.g., domestic chores around the parish churches). But religious orders operated a parallel, woman-dominated education system that offered greater autonomy than secular teachers. Congregations formed their own membership and instructional manuals. Superiors assigned sisters that were inspected by their own congregations. And, significantly, as teaching became more state-regulated and professionalized, congregations controlled their own credentials with freestanding institutions (such as the Sisters of Charity of Halifax-founded Mount St Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia) or federated colleges within secular institutions (such as the Ursulines of the Chatham Union-founded Brescia College at Western University in London, Ontario).

Similar to lay women teachers, vowed women were responsible for teaching in the Indian residential school systems. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has concluded “Given all the damage caused by the residential schools—the physical and mental abuse, the loss of culture and language, the forced separation of families—it is a bitter irony that one of the schools’ greatest failings was the very quality of the schooling they provided” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, p. 61). Some congregations of teaching sisters, under the authority of male religious leaders, were central figures in ensuring that Indigenous children were “schooled for inequality” (Barman 1995, p. 62).

While colonialism defined education systems, Indigenous women were a significant part of the feminization of teaching. For example, Kanyen'kehà:ka (Mohawk) historian Keith Jamieson writes about the long-standing reliance on women within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy for teaching children their skills, values, language, and beliefs (Norman 2017). Alison Norman explores the lesser known role of Kanyen'kehà:ka women in missionary-run day schools on reserve in nineteenth century southern Ontario. She demonstrates that the New England Company wanted Indigenous teachers because they could speak to students in their own languages and in English for more successful instruction and Haudenosaunee leaders believed that a Western education may benefit their children. For example, agents turned to the Mohawk Institution (a residential school later known as the Mohawk Institute) into an “Indian Normal School” (Norman 2017, p. 39). By the 1890s, 25 girls and

20 boys graduated “to become schoolteachers in reserve day schools and other residential schools” (Norman 2017, p. 40). Reading beyond the silences of church and government records, Norman reveals the barriers women faced in securing positions or while teaching at reserve day schools, including poor funding, unequal pay, and beliefs that men could better manage unruly boys. This study also reveals the persistence of Kanyen’kehà:ka women teachers, including Catherine Loft Claus – possibly the first Indigenous woman certified to teach in Canada – to forge their own path in colonial education and in service to their own communities.

The colonial project of common schooling marginalized additional groups of racialized women teachers. Once again, however, history shows that racialized women persisted in teaching for their communities. Tim Stanley has written about the segregated schooling in Victoria, British Columbia in the early twentieth-century and those Chinese women who taught in community-established private institutions (Barman 2013; Stanley 2011). Merna Forster has written about Canadian-born Hide Hyodo Smimizu who, as one of the first Japanese-Canadian teachers, recruited and organized schools in the internment camps during WWII to provide education for over 3000 relocated children (Forster 2004).

A more specific example is black women educators in southwestern Ontario. The Common Schools Act of 1850 permitted the establishment of schools for Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Black families (similar legislation was created in Nova Scotia). Black parents and their children who immigrated to Canada in the period before and after the Civil War actively sought access to public schools. They were met with racist, anti-integration responses from white parents who would remove their children from schools (Knight 2011). Since this threatened the expansion of the newly founded public school system, the *Schools Act* of 1859 allowed for separate schools with some common funds. This Act remained until 1964 (Winks 1969). Black women educators responded by setting up and managing schools in which they taught children for racial uplift and justice. They did so, however, often with different ideologies about black liberation. For example, Mary Ann Shadd and Mary Bibb were notable abolitionists, activists, newspaper publishers, and teachers during the mid to late nineteenth century. Shadd opposed segregated schools for Black children and established an integrated school near Windsor, while Bibb strongly favoured segregation and established several schools for black children in this same region. Both women were educational leaders fighting against black oppression (Ontario Alliance of Black School Educators 2015).

The feminization of teaching was a movement of primarily white, Protestant, unmarried women supporting the development of public, common schools for the purpose of state formation. Racialized women were a central part of this movement, but they typically taught in segregated schools and to meet the needs of their communities. The women who taught during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – the rise and peak of feminization – did so for complex reasons, including economic, social, cultural, and personal. Their entry, as we have shown, was not intended to challenge male privilege. Even when called to fill

the schoolhouses, the teaching profession continued to erect gender barriers for women teachers. As we demonstrate in the next section, women's numerical dominance during the twentieth century did not translate into a commensurate status to men teachers.

Gendered Working Conditions: Problems and Promise

Over the course of the twentieth century, the gendered nature of the teaching profession came to represent both victories and defeats for women. Defeats came early with the exploitation of women's labor in the one-room schoolhouse. Canada was largely rural in the first half of the century and schooling was dependent upon young women teachers who made long journeys to work in isolated, harsh conditions. George Perry suggests that single, underpaid women were an "unlimited supply of workers" that enabled the province of Nova Scotia to maintain schools in rural and remote areas (Perry 2003). On a national scale, women's earnings were half of men teachers (Gidney and Millar 2010). Single women were expected to accept a lower salary than men based on the assumption that a man's earning supported a family. This assumption negated the fact that many young women teachers worked to sustain both themselves and extended families. Teaching was a good salary relative to other women's paid employment, but rural women's earnings could be drastically reduced for room and board and inconsistently provided based on the community and families who controlled rural schools. Christine Ensslen and June Corman document that women teachers in 1930s rural Saskatchewan were often expected to live in a boarding house, where they cared for the family's children, sang in the church choir, and volunteered for community activities (Ensslen and Corman 2013). Conditions within schools walls were equally difficult. Consider the experience of Abigail Nicholson, for whom, in 1928, the school house and lodgings were one in the same. She depicted living in the back of a schoolhouse in Kildonan, British Columbia:

At present, I have to eat, sleep, cook, dry clothes, etc. in just this little room, which is by no means healthy, not very much sunlight as it is behind school, also noisy dances which are frequently held, school room is outrageously abused. Men smoke and throw matches, partly used cigarettes, cigars on floor, desks, blackboard ledges. As the room is low shaped thus, it takes a long time to air it out and after a Saturday night's diversion, the pupils and myself have to endure the impure air most of the next week, in spite of me having the door and windows open during the weekend. (Wilson and Stortz 1988, p. 34)

Teachers' oral histories and diaries have consistently described one-room schoolhouses as crowded, rundown, and unhealthy.

Perhaps the most harmful aspect of rural teaching for women was the constant lack of freedom relative to men teachers. These single, young women were expected to run a school under constant community surveillance of their private lives. Their character had to be beyond reproach, without a hint of sexual desire, wasteful spending, or gossiping. Women were dismissed and endured physical and mental

health problems due to community surveillance. The case of 20-year old Mabel Jones on Vancouver Island, British Columbia provides the worst scenario. She died by suicide in 1928 after a group of parents logged repeated complaints: “the flag was continually flying; the children were allowed to march into school in a careless manner; school-room discipline was lacking; and the teacher was allowing the children to ‘waste their scribblers’” (Wilson 2011, p. 202). A coroner’s inquest recommended that small, isolated school districts find ways to free teachers “from the gossip of irresponsible and petty citizens” (Wilson 2011, p. 202). The government of British Columbia’s solution was to create a teacher welfare officer – an itinerant problem solver who would assist the young women teachers in adjusting to their difficult roles. Lottie Brown was the first and only person to hold this role from its inception in 1928 to its elimination as a result of a change to the government in 1934 (Fleming and Smyth 1991; Wilson 1991).

The numerical dominance of women teachers that grew, despite these challenges, throughout the early to mid-twentieth century led contemporary school officials to lament the suitability of teaching as a profession for men. According to one Inspector in Saskatchewan, “The smallness of the number of married men bears eloquent and convincing testimony to the fact that school teaching, particularly rural school teaching, has still very far to go before it attains the dignity of a profession” (Ensslen and Corman 2013, p. 25). In urban centers, education officials assured some level of prestige for men by reserving lower grades for women, assuming their “maternal nature” made them suitable as care-givers for the young. When women secured positions in secondary schools they were usually hired for the “softer” subjects of English and Home Economics. In a rare, revealing statement, Charles Ovans, general secretary for the British Columbia Teachers’ Federation (BCTF) in the 1950s, admitted, “Given a choice in anything above primary grades, a school will take a man to a woman” (Board Won’t Pay More, 1957). School officials asserted that men were more attractive for secondary schools because they were career professionals who obtained more advanced degrees in allegedly intellectually rigorous subjects like mathematics and science. By contrast, officials accused women, as “natural” mothers, of being the weak link for teacher professionalism, including working for luxuries, leaving positions for family responsibilities, and underbidding men for contracts (Llewellyn 2012).

This status haunted women even as officials called for their employment in secondary schools. Post-WWII officials across Canadian regions launched recruitment campaigns targeted at women – even those who were married and mothers – to address a serious shortage of teachers. Education researchers of the period blamed the shortage on an increase in the school population, but primarily on men choosing not to enter or leaving the profession because of a lack of prestige, “slow promotions, few well-paid top positions, and low salaries” (Llewellyn 2012, p. 71). Recruitment strategies targeted at women ranged from radio broadcasts and newspaper columns to policies that lifted the marriage bar and issued temporary certificates of qualification. Sheila L. Cavanagh argues that policies enticing married women and mothers into the profession cannot be purely seen as a triumph against gender discrimination (Cavanagh 1998). Instead, women perceived to be of the marrying and motherly

variety were hired as symbols of postwar society's demand for heteronormativity. Postwar stability in Canada was predicated on the reconstitution of supposed prewar patterns of normality, including the white, middle-class, heterosexual nuclear family. Women teachers were included in schools in so far as they performed as mothers for the school family and moral gatekeepers for ideal citizenship. In a 1952 *Globe and Mail* article, C.C. Goldring, Director of the Toronto Board of Education, articulated women teachers' contributions: "men like the motherly qualities of the kindergarten teacher, the rim lines of the physical education teachers, and the home economics teachers' skill with the skillet" (Llewellyn 2012, p. 93).

Kristina Llewellyn's book *Gendered Democracy: The Work of Women Teachers* demonstrates that for women who could embody this image – white, middle-class, and heterosexual – their performance was under constant scrutiny by the male managers of schools. Psychologists, principals, inspectors, and teacher federations warned women about having "loose" lips regarding politics, being domineering mothers in the classroom, and taking femininity too far with modern dress of tight sweaters that were "disturbing for male students trying to focus on their work" (Llewellyn 2012, p. 91). Yet single women teachers who "refused to organize their private lives and sexuality around a man" were also treading on dangerous ground with specter of the spinster teacher looming over them. Madiha Didi Khayatt, in her work on lesbian teachers, shows that sexologists and psychologists of the period imposed a medicalized model of sexuality that connected the lack of a stable nuclear family background with spinsterhood, mental illness, and subsequently lesbianism (Khayatt 1992). Women teachers worked to position themselves for male managers "between the deviant spinster, who rejected her 'natural' purpose, and the single, sexy 'it' girl, who had motherhood potential if she contained her feminine wiles" (Llewellyn 2012, p. 95).

It took until the latter decades of the twentieth century for women to join men in substantive numbers in the higher echelons of schools and school district administration. Women, overwhelmingly white, have moved up the ranks to serve as Superintendents of Schools, which has risen from 1139 out of 4286 in 1999 to 1035 out of 1822 in 2017, with the number of women serving as Directors of Education and Superintendents of Schools also continuing to increase (Ontario College of Teachers 2017). But even as Statistics Canada data for the 2015/16 year reported that women are 126, 720 of Ontario's 168,045 teachers, it is noteworthy that in elementary schools the number of men serving as principals and vice principals still stands at one-third (Statistics Canada 2019).

It was the establishment of professional associations for teachers that supported and encouraged the rise of women educational administrators. Initially there were a plethora of associations segregated by gender, religion, and language. For 80 years – from 1918 to 1998, the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) served the interests of women who taught in the province's publicly funded non-denominational school systems. As Rebecca Coulter has observed, the history of FWTAO and its sister organizations is scarce (Coulter 2004). With the dual goals of enhancing the professional and economic status of women teachers, over the course of its history, FWTAO grew in numbers, power, and status. It

engaged in curriculum development and reform; served as proponent of gender equity initiatives and successfully lobbied for the passage of the 1951 *Fair Remuneration for Female Employees Act* so women teachers could be paid the same as their male counterparts. (Richter 2007). Teachers' professional organizations, such as FWTAO, created safe spaces in which women gained essential administrative experiences in running meetings, disciplining members, negotiating conditions of employment, and building connections to a provincial, national and international network of like-minded women. Despite decades of the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation (OPSMTF) asserting that being in a union with women would undermine their professionalism, the association dropped "Men" from its name in 1982. After a woman launch a legal and human rights case – successfully with the human rights appeal – to leave the FWTAO and join the OPSMTF, the two associations merged in 1998 to form the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario (ETFO) (Spagnuolo and Glassford 2008).

While teaching was one of the first professions open to women, it also served as a gateway for women into other professional fields. In spite of the fact that for most of the nineteenth and even up to the mid-twentieth century, women teachers were paid less than men, women sought employment as teachers because it was a respectable occupation for middle class women. It was also a means for them to become economic migrants as they chased incrementally higher salaries to help them finance either their own or other members of their family's professional advancement. Nellie Mooney McClung, the Ontario-born and Manitoba-raised suffragist, and member of the "Famous Five" activists who led the legal challenge to have women declared as "persons" and eligible for public office, was initially employed as a teacher. A graduate at age 16 of the Winnipeg Normal School, she taught school throughout rural Manitoba for 6 years before her marriage to Wesley McClung. It was through her work as a teacher that she became involved with women's social reform organizations that led her to advocacy for women's economic independence and women's rights (Famous Five: Nellie McClung.). Emily Jennings Stowe, the first woman to be licensed to practice medicine in Canada, also began her career as an elementary school teacher. She was the founder of the Toronto Woman's Medical College and a number of suffrage organizations including the Toronto Women's Literary Club and the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association (Hacker 2008). Such tales of women's entry to the professions were not limited to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 2006, Mayo Moran was the first woman to serve as the Dean of the Law at the University of Toronto and in 2014, the second woman Provost of Trinity College in the University of Toronto. Moran too began her professional career as a secondary school teacher of English before attending law school (Moran 2019). The rise of education for the professions created opportunities for some women to be employed as teachers in tertiary institutions of academic and professional credentialing. These included women's colleges, hospital-based schools of nursing, state-sponsored normal schools and teachers' colleges, and other state-sponsored and private institutions.

Despite the increased advancement of women teachers inside and outside of schools, the gendered patterns of teaching remain at all levels of education. At

universities women dominate the lower ranks and precarious employment categories – the humanities, social sciences, and “soft [read health] sciences” – and are vastly underrepresented in administration and in the STEM disciplines (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) (Caranci et al. 2017). Staggeringly, in 2010, the Federal Government launched the Canada Excellence Research Chairs program – designed to attract top talent to Canada’s research-intensive universities. Nineteen new Chairs were created, supported by ten million dollars of federal funding. The holders of the chairs were all men (Ghiasi et al. 2018). And despite the continued patterns of gender discrimination, outrage over the numerical gender imbalance of schools persists in the press. The author of a 2016 article entitled by “Ontario must fix teacher gender imbalance,” calls for legislation to enact affirmative action “to correct the existing imbalance which presently exists . . . [and] encourage university graduates to consider teaching a worth-while profession” (D’Allesandro 2016). The article cites the research of McGill University Professor Jon Bradley who states with grave concern that “It is now possible for a child in Canada to go through elementary and high school and never see a male at the front of the class.” The call for more men grows louder.

Conclusion

Historians of gender and education need to make more noise to challenge ahistorical calls for more men. We need more literature on the history of the teaching profession that challenges masculinist discourses and diversifies the white, cis woman teacher. Catharine Carstairs and Nancy Janovicek aptly titled their 2016 article “The Dangers of Complacency,” which points out the continuing dominance of the “great men of history” narratives that fail to address the complex contributions “of women, Indigenous people and other marginalized communities” (Carstairs and Janovicek 2016, p. 33). A new generation of scholars are troubling the relationship of gender, teachers, and whiteness. In her 2017 award-winning doctoral dissertation “*Girl You Better Apply to Teachers’ College*”: *The History of Black Women Educators in Ontario, 1940s–1980s*, Funké Omotunde Aladejebi explores through oral history and school board records how black women sought to claim a space as public school educators, often meeting resistance from both male and female white teachers, students, and parents (Aladejebi 2017). Brittany Luby and Kathryn Labelle’s work explores the response of First Nations’ women to government educational and public infrastructure initiatives to challenge as easy notions of white dominance in history (Luby and Labelle 2015).

Of course, there is much more work to be done. Women, Indigenous, black, trans, and nonbinary, are teachers. They are the future leaders in public education systems and in their communities. But we are seeing that now, as in the past, even if they are leaders and numerically dominant, men continue to be the cause célèbre. As we call for more men, we need to have a historical understanding of what men have been desired and on the basis of what ideology of gender that have been sought. As this chapter demonstrates, there is no new crisis for which we require the remasculinization of schools. Such a manufactured crisis has been and continues

to be harmful to women and those individuals who do not perform normative identities. Historians of education can support teacher organizations, institutions of higher education, and the public and private boards that govern schools to recognize the continued oppression of women embedded in the calls for more men for over a century in Canada. Scholarship that is particularly attentive to the diversity of women's teaching pasts can inform policy that moves us toward gender equity in the teaching profession.

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Progressive and Informal Classrooms and Pedagogies

26

Yuval Dror and Rony Ramot

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Abstract

Zionist and Israeli (Jewish) education served as a crossroad to progressive European and American integrated and eclectic influences because most teachers and counselors of the Zionist youth movement, many of whom became teachers, immigrated to Israel from Europe, some of them through the USA, where they were influenced by two educational sources that developed parallelly and integrated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, mainly in Europe: progressive education and youth movements. The connection between the leading teachers and Europe continued throughout World War I and the days of the British Mandate in Israel; and even after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, European influences persisted, and American influences increased.

The first section of the chapter will be devoted to a general view of Progressivism in Europe (as well as the youth movements that have integrated to it) and the USA. The second section presents case studies of progressive schools and kindergartens, leading teachers and progressive eclectic pedagogic in the Zionist education and the post state education, linking them to the leading figures from the European and American progressive education movement. These will be

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detailed in four waves of Zionist and Israeli progressivism, examining them in terms of theory, policy, practice – and the training of education field personnel that combined theory and practice. In the third section, we will present comparative global analyses of various case studies around the world, critical conclusions about the tidal waves of progressivism in Israel and abroad. And in the fourth, new methodological and historiographical directions of thought will be proposed for the future study of this field.

Keywords

Progressive education · Class pedagogy · Case study

Introduction

The first section of this chapter will be devoted to a general view of educational progressivism in Europe and the United States. The second section presents a case study of progressive schools and kindergartens, leading teachers, and progressive eclectic pedagogic in the Zionist education and the post-state education in Israel, linking them to the leading figures from the European and American progressive education movement. In the third section, new methodological and historiographical directions of thought will be proposed for the future study of the history of progressive education.

Part 1: Educational Progressivism and Youth Movements in Europe and the United States

The research literature on progressivism in education is very rich, and at the same time, it is not unified about its practice and philosophy. First, there is no agreement on the timeline for the development, starting point, and turning points of progressive education. Second, the literature on the progressive education movement in the United States is usually separated from the European movements. Third, various researchers provide diverse perspectives on the history, philosophy, curriculum planning, and other aspects of the development of progressive education. Fourth, there is no consensus on the boards of progressivism or what is and what is not progressive education (Cremin 1961, 1964; Davis 2002; Lowe 2000). Notably, Kliebard (1995) discusses the internal contradictions created within the progressive education movement that led to the development of different and sometimes contradictory ideas. All of these will be briefly discussed in this section.

Although progressive education is typically discussed as a phenomenon of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its origins are much earlier. During the Enlightenment period in Europe in the eighteenth century, the rise of secularism along with the importance of reason and the advancement of the scientific revolution led to the establishment of the idea of natural rights of every human being and the

development of humanistic education. Enlightenment goals were focused on finding the unique skills inherent in each person and bringing them to realization and fulfillment, training the learner to live in the society to which he belongs, and vocational training that will enable him to have a proper course of life (Oelkers 2000). At the same time, Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) presented revolutionary ideas about human freedom and preached about a society which recognized the importance of the common good and in which man was inherently good. According to Rousseau, children’s natural skills are the basis for success given the appropriate leverage given by the educator. Rousseau (1979) argued that children learn from nature and from other human beings in the environment and from the child’s own experiences accumulated during life. The role of the educator, according to Rousseau, is to accompany the child in the natural process of development with strategic interventions. On the one hand, the educator should not interfere with the child’s natural growth process, and on the other hand, the educator should challenge the child in thought and experience.

A significant turning point in the development of progressive education ideas came at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the establishment of a progressive educational movement based on Rousseau’s ideas that put the child in the center with a pedocentric approach to learning. The movement was established at the same time in various European countries and the United States (Connell 1980; Wiebe 1967). The main thinker with whom the establishment of the movement is identified is John Dewey, an American philosopher, psychologist, and educator, who is considered one of the most important fathers of progressive education (Zilversmit 1993). The progressive education movement crystallized into a comprehensive contemplation of Dewey’s philosophy. At the school he founded near the University of Chicago, Dewey coined the revolutionary idea that no longer was the curriculum at the center of the classroom, but the child and society were the center, hence the common phrase associated with Deweyan thought: learning by doing (Dewey 1916, 1997). While other progressive educators, like Alexander Sutherland Neil from England, argued that the ultimate purpose of education is the child’s happiness, it was Dewey who presented progressive education as a real alternative to existing traditional education. He advocated an educational approach which promoted permissiveness and democracy, an education that drew on real experiences especially at younger ages and that introduced a variety of experiences to teach children how to deal with challenges for “real life.” Other major philosophers of the period who furthered these educational philosophies included Lev Vygotsky (Russia), Maria Montessori (Italy), Jean Piaget (Switzerland), Janusz Korczak (Poland), Anton Semyonovich Makarenko (Russia), Leo Tolstoy (Russia), Georg Kershnsteiner (Germany), and Ovide Decroly (Belgium) who each identified the need for reform in traditional education (Elmore 2007).

In his study of classroom teaching in the United States in the years 1880–1990, Cuban (1993) studies two major periods in the life of progressive education, the first wave of the early twentieth century, and especially around the 1920s and 1930s, and the second wave from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. The first wave occurred mainly in the United States and was part of the progressive concept of society at the time

when Americans sought a new order to stabilize the period of industrialization and urbanization (Wiebe 1967). Following Dewey, the Association for Progressive Education (New Education) was founded in 1919, which influenced mainly kindergartens and elementary schools across Europe and the United States. The Association symbolizes the culmination of the period of consolidation and the realization of ideas and educational endeavors in the spirit of progressivism. After the 1920s, progressive discourse became public and international (Rohrs and Lenhart 1995). The second wave in the 1960s and 1970s took place in parallel with the resistance movements to the Vietnam War, the Flower Children Movement, and the black struggle for human rights and the rebellion of European students. The schools that arose during this period received other facets and were ideologically based on the world of humanistic psychology (Cuban 1993).

Diane Ravitch (2000) and David Tyack and Larry Cuban (2000) present the largely accepted argument that the rise of so-called new education and progressive schools in the early twentieth century was a product of dissatisfaction with traditional education. The progressive education movement aimed to build a familiarity with the changing world, as opposed to emphasizing static materialism in traditional education. Many other educational scholars sort the field of education in this period into two camps: the conservative-traditional camp and the progressive-new education camp (Cremin 1961; Dewey 1997; Graham 1967; Roehrs and Lenhart 1995; Zilversmit 1993).

The progressive educational movement that operated in the United States and Europe was not unified but represented diverse groups with different orientations for progressive education. One common division identified by educational historians is between the administrative progressive group that promoted social efficiency in school organization and the pedagogical progressive group based on humanistic-romantic concepts in the classroom (Labaree 2005; Tyack 1974). Another division is based on the location of actors: a distinction is made between the views and actions of progressive philosophers, policy makers, and practitioners (Kliebard 1995). These divisions define the field of progressive education and are broad enough to encompass diverse educational philosophies, educational streams, models of educational institutions, structural changes, and more.

In addition, there are different schools of thought and approach to progressive education that are based in elementary and early childhood education. Three of the most common and widespread approaches with European origins are Waldorf, Montessori, and Reggio Emilia (Barnes 1991). These three cases serve as an example of the transfer of philosophical and pedagogical ideas from one country to another and from continent to continent. According to data from the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America (AWSNA), there are 1092 Waldorf schools in 64 countries and 1857 kindergartens in more than 70 countries. These data attest to the wide dissemination of Rudolf Steiner's initial idea and philosophy beyond the European continent. Montessori education has two world associations (AMI; AMS), and several thousand schools and several dozen programs of teacher training and kindergarten teacher training in this approach. The distribution of Montessori education outside the borders of Italy and toward the United States intensified in

the 1960s as parents began to look for a change in their children's education (Chattin-McNichols 1992). The case of Reggio Emilia is somewhat different and is an example of cooperation between parents, educators, and children to improve education. The movement began in the city of Reggio Emilia in northern Italy and from there began to flow to the rest of Europe, Australia, Asia, and North America. Today, there is also the Reggio Emilia Institute in Sweden (Dahlberg et al. 1999).

Progressive education also advocates for democratic practices which tends to include such principles as seeing young people as valued participants in a vibrant learning community and society and developing skills for them to become positive and contributing members of society. Democratic education was influenced by many thinkers across nations, philosophers, and educators, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Heinrich Pestalozzi of Switzerland; Leo Tolstoy, a Russian writer; John Dewey, an American philosopher and psychologist; and Alexander S. Neill from the United Kingdom. Those many influences led to the creation of the stream of democratic educational practices around the globe. American progressive education has tended to emphasize democracy in education the most, in part because of that nation's founding influences (Beane and Apple 1995; Gray and Chanoff 1986; Kohlberg et al. 1975; Scharf 1977). Hecht and Ram (2008, 2010) wrote about democratic education in Israel as did Korkmaz and Erden (2014) who conducted extensive international research on democratic schools.

In spite of these different emphases and approaches, there remains a common denominator in the progressive education movement, and that is the pursuit of social-educational change by improving education, school, and schooling by creating a "new education" (Connell 1980; Cremin 1961; Fenstermacher and Soltis 1986; Goodlad 1984; Labaree 2005; Zilversmit 1993). The goals of progressive education are both pedocentric and anthropocentric, focusing on both the education of the whole child and on the social context. Also common is the understanding that the role of the teacher in progressive education is not consistent with the traditional teacher role of delivery of information; rather, the teacher is required to play the role of the facilitator, the observer, and the advisor to students. Furthermore, the student is required to acquire and develop the skills of an independent learner. Progressive institutions act out of awareness of developmental psychology in order to enable children to find their role in life through learning, while at the same time they see importance in all ages and their characteristics. Learning itself undergoes change processes, and pedagogy moves toward free, individual or group learning. There is a transition from a rigid curriculum to the development of problem solving. Progressive education thus combines education in the school with education in society. The realization of progressive education is not confined to school but may be found in other spaces where human interaction takes place. According to Rohrs (1995), progressive education must also be international, and its character cannot remain local and national.

One example of the breadth of progressive education is in youth movements. Three types of youth movements began to operate in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century: the German Free Youth Movement, which began in Vanderpogel and protested against the adult society and gradually changed to the national youth

movements in Europe (including the Jewish youth movements); the establishment youth movement, such as the British Scouts, which spread the doctrine of scouting all over Europe; and the official youth movement, the Komsomol, which belonged to the Communist Party in the Soviet Union after the 1917 revolution. The Free Youth Movement and the Scout Movement mainly affected Europe and taught in their practice elements of choice, personal and social development, group activity according to age, nurturing of all personal skills (including self-leadership), and mutual assistance. These lessons were taught in informal educational settings as in boarding schools, and all echoed the practices and values of progressive education that was infiltrating formal educational settings (Kahane 1997). The founders of Hebrew education in Israel and their successors were well acquainted with both the youth movements and progressivism in Europe and the United States, and they deliberately included the principles of progressivism and youth movements (especially in collective education) into specific action models that will be detailed later in this chapter (Dror 2004).

Part 2: Case Studies of Progressive and Informal European and American Influences on Zionist and Israeli Education

Zionist and Israeli (Jewish) education served as a crossroad to progressive European and American education because most teachers and counselors of the Zionist youth movement, many of whom became teachers, immigrated to Israel from Europe and the United States from whence they were influenced by progressive educational ideas and youth movements. The connection between Israel's leading teachers and Europe continued through World War I, and the years of the British Mandate in Israel, and after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

This section introduces “historical case studies” of Jewish, Zionist, and Israeli education from the end of the nineteenth century through the end of the World War I and the period of military rule and the British Mandate (1918–1948) and the State of Israel at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Three waves of educational progressivism will be discussed in which there were tides and what the American educational historian, Diane Ravitch, refers to as “swinging pendulums” of educational change. Ravitch uses this metaphor to conceptualize the way in which educational reform going through alternating waves between traditionalism and progressivism (Coulby et al. 2013, pp. 215–216). These three waves will be examined in light of four components: progressive theory, educational policy, practice in the field, and the training of teachers and kindergarten teachers that combines theory and practice. This two-dimensional model is also suitable for the study of progressive education in general.

The first wave of progressive European influences in Israel was in the kindergartens and schools of the First Aliyah settlements (1881–1904) and the Second Aliyah settlements (1904–1914), mainly in the Upper and Lower Galilee, Jerusalem, and Jaffa. The school in Rosh Pina, founded in the Upper Galilee in 1885, was the first

“experimental school” in Israel. Yitzhak Epstein (1863–1943) was the principal of the school in the years 1892–1902, followed by Simha Haim Wilkomitz (1871–1918) who strengthened his progressive enterprise in the 16 years that he managed the school. Epstein and Wilkomitz were both Russian-born. Wilkomitz had been trained as a teacher in Vilna and participated in two courses in Europe through which he learned about progressive education from the successors of Rousseau, Froebel, and Pestalozzi. Both Epstein and Wilkomitz’ understanding of progressive education emphasized the role of national identity, especially national language, literature, history, religious heritage, love of the land, and knowledge of its natural environment.

Epstein was one of the developers of “Hebrew in Hebrew,” the theory that Hebrew should be taught as the national language in Hebrew only. This was a Zionist adaptation of “the natural approach” to language teaching based in Europe and the United States. “Hebrew in Hebrew” included significant progressive elements, including learning through all five senses; inductive learning from the individual to the general, natural grading from light to heavy, from the immediate vicinity to the distant, and from the known to the unknown and to the child’s interest; connection to nature and landscapes of the homeland; and diversity of learning methods through songs and games.

In Rosh Pinah school and other school ventures, Epstein and Wilkomitz implemented curriculum that emphasized progressive and national theory, eclectic and practical use, and the “Hebrew in Hebrew.” They introduced local and distant homeland educational trips, agricultural work in school gardens, evening classes, choral classes, gymnastics and lectures, and youth groups. On Saturdays and Jewish and Zionist holidays, the students put on plays and choral concerts and organized community celebrations with the participation of adults all over the Upper Galilee.

Epstein and Wilkomitz also developed advanced teacher training for educators in the Upper Galilee because many of the Galilee teachers were trained in Europe and not necessarily in Hebrew. Wilkomitz, as the inspector of education in the Upper Galilee on behalf of the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), held conferences for all the teachers of the settlements twice a year and established the Upper Galilee teachers branch of the Teachers Union. At the founding conference of the Teachers Union in Zichron Ya’akov in 1903, Wilkomitz introduced a 6-year curriculum for the rural school, a curriculum which later spread to settlements in central and southern Israel and the cities. Notable in Wilkomitz’ work was the combination of theory and practice.

The first Hebrew kindergartens were established at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century in the settlements in central and southern Israel, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. In the absence of a kindergarten teachers’ seminar, Esther Shapira was trained for 3 months of observation and practical work in the kindergarten that was founded in 1896 in the basement of the Evelina de Rothschild Girls’ School in Jerusalem. This kindergarten was run in English by Emma Yungnickel, a German Christian who graduated from the Pestalozzi-Froebel-Haus kindergarten teachers’ seminar in Berlin and who taught the progressive

kindergarten lessons of Froebel, with specific “subject” and varied activities, including drawing, arithmetic, garden work, songs, games, handicrafts, and gymnastics. Just as the Jerusalem Garden was an “example kindergarten,” so did the Hebrew kindergarten that Esther Shapira led in Rishon LeZion taught the theory and practice of Froebelian progressivism. The First Aliyah kindergarten teachers had three options for accelerated Froebel training: in the Jerusalem kindergarten, in the existing Hebrew kindergartens, and in a course for teaching initiated by Rosa Yaffe, principal of the girls’ school in Jaffa. Many of the kindergarten teachers of the Second Aliya also immigrated from Eastern Europe, and many of them were trained in Froebelian approaches. Other kindergarten teachers attended the kindergarten seminar established in 1909 in Jerusalem, by the Jewish-German philanthropic company “HaEzra” (“The Assistance”) as part of its educational network. Others studied at the first Hebrew “example kindergarten” and seminar in Jerusalem established in 1914 by the veteran kindergarten teacher, Hasia Feinsod-Sukenik. In all of these kindergarten training programs and school curricula, progressive practice was integrated with theory.

The second wave of progressivism began in 1920, with the establishment of British civil rule, and ended with the end of the British Mandate and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Prior to this period, during World War I (1914–1918), when the British conquered Palestine (Eretz-Israel) from the Turks, all Zionist education was disrupted. In 1920, the Yishuv’s educational system began to organize itself in the direction of the Zionist Organization, which was divided into three ideological-political streams: the Zionist-Socialist “Labor Stream,” the religious-Zionist “Mizrahi” stream, and the “liberal” “General Stream.” The flag carrier of progressivism was the “Labor Stream.” “Collective/communal kibbutz education” was a central and autonomous part within this stream, which was strongly influenced by the combination of progressive theories and those of the Zionist-Socialist youth movements, calling their schools “educating schools” and including informal activities that cooperated with the Zionist-Socialist youth movements.

The “Labor Stream” was founded in 1920, in parallel with the founding of the “Histadrut” (General Federation of Workers), and operated until 1953, 5 years after the establishment of the state. From its inception until 1925, a variety of progressive and socialist educational efforts flourished in various types of settlements. The Labor Stream was characterized by educators who introduced progressive and laborious kindergartens and schools, such as David Idelson (1891–1954), who established a kindergarten and experimental school in the “Hartuv” settlement and who, with Yehuda Polani (1891–1983), initiated and maintained a private laborious school and kindergarten in Tel Aviv, which later became an educational institution in the “Labor Stream.” Idelson and Polani joined Shmuel Golan (1901–1960) and others in establishing the children’s society in kibbutz Beit Alfa, which was a model for education in the kibbutz movement. Between 1925 and 1928, the “The Labor Stream Workers’ Organization” was founded, to discuss and solve problems together, starting with gathering and issuing a journal called “Alonenu” (“Our Bulletin”). During the 1930s the “Labor Stream” was institutionalized as a center in the “Histadrut” and became part of the “Department of Education” of the Jewish Yishuv

as well. The “Labor Stream Workers’ Organization” was an unusual combination of trade union and educator’s movement, publishing various publications and organizing national or regional pedagogical conferences with the establishment of the “Labor Stream” center, in the spirit of these progressive theories and those of the youth movements. The “Labor Stream” was so prominent for two main reasons: first, it began the training of educators under the Jewish educational network “Tarbut” (“Culture”) that operated between the two world wars in Poland and Eastern Europe and integrated progressive, youth movement, and Zionist-Socialist concepts. One of the leaders of “Tarbut,” Moshe Avigal (1886–1969), who immigrated from Russia in 1924, wrote and lectured extensively on the National-Zionist labor doctrine and was the chief inspector and supervisor of the “Labor Stream.” He was influenced by the German progressive educators Georg Kerschensteiner and Gustave Wyneken, the Austrian psychologist Siegfried Bernfeld, and the Russian humanist educator Stanislaus Shatsky. The second reason for the prominence of the “Labor Stream” was that many of its teachers were educated and mentored in the Jewish youth movements in Europe and Israel and introduced those methods into the schools of the “Labor Stream.”

The Zionist-Socialist educational vision of the “Labor Stream” was realized through the practices of the progressive and youth movements education. Their “translations” into curricula were written after many years of proven experience in the field, both in the kibbutz education in the late 1930s, almost two decades after the practice in the kibbutzim, and in the entire Labor Stream. In 1937, the curriculum of the “Labor Stream” “Kavim” (“Guidelines”) was first printed as a syllabus devoid of theory and combining demonstrations from the field for implementation according to the way of living in the kibbutzim, settlements, and cities. The curriculum included conversations about current events, holidays and festivals, physical work, affinity for art, and mainly school children’s society that is connected to the Zionist-Socialist youth movements.

Progressive educational theories were also prominent in the kibbutz education. Degania, the first kibbutz, was founded in 1910, while most of the kibbutzim were founded after the World War I and some during World War II and the struggle for the establishment of the State of Israel. In the late 1920s, the three kibbutz movements (secular) that emerged at the time were “HaKibbutz HaArtzi,” “HaKibbutz HaMeuchad,” and “Hever HaKvutzot,” and their separate educational departments began to operate during the 1930s. The movements differed from each other in their Zionist-Socialist views and were therefore somewhat different in their educational methods. In the 1920s and 1940s, the role of the feminine caretaker (“metapelet”) was designed – the kibbutz female member responsible for raising the kibbutz members from infancy to the end of high school. Kibbutz children lived in age groups, first in kindergartens and preschools and later in “inclusive children’s homes” where they studied and conducted social activities, parties, holidays, and activities of the youth movement, from which they went out to work in the children’s farm and in kibbutz branches, and where they also ate and slept. The first kibbutz schools were founded in the early 1920s as elementary schools and grew until the end of the 1940s for post-primary schools. Most of them were regional because of

the small number of children in each kibbutz. Progressive elements and youth movements were clearly reflected in the overall structure of the collective/communal education, divided into age groups, work, social life, and individual, group, and interdisciplinary methods of learning and teaching.

Kibbutz schools developed a method of interdisciplinary instruction. In kindergartens, children studied accompanied by games of the Jewish calendar, the holidays, the branches of the economy in the city and the village, and memorial days for the leaders of the Zionist movement and the Labor movement, and they held discussions about what was happening in the immediate surroundings and the entire Hebrew Yishuv with distinctly Zionist and Socialist emphasis. From the first to third grades, students in the Labor Stream were usually taught only in accordance with this method, and in the fourth grade, they gradually moved to studying disciplines or combined the integrative method with the disciplines system.

In kibbutz education there were different types of individual and group integrative learning. At “HaKibbutz HaArtzi,” it began as “humanist” and “realistic” studies in the educational institutions for youth and was implemented in all the elementary schools. The unique “method of processes” was developed and led by Mordechai Segal (1903–1991) in “HaKibbutz HaMeuchad.” Learning has clung to the life processes, in circles that expand according to the life cycles revealed to the child, divided into defined daily, weekly, and yearly units of time, including trips that have also extended over the years. All these were summed up in written works, handcrafts, and exhibitions that were also discussed orally.

The kibbutz movements, like the entire Labor Stream, lacked the training of regular teachers and kindergarten teachers, which began only with the establishment of the Kibbutzim Seminar in Tel Aviv in 1939. Therefore, the kibbutz movements, like the entire Labor Stream, acted as self-trained “educators” movements. Although most of the caregivers, kindergarten teachers, and teachers were women, the teachings and practices of collective education began to be written in the 1930s and 1940s by the three founding fathers of the three kibbutz movements – Golan, Polani, and Segal – who lectured with their partners in the educational departments at national and regional movements’ conferences regularly on school vacations. The conferences also allowed educators from the field to describe their experience. The most active educators in the field were sometimes added to these departments, and thus it was possible to change the collective education from top to bottom and vice versa.

Progressive influences were evident among kibbutz educators. The very active kibbutz kindergarten in its immediate vicinity was influenced by the teachings of Froebel, Maria Montessori, Ovide Decroly, and John Dewey. These influences were brought by the designers of the kindergarten theory, Miriam Roth and Gideon Lewin of the Education Department of the “HaKibbutz HaArtzi,” and by Segal, who worked in the Education Department of “HaKibbutz HaMeuchad” and who had studied Dewey’s theories in the United States. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Froebel teachers’ training was already established in various seminars outside the Labor Stream, and the preschool teachers and teachers in the kibbutzim were trained in these frameworks. The kibbutz’s progressive kindergarten theories were formulated

only in the 1950s and 1960s and were updated and refined in the 1970s and 1980s. They affected all the kindergarten in the State of Israel.

The founders of collective education and their successors were influenced by European and American progressivism in their studies abroad. They also read these theories in the original languages and met personally with some of these educators. They noted in their writings and lectures in the kibbutzim such progressive educator as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Robert Owen, Gustav Wyneken, Alexander Sutherland Neill, Janusz Korczak, Anton Makarenko, Siegfried Bernfeld, Stanislav Shatsky, John Dewey, Maria Montessori, Ovide Decroly, Georg Kerschensteiner, Hugo Gaudig, and Wilhelm Lai. These influences, combined with the characteristics of the Zionist-Socialist youth movements of the time, gave birth to eight principles of collective education: the child's personal and social education in his or her educational group; communal responsibility for education; environment (and teaching) as educator and close contact with the community; the unity of the "agents" involved in the educational process; a combination of studies, social life, work, and formal and informal elements; active learning; limited autonomy of students in children and youth companies; continuity of education in educational groups from infancy to youth; and autonomy of the teaching staff.

In conclusion, in the second progressive wave in Israel of the Labor Stream and kibbutz education, the practice preceded the theory but was influenced without systematic formulation by the progressive education thought and the youth movements. The policy was determined by the "Histadrut" Labor Stream Center and the Education Departments of the kibbutz movements and permeated teacher training, however irregular it was. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, progressive methods continued in the kindergartens in general and in the elementary schools of the kibbutz movements, but the progressive wave of the British Mandate years subsided with the absorption of the children of the great Aliyah during the first two decades following the establishment of the state.

The great Aliyah tripled the number of students in kindergartens and schools. The Labor Stream became the largest in the country, and its influence increased when it was combined in 1953 with the General Stream to be "The State Education." However, the "Labor Stream" failed practically and theoretically to apply its European progressive methods to immigrant students, most of whom came from the Middle East and North Africa. The lack of teachers in general and those with progressive training, in particular, and the concentration policy of a "melting pot" and "fusion of exiles" in a Western spirit also made the development of Labor Stream education difficult. Toward the end of the 1950s, various alternative methods of affirmative action and educational differentiation were introduced, and in 1968 the Israeli parliament instituted a comprehensive educational "Integration Reform" in order to promote the educational-social integration of immigrant children. This reform included the establishment of a 3-year "junior high school" as a transition between a six-grade elementary school and a high school with 3 years of preparation for the matriculation exams. The heterogeneous classes created by this integration led to homogenous "educational clustering" that harmed the educational and social goals of the integration reform. Therefore, from the 1970s onward, the

“swinging pendulums” (Ravitch 2000) changed again, and the third wave of educational progressivism started, and progressive methods were employed. At the same time, the slow implementation of the “Integration Reform” gradually began to lead to a parallel “Autonomy in Education” Project, including various progressive methods, democratic schools, and open schools which, lasting from the 1970s to the beginning of the twenty-first century, mark this third wave of progressivism in the Israeli education system.

The gradual introduction of the national “Educational Autonomy” Project from the 1970s onward is the main thrust of the third wave of progressive educational experience in Israel. The project began with setting policy. At the beginning of the 1970s, organizational decentralization and strengthening of the geographic districts of the Ministry of Education began, in contrast to the centralization that prevailed until then. As decentralization pervaded the field, committees and bodies to encourage teachers’ and schools’ initiatives acted on behalf of the Ministry, and their recommendations led to the possibility of integrating progressive curricula to the schools and fostering autonomous teachers’ teams for curriculum development.

During the implementation of the Integration Reform, academic and other institutions created ways of teaching in heterogeneous classes that combined homogeneous and heterogeneous groups. Six prominent progressive methods have been developed since then – active learning; a “customized teaching”; different learning tasks for different students in their thinking and learning; the operation of multiple intelligences; “mastery learning”; and “cooperative learning” (group or “research groups” in the original) – on a common Israeli-American development. In addition, progressive “advantageous strategies” have been established in essence, which nurture the individual positive skills: boarding schools for talented pupils, pre-academic preparatory courses in target groups, and more. The progressive practices that followed the implementation of the integration reform worked well, based on a variety of theories, but were not backed up by the general policy of the Ministry of Education departments.

In 1971, the first two open schools were founded in Haifa and Jerusalem by a group headed by Moshe Caspi of the Hebrew University and Eliezer Marcus, a senior official in the Ministry of Education. In 1975, the “Hofen” Institute (Experimental Open Education) was established in Jerusalem to train teachers for open schools and regular schools interested in innovation. In the mid-1980s, there were open schools in the cities of Haifa, Bat-Yam, Rishon LeZion, and Jerusalem and in the regional kibbutz school in Maagan Michael, designed in the spirit of Dewey with the help of Segal, his student. Toward the end of this decade, almost all of them were closed or retreated from their open principles because of pressure from the Israeli Ministry of Education and/or parents who preferred educational achievement for their children. However, Caspi bequeathed his radical progressive thinking to many educators who invented new educational environments through his writings, and especially the “Hofen” Institute, which in 1982 became a unique study program at the David Yellin Academic College of Education in Jerusalem. In the last decade, four democratic schools operate in Israel in a completely open Sudbury format.

In 1978, an official experiment of elementary community schools began, increasing the involvement of parents and the community in schools and the autonomy of teachers and schools. In the early 1980s, a joint think staff was established for the Pedagogical Secretariat in the Ministry of Education and the School of Education of Tel Aviv University, which built the “Autonomous School Theory.” This led to the national project of “Autonomy in Education,” which was supervised by the two bodies between the years 1987–1992 and was based on a partnership between the Academy (and the Ministry of Education’s Headquarter), “field,” and 190 schools which received guidance and training from academic teams from universities, schools of education, and education colleges. Three theoretical “models” of autonomous-uniqueness schools were defined: (a) content, such as the arts, nature, and the environment; (b) ideological-values, “TALI” (reinforcement of Jewish studies), values of work, and society; and (c) those with a special educational approach, a community school, active, open, democratic, and more. Six “components of school autonomy” were also defined for the implementation of these models: (a) the establishment of a “vision”; (b) development of teams; (c) school-based curriculum development; (d) community involvement; (e) overall school assessment; and (f) flexibility and budgetary independence. The two types of variable – the educational uniqueness (content, ideological, educational) and the components of autonomy in the school – created two axes: an axis of “uniqueness” and an axis of “means” for achieving it. Their two-dimensional theoretical “product” guided the project.

The Autonomy Project suffered from difficulties in implementation, and in the study that concluded it, it was found that in practice it was possible to obtain autonomy for the schools and teachers only by operating each of the six components. The project expanded to other schools and influenced the field even after its completion in 1992, since it combined practice, theory, national policy, and teacher training.

In the early 1990s and the early years of the twenty-first century, there was an intense academic-theoretical, practical, and policy “discourse” that dealt mainly with the right of parents to choose their children’s education and the self-management of schools, budgets, and content. Eight committees on behalf of the Ministry of Education – public and academic – have been active for 15 years and have summarized their work and research in reports and position papers. These supported the right of parents to choose in unique and autonomous schools for their children, which will be supervised by the local authorities and the Ministry of Education (the Ministry has established a division for experimental schools, progressive in various ways). Self-management of schools according to all six components of the “Autonomous School,” and donations from non-public sources to schools in order to strengthen their budgetary independence. Most of the recommendations were made, and two attempts were investigated and found to be successful – controlled parents’ choice in education throughout the city of Tel Aviv and an experiment by the post-primary school teachers’ union organization in five schools that followed all the above recommendations.

Educational autonomy also allowed the establishment of democratic schools, essentially progressive, which began to develop in Israel in 1987, with the establishment of the first democratic school in Hadera by Yaacov Hecht. The Institute for

Democratic Education, which was established next to the school, moved to Tel Aviv, to the campus of the Kibbutzim College of Education in 2001, and a year later, the experimental “Democratic Program” opened as a joint project for the college and an alternative teacher training institute that combines personal, group, and communal teaching. The Institute’s graduates and groups of parents have since opened more than 20 democratic schools and project-based or problem-solving schools, as well as some democratic gardens. Graduates of the Institute and its joint master’s degree program at the School of Education at Tel Aviv University have integrated into existing schools. In addition, the Institute and a separate company founded by Hecht have developed two world-class models of “education cities” which suggest personal education in relatively small initiation groups and/or overall systematic education reform in a city or region. At the same time, the Ministry of Education has developed a network of “Democracy Experiences” schools, where there is less innovation, and “green” schools that educate to environmental education. The Ministry also officially recognized the progressive anthroposophical kindergarten and school network, and the Branco Weiss institutions, which focuses on the cultivation of thinking and personal learning and environmental, for regular students and for children and youth at risk.

The history of the Autonomy Project in education, combined with parts of the Integration Reform, attests to an integrated start of policy and theory, a great deal of progress in both of them from the 1980s, along with cross-country and local practices. The trinity of policy, research, and practice works, but there is still a lack of synchronization, especially a balance between educational independence and a binding “core curriculum.” The Experiments and Initiatives Department, which was founded as part of the policy and theory in the early 1990s, has recently upgraded to a division and has since accompanied the “field,” projects, and reforms from the bottom up and vice versa. The research of the experimental schools at the Tel Aviv University School of Education and the “experimental books” of the various schools working with the Experiments and Initiatives Division provide the empowered academic basis for the theory, policy, and practice of progressive education.

Part 3: Research Methodologies as Future Directions in the Study of Progressivism

In the second part of this chapter, we presented case studies of progressive and informal influences on formal Jewish-Zionist education in pre-state Israel and the state period, through three waves of progressivism that were cut off under social and educational circumstances, using Diane Ravitch’s “swinging pendulum” metaphor (Ravitch 2000). The case studies were written in a two-dimensional model of historical waves, which has four components: theory, policy, practice, and teachers’ training that combine theory and practice. This model is also suitable for the study of progressivism worldwide and educational movements in general.

The “multiple case studies” presented are subject to further methodological historiographic analysis, which will enrich the field of education history in new research directions. For their selection, a “systematic review” or “meta-study” was conducted of all our studies, as well as others, which served as the main secondary historical sources dealing with progressivism in Israel and abroad. This method, similar to “meta-analysis” in quantitative research, is intended for qualitative and historical research that is not based mainly on quantitative data. Its strength lies in the fact that the secondary sources that were selected are based on both primary and secondary sources (Thomas 2015; Yin 2014).

The case studies, which were also validated through numerous historical studies of various kinds, such as national “macro” level policies, along with the designation of kindergartens and schools at the “micro” level, and reference to the “mezzo” level, the masseurs of teacher organizations, educational streams and educational networks. Historical validation was also reinforced by the large number of historiographic “dimensions” included in these cases: educational institutions; educational ideologies; dilemmas such as between homogenous and heterogeneous classes; the curriculum and the didactics; education systems; communities and rural and urban populations; educational personalities: and the comparative dimension. Such historical validation is also worthy of historical case studies in general, and multiple case studies, in particular.

The case studies presented emphasized both “how” (practices of) progressive education and informal education and learning served the “what” (contents) – various national and social ideologies. They also explored “national education” in its two senses: education for national patriotism and “national compulsory education” that reaches all children, adolescents, and adults of different populations and social strata (Anderson 1991; Smith 2000; Weber 1976). This issue of combining “how” and “what” in the study of progressivism throughout the ages, from Comenius and Rousseau to the present, needs to be deepened to create an appropriate typology, since it appears that the principles of progressivism have been nurtured on the one hand as teaching-learning methods in their own right, in contrast to the traditional ones of the omniscient teacher, and on the other hand, they were recruited for a variety of national and social movements.

The combination of the progressive effects of the informal influences of the youth movements on Zionist and Israeli education and the overlap between them in the cases of the Labor Stream and the kibbutz education (Dror 2004) point to the direction of potential research in the history of education. A study of the overlap between educational movements and phenomena who operated in those periods, more or less, or who came one by one. In this chapter we noted the progressive education and the youth movements that grew and flourished at the same time, especially in the early twentieth century, in Europe and Palestine (Eretz-Israel), as well as the interdisciplinary integrative methods that were similar in nature, some of which grew concurrently and some advanced from one progressive wave to the next: the American Projects, Russian Complexes, the method of subjects and method of processes in the kibbutz movements, project/problem-based learning in recent decades, etc. A similar congruence exists between progressive education, open

education, democratic education, constructivist education, meaningful education, and education for twenty-first-century life. There is also overlap and differences between “educational movement” and “educators” movement. The obvious direction of the study of these educational movements and phenomena is both comparative and historical-comparative, in order to point out the similarities and differences between them.

Finally, we examined “comparative history” of institutions, ideas, persona, and others active in progressivism and youth movements and dealt with the “transcultural history” of these two educational movements from Europe and the United States. However, in the cases investigated, there is room for using “entangled history” which focuses on the relations between different societies and cultures (Sobe 2013; Werner and Zimmermann 2006). In the Israeli cases, the intercultural interactions that combined Russian, Polish, German and Central European, American, and other influences were well known. The combination of these three approaches toward history, as well as the other methodological directions presented at this end, is suitable for historiography in general.

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Part IV

Curriculum Development, Contestation, and Resistance



Helen Proctor

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Abstract

This chapter offers an introduction to some key concepts in curriculum history, as it has developed as a field of study from the 1970s onwards, and to the part of the handbook titled “Curriculum Development, Contestation, and Resistance.” The first two parts of the chapter consider, respectively, the meaning of “curriculum” from a historical perspective (what curriculum has been understood to mean, mostly within the larger field of education) and historical examples in the politics of curriculum making (how knowledge is made into curriculum and how curriculum is a site of struggle over “progress”). This is not a linear history of a unified field and certainly does not claim to be exhaustive. Instead, these two parts are structured by a sequence of questions and interpretations that have come from and are applied to a range of useful writings published from the 1970s to the 2010s. The chapter then turns to a discussion of the contributions of the seven following chapters to the theme “educational knowledge and mass education.”

Keywords

Curriculum history · Curriculum studies · History of knowledge · Theorizing schooling · Curriculum politics

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All over Guatemala and even in other parts of the world, school children, trainee teachers, and others are sitting at desks or reading screens, studying “Guatemala” as a topic comprising one or other parts of a curriculum. The object of study, “Guatemala,” is made comprehensible and coherent through the making of relationships between certain core facts, such as the size of its capital city, the political map of its current and past borders, the names of its neighboring nations, the locations of its archaeological sites, and the mix of its peoples and languages (with the peoples and languages perhaps shown in a statistical table). If curriculum is taken to mean *an organized exhibition of connected knowledge for the purpose of educating people* and not necessarily restricted to the institutions of formal education, then a similarly structured “curriculum” for learning about Guatemala might be accessed even more widely, by anyone who reads Wikipedia or TripAdvisor or by World Bank employees, CIA operatives, and so on.

Guatemala has also often been represented by a collection of facts that constitute it as a place of *problems*, some of them signaled in the twenty-first century through the methodologies of international, comparative economic, social, or education numbers and rankings. This collection of metrics and indicators has provided both momentum and warrant for the reform projects of successive national and international politicians, experts, and others, including the curriculum reform of Guatemalan schools and other educational institutions. Paradoxically, as Ligia López López (2018) points out, Guatemala is made both distinct from and similar to other nations by its incorporation into the patterns of international comparative frameworks and its concomitant politics of educational crisis and curricular reform (also see Lindblad et al. 2018).

This chapter begins with Guatemala, or rather with a brief interpretation of parts of Ligia López López’s (2018) study of curriculum, history, and race in Guatemala, in order to foreground a conceptualization of curriculum that brings together politics, sociology, and the historicity of the production and use of knowledge. López’s study centralizes the relationship between various iterations of national curriculum reform and what she terms “the making of *lo indígena*.” She shows how the historically shifting classificatory and explanatory processes of the “making up” of types and typologies of people, including through the classificatory practices of anthropologists in the twentieth century, also brought about identifications of Indigenous and Mayan peoples with the problems of Guatemalan educational backwardness (variously named and theorized). For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to understand that curriculum is neither neutral nor simply bounded within syllabus documents or educational institutions and also that the making and implementation of curriculum is a matter both of struggle and consequence. By drawing together a range of information types – from accounts of the activity of the neo-imperialist Christian evangelical Summer Institute of Linguistics to the imagery of Central American clothing styles in public policy documents – López demonstrates an interconnectedness through curriculum of different procedures of information collecting, representation, and sense-making.

This chapter offers an introduction to some key concepts in curriculum history, as it has developed as a field of study from the 1970s onward, and to the part of the

Reader entitled “Curriculum Development, Contestation, and Resistance.” The next two parts of the chapter consider, respectively, the meaning of “curriculum” from a historical perspective (what curriculum has been understood to mean, mostly within the larger field of education) and historical examples in the politics of curriculum making (how knowledge is made into curriculum and how curriculum is a site of struggle over “progress”). This is not a linear history of a unified field and certainly does not claim to be exhaustive. Instead these two parts are structured by a sequence of questions and interpretations that have come from and are applied to a range of useful writings published from the 1970s to the 2010s. The chapter then turns to a discussion of the contributions of the seven following chapters to the theme “educational knowledge and mass education.”

Curriculum and History

The term “curriculum” is simply used as an instrumental term in many contexts. It is most commonly applied to what is taught in schools and often understood as interesting only in its attachment to another more communicative word, in usages such as “the science curriculum” or “the elementary school curriculum.” The term can be employed with precision to denote something very specific, or much more loosely, but the focus of interest is usually in whatever kind of curriculum it is, not in curriculum itself as a concept with complexity or power. As Bill Green (2017, p. 1) explains in his study of the school subject English:

[Curriculum] tends to function as either a ‘placeholder’, a ‘stop-word’, or akin to an empty signifier and hence available to be filled according to need or purpose or whatever discourse is at hand.

By contrast, the field of curriculum history places interrogation of curriculum – as term and concept – at the heart of its interest. This part of the chapter looks at how curriculum has been understood historically and has been used in historical studies of education, not as just as a stop word but as an object of inquiry and as a category of analysis. It is also important to appreciate that what is referred to in this chapter as an academic “field” is quite dispersed, even fragmented. The study of curriculum history, or histories of curriculum/curricula, encompasses scholarly publications and discussions across a range of topics and a range of orientations to knowledge and scholarship.

There have been at least three ways into curriculum history: through historical approaches within the study of individual school subjects, through the identification of curriculum/curricula as an important object of inquiry in histories of education, and through the incorporation into curriculum studies of historical modes of analysis. These strands do not always speak to each other, whether through patterns of citation, common terminology, or mutually intelligible theoretical framing (e.g., see Tamura 2011). There are also differing orientations to empirical research and to the relationship between past and present (e.g., see Franklin 2008; McCulloch 2011;

Popkewitz 1997, 2011; Smith and Ewing 2002). Curriculum studies is described as an “eclectic” field by one of its main journals (Westbury and Milburn 2007) and as the only field that “has its origins in and owes its loyalty to the discipline and experience of education” by curriculum theorist William Pinar (2004, p. 2). This latter point suggests a difference of interest between a historian who looks at curriculum and a curriculum theorist who uses historical modes of enquiry (e.g., see Baker 1996).

In common with many other academic fields, publications in both curriculum history and histories of curriculum have been disproportionately produced and circulated within the Global North, especially the USA (Baker 2009). US publications still dominate the field, especially the parts of the field that most readily self-describe as “curriculum studies” (as distinct from, e.g., histories of education that attend to curriculum issues as part of other investigations). While work in the 2010s, including work coming out of the USA, has increasingly sought to redirect the field internationally and transnationally (e.g., see Baker 2009; Paraskeva and Steinberg 2016; Tröhler 2017), the USA itself remains an exemplary object of study (e.g., see Flinders and Thornton 2009; Kliebard 1995; Pinar et al. 1995; Tröhler 2016).

The historical conditions for the post-Second World War development of the academic field of twentieth- and twenty-first-century curriculum history included the expansion of the higher education sector; the increasing expectation that academics would publish as well as teach; the increasing replacement of apprenticeship forms of teacher training by a pre-service, more theoretically based delivery model, which required texts to teach from; and the expansion of secondary schooling, which raised questions about the equity effects of increased educational access. The intellectual, political, and social reconsiderations and rebellions of the 1960s were significant in shifting commitments to what ought to be the focus of study in fields like education, sociology, and history, including, to differing degrees within curriculum history, reconsiderations of the power relations of social class, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. A 1977 address by William Pinar (1977/2009) described the “reconceptualization” of the curriculum studies field as a principled response to the conservative state of the (US) field under the sway of such prescriptive teaching models as the Tyler rationale.

A critical study of curriculum and its history might also come from an impetus to write “history from below” and/or from a rethinking of the significance of a range of schooling structures and practices in the making (or reproduction) of political and social inequality (e.g., Campbell and Sherington 2002; Connell et al. 1982; Rattansi and Reeder 1992). Part of the impetus for the development of curriculum history during the late twentieth century was to try to enter authentically into the classrooms and schoolrooms of the past (e.g., see Depaepe and Simon 1995; Silver 1992). Of her 1970 doctoral study of nineteenth-century US teachers, Barbara Finkelstein (1989, p. 5) wrote, “[*Governing the Young*] was one of a handful of historical studies which explored curriculum as something more than the fund of allusion, fable, and sentiment contained in textbooks.” Using memoirs as her source material and influenced by Max Weber and Émile Durkheim, Finkelstein represented nineteenth-century teachers as significant cultural agents: interpreters and promoters of print and book-

based culture and of a standardized spoken language that came to represent morality and intelligence, educability, and competence.

David Hamilton's *Towards a Theory of Schooling*, first published in 1989 (with parts of it disseminated much earlier), aimed "to bring the common-places of schooling much more to the foreground of educational analysis" (Hamilton 1989/2009, p. 3). "They are not a backcloth to educational change," he wrote, "they are its warp and weft." In the tradition of Philippe Ariès' contention that childhood was an invention of the modern period and treating apparently fixed educational practices as historically formed ideas or concepts, Hamilton's research into the intellectual history of "class" and "curriculum" made the artificial configuration of schooling more visible. In sixteenth-century Western Europe, he found, "First came the introduction of class divisions and closer pupil surveillance; and second came the refinement of pedagogic content and methods. . . . Teaching and learning became, for good or ill, more open to external scrutiny and control" (Hamilton 1989/2009, p. 14).

Studies in the social history of the classroom, especially from the 1990s onward, helped to "reconstruct the culture of [these] common spaces in schools" and to examine the curriculum as part of a mundane "pedagogical order" of people, activities, and objects (Dams et al. 1999, p. 1; Grosvenor et al. 1999; Rousmaniere et al. 1997). Generative theoretical tools coming out of 1980s and 1990s empirical historical research into schooling routines included the two concepts "educationalization" from Western Europe (e.g., Depaepé 1998; Van Ruyskensvelde et al. 2017) and "the grammar of schooling" from the USA (e.g., see Tyack and Tobin 1994). Both of these, in different ways, recognized the importance of repetitive order and routine in the history of schooling and thereby offered explanations for the apparent continuities, since the nineteenth century, in classroom operation. A turn to materiality in the twenty-first century invited consideration of how curriculum operates with and through such things as school uniforms and classroom fit-outs (e.g., Brunelli and Meda 2017; Burke et al. 2013; Dussel 2001; Grosvenor and Rosén Rasmussen 2018; Lawn and Grosvenor 2005). According to Inés Dussel, "The life of schools is made of many of these 'inconsequential things' that have far more influence on the way teachers and students perceive themselves and relate to others than might be presumed by the space given to them by educational research" (Dussel 2001, p. 207).

The US curriculum scholar William F. Pinar (2004, p. 2) posed the question "What is curriculum theory?" and replied to his own question with "The short answer is that *curriculum theory is the interdisciplinary study of educational experience*" (original italics). The concept of "educational experience" invites the consideration of curriculum both inside and outside the kinds of institutions, mainly schools, that have been thought to contain it, going well beyond some of the technicist approaches Pinar had been criticizing since the 1970s. But does such an approach risk damaging the precision and focus of curriculum history? In the 1980s and 1990s the British scholar Ivor Goodson (1995), another of the founders of the twentieth-century curriculum history field, found it useful to separate the object of study into component parts, including examinations, pedagogy, and the "preactive

written curriculum.” This kind of analysis, he proposed, made clear the conservative power of the written curriculum, kept stable by examination systems, in exercising control over teachers’ pedagogy, as part of an interconnected system of policy, pedagogy, and the differentiation of educational pathways. In this way the written curriculum, argued Goodson, has considerable structural power and can act as a brake on certain kinds of reform, because of wells of expertise, affiliation to certain disciplinary boundaries between school subjects, and resources built up over decades.

For Bernadette Baker (2009), the foundational work of Goodson, Pinar, and others who developed a critical vocabulary of curriculum analysis allowed for the later expression of curriculum studies as “the cultural studies of education”:

Curriculum studies can now be conducted and debated as the “cultural studies of education” with research into overt (formal or written content), hidden (incidental or implied learnings), and null (what could have been taught but was not) curricula taken-for-granted. . . . Significantly, curriculum studies now involves analyses that exceed compulsory schooling and education-based literature. (Baker 2009, p. x)

Additionally, Baker (2009, p. xii) herself, in the context of orienting the field transnationally, resisted the activity of firming up core concepts and drawing or redrawing boundaries, refusing the “centralization tendencies of field formation” and aiming for “the avoidance of second-order normativity embedded in the a priori definition of terms such as education, curriculum, knowledge, and power, which are not universal concepts.”

Thomas Popkewitz, a prolific and influential producer of curriculum history over several decades, writes, “I use curriculum and pedagogy interchangeably in the text to recognise the relation of what is to be known and the modes of knowing that knowledge” (Popkewitz 2011, p. 3n), and elsewhere he describes pedagogy and curriculum (without drawing hard boundaries between them) as “the principles about how one should know (didactics and learning theories) and what one should know (the school curriculum)” (Popkewitz 2015, no page number). For Popkewitz, curriculum is best understood as a system for “reason”/“reasoning.” His key historical questions address the historical conditions that make possible certain arrangements in the present, for example:

- What principles of “reason” historically order what is thought about and acted upon in schooling, its sciences, and reforms?
- What are the historical conditions that make possible the subjects of schooling – its curriculum and human kinds?
- How can the political of schooling and the problems of exclusion and abjection be rethought? (Popkewitz 2015, no page number).

The contribution of historical enquiry to the understanding of curriculum in the present (the “present” itself being, by definition, a traveling descriptor) lies, for many

authors in the field, in its power to expose how certain arrangements, through historical processes of making, are *made to make sense* and become constituted as *reasonable*.

The Politics of Curriculum

The word "progress" in the chapter title stands for how curriculum projects are, by their nature, intended to bring about transformations in the people for whom they are written, whether at an individual level or as a cohort or generation. As it applies to the modern civic institutions of education, curriculum is bound up with philosophical and psychological theories of childhood and maturation, as well as moral hopes and fears about young minds. It thus brings personal maturation into conversation with collective politics, including the politics of identity and of national boundaries. As Yates and Grumet (2011, no page number, online book) point out:

The world is the object that curriculum points to as we introduce each generation to the shared histories, practices and possibilities that shape personhood. The school curriculum is the program nations establish to prepare young people for the world. It points to the world and engages in the formation of personhood. At times of important political change, curriculum becomes a key site for attention and reworking.

This part of the chapter looks briefly at the politics of knowledge, the idea of "progress," and how the two are related through modern mass schooling. Having raised the possibilities in the previous part of several directions in which to expand the study of curriculum, this part focuses more closely on schools, schooling, and the official curricula of policy and syllabus documents and textbooks, in order to highlight some instances of historical contestation over what should be taught in schools and the implication of schools and schooling, in colonialism and in nation-making and modernization projects.

The examples mentioned come from the late nineteenth century onward, as the time period when increasing numbers of children attended school regularly. The establishment of public school systems, including normative operations such as the privileging of national or metropolitan rather than regional or immigrant languages and histories, was an essential tool in the organization of populations. During the twentieth century in those places where sizable public school systems had been established, such as Western Europe, the USA, Canada, and Australia, the reach of schooling expanded to lay claim to and incorporate ever greater territories of knowledge. As Tröhler (2016, p. 289) explains (for Europe): "by the late 19th century [an] educationalized culture assigned almost any perceived social problems or challenges to education, and this served as the basis for the massive expansion and increasing differentiation of the school system."

The terrain and history of curriculum politics are self-evidently vast and complex. To offer a few examples from Australia (from Campbell and Proctor 2014):

- A decisive and enduring split between Australian Catholic and public schools was inaugurated during the late nineteenth century with one of the main points of contention being, depending on the state jurisdiction, either the absence of all religious teaching from public schools or the availability only of forms of scripture teaching believed by the Catholic bishops to be doctrinally Protestant.
- In the 1960s, Cold War fears about the progress of space and weapons programs of the Soviet Union, combined with domestic electoral politics (winning and losing the Catholic vote), precipitated the first steps in the late-twentieth-century movement to award federal government subsidies to private schools, initially through the funding of science laboratories in private (and public) high schools.
- During the last quarter of the twentieth century, the school curriculum became a focus for anxieties about social change. Several controversies about what was taught to children and teenagers in schools were debated through the press and became subject to public activism. In 1978, for example, activist members of the Christian right in the Australian state of Queensland successfully campaigned, on the grounds of cultural relativism and inappropriate permissiveness, for the banning of two social studies programs, including the US-developed *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS) (see also Smith and Knight 1978).

The questions of whose knowledge counts and contests over hierarchies and canons of knowledge are long-term and ongoing debates, even as the participants, interested parties, stakes, and the nature and dimensions of what is known and believed about the world shift historically (e.g. see Teese 2013). One of many reasons for the international curricular influence of the USA has been its historically early provision of comprehensive secondary schooling. Given the richness and relative cohesiveness of curriculum history writing about the USA, it is possible to assemble more than one possible narrative to demonstrate (different) shifts over time in how the high school curriculum was imagined. One possible narrative line, taking a hierarchies of knowledge perspective, might begin with the 1893 National Education Association's *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies*, which recommended a college preparatory emphasis, and continue through the 1918 "Cardinal Principles" report of the National Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, which prioritized democratic citizenship formation, and then on through Civil Rights era protests against racist curricular forms and content, feminist challenges to girls' exclusion from the science curriculum, and late-twentieth-/early-twenty-first-century preoccupations with testing and measurement (e.g., see Labaree 2007; Ravitch 2010; Tolley 2003; Watkins 1993).

There are many scales, from the interiority of the individual human child to the tribe and nation and even to the planetary, on which the politics of curriculum and the idea of progress can be considered. Some have drawn attention to the twenty-first-century intensification of global processes of curriculum commercialization (e.g., see Ball 2012; Gard and Pluim 2014). Others have written about how historically dominant knowledge systems have been organized around the belief that humans

can name, know, and have mastery over the Earth, to the extent that a new and dangerous geological epoch has been inaugurated, the Anthropocene (e.g., see Chakrabarty 2016).

About British colonial education in India, Sanjay Seth (2007) argues: “Western knowledge [became] no longer seen as only one mode of knowing but as knowledge itself, compared to which all other traditions of reasoning are only Unreason, or earlier stages in the march towards reason” (p. 3). Universities, university people, and academic research, as Ligia López López (2018) has demonstrated in the case of Guatemala, have had a vital influence on the relationships between knowledge and curriculum in schools by authorizing certain modes of knowledge and reason, while pushing others aside (also see, e.g., Collyer et al. 2018; Connell 2007; Nakata 2007). In the twenty-first century, new critiques of “Western” university knowledge (or university knowledge as unthinkingly Western), fueled by new readings of colonialism and imperialism, have raised further questions about the relationship between curriculum and politics. The loosely coalesced “Rhodes must fall” movement, for example, originating at the University of Cape Town in 2015, used the survival of celebratory colonial monuments on university campuses, including statues of Cecil Rhodes, to draw attention to:

The dominant Eurocentric academic model . . . what Latin Americans in particular call ‘epistemic coloniality’, that is, the endless production of theories that are based on European traditions. These are produced nearly always by Europeans or Euro-American men who are the only ones accepted as capable of reaching universality; they involve a particular anthropological knowledge, which is a process of knowing about Others – but a process that never fully acknowledges these Others as thinking and knowledge producing subjects. (Mbembe 2016, p. 36; also see Bhambra et al. 2018)

Educational Knowledge and Mass Education

The seven chapters that follow offer a diverse range of perspectives on curriculum history. The terrain they cover is rich and extensive, from mind studies to citizenship, psychology, histories of early childhood and technical education, gender, and the body. Individually and collectively they suggest a number of different ways of understanding the relationship between educational knowledge, broadly conceived, and the mass institutional forms of education that expanded across the globe from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries –especially from the perspectives of the colonial centers of the USA, the UK, and Europe. Reflecting the diversity of the field (while not claiming to cover it), the chapters encompass a number of differing interpretations of curriculum and different approaches to history, politics, and the idea of “progress.”

Bernadette Baker and Liang Wang’s ► [Chap. 28, “Common and Divided School Curriculum,”](#) juxtaposes two revolutionary historical moments – “jolts or ruptures” – which, they argue, fundamentally alter the logics of human being and conduct. The first is the introduction of mass schooling, which (eventually) centralized measures

of mind and educability in the attribution of what it was to be fully human, and the second is the current development of AI, neuroscience, Big Data, and similar forms of intelligence technology, which collectively pose an existential threat to human modes of organization. The excitable development of new forms of “super-intelligence,” they argue, is not unrelated to the invention of compulsory schooling and its fetishization of intelligence less than two centuries earlier.

Kevin Myers’ ► [Chap. 29, “Citizenship, Curricula, and Mass Schooling,”](#) proposes that mass public schooling was “arguably the most important factor in the development of modern notions of citizenship.” Tracking the growth of a “symbiotic relationship between education and literacy,” particularly in the service of the making of a global “British” culture and its affiliations, Myers describes the global spread of elementary schooling and how “the emergence of state educational systems made more explicit ideological questions around who might qualify as a citizen and the kinds of knowledge and attributes necessary for citizenship,” even in settings where large numbers of children were not included or where provision was limited.

Katie Wright and Emma Buchanan’s ► [Chap. 30, “Educational Psychology,”](#) offers a synoptic history of the named field of educational psychology, a field that has been fundamental to the conceptualization, development, and implementation of school curricula. As a system of reasoning, educational psychology has been influential in the production of the human participants in schooling, not least by its inclusion as a core subject in many teacher education programs, at least since the 1960s. “Educational psychology,” they write, “may be usefully understood . . . as an umbrella term encapsulating a variety of research and theoretical perspectives that have the common aim of applying psychological knowledge to educational practices.” Wright and Buchanan approach the history of the field in two main ways, first by charting the development of key ideas and subfields across Britain, the USA, and Europe and second by examining the spread of psy-knowledges through educational institutions over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Jenny Ritchie’s ► [Chap. 31, “A Brief Historical Overview of Curriculum in Early Childhood Care and Education,”](#) is one of two chapters in the collection that does not centralize mass schooling, but instead deals with a form of education that is sometimes uneasily articulated with the school and its systems and sometimes marginalized in relation to schooling. The chapter includes the identification of a globally influential Western tradition of early childhood education which includes both emancipatory/creative and normative/developmentalist impulses, as well as historical case studies from Māori and Pasifika settings in which children were inducted into the adult world through direct observation of community and family practices and experiential learning.

Martyn Walker’s ► [Chap. 32, “Resistance to, and Development of, Technical Education from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century,”](#) has in common with Jenny Ritchie’s an awareness of how some education forms and sectors, in this case technical education, have historically been less well-resourced and recognized than others such as schooling or university

education. Dealing with the strand of technical education that is associated with national industrial and technological development, Walker compares and evaluates the commitment to this form of technical education across the governments of the nations named in his title.

Nelleke Bakker's ► [Chap. 33, "Coeducation,"](#) addresses the gendered conceptualizations of secondary schooling in Europe and the USA. Coeducation was conventionally opposed in most places until the twentieth century on the ground of propriety, with the USA being an internationally famous counterexample. It was more strongly and lastingly opposed in Catholic than Protestant countries. Mixed secondary schooling became near universal in the late twentieth century. With some notable exceptions, the practice of segregating girls in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, according to Bakker, meant that they were excluded from the kinds of curricula that might offer access to respectable paid employment.

The final chapter, written by Kellie Burns, Helen Proctor, and Heather Weaver, ► [Chap. 34, "Modern Schooling and the Curriculum of the Body,"](#) looks at how schools acted on the bodies of school children. "Young people," argue the authors, "were taught to use their bodies in certain ways – to move or be still in certain sequences and patterns, and in considerable detail." The authors note that the invention and growth of national systems of mass schooling not only overlaid new forms of management of children's bodies onto older morally inflected beliefs but was also shaped by contemporaneous developments in the field of public health. "Compulsory attendance meant that schools became the ideal site for the inculcation of psycho-social habits of personal hygiene and communal health."

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From Mass Compulsory Schooling to Technofuturists Envisionings

Bernadette Baker and Liang Wang

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Abstract

This chapter explores how historical studies in education around the common and divided school curriculum could be reapproached between two jolts or ruptures – the invention of compulsory schooling and the potential disappearance of the same. It starts from the difficulty of invoking a unitary State apparatus and institutional historicity in effort to draw finite conclusions around the constitution of child/curriculum, common/divided, progressive/conservative, and American/US in regard to compulsory school attendance. It proceeds, via Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizomatic Nomadology, with the de- and reterritorializations that have marked curriculum historical studies of the twentieth century, and via Foucault’s wager at the edge of the sea, to analyze the rearrangements of knowledge by movements such as AI, neuroscience, and Big Data, upon which human’s putative distinctiveness has been built. In doing so, it calls attention to the intersection of human-centered education and the transhumanist movement’s aim to separate

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“qualities” like consciousness and intelligence from a physical substrate like body. It concludes with an examination of how this “trading zone” around qualities thought previously unique to the human makes the invention of compulsory schooling and of a common and divided school curriculum available for a different set of realizations.

Keywords

Compulsory schooling · Curriculum · History · Nomadology · Knowledge · Trading zones · Consciousness · Intelligence · Man · USA

Introduction

History is always written from the sedentary point of view and in the name of a unitary State apparatus, at least a possible one, even when the topic is nomads. What is lacking is a Nomadology, the opposite of a history. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 23)

If those arrangements [the fundamental arrangements of knowledge] were to disappear as they appeared. . . then one can certainly wager that man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea. (Michel Foucault, 1970, p. 387)

The establishment of public schooling and compulsory attendance laws within the trajectory of many western democracies has been one of the most significant and, until recently, enduring revolutions to mark social arrangements among humans. In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, as compulsory attendance and truancy laws were progressively passed across provinces, states, and nations, the first generation of schoolgoers were forced to experience a kind of daily activity that their parents or guardians never had. In eras when the vast majority of children never used to go to school, being forced by law to attend a school building in order to be better “civilized” or being prevented from going when desired (i.e., after being labeled as less-than-human, ineducable, or “savage”) became part of the fabric called life and argued over as a form of distress, tyranny, and/or privilege. The gradual shift in expectation and the logics of rearing that have since prevailed – normalizing attendance and tying the institution of schooling to both nationalism and child-minding for busy nuclear families – is at risk of being forgotten or underestimated today for the monumental impact it had on the redirection of energies amid the redefinition of the human.

Another monumental change that is currently in motion is also under-recognized but for different reasons. The advent of major movements such as artificial intelligence (AI), neuroscience, and Big Data are pressing upon the redefinition of education’s purposes and humanity’s presumed qualities, amid the prospect of what Peters (2017, p. 5) calls “workerless” and “workless” societies. Such become possible when AI’s command of neuroscience and accessibility to Big Data is integrated with its speed and accuracy in handling these data, i.e., when the “deep learning system” succeeds in eroding the comparative advantage of human labor. Such movements, whose contemporaneity is not a

coincidence, are forcing negotiations on uneven playing fields, with the potential to unleash not just new “social” arrangements but completely new kinds of Beings, amid technofuturist imaginal domains, and unique possibilities for what is recognized as a society altogether. Between two such jolts or ruptures – the invention of compulsory schooling and the potential disappearance of the same (when no longer tied to functional differentiation in a nonexistent labor force) – how might historical studies in education around the common and divided school curriculum be reapproached?

This chapter takes up this thought experiment in chassés between Deleuze and Guattari’s call for Nomadology and Foucault’s wager. It offers firstly a post-foundationalist and rhizomatic reading of the (im)possibility of the unitary State apparatus, in this case in a geopolitical region currently referred to as the United States, deterritorializing how common and divided school curriculum cannot be invoked from a sedentary point of view. If “knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting” (Foucault 1977, p. 154), what earns the label common and what divided will be subjected to nomadic analysis, meaning the spatializing project or “cut” changes depending on the line carved and the lens invoked. In the second half, it takes up the question of rereading such twentieth century curriculum historical debates over compulsory schooling amid the advent of technofuturism. While technofuturist envisionings are many and draw from a wide range of worlding practices (e.g., science fiction, Afrofuturism, feminist science fiction, and speculative fiction to name a few), the ones engaged in this chapter are allied to technological innovations that have already occurred that are on the threshold of manifesting as part of an existing research and development process and/or that raise important questions for understandings of education, schooling, and curriculum beyond reductionist appeals to the learning sciences and the digitization of instruction.

In much Deleuzian-inspired literature especially, however, and despite efforts to the contrary, the human is often subtly presumed to be the agent of observation who “grants” agency to other “things” or “technologies.” Even in deterritorializing mode, what typically gets put into play and what forms temporary plateaus are implicit human-to-human concerns that occupy many historical studies in education. The aim of this chapter, then, is not to unplug “the human” and “compulsory education” from the perspective of latest technologies or technofuturist envisionings, but the reverse: to consider how the rhizomatic (im)possibility of settling on what counts as human, common, divided, or curriculum provides conditions of possibility for the “trading zones” of movements like AI (Galison 1997). If “man is an invention of recent date, and one perhaps nearing its end” (Foucault 1970, p. 387), then such zones are trading in the sense that they force a reconsideration of qualities previously thought unique to the human and part of human indispensability.

Technofuturist envisionings and their allied narratives emerge in and as such trading zones, however, alongside other possibilities such as epic/heroic and strategic purist approaches (Barry and Elmes 2018). In organizational studies especially, technofuturism typically takes a positivist orientation, relying upon

scientific referencing to achieve credibility, giving attention to complexity and detail, focusing more on time and temporal sequencing, and less on characterization (pp. 444–445). Here, the analytical schemes result in comprehensive, futuristic envisionings “filled with detached ‘quasi-scientific’ forecasts” that stand in contrast to the overtly value-laden, politically sensitive, and strength/weakness oriented analytics of epic/heroic accounts. They also stand in contrast to the relatively atemporal purist narratives which believe in a return guaranteed by choosing an ideal strategic type, conforming to it, and avoiding being stuck in a perceived middle amid “directionless reactors.” To that end, “The most conventional story of contemporary futurology is a story that observes and predicts dramatic changes in the environments of organizations” (James 1995, p. 428, as cited in Barry and Elmes 2018, p. 445) and as intimately tied to commonsense understandings of technological innovations. Technofuturist envisionings in educational research in general have remained until recently rather neglected despite the potency of what has already emerged. In historical studies of education that is even more so the case. Aspects of the available envisionings incite here, then, a reconsideration and reframing of the radical revolution of compulsory schooling, of what it was for, and helped to achieve. The concluding part of the chapter thus considers provocations and directions for future research that the synchronicity of systemic, rapidly traveling, and transformative contemporary movements such as AI imply – movements that can exceed the “world” of histories written so often for and around the premise of human-to-human interactions.

Nomadology via the Rhizome

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe a rhizomatic reading as one in which principles of *connection and heterogeneity*, *multiplicity*, and *asignifying rupture* implicitly operate. While it is impossible if not antithetical to condense their interdisciplinary work, especially if that effort is misunderstood as plotting points and fixing orders in advance, some sense of their textual play can be introduced to step to the side of a bricks and mortar historiography and into a Nomadology of lines of flight, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization.

In *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987), Deleuze and Guattari argue against Freudian psychoanalytics and structural linguistics. They pit the image of an erratic rhizome against “arborescent thought” which draws everything back to the root and trunk of a single tree, elaborating principles of a rhizomatic reading in the process. First, *principles of connection and heterogeneity* refer to how “any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order” (p. 7). Connectivity is not oppositional to heterogeneity. Rather, they are interdependent: “A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles. A semiotic chain is like a tuber agglomerating very diverse acts, not only linguistic,

but perceptive, mimetic, gestural, and cognitive: there is no language itself, nor are there any linguistic universals, only a throng of dialects, patois, slangs, and specialized languages” (p. 7). Any attempts to establish linguistic universals (e.g., the child, the curriculum, the common, etc.) has the effect of fixing an order where perhaps none exists or conversely where many others exist.

Second, the *principle of multiplicity* refers to what they call a substantive (a shift from the word *multiple* to *multiplicity* is crucial here): “Multiplicities are rhizomatic, and expose arborescent pseudo-multiplicities for what they are. There is no unity to serve as a pivot in the object, or to divide in the subject . . . A multiplicity has neither subject nor object, only determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions that cannot increase in number without the multiplicity changing in nature” (p. 8). In this instance, the determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions of historical studies of education that can be put in connectivity with each other shifts “the” history of education into a multiplicity that changes rather than resolves what is seen as American.

Last, the *principle of asignifying rupture* is formulated “against the oversignifying breaks separating structures or cutting across a single structure. A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on a new line” (p. 9). This suggests ways in which fault lines reappear in different garb across the twentieth century especially – the reterritorial and the deterritorial lines of flight. As such, both the leakiness and reversibility of perceived structures is absented from the commentary:

Every rhizome contains lines of segmentarity according to which it is stratified, territorialized, organized, signified, attributed, etc., as well as lines of deterritorialization down which it constantly flees. There is a rupture in a rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome. These lines tie back to one another. That is why one can never posit a dualism or dichotomy, even in the rudimentary form of good and bad. You may make a rupture, draw a line of flight, yet there is still a danger that you will reencounter organizations that restratify everything. . . Good and bad are only the products of an active and temporary selection, which must be renewed (p. 9).

This implies that subjecting human-centrism to the determination of “good and bad” in the implementation of compulsory schooling has to be continuously relitigated, resecured, and renewed – continuously examined for its (im)possibilities, for beliefs about its beauty, its dangerousness, and its precariousness.

A postfoundationalist and rhizomatic reading indicates, then, how traditional categories such as human/less-than-human, common/divided or even progressive/conservative in historical studies of education does not automatically align with left/right, child/curriculum, or good/bad dualisms. Rather, such categories can be understood not just for what they have been thought to encamp, but for what leaks. If the Marxist scholar George Counts could quip in 1932 that “Progressive education cannot place its trust in a child-centered school” (1932, p. 10), then the lines of segmentarity (strata, territory, organizations, etc.) and deterritorialization (lines of flight) need to be taken seriously as part of an educational field’s tuberous constitution and “its” shifting plateaus.

The (Im)Possibility of Compulsory Common Schooling in the United States

“Western” cosmologies from the late 1700s are often marked by the presumption, difficulty, and leakiness of a subject/environment scission (Baker 2005; Luhmann 1985/1995). The scission upholds the possibility for sciences of governance and welfare, including the educational field’s concern with an interior/exterior problematic around a presumed “human” mind-body complex (Baker 2001). In Nietzsche (1887/2017), Heidegger (1962, 1977), Ariès (1961/1962), and Foucault (1970), the attempted separation of Man from universal systems of correspondence partly marks the coming-into-being of the modern. “Cosmologies of personhood” (Ingstad and Reynolds-Whyte 1995) become possible, morality becomes grounded in/as the subject’s “worldview,” and the subject becomes honored as human with a discreteness never before enjoyed and a porousness both required and feared.

Mainstream analyses of what constitutes common and divided school curriculum fall within the debates still emanating around such cosmological shifts. It plays within a still-perturbating Kantian ambiguity, broadly put “do categories generate perceptions and experiences or do perceptions and experiences generate categories?” (Kant 1781/1996). At least since Kant’s troubling of distinctions between subject and object, the line between ontology and epistemology has been contested. In mainstream historical studies of education, however, the perturbation is governed; generally, the developing child (ontology) and curriculum-as-cultural-authority (epistemology) structure the historiography and provide the motor for the changes described (Baker 2009). Despite the advent of what Munslow (2006) calls deconstructionist history, it is in the rearrangement of tensions and dynamisms between the human response to the structural patterns that history is most often told as history in constructionist and reconstructionist mode. Claims to fundamentality, or to continuity, or to how camps form, and/or to the adjudged incompleteness of justice-based resolutions across the twentieth century emerge from this interplay between persons and institutionalized content and rituals.

What happens, though, when categories like subject/environment, child/curriculum, common/divided, and progressive/conservative start to shake and tremble? When the rhizome stratifies and when a line of flight that is inherently part of it indicates seepage or takes off?

Challenging the Single Name of “Curriculum” and “American”/“US”

In *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (1987) and in “Black Curriculum Orientations: A Preliminary Inquiry” (1994) Herbert Kliebard and William Watkins, respectively, contest the existence of a discrete or tidy thing called curriculum altogether. Their analyses exemplify the principles of connectivity and

heterogeneity, of a rhizome ceaselessly establishing connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles.

Kliebard's analysis of the progressive education movement is a line of flight from the mainstream story he had himself been inducted into as a student. Kliebard pointed to the inappropriateness of labeling an array of contradictory efforts as a discrete entity. The periodization in his analysis is from 1893 to 1958, a timespan in which he identified *humanism*, *developmentalism*, *social efficiency*, *scientific management*, *social meliorism*, *social reconstructionism*, *home-project method*, *experiential education*, and *life adjustment* as the key movements, arguing they represented the efforts of those in often-oppositional interest groups. This led Kliebard to question previous encampments like conservative/progressive, arguing: "It was not just the word progressive that I thought was inappropriate but the implication that something deserving a single name existed and that something could be identified and defined if only we tried" (1987, p. xi).

Struggling for the American curriculum could, however, be considered code for disagreements that constituted the space now called whiteness. In "Black Curriculum Orientations" Watkins demonstrates the line of flight from prior curriculum histories. Watkins argued that there has been the *American* curriculum and there has been the *Black* curriculum and that vastly different sociopolitical conditions around life and death produced the distinction: "although vested interests were ever present, the American curriculum generally evolved in an environment free of physical and intellectual duress and tyranny. Black curriculum theorizing, on the other hand, is inextricably tied to the history of the Black experience in the United States. Black social, political, and intellectual development in all cases evolved under socially oppressive and politically repressive circumstances involving physical and intellectual duress and tyranny" (1994, p. 322). The periodization in the analysis is from the instantiation of slavery on the continent now known as North America to the 1990s, reduced as in Kliebard to US centrism, yet contesting which experiences that includes or signifies from within, while pointing to the line of flight from a perceived unitary State apparatus. The types of Black curriculum orientations that were developed might have technically eventuated within the geopolitical region called the "United States" but to identify as an American is a completely different matter – so different that the "United States" has to be understood through a different narrative. That narrative is at the very least one of perpetual violence by Americans against Blacks, tyranny as the major way in which "America" knows thyself as "not" Black. The analysis is thus not dedicated toward finding Kliebardian categories in Black scholarship or with divisions between common and divided or scientific versus classical debates over subject matter content. Rather, Watkins blurs onto-epistemological lines by labeling reform movements in relation to a Black/American binary, naming temperospatially overlapping approaches to Black education: *functionalism*, *accommodationism*, *liberal education orientation*, *Black Nationalist orientations* (including *Pan-Africanists*, *culturalists*, and *separatists*), *Afrocentrism*, and *reconstructionism*. What constitutes common/divided, child/curriculum, or progressive/conservative in relation to such

movements thus hinges on the specificity of the racial philosophy. Where Kliebard's historiography is framed implicitly around a sociology of interest groups and within a struggle-submission framework that never names race, Watkins rewrites historical studies of curriculum overtly around naming two races, American and Black, around the ideology of racialization and the racialization of ideology.

Opening "Curriculum" to Discourse Networks and Destabilizing Agentized Subjects

When focusing on common schooling among groups labeled as American or Black, however, a myriad of children and a myriad of institutions are typically excluded. Kliebard's and Watkins's binarizations take different foci and follow different trajectories around the idea of struggles and, at the same time, similarly elide not only children who are labeled or identify as Indigenous, First Nation, LatinX, Brown, and Asian American in today's terms but also the role played by even older traditions such as monotheistic religions and the domination by Christianity in particular. This is not an elision built around never mentioning religion, but rather around a deeper analysis of how religiosity, a symbolic of blood, racialization, an analytics of sex, and more become entwined in complex alliances and spatializations that were given value-attachments. For instance, examining how the legacies generated by different monotheistic belief systems played a major role in the speciesism, xenophobia, and sexualizations that preceded and enabled European high colonialism and a belief in distinct races remains a less-pursued line of flight in historical studies in education and in curriculum histories. This underscores how the version of segmentarity, of populational reasoning as a dominant way of knowing Thyself, of categories and practices such as speciesism, which uphold human/less-than-human lines and differentiate "groups," "functions," or "capacities," remains glossed. It is as though speciesism and its religious heritages are an inconsequential or widely accepted first move, never to be considered in all seriousness for their impact, because it is now power relations between, within, and around the "human" that is taken to matter the most. The co-dependency between connectivity and heterogeneity is exposed, however, when such formations as speciesism and its latent Christocentric ontological hierarchy in particular are embedded in destructive forms such as white nationalism – what Watkins characterizes as the baseline for tyranny and duress and a need for survival strategies in Black communities. The contraction of the narrative-conceptual lens and the inclusion/exclusion function of single-variable analytics operate through curriculum histories such as Watkins' as a necessary corrective (see Weheliye 2014), not as that which omits, but as correcting prior omissions or silences in narratives about struggles. In this line of flight that also stays within, Black curriculum inquiry generates a broadening and corrective to Kleibardian accounts of curriculum struggles and to nationalist founding narratives that minimize the trauma and endurance of slavery's effects, a way of documenting resilience, creativity, resistance, and struggles for life/death within and across different African American communities. To that end, such openings do not claim to be or operate as a

form of research that should be called upon or expected to solve all problems for all people, like arborescent styles of thought might presume. In *Common, Delinquent, and Special: The Institutional Shape of Special Education* and in *Understanding Curriculum* John Richardson's (1999) and Pinar et al.'s (1995) accounts, respectively, resemble the principle of substantive multiplicity insofar as essentialized, a priori human-based "power relations" are not necessarily the initial or singular focus, yet such systemic and patterned relations are not absented either. Rather, how the reterritorialization of the "human" and the "public" in discrete institutions and classificatory regimes sets limits on what could even be argued over or understood as "power" in a "democracy" mark the former, while understanding curriculum as irreducible "texts" that tell incomparable and incompatible stories marks the latter.

Richardson argued specifically that the formation of public schooling in the United States is indebted to the prior institutional sequencing that shaped what "the public" could mean and that launched special education before there ever was compulsory school attendance. For Richardson, this process began most earnestly in the 1840s and 1850s. Here, the prospect of slavery ending, the economic direction of the country under question, and the near-end of the apprenticeship system of "binding out" children to learn specific skills or trades simultaneously appeared on the horizon in ways that complexify how one would narrate the common and the divided:

There can be no disputing that the history of special education is inseparable from the history of regular education. Yet the nature of this relation is complex. A common, if not prevailing interpretation sees special education as the dependent "stepchild" of regular education. . . . An alternative account is one that accords special education more autonomy; it is not so much a stepchild as a cousin to regular education. Its origins are not so neatly located, nor is its own growth a simple function of the expansion of public education. Its origins predate the cessation of voluntary common schooling, and its expansion became intertwined with the formalization of public education. Their relationship thereby becomes more complicated (pp. xv–xvi).

Richardson documents these heterogeneities in a state-by-state analysis. First came the building of asylums for those labeled as mentally ill in the 1820s, followed by Schools for the Deaf and the Blind in the 1840s, followed by reform schools for juvenile delinquents. It is only after these institutions were established – before and after the Civil War – that compulsory school attendance laws were enacted, spreading unevenly across communities in the Northeast, Midwest, South, and West Pacific. Once the public had been "purified" of the delinquent and the special within every community, compulsory "public" schools eventually became a feasible suggestion for the treatment of the rest. Richardson posits that compulsory attendance laws, beginning in 1852 in Massachusetts and in place in all existing states by 1918 (the latest being Mississippi), were thus more about exclusion than inclusion, about defining the conditions of exemption (bad behavior and disability) even more so than with compelling attendance. Once teachers were forced to encounter children who were compelled to attend, curriculum reform movements, curriculum theory, ability

tracking, and special education initiatives proliferated from within. For Richardson, this subsequently came to a head in the overrepresentation of children labeled as minority children in special education classes that was prosecuted in court cases in the 1960s and 1970s, marking the complex intersection of racial discrimination and disability identification from within compulsory common schooling practices.

For Pinar et al. (1995) in *Understanding Curriculum*, the major pivot in orientations to school curricula has not been the complicated relation between special education and then regular education but a shift from scientific management and curriculum-as-institutional-text to the Reconceptualization of the 1970s. The Reconceptualization, marked by understanding curriculum-as-political-text in mainstream schooling rather than as “objective” or neutral subject matter content, was an opening accompanied by the very scholarship of a Kliebard, Watkins, or Richardson and that enabled it to be heard. This pivot stands out within a periodization that runs from the *Yale Report* of 1828 (see Urofsky 1965) to the mid-1990s as a move against the heyday of the WWII Tyler (1949/1969) rationale, where objectives-content-method-evaluation became the dominant (cybernetic) loop of curriculum and instruction. Curriculum-as-political-text troubles how one could even invoke the term curriculum. Pinar et al. note that David Hamilton’s (2009) sociohistorical research traces the word curriculum back to the Latin etymology of *currere* (meaning race course or track and understood as circular or elliptical) and into a rebirth in late 1500s Calvinist universities of Europe. Understanding curriculum, child, or any noun as “text” thus relocates the focus from single line, authoritative definitions operationalizing their version of preferences, prejudices, and perspectivalism beneath veneers of contextlessness and also shifts away from free-floating agentive subjects to *subjectivities*. Here, subjectivities are not presumed internal, psychological, fixed, or separate from a course of study or the politics of knowledge writ large. The chapters in the Pinar et al. synoptic analysis examine curriculum, then, as *historical text*, *racial text*, *gendered text*, *phenomenological text*, *poststructural text*, *autobiographical text*, *aesthetic text*, *theological text*, *institutionalized text*, and *international text*. Here, history is not automatic – it is another kind of text – and “identity” is the driver in some narratives only. The substantive multiplicity is borne out in the approach – it is not simplistically a substitution of culture for nature or a move from instruction to construction in the explanation, but the opening of a curriculum studies field to discourse networks. Significantly, field events are not under this view necessarily reducible to writings in the field. Even if such writings were to become a singular focus, however, the wider politics of text shift the inscription. This is embodied in an example that includes and exceeds Pinar et al.’s account of the emergence of child-centeredness in White scholarship: within their different views of what “the nation” could signify, the meaning of child-centered education for Dewey (1902), Rice (1893), and Hall (1901) might have meant progressive; for George Counts (1932) it meant conservative; for Pickens (1968) it meant eugenicist; and for Cannella (1997) it meant injustice. Pivoting on curriculum-as-political-text that ushered in the Reconceptualization marks, then,

both a substantive multiplicity that leaks away from prior accounts of the common and the divided as much as it newly encamps and reterritorializes. In so doing, the account also introduces an asignifying rupture that refuses reduction to a single-pointed narrative inscribed in linear time.

Navigating an Exo-personal/Not-Exclusively-Human Indigenous Cosmology

As Deleuze and Guattari note, however, the asignifying rupture risks tying back to the same line, and in the case of Pinar et al.'s *Understanding Curriculum*, it is to the human-after-all: "Fields, just like schools, are comprised of people, people with ideas. Both people and ideas change, often not very fast (or fast enough, some people think), but they do change. We want to portray this process of people-with-ideas changing, that is, the history of the field" (1995, p. 4). Another instance of an asignifying rupture formulated against the oversignifying breaks separating structures or cutting across a single structure appears in Susan A. Miller's (2008) "Native America Writes Back: The Origin of the Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography." This analysis subtly takes on the idea of people-centrism and human-driven. It has implications for the analysis of common and divided curriculum from the perspective of higher education rather than from an examination of compulsory common schooling and thus in the process interrogates the very possibility of naming historiography. In this account, which makes it difficult to say "in Miller's account" as though individualized and psychologized to the singular, there is such a thing as identity, it is considered Indigenous, but it is exo-personal and not exclusively human. In higher education departments like departments of History, the Indigenous paradigm in historiography, unlike the American paradigm, generates an identity that is built within a specific worldview and one that does not match that of the various transatlantic Enlightenments. Indigenesness "does not connote merely the earliest occupation of a region. Rather, it is a pattern of characteristics shared by polities that have not adopted the nation-state type of organization" (p. 11). The keystone drawn out across Indigenous societies and that cements the pattern is a concept of people as communities *within a living (animate) and sacred cosmos*. This is crucial for the analysis does not begin with human-to-human interaction but with the operations of a sacred cosmos entailing spiritual entities, a cosmos in which people-in-communities are but one of the animated things. Attributing animation is not, however, dependent on the presence of carbon, on whether something is seen as moving or not, or whether labeled as rock, as cloud, or as wood. By implication, it would also not be dependent on new materialist-style reasoning where humans now have the right to assert that something other than the human is alive, communicates, has agency and effects, and is therefore open to matter-and-meaning analysis. Rather, all things have animation – spirit – and are therefore sacred. This has ramifications for writing History in the Academy:

Because the concept of a living cosmos does not fit comfortably into the American history paradigm, Indigenous scholars who work within the discipline must choose whether to acknowledge it in their work. Most have honored non-Indigenous beliefs in inanimacy by rejecting the notion of a living cosmos or avoiding mention of it in scholarly contexts. Scholarship derives, after all, from a culture that was burning people at the stake for this kind of speech not so very long ago, and whose deterrents are still powerful in the form of professional and economic marginalization. (Miller 2008, pp. 11–12)

The sheer irreconcilability of cosmological beliefs forces “choices” about professional survival, underscoring the (im)possibility of arriving at any universalistic determination of what is uniquely human or what is common and divided. When a sacred cosmos and dispersed animation do not equate with centering the “human” as the main actor or agent what might historical studies of education focus upon as the events, as motors for change, or as arbiters of the real? What weight would the invention of compulsory schooling for roughly 150 years in the “nation-state type of organization” be given in the roughly 12,000–25,000 years of occupied land and shared rituals among animate Beings in the same region?

Such rhizomatic eruption of de- and reterritorialization signal how histories of “American common schooling” or of curriculum as common and divided are not simply prior to their forms. Shaped differently through contemporaneous, shifting, and dispersed segmentarity and lines of flight, any claim to fundamentality across time spaces are difficult to secure. Moreover, the above contradistinctions invite a series of questions that many forms of historiography in education have avoided, including the following: (1) How far back do you want to go regarding the differential periodization of “America’s” messy beginnings and “its” links to which “non”-Americas?: (2) Whether to start with the tyranny of Greece and its sources in North Africa (Bernal 1987), or with slavery and murder from Africa’s west coast to the America’s east coasts, or with immigration and forced labor from Asia through the west coast, or with movements across the southern and northern borders (Mexico and Canada, respectively), or with “human cleansing,” i.e., ethnic genocide and “removal” of Indigenous peoples, the eventual establishment of reservations, slavery, and war? (3) Whether to start with the nation-state type of organization – nation-building and varied references to democracy as political philosophy, as eugenic philosophy, as manifest destiny, as nervous masculinity, as insecure white nationalism?, etc. Each of the conceptualizations of “American”/“US,” common/divided, child/curriculum, and progressive/conservative is an action of inclusion and exclusion, drawing attention to some traces while ignoring others, shifting the analytics from naming the problem to the problem of naming (America, Africa, Asia, Greece, Indigenous, etc.). While the dead end that “we do not know what we have ignored, and we do not even know that we have ever ignored something” can potentially be interrupted by questioning the very (im)possibility of such unities and conceptualizations, as the above historicities have done, other quandaries remain.

As Deleuze and Guattari intuit, such a list of questions can also tie analysis back to pre-existing lines. In this case, despite asignifying ruptures like those in Indigenous paradigms that outline cosmological differences in how an analysis becomes an analysis and where people-in-communities would be located within an

order of things not reducible to Abrahamic traditions, the onto-epistemological prerogatives of the figure of the human – available for recognition, available for mistreatment, and available for elevation – has tended to override such ruptures. As long as “history” bears an unspoken hierarchy of priorities among which the onto-epistemological interaction is of the utmost importance, these ruptures will eventually get reterritorialized into the prevailing landscapes of curriculum history.

What happens, however, if the hierarchy gets disturbed, when seemingly indispensable “human” features are removed from humans such that the onto-epistemological interaction acquires a new notion? The final section of this chapter considers, then, a different set of questions and a different kind of overriding that are now erupting in the wake of AI, neuroscience, and Big Data which ultimately unhinges the very idea of humans doing a “rhizomatic analysis”/Nomadology or “writing” a history in the first place.

Trading Zones and the Wager at the Edge of the Sea

Subcultures trade. Anthropologists have extensively studied how groups, with radically different ways of dividing up the world and symbolically organizing its parts, can not only exchange goods but also depend essentially on those trades. Within a certain cultural arena – what I call [a] . . . “trading zone” – two dissimilar groups can find common ground. They can exchange fish for baskets, enforcing subtle equations of correspondence between quantity, quality, and type, and yet utterly disagree on the broader (global) significance of the items exchanged. (Galison 1997, p. 46)

In the above section, the change from an institutional historicity to a rhizomatic one is realized in the connectivity and heterogeneity, substantive multiplicities, and asignifying ruptures that de- and reterritorialize what counts as curriculum, common and divided. In this section, an examination of what happens as edges overlap, where the [older] fundamental arrangements of knowledge and the contemporaneity of AI, neuroscience, and Big Data meet, is taken up. There are no global definitions of movements such as AI, neuroscience, and Big Data, and there is dissensus over when they even became recognizable and to what-whom. What can be discerned in the dissensus between successive circles, though, is clear enough: for AI, that a machine could be built that could do what “a reasonably logical human” could do (Tegmark 2017, pp. 123–126); for neuroscience, “the decade of the brain” in the 1990s proved decisive, pinning mind and consciousness to the processes of a single organ (Rose and Abi-Rached 2013); while for Big Data, which includes learning analytics and educational data-mining, the three V’s mark their distinction from the small, leveraging *volume*, *velocity*, and *variety* in cross-platform pattern-seeking among information inputs (Baker 2017).

The intersection of these three movements portends significant change and requires urgent consideration in the field of education. If, as Foucault posited, Man is an invention of recent date and one perhaps nearing its end, what might the sand and the ocean lapping over the figure drawn at the edge of the sea produce and

expose? This overlapping signals the activation of a “trading zone” and generates reconsideration of “curriculum” and “human” as putative objects within it. This is a zone that provokes and enables a different set of realizations regarding the invention of compulsory schooling, its participants, and kinds of curriculum. What are the implications, then, for historical studies of education more broadly in the activation of this kind of trading zone relative to the de- and reterritorializations outlined above and that tend to populate the curriculum historical field?

There is an intensity to the intersection of these movements in the twentieth century that forces or requires reapproaching what historically marked education as education. For instance, imagine a machine that is programmed to self-learn and correct errors as determined by a telos and beliefs about how the brain processes and operates (AI’s recent connection to neuroscience). Such a machine might look phenotypically “human” (e.g., Sophia, an invention of Hanson Robotics and the first non-human awarded national citizenship in any country since 2017; see the CNBC interview with Sophia at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S5t6K9iwcdw>) and trawl available computer coded “information inputs” faster than 20,000 humans across 20,000 lifetimes (AIs recent connection to Big Data). This could be a mobile machine that has no need of an aging neurologically driven body-as-flesh to make “decisions” or to cultivate its own patois (AIs recent connection to posthumanism). Rather than seeing this as apocalyptic, futuristic, and farfetched, however, movements that have emerged at such intersections, like transhumanism, and which are funded to the tune of billions of US dollars, position such coagulations as an ideal-already-in-information (Herrick 2017). Under this version of a transhumanist future, machines invented “by humans” are for the human’s ultimate replacement. Here, newish horizons emerge: schooling for a species that is “inferior” in terms of information processing is not necessary when machines can code and program themselves and all labor is taken care of; curriculum becomes simply an algorithm, an opinion embedded in a code (O’Neil 2016) – data bits available for analysis, just like “experience bits” used to be; and life becomes information (Herrick 2017).

What is happening in such scenarios and horizon-formation that is not as evident in twentieth century-style framings of curriculum history? The twentieth century saw debates over the human/less-than-human lines that marked the struggles against different forms of tyranny experienced by a wide range of marginalized populations. Alongside this, the late twentieth century saw a swarming around the prospect of the more-than-human-but-not-God, inspired in part by the Cold War. This search produced new points of contact, new trading zones, to which education paid little attention except as passive recipient. As Galison indicates above, the trading zone enables an intensification of the rhizomaticity of events and “material” incarnations that collectively press for a reconsideration of the “What is going on here?”

Trading zones are important first, then, for recognizing the potential (im)possibility of set positions, of translation, the not-settled hybridities, fluidities, and non-totality that emerge. In Galison’s example, fish or baskets, as a multiplicity, are tied less to the will of the individual from the trading groups than to the individual’s nerve fibers, which form another multiplicity and connect to yet other multiplicities. Meanwhile, “subtle equations” dramatically differ from mimicry: the

fact that fish is bartered for baskets by no means indicates that fish completely or totally imitate baskets. Instead, each of the trading items opens its established territories and captures new codes, and throughout this process practical ends are met: a becoming-baskets of the fish and a becoming-fish of the baskets are demanded by and satisfying the pulse of material expansion, putting the weave of all possibly connected multiplicities in constant motion.

Second, trading zones mobilize exchanges for the sake of practicality. Exchange and practicality endow significance to this concept as it relates here to the historicity of curriculum and the indispensability of the human. The existence and functionality of trading zones thereby distinguish an institutional/official historicity from a rhizomatic one. An institutional historicity describes, prescribes, reflects and judges; it has to have a subject, even if decentered, so that movements can be attributed, and an object, so that some being, some dates, facts, or morality, can be expressed. It is deprived of the ability to deal with exchange insofar as it tends to “assume a strong principal unity” (just as the production of money cuts off the road of bartering) either through “the binary logic dichotomy” or “biunivocal relationships between successive circles” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, p. 5). Consequently, an institutional historicity is forever starving and suffering from malnutrition. Its over-reliance on its local economy, i.e., the “mainstream” academic principles and protocols, obstructs its mechanism of metabolism to the extent that its fruits, as facts, values or morals, turn out to be but the epitome of its own infertility, serving little else but the practical exigencies within its own garden.

Third, new trading zones expose, constitute, and risk eruptions in unique tempos and performative leaps outside of official/institutional rituals and rhythms. There is resort to neither subject nor object, like the absence of a King or of an agreement upon the significance of trading items common and necessary for bartering. Dates, events and concepts are plateaus emerging “when circumstances combine to bring an activity to a pitch of intensity that is not automatically dissipated in a climax” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, p. xiv). It addresses more of the circumstances and the leftover potentials “in a climax” than the climax itself, only to anticipate future possibilities of new combinations and new climaxes for something yet to come. For instance, concepts such as “common” and “divided” curriculum are points at which certain dynamics are so intense that they have to realize a “material” incarnation. The incarnation, i.e., the categorization, is only of secondary importance; what counts most via a rhizomatic historicity is the dynamics and their potentiality for future incarnations. This kind of historicity provides nutrition for fields and disciplines other than itself in a way that is described by Massumi as a performative rhythm: “Suddenly connections leap out, often between disparate passages in different plateaus, like conceptual flashes of lightning joining earth and sky, briefly illuminating a vista with a clarity at once too intense and too fleeting to hold” (Massumi 2010, p. 2).

Rhizomatic historicities pertaining to current arrangements of knowledge called education (taken up in the curriculum historical scholarship engaged above) and the contemporary convergence of AI, neuroscience, and Big Data *convert* the connectivity and heterogeneity, substantive multiplicity, and asignifying ruptures of human

and curriculum into new kinds of “trading items” that “leap out, often between disparate passages”, illuminating a new vista with a clarity both too intense and too fleeting to hold. Under the impress of AI, neuroscience, and Big Data, for instance, there is neither complete and utter substitution of Man by machine, nor totalization of knowledge-production-as-curriculum. Rather, exchanges at the edge of the sea occur through the values attributed to the items and qualities that, as Indigenous paradigms underscore, are not universal. New codes are spawned, unforeseen possibilities erupt as “human” and “curriculum,” and current arrangements are reworked at overlapping edges where there is disagreement “on the broader (global) significance of the items exchanged.”

One such quality that is currently valued, disagreed upon, simultaneously presumed the primary property of the human, and traded is consciousness. Most historical accounts of curriculum, including the above, are overtly or covertly human-oriented and human-centered. They may, on the one hand, take-for-granted the subject/object dichotomy and the autonomy of human-agency-as-consciousness, or, on the other, try to blur such positionality through appeal to onto-epistemology, the decentered subject, a sacred cosmos, or discourse networks. The seductiveness of these arrangements and the genuine efforts to step to the side seem part of the rhizomatic play that cannot fully escape the presumption of the observing, sensing, perceiving human. For example, while Indigenous paradigms in historiography in the Academy discussed above is that which temporarily deterritorializes the hinge of human consciousness/agency via a wider onto-system of which humans are but one part, it does so by establishing spirit as a new transcendent-immanence and universal, thereby immediately reterritorializing consciousness in a father (“the Sun or a powerful spirit in the sky”) – mother (“the earth”) – children (“the human communities”) triangle (Miller 2008, p. 11), structurally similar to how Freud re-tamed unconsciousness in a “mommy—daddy— and—I” triangle right upon his releasing it from the tyranny of consciousness. Such self-repeating economies of affection have pushed curriculum, education, and “human consciousness” to an urgent position in the trading zone. If education as it might be recognized today (school-based and human-occupied) is still meant to survive and be able to nurture and engage with other fields, what happens when the intensity of intersections between AI, neuroscience, and Big Data put the very idea of a curriculum, human consciousness, *and* sacred cosmos under potential erasure?

Trading is a route of passing, and even movements such as AI pass beside and draw from more than one basket when “consciousness” is the topic. Unlike institutional historicity which typically attributes conscious thought to the mind-body-brain system of the human being, some variations of AI, for instance, bear heavily the traces of physics and neuroscience that decouple the event of consciousness from the locus of an organ (Tegmark 2017). Physics contributes the idea that *consciousness* is an emergent phenomenon that arises through the re-arrangement of particles. Here, the concept of *emergent* refers to a state of being that shows “qualities above and beyond the properties” of the constituting particles themselves (p. 300). Neuroscience offers an *integrated information theory* (IIT), which describes the precise way of giving rise to such emergence of consciousness.

When an event happens, “the information processing needs to be integrated”, i.e., “a conscious part” has to communicate with the rest as “a physical process. . . transforms the initial state of a system into a new [conscious] state” (pp. 301–302). The ramifications of these versions of consciousness in AI together with computer science’s basic understanding of “information as position” without substance/substratum (binary coding) enabled AI to make “the leap from brain to machines” (p. 299). In other words, the only physical correlates of consciousness are the relative positions of particles rather than the substantial expression of those particles (be it a human brain or a machine, or whatever else). As Tegmark indicates, “it’s only the structure of the information processing that matters, not the structure of the matter doing the information processing” (2017, p. 304).

This version of consciousness in AI (and its intersection with models from neuroscience and Big Data) as particle re-arrangement yet physical substrate-independent is but one of many “trading items” that shake the very cornerstone of human-centrism and what has made education into education. Other challenging examples include: The redefinition of memory as position allocation; of computation as intermediate between multiple positions; of affective programming for emotional and aesthetic expression; and of learning as continuous computation with flows of information and feedback. If such redefinitions lead to a conclusion that what is traditionally defined as consciousness and beyond (e.g., intelligence, emotion, morality, and wisdom) is not confined to humans or organisms or to production by educational institutions but is physical substrate-independent, then how might the radical revolution of the invention of compulsory schooling now appear?

The “intelligence” link is critical here to the rereading of the advent of compulsory schooling and the eruption of a new trading zone. Compulsory schooling’s obsession with intelligence, with an intelligence quotient, with a bell curve, and with the conflation that Richardson noted between racial discrimination and disability-identification feeds the luster, the lure, and the draw of pursuits like “superintelligence.” Superintelligence is not a science fiction concept of little import, deferred to some future time. Superintelligence refers to “any intellect that greatly exceeds the cognitive performance of humans in virtually all domains of interest” (Bostrom 2014, p. 26) and has already been approached through dramatically different paths. This includes AI/whole brain emulation/braincomputer interfaces/networks and organizations, depending on the kind of trading groups involved. Research into superintelligence thus exceeds experiments in memory-as-storage. It marks instead a new threshold that in AI is considered almost crossed, since as long as the intelligence system passed “a landmark. . . beyond which the system’s further improvement is mainly driven by the system’s own actions rather than by work performed upon it by others” (p. 77), it would skyrocket to overwhelm “human” intelligence. The aftermath is far-reaching, as Bostrom notes

. . . the first superintelligence [that] may shape the future of the Earth-originating life, could easily have non-anthropomorphic final goals, and would likely have instrumental reasons to pursue open-ended resource acquisition. If we now reflect that human beings consist of useful resources (such as conveniently located atoms) and that we depend for our survival

and flourishing on many more local resources, we can see that the outcome could easily be one in which humanity quickly becomes extinct. (Bostrom 2014, p. 141)

Studies such as AI, neuroscience, and Big Data, movements such as trans-humanism that emerged at their nexus, and the attempted isolation of qualities like consciousness and superintelligence in their fine print, as diverse as such investigations or causes might be, erupt in a trading zone that uses the “human” to different practical ends, exchanging this or that aspect, while leaving the “human” dangling amid no-agreed-upon global significance. This series of exchanges and performative leaps portend equally radical and revolutionary inventions as the idea of mass schooling once did. In this light, compulsory schooling’s establishment, dispersal, and refinement can be reconsidered, not as simply or only laden with the problems wrought by race, gender, ability, nation and more, not as simply in/exclusion or more deeply “foreclosure” as Lacan (2004, p. 200) might call it, not only as power relations in human-to-human guise, not as just overt, hidden and null content and rituals, not as purely common and divided, but as somewhat of an intermediary toward a different body-less incarnation of Life as Information. Under this view, curriculum and human are more or less an enabling confluence of multiplicities, operating *amid* their rhizomaticity as bridges, as temporary placemarkers or plateaus, as uneven pathways to the isolation of particular “qualities” and “capacities” that could most easily be decontextualized, unitized, coded, programmed and recombined as a form of non-aging “superintelligence.”

Whether touted as evolutionary, exciting, dangerous, or apocalyptic, compulsory common schooling could now be seen as a significant organizer of perception regarding the intensification and importance attributed to efficiency and infinity, as a precursor, then, for the next revolution: the downloading of (whatever is posited as) consciousness, memories, and feelings into a non-aging unit for rapid enactment amid the redefinition of Being, society, and place.

Conclusions and Future Directions

This chapter has considered the difficulty of invoking a unitary State apparatus and institutional/official historicity to draw finite conclusions around what constitutes child/curriculum, common/divided, progressive/conservative and American/US in regard to compulsory school attendance. Via Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizomatic Nomadology it has considered the de- and reterritorializations that have marked curriculum historical studies of the twentieth century especially. Via Foucault’s wager at the edge of the sea, it has also mobilized a thought experiment that takes seriously some concurrent twentieth century oceanic movements such as AI, neuroscience, and Big Data. Such movements have begun to alter the fundamental arrangements of knowledge upon which Man’s putative distinctiveness has been built.

This raises obvious questions about what was indicated in the introduction to this chapter regarding technofuturist narratives of the kind that rely upon projections across time (especially in deterministic-predictive mode) and fear or excitement over

dramatic changes in the environment – familiar. In particular, questions arise as to the future of any knowledge-Man link or co-dependency and what a decoupling might suggest. It requires a unique kind of “nerve” to pay attention to new trading zones, in which education as it might be recognized today as taking place largely in classrooms and schools full of humans intersects directly or indirectly with movements treating “qualities” like consciousness and superintelligence as isolatable, discrete, and separable from a physical substrate like body. In this zone, the invention of compulsory common schooling, its purposes, and what it has achieved becomes available for a different set of realizations.

Changing from a human-centered and culturalist approach to knowledge to an information-centered and immanent one, Foucault’s famous observation that knowledge is made for cutting has gained a new tone: knowledge as truth, as information, becomes both absolute and plastic. Every pocket of information is considered to have its truth and is also relative, since every action of producing such truth changes the participants of that truth, thus making truth an ever-spinning ball that never stops at an equilibrium location. Knowledge, including knowledge of “consciousness,” now becomes “in” its participants, not “of” its participants, meaning the substance attachments and physical substrates become less important than the circuits that flow through available temporary units or nodes. Beyond epistemology, the questions for future research this might point toward are many, provocative and deep. Rather than the twentieth century concerns for quiddity and the politics of knowledge/wisdom/power – i.e., What is a curriculum? Whose knowledge is of most worth? Is curriculum a route of knowledge, a technique of governing/socialization, a preparation for labor, or a way of “knowing thyself”? Is it a method, a machine, or simply a record of ruptures? – “we” may be faced in the next few decades with something so utterly transformative that such questions would seem obsolete. What matters are questions such as Will the school, common/divided curriculum, the teacher/student, eventually vanish? If so, under what “arrangements”? What happens in workerless and workless society if “humans” endure and still need food and water? What redesigns, programming, and eradications might occur on the basis of uneven ownership of radical inventions or “wicked” problems that are clearly more than social? What happens to prior ontological scales that overtly marked particular “bodies” as marginal, as less-than-human, as normal, and as superior? What happens if there are no “bodies,” if all disease-producing death is cured, and if life never ends? What happens if “bodies” stay around for a while and “Sophia,” the citizen-cyborg, ends up better, more patient, more attentive, and more fun at child-rearing than You?

These scenarios where “humans” in any perceived community find no place to go are at the door as the dynamics of AI, neuroscience, and Big Data, as well as all their related multiplicities, hammer together to make incarnations substituting “humans” pop-up. Such realizations and “What happens?” provocations for future research draw not so much from reflection on what futures “we” want or what pasts “we” narrate, however, than from whether there is anything exceptional, particular and worth retaining in the baggage, the “human” has bequeathed. From the bloodiest and most murderous century on record including its environmental crisis, degradation

and abuse – the twentieth century – to the salvific signifiers naively granted to technology in the twentieth, questions of what could or should be salvaged – bodies? subjectivities? schools? cultures? – are immanent and already in the trading zone. Placed there in the nineteenth century in the wake of eugenics, they are now asking for air time once more, under the same monikers that child-centeredness and compulsory common schooling once did – the perceived necessity of improvement and progress. The major difference today – and the one that converts rhizomatic nomadologies of schooling’s uneven and nonunitary enactment into something else under the impress of AI, neuroscience, and Big Data – is that the perceived necessity of improvement and progress arises without the guarantee of the perceived necessity of the human as substrate or curriculum as guide.

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Citizenship, Curricula, and Mass Schooling 29

Kevin Myers

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Abstract

This chapter traces the profound but also complex and diverse consequences nationalism and imperialism had for education and for citizenship. It offers a summary analysis of how educational systems, ideas, and practices were a key arena for what sociologist Bryan Turner (1993) has called the cultural practices of citizenship. These practices helped to define a person as a competent member of society and shaped the resources available to them. Citizenship was a dynamic category, frequently denied or withheld from groups and whose struggles to be recognized were fundamentally political because they were ultimately bound up with questions of governance, identity, equity, and justice.

Education, and more specifically schools, was a favored mechanism for spreading modern citizenship practices. In three critical realms, those of access, ideas, and practices, schooling became increasingly nationalized. Historians may broadly agree on the dimensions of citizenship practices, but there is no consensus on the theoretical models most suited to their analysis. The chapter identifies

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a series of conceptual and interpretative debates among historians and argues that close attention to empirical evidence remains crucial to understanding the relationship between educational institutions and citizenship practices.

Keywords

Citizenship · Schooling · Access · Curriculum · Contestation

Introduction

Citizenship is a contested concept. Citizenship has traditionally been defined as an individual's membership of a national political community, and these definitions rest, in turn, on the emergence of nation states that were increasingly in evidence from the middle of the eighteenth century. As notions of territorial nationhood and citizenship intensified who was included in these new modern states and their empires, the rights and responsibilities that accrued as a result of that membership were matters of contestation, resistance, and change.

Education was a critical part of those citizenship practices. In three important realms, those of access, ideas, and practices, education became increasingly nationalized. Perennial questions for all societies, who should be educated, what knowledge or skills should be transmitted across generations, and how should this be accomplished, came to be inflected by the ideologies of nationalism and imperialism. No area of the globe was unaffected by these ideologies, but, as this chapter shows, their cultural and educational consequences could be widely variable. Schools may have been the favored mechanism for spreading ideological messages but, and as we shall see below, who was included in the project of schooling, and on what basis, remained complex and contested questions.

This chapter traces the profound but also complex and diverse consequences nationalism and imperialism had for education and for citizenship. It offers a summary analysis of how educational systems, ideas, and practices were a key arena for what sociologist Bryan Turner calls the cultural practices of citizenship. These are practices that define a person as "a competent member of society" that "shape the flow of resources to them" and go beyond the legal status of individuals or groups (Turner 1993, p. 2). Turner's (1993) emphasis on "practices" is an important indicator that citizenship is a historically contingent category, frequently denied or withheld from groups and whose struggles to be recognized were fundamentally political because they were ultimately bound up with questions of governance, identity, equity, and justice.

These citizenship contests were, as is made clear below, a global phenomenon, but the specific geography of this chapter focuses mainly, but not exclusively, on states that were once part of the British Empire. The British Empire is defined as a political, geographic, and cultural space created partly by the mass migration of people from the British Isles and their conquest, settlement, or just temporary migration in various parts of the globe between the seventeenth and mid-twentieth centuries (Fedorowich and Thompson 2013). This global perspective is deployed

here because it helps to identify both the cultural practices that underpinned the emergence of a global ‘Britishness’, and how these practices were negotiated and contested in different times and places.

Access

By far the largest part of humanity throughout human history has been illiterate because most people in most places had no contact with formal educational structures or institutions. Literacy developed in the long transition from pre-industrial and agrarian societies to industrial and commercial ones. Industrious revolutions, the term captures both the changes in consumer values and the transformation to local systems of production and distribution they encouraged, were global phenomena. As agrarian empires declined, growing sections of the population no longer participated directly in food production. Their acquisition of skill was no longer necessarily tied to craft knowledge and to practical demonstrations dictated by the availability of daylight around a seasonal calendar. New forms of learning, and of time-work discipline, emerged. School-inculcated cultures, characterized by tendencies to codify and display knowledge, and a growing uniformity in dress and manners, languages, and naming, were a central feature of modernity (Bayly 2004).

This was not, of course, a uniform process. There were multiple modernities with distinctive chronologies and features around the world. Yet modernization processes were especially dynamic, and already well established, in the Nordic countries, German principalities, and North American colonies during the seventeenth century. The Protestant insistence that God spoke directly and privately to the faithful through Bible reading and study ensured that in all those cultures touched by Protestantism the education of children, and specifically the ability to read, spread quickly (Lyons 2009). While the symbiotic relationship between education and literacy may have been particularly strong in Protestant cultures, it was soon a global feature, especially in societies where a commercial middle class was prominent. In northwestern Europe, North America, in settler colonies, parts of the Ottoman Empire, and port cities around the world, a wide range of schools developed to teach the knowledge, skills, and manners consistent with emerging civil societies. These schools were mostly private and could be secular or religious, but all were associated with the expansion of formal educational opportunities, including to girls, and, more broadly, with rapid economic, political, and cultural change.

Nonetheless, it is easy to overstate the extent to which literacy spread and transformed lives. Even by the mid-nineteenth century, no more than 10% of the world’s adult population could read or write. In 1870 approximately 70% of the world’s population had received no formal education at all. Most societies were rural, print capitalism was not widely diffused around the world, and literacy and formal education were the preserve of a tiny elite (Lyons 2009).

Yet decisive changes, to economies, social structures, and cultures, were in motion that “gave a great impetus to incipient national identities” (Bayly 2004, p. 205). Experiences of war, economic changes, and cultural developments

associated with the Napoleonic conquests political revolution, and colonial rebellion encouraged a set of political, social, and cultural changes that served to consolidate national feeling. Investments in cartography and statistics mapped and counted national borders and populations. The rise of passports and immigration controls to police those borders. Transformations in print technologies made it easier to picture the identities of both citizens and outsiders (Fahrmeir et al. 2013).

Arguably the single most important factor in the development of modern notions of citizenship, and certainly most important for the purposes of this chapter, was the development of mass schooling. As is demonstrated in Fig. 1, by the end of the nineteenth century, states around the world were beginning to enroll populations, or at least those identified as future citizens, in compulsory systems of schooling. This was the case in Europe, in North America, in parts of Asia, and across the independent states of South and Central America. By the end of the First World War in 1918, state national educational systems were becoming a global phenomenon and represented a remarkable transformation. Education was no longer a matter of private provision but at least partly the responsibility of states who sought to develop nationwide but differentiated institutions whose management and supervision was at least partly a duty of government and whose component parts were related to one another with sufficient proximity to warrant the description system (Archer 1979; Brockliss and Sheldon 2012).

Passing legislation and enforcing it are, of course, two rather separate processes. The United Kingdom saw a rapid rise in school attendance, from around one third of the total population in 1860 to effectively universal attendance by 1920. This rapid

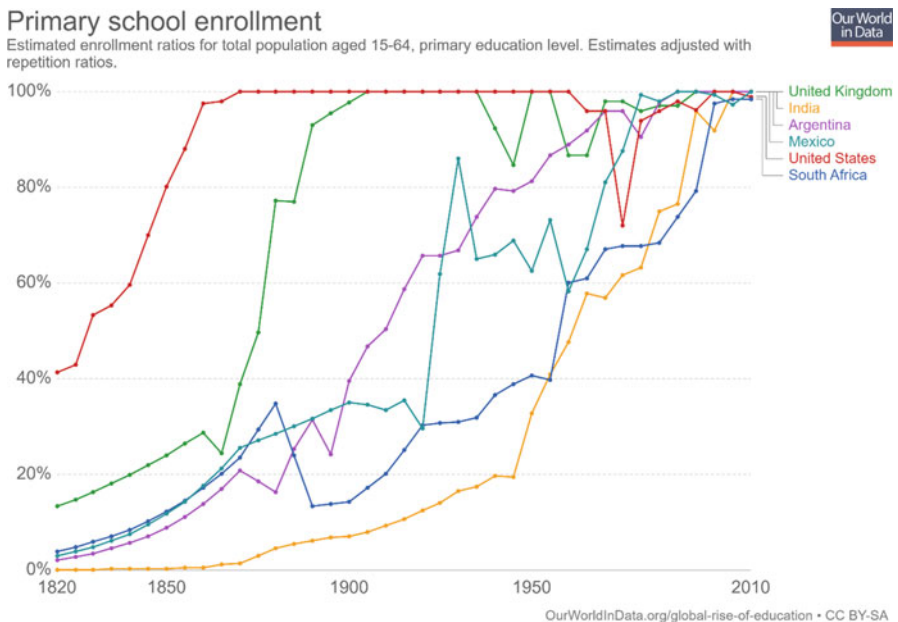


Fig. 1 Estimated Primary school enrollment rates in selected states (Source: Lee and Lee 2016)

transformation is suggestive of a particular form of state formation in which old patriotisms, and relatively homogenous societies in terms of language and religion, could draw on established traditions of governance to deliver tax revenues that paid for schools and enforced attendance at them. By way of contrast, school enrolment in newly independent states where programs of nationalism tended to follow independence, as in the case of Argentina (see Fig. 1), for example, the finance, administrative systems, and ideologies of nationalism were less well established and contributed to relatively low rates of school enrolment.

Yet discussing access to education, and specifically to primary schools, as though these were the simple and direct results of the relative wealth and strength of different state nationalisms is misleading. Access to education was never simply a functional question of providing schools and nor was it a simple outcome of processes of either industrialization or modernization. Instead, the emergence of state educational systems made explicit ideological questions, around who might qualify as a citizen and the kinds of knowledge and attributes necessary for citizenship. The outcomes of these debates were central to deciding which organizations built schools, where they did so, who had access to them, the kinds of instruction they implemented, and for what ends (Archer 1979; Beadie 2016). So even though increasing access to formal education can be viewed as a characteristic and universal feature of modernity, particular features of education around the world are the outcome of political struggles. This helps explain one other striking feature of Fig. 1. The ascription of racial characteristics to cultures or groups identified as having particular racial or ethnic identities conditioned, as the enrolment rates in British colonial India suggest, the formal education offered to the peoples tribes, religions and races imagined by nation and empire builders around the globe. Moreover, and as the next section argues, typologies and classifications of humans, and specifically ideas about the nature of childhood and about children's development, behavior, and intelligence, would crucially affect who had access schooling and how they experienced it.

Ideas/Discourse

Education, or at least that rather narrow version of it most apparent in late nineteenth-century European social and political discourse, was imagined primarily as a mechanism for the development of national and imperial citizens. Politicians and educational policymakers were persuaded that the imposition and extension of education systems were justified by the rapid social changes that accompanied the so-called second industrial revolution. The institutions of formal education, from elementary schools right through to universities, were charged with promoting national and imperial identities, consolidating or constructing national and imperial memories and traditions, and finding ways to sustain them so that generations of citizens felt the nation/empire to be a primary source of affiliation and affection.

In seeking to achieve these ends, states necessarily drew on or reacted to the ideas and knowledge already available to them. It follows that a corollary of the growing

economic and political dominance of Western Europe and North America was, therefore, the diffusion of popular beliefs, tastes, and ideas in those regions around the globe. Protestantism, with its emphasis on individual piety and the possibility of salvation through moral codes of being and action, may have been the most dominant and educationally important of these beliefs because they were central to missionary activity around the world. Again, however, it is not the case that a doctrine of individualism was simply transported from Europe to colonized regions. Instead, and in a manner emphasized particularly in transnational approaches to history, ideas and discourses circulate across both geographical and cultural space, and in doing so, they are received, negotiated, and appropriated in different and sometimes unpredictable ways (Bagchi et al. 2014). Nonetheless, the individual moral improvement central to Protestantism, expressed through education, public virtue, and sociability, became central to liberalism around the globe. The twin political revolutions in America (1776) and France (1789) and the Haitian revolution (1791) both drew on and further stimulated debates about social organization and their relationship to questions around human nature, freedom, and potential (Bayly 2004; Hilton 2007).

Three points in these debates deserve particular attention. The first is a general observation about conceptions of time in social, political, and philosophical debates in the modern period. Although the details of their work differ, it has become common for historians to argue that there was a fundamental change in European attitudes toward history after the twin revolutions (Bayly 2004; Chakrabarty 2000). No longer conceptualized as a source of lessons for the present or exemplary models to be emulated, the experience of radical change normalized the idea that there were qualitative differences between the past, the present, and the future. These differences were widely interpreted in terms of progress and led to the commonplace claim that the past was a point of departure, a starting point, both for individuals and societies, who were oriented toward the future and in the process of change. It was at once a universal and a particular claim: every human phenomenon – personality, culture, or society – had to be understood historically and in the process of change; yet particular people or cultures or societies were allocated different positions or points in the process of empty and homogenous time (Chatterjee 2001; Hunt 2008; Nanni 2012). Newtonian notions of absolute time became central to Western scientific thought and were influential in a range of intellectual theories, in modern academic disciplines, and in applied sciences that studied, and often sought to change, human behavior. Perhaps particularly important were the growth of evolutionary theories that attempted to explain rapid social change and transformation, a historical profession that was oriented toward the West (Chakrabarty 2000), and, in the era of scientific travel and ethnography, the diversity of humans and their societies (Heilbron 2003; Sobe 2017).

The second and more specific point is that these were interpreted as quintessentially educational questions. By the 1860s, in Europe and North America, there existed a substantial body of educational thought dedicated to working out how best to prepare children and coming generations for a new kind of modern world. In articulating this challenge and responding to it, a wide range of thinkers and

commentators help to flesh out a modern ideology of childhood, a description of the human psyche, and programs of education designed to prepare children for the modern world. The most influential of these educational philosophies were based on sensationalist psychology that pictured the human mind as a blank slate at birth but which developed over time as a result of the impressions (or sensations) produced by external reality in that mind. Appearing in both the influential work of Locke in Britain and the Abbé de Condillac in France, sensationalist psychology and varieties of empiricism stressed the variability of human nature, and it was this specific point that would both stimulate and structure political and pedagogical discussions for the next two centuries (Goldstein 2003; Hilton 2007).

A universal human capacity to reason, of faculties awaiting development and application, suited the growing ranks of middle class liberals seeking freedom and liberty from aristocratic privilege and tradition. Nurturing this differentiated capacity for reason in societies could produce prosperity, civilization, and freedom, but its neglect or frustration just as easily resulted in poverty, barbarity, and slavery. This argument, perhaps most closely associated Rousseau in the field of education but a commonplace conviction for the European middle classes by the 1800s, became a kind of educational credo for societies of modern individuals whose capacity for reason and self-interest potentially gave them the opportunity, and the burden, of making themselves up.

This educational credo was not necessarily radical or even reformist. Socially conservative revivals, whether Evangelical, Islamic, or Confucian, shared, for example, a concern for a decline in morals in commercial societies and sought, in one way or another, re-moralization through various forms of education. Yet, and especially when viewed in a global perspective, there is little doubt that reformist educational ideas and projects, based primarily on a psychology that placed the individual at the center of analysis, flourished as one of the central technologies of modern states and empires. Such ideas were not necessarily coherent, and they were certainly not uniform. What they did share were assumptions around the educability of the child and its development through time toward normality. Moreover, and as Marcelo Caruso has recently demonstrated, a crucial argument in favor of mass schooling was precisely that it encouraged and facilitated the forms of communication, sociability, and exchange central to their vision of modernity (Caruso 2012).

This leads to a third and crucial point. Even liberals, so fond of principled declarations about the universality of human nature and its potential for education, judged many groups either incapable of being educated or capable of only restricted or specific forms of it. Just as the universalism of the Declaration of the Rights of Man coexisted with colonial slavery, so too did the extension of mass schooling coexist with ideologies that promoted differential access to it on the basis of characteristics attributed to individual children or groups of people. This has been most convincingly demonstrated by the substantial literature on the history of women's education that shows how, among other things, schooling for girls was a contingent outcome rather than a necessary consequence of the growing popularity of educational ideas and discourse (see, e.g., McDermid 2012; Proctor 2007). Similarly, the forms of education imposed on, or made available to, Indigenous

people in different parts of the British Empire were conditioned by the fluctuating fortunes of race ideas which, though inchoate in the early part of the nineteenth century, became increasingly fixed and hierarchical as they won scientific status toward the end of the nineteenth century (Jensz 2012). The same dismal story, and the same tendency to seek explanations of human difference in racialized notions of biology and culture, can be identified in the educational experiences of the poor and of people identified as physically or mentally disabled (Cleall 2012). In all these cases, the imposition of limited forms of education, sometimes at the cost of forced removal from familial homes, was justified by reference to a set of moral claims and/or scientific theories.

Historians now routinely refer to these educational ideas as discourses. In doing so they are, more or less explicitly, distancing themselves from a tradition of work in which the pedagogical ideas of famous (usually male and European) thinkers formed the basis of the study of the educational past. Far from being associated with the spread of reason and knowledge, educational discourses were bound up with practices of power and domination. Discourses are distinctive modes of thought and feeling, of speech and vision, that construct or produce particular kinds of educational subject, most obviously the teacher and the pupil but also, for example, the child at risk, the black peasant, and backward tribes or peoples (Campbell 2007; Coté 2009; Gamble 2011). In each case experts in the human sciences produced a body of specialist knowledge that set out the supposedly essential characteristics or typical behaviors of particular social subjects.

At the level of knowledge and epistemology, the power of educational discourses to make up subjects is now widely accepted. However, there remain significant conceptual and interpretative debates among historians about how best to deploy the concept of discourse. In strongly constructionist work, and work often identifying itself as postcolonial or poststructural, there has been a tendency to see education as a component part of national, colonial, and imperial rule and to see that rule as comprehensive and totalizing. The writings of educational thinkers are said to constitute a system, or a discursive regime, organized around fundamental and dichotomous distinctions between White and Black, colonized and colonizer, and ruled and ruler, which had profound consequences for the design and implementation of social and educational programs (Coloma 2017; Stoler 1995). This seems to leave little room for the resistance of the colonized, and, indeed, Spivak specifically rules out such resistance in her claim, more theoretical than empirical, that the subaltern cannot speak (Spivak 1988).

In contrast, more weakly constructionist work, or work in a sociocultural perspective, deploys the concept of discourse in more circumspect fashion. The genealogical approach to discourse is deployed largely because it helps to identify and analyze historical forms of truth and their associated moral technologies. Few practicing historians explicitly endorse what appears to be a view of power/discourse that operates independently around, or between, historical subjects who, as a result, are in danger of being reduced to passive recipients of dominant discourses. For such historians educational discourses remain one part of the cultural system in society, open to change, development, and contestation in particular contexts. Far from

being totalizing, discourses are accorded the status of interconnecting ideas. To become influential they must be taken up, enacted, distributed, and consumed (Butchart 2011).

For this the modern state, whether of the classic European variety or the hybrid forms found in South and East Asia and in parts of the Ottoman Empire, was a critical actor. It was the state, and its growing bureaucracies, that ensured the dominance of these educational ideas. The state increasingly funded schools, sought to arrest or curtail clerical influence over them, and played an increasingly regulatory function in defining teachers, schools, and knowledge. However, this was not, as will become clearer below, either a totalizing process or one that took place within national borders. For as states and state actors spread the knowledge they thought crucial for citizenship, they both negotiated with a wide range of actors and encountered a wide range of reactions.

Curricula/Practices

A quite remarkable degree of homogeneity is evident in the consolidation of formal school curricula for mass populations at the end of the nineteenth century. By 1918, and in all nation states irrespective of their ideologies and economic systems, official curricula increasingly resembled one another and reflected, in turn, the dominance of a standardized, Western, and scientific model of organization. Schooling, in the words of Marc Depaepe et al., had “tenacious basic mechanisms” (Depaepe et al. 2000, p. 10). These mechanisms, all designed to instruct, socialize, and discipline pupils, had both spatial and temporal dimensions. Temporally, for example, the institution of the school has been as central to the transmission of a new time discipline suited to the needs of industrial capitalism. Schools imposed public, developmental, and productive timescapes on their pupils by requiring attendance through the school year, by organizing children into age-graded classes, and by expecting and demanding academic progress through the productive use of both home and school time (Symes 2012). Spatially, school systems remained segregated with distinctive spaces, buildings, and architecture for pupils or groups identified as having particular levels of intelligence, ability, or need (McLeod and Healy 2016).

In these differentiated spaces, pupils also encountered the formal school curriculum. The curriculum, understood in strictly limited terms as a syllabus to be transmitted, is widely assumed to consist of those messages, values, and beliefs that “society,” to use the commonly deployed but excessively general and consensual term, wished to disseminate to future generations. It is now close to axiomatic, for example, that state-funded schools were a crucial mechanism in defining and instilling particular formations of identity, and citizenship, among peasants and working-class populations. These arguments usually rest on a content analysis of official curriculum bodies and of the material culture of schooling (Lawn and Grosvenor 2001). Drawing on a range of documentary and visual sources, these studies document a booming business in educational media, in textbooks, wall-charts, maps, and lithographs, that helped to construct and consolidate the symbols

of states and empires. In words and pictures, the nation was made tangible in schools that existed, in theory at least, to promote specific and consensual identities that stressed common duties of duty, loyalty, and patriotism to the nation (Sobe 2014).

These duties were, of course, gendered and racialized. Girls and boys, immigrants and their descendants, and those attributed the status of national others or identified as disabled were the subject of particular educational policies and practices because of the need to assimilate them to national cultures and/or prepare them for specific roles in society. The idea of the imperial mother was, for example, the subject of extensive expert discussion, inflected by dominant ideas about the dangers of class, race, and disability, and led to the creation of mothering centers for working-class girls in London (Davin 1997). Specific sports, to take a different example, played a key role in the construction of masculinity around physical fitness, moral courage, and sacrifice, an ideology transmitted around the globe by boys trained in public schools and who would become the leaders and administrators of empire (Mangan 2003).

At a quite different level of educational practice was the forced removal of Indigenous children from their homes. This was a commonplace practice in settler colonial societies where residential and day schools operated programs of assimilation specifically designed, according to one historian, to extinguish Indigenous cultures and amounting to an “educational genocide” (Fear-Segal 2007). The scale, detail, and consequences of those forms of education, the child abuse that they routinely practiced, and whether they can be meaningful interpreted as part of wider programs of cultural genocide are matters of ongoing historical and public debate. What is already certain is that the successful campaigns for official enquiries in Australia and Canada, but not, notably, in the United States, can be considered a new form of public history with the potential to effect public perceptions of the national and imperial past. Their consequences for contemporary citizenship are briefly considered in the next section.

It is, however, easier to identify the intended messages of the curricular than to either evaluate their actual mobilization in schools or, even more problematically, come to any conclusive assessment of the success of these attempts to instill national identities. Teachers, to take only the most obvious example, were important mediators of classroom messages so both how they understood their work and how they did it are crucial areas for historical investigation. Yet, historians have been notably better at analyzing the construction of teacher identity, the dominant discourses that define the social identity of the teacher (Larsen 2011), than the ways in which people have actually inhabited the role. Teachers, to continue with the early twentieth century example under discussion, were often from working-class backgrounds and could be secularists, socialists, and suffragettes. As they professionalized, they also accessed new forms of knowledge and new networks that had the potential to influence the way they saw themselves and their work (Cunningham and Gardner 2004). Quite how this influenced their approach to teaching, and its consequences for the dissemination of ideas about citizenship and belonging, must be matters for research in particular historical and cultural contexts. The existing historical evidence, which is still patchy in the extreme compared with the abundant material on

textbook representations (see, e.g., Fuchs 2014) and which has been a notable beneficiary of scholarly feminist excavations of subjectivity, suggests that the relationship between teachers' beliefs' and practices was complicated but that teachers were sometimes capable of reflection on, and resisting, dominant educational ideologies and discourses (Cunningham and Gardner 2004; Steedman 1985).

In the British Empire of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, teachers were active creators and participants in an educational and cultural environment that was often intensely nationalist and xenophobic. Those sentiments motivated, for example, at least some of the women teachers, usually from middle-class backgrounds, who volunteered to teach in various locations around the Empire, including in the concentration camps established in South Africa during the Boer War (le Roux 2016; Riedi 2005). At the same time, teachers, and the cities they were based in, were capable of objecting to the celebration of Empire Day and of being welcoming, flexible, and creative in teaching pupils of Jewish faith and ethnicity (Beaven and Griffiths 2015; English 2006; Lammers 2008). Taken together these studies constitute an argument for renewed engagement with the material world, one that extends beyond discourses and cultural construction and toward institutions, roles, and labor. After all, schooling and other forms of both formal and informal education are dynamic processes not least because they are mediated by human relationships whose contours and consequences could be both opaque and unpredictable, even decades later, but which seems to have conditioned the construction, distribution, and reception of both formal curriculum messages and other informal educational practices.

That, at least, is a finding of some important historical and contemporary studies of educators and teachers in various locations around the British Empire. Allen and Haggis' (2013) nuanced reading of missionary records attempts to identify the new relational configurations facilitated by women's educational work in colonial India. Their question, simply put, is around whether, and to what extent, women could be friends or could identify and name a sense of connectedness, beyond class, caste, race, and gender hierarchies. Their answer, like that of Karen Hughes (2013) in a rare and fascinating longitudinal study of specific actors and their community relationships across racial divides, is a tentative yes. Both these studies serve as salutary reminders that historical studies of actual educational processes and exchanges remain fundamentally important in trying to assess the impact and legacies of education.

Nonetheless, and notwithstanding this emphasis on local studies of educational processes and exchanges, pedagogical practices and relations at least appeared to be both similar, and resistant to change, around the world. In trying to explain the continuities in school curricula, historians and sociologists developed a concept of the grammar of schooling. This grammar, "the regular structures and rules that organise the work of instruction" (Tyack and Tobin 1994, p. 454), determined in fairly strong ways the culture and practices of schooling. Where the concept has been theoretically elaborated or applied to detailed cases, it has tended to support the argument that schooling is a bounded and relatively impervious system whose practices are governed by the rules of languages, discourses, or other meaning

systems (Popkewitz 2011). Those languages or discourses are frequently been identified by deploying a Foucauldian framework of analysis in which the documentary records of education are read not for their cognitive content but as necessarily exercises in power. Educational knowledge, experts, and institutions were part of a disciplinary regime of bio-power that resulted in new forms of modern subjectivity (see, e.g., Popkewitz 2011). Their effect, if not necessarily their intention, was to demarcate the boundaries of citizenship.

The empirical results of this agenda have been considerable, not least in demonstrating that the apparently neutral and universal truths embedded in educational practices were discursive products, the outcome of historical processes that historians, more or less explicitly, sought to demolish or deconstruct in pursuit of new forms of subjectivity. Even the mundane school uniform, studied to brilliant comparative effect by Inés Dussel (2005), becomes, for example, a disciplinary measure, marking young bodies in ways that reflect specific national imaginaries and, in doing so, conditioning the way historical actors perceived and imagined themselves as social beings. Nonetheless, and as Hofstetter and Schneuwly have observed, schooling can sometimes appear simply in these studies as “a machine for ruling, controlling and monitoring” (Hofstetter and Schneuwly 2013, p. 172). Educational knowledge becomes a function of power. Educational experts, far from dispensing enlightenment and reason, service all powerful disciplinary institutions. Nation-states and empires, and the forms of education they impose and sponsor, are imagined as totalizing systems.

Like the world systems theory that influences it, arguments around the grammar of schooling may overestimate the systemic power of education. From a materialist perspective, the educational projects of even the most powerful states had a restricted geographical reach, were always short of resources, and were routinely driven by conflict. This was certainly so. Yet it is also the case that both the concept and practices of citizenship were contested, negotiated, and resisted. For that explanation a robust account of historical agency and contestation is also required.

Contestations

Citizenship was, and it remains, a fundamentally contested concept. Although state power certainly grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the imposition of citizen duties around, for example, attending schools, military service, and paying taxes also encouraged a language of citizen entitlements or rights in return. This sense of entitlements, or of the state's duty to its citizens, meant that there was a growing articulation of a right to educational and welfare services and increasing discussion about its content and the experiences of groups receiving it. Contests around both who was allowed to go to school and what happened when they got there became a routine feature of discussion, debate, and contestation in modern states and their colonies. Three main types of overlapping contestation can, for heuristic purposes, be usefully identified.

The first type of citizenship contest came from those political and educational projects that sought to make class, and not country, the primary source of identity and affiliation. The organized labor movement that emerged in Britain during the nineteenth century was also an educational movement. Those with formal affiliations to the British labor movement and those simply influenced by it founded newspapers and wrote autobiographies and novels; they penned and then performed songs, poems, and dramas; they debated and discussed in pubs and chapels and huge open-air rallies. Perhaps the single most famous example of this kind of working-class history, and arguably one of the most influential histories published in English during the twentieth century, was E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). Ostensibly a history of the working class in industrializing England from the 1780s to the early 1830s, its global influence has been explained not by its subject matter but by its explanatory repertoire, by its tone, and by its affinities to the versions of "people's history" emerging across the globe both at the same time and later. A reaction to official curricula, and to their narratives of national unity and progress, Thompson's interest was in individual and collective agency and the manner in which this was mediated by historical experiences (Davis and Morgan 2014). The explanatory role given to concepts of experience and agency became matters of sustained intellectual and political debate, but Thompson's work inspired an opening up of historical research to people, events, themes, and topics that had either been ignored or relegated to the margins of historical practice (Davis and Morgan 2014).

In the United Kingdom, this was best exemplified by the birth of the History Workshop movement, formally active between 1967 and 1991, that sought to democratize historical research and knowledge and to recover the voices of ordinary people in history. Education was a major theme of this work and a substantial historiography developed that conceptualized the development of compulsory schooling as an attempt at social control and education as a site of class conflict (McCann 1977). This was a people's history, designed to inspire and forge solidarities for class-based political movements, organized to claim the benefits of citizenship to all workers. In social democracies at least, political movements based on allegiance to the working class insisted on equality of opportunity. Where it was clearly denied, as in the use of intelligence tests for selection to prestigious forms of secondary education in England, a popular educational politics successfully campaigned against them.

A second type of citizenship contest emerged alongside, and often preceded, these appeals to solidarities of class. Just as working-class movements could invoke a heroic tradition of rebels and resisters, so too could anticolonial nationalist movements. In Ireland and India, nations which won their independence in the first half of the twentieth century, educational thinkers, movements, and practices became integral parts of a wider narrative of cultural resistance to Empire. Ireland's hedge schools, for example, established following the passing of the Penal Laws (1695) that limited access to education for Catholics, became synonymous with Irish national identity. They were romanticized, as guardians of Irish language and culture and as keepers of a nationalist spirit that would flourish in arts, culture, and sport in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (McManus 2002). A similarly nationalist inflected educational history was constructed by nationalists in India, and it pervaded

educational discourse once independence had been achieved. In it Brahminical tradition, especially around the image and authority of the teacher and around caste and family relations, were used to gloss over the more sober reality that the educational ideals of the nationalist movement were largely consistent with the limited and segregated provision of education established during British colonial rule (Kumar 1991). Indeed in independent Ireland and India, and despite nationalist invocation of historic cultures and identities to be restored or renewed through education, the emphasis on moral development and on the training of character remained for the poor and significant educational privileges continued to be enjoyed by elite groups. Schooling became more accessible, but what it actually achieved was, at the very least, open to question.

These first two types of educational contestation, the first informed by Marxist historical analysis and the second an integral part of anticolonial nationalism, sought to “recover” and give voice and agency to oppressed peoples. Yet, in insisting on class or colonialism as the fundamental source of oppression in modern societies, they operated with their own silences and their own exclusions. Both nationalist and class narratives were often conspicuously male, and they frequently championed particular religious and/or ethnic identities. Dominant religions, Hinduism in India and Catholicism in the Republic of Ireland, for example, became commonplace even in nominally secular states, with potentially deleterious consequences for Muslims or Protestants in those states. Ethnic and race thinking, so central to the construction of nationalism and imperialism, also persisted in perceptions of, and claims to, distinctive national and cultural identities based on notions of shared heritage and descent. In practice women remained confined within second-class forms of citizenship bounded by their childrearing capacity and their hidden domestic labor. In short, by the 1970s a century of contestation around citizenship had helped to produce momentous changes in the field of education, but, as these references to continued inequalities demonstrate, they had not delivered the universal rights, freedoms, and opportunities imagined by the Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

So disillusioned were scholars with the failure to secure Enlightenment rights and freedoms that they began to revisit the very terms which they used to describe human identity, relationships, and societies. From roughly the 1960s onward, an extensive range of research in the social and human sciences declared itself to be, was associated with, or attributed one of the labels “poststructural,” “postmodern,” or “postcolonial.” Each of these labels has a distinct history and different, if frequently overlapping, terminologies and concerns that are difficult to summarize. Nonetheless, one shared tendency in this work was a rejection of the terms of Enlightenment discourse identified earlier. Newtonian notions of absolute time were rejected. Neither individuals or societies or nations developed through linear time. Scientific accounts of human and social development, encompassing a diverse range of ideas from race theory to phrenology and psychology to sociology, were social constructs. A universal human capacity to reason, and of faculties awaiting development, were identified as crucial elements in a Western science that created what it actually claimed to find (Gleason 1999).

Work, inspired by or claiming a debt to the later work of Foucault, forms a third kind of resistance to educational constructions of citizenship (Fendler 2010; Stoler 1995). In these studies, histories or genealogies of education proceeded from, or alluded to, Foucault's view of capillary power, a power that was not repressive, not a function of class, and not owned by a group but diffused throughout society. In turn, the term resistance took on a more capacious meaning. Resistance was extended to include not only overt protest, in the manner of school strikes or the assertion of alternative educational curricula, for example, but a whole range of behaviors and projects newly interpreted as signs of refusal of normative constructions of citizenship.

Although this resistance has often been invoked or suggested, actual detailed historical examples of it are rare. In fact, it is rather striking how little historians of education have written about everyday resistant behaviors in school. Biographical memory is all that is needed to construct a long list of minor resistances – being late, dramatically bored, losing or forgetting homework, infringing uniform rules, and graffiting – that is hard to find in published histories. It may be that methodological difficulties partly account for these absences but it is also surely the case that Foucault's theoretical emphasis on impersonal, bureaucratic, and scientific governance has, in this case at least, limited our understanding of educational history rather than expanded it. Models of capillary power and surveillance seem to work well for the urban landscapes created by modern states, and their characteristic spatial and architectural configuration, but their application to isolated, rural areas with little infrastructure is surely more open to question. Especially, but not only, in those isolated spaces, educational exchanges may have been more dynamic and more unpredictable precisely because, as the examples from India and Australia discussed earlier demonstrated, they were mediated by personal relationships.

Perhaps for this reason, it is possible to identify a significant genre of work around educational contestation that deploys a more conventional sociological understanding of hierarchical power relations. Jessica Gerrard's (2014) study of radical educational projects in Britain is an important and stimulating example of this work. It attends to social hierarchies of power, organized in this case specifically around class, gender, and race, that help explain how radical socialists and a Black Educational Movement were able to contest educational ideas, systems, and experiences that denigrated their cultures and discriminated against them. In Gerrard's study, and in other examples of this genre, resistance has its basis in a set of particular material and symbolic resources that help to illuminate the extent to which, and how, groups are constituted and how they are able to respond to exclusionary citizenship practices (Nanni 2012).

Conclusion and Future Directions

The invention of mass schooling, the development of school curricula, and the emergence of an educational field are, in some ways at least, familiar stories to scholars. It is also, in ways that it has only been possible to sketch here, a complex

story whose contours transcend discrete historical literatures. In the British Empire, at least citizenship was not tied to, or bound up with, narrow territorial boundaries. Instead, Britishness was a field of cultural, political, and symbolic attachments that, if neither universal nor open to all, was open to negotiation and resistance as it moved around the world.

Educational institutions, knowledges, and practices have sometimes invoked as central components of this cultural British identity, but, with some notable exceptions (Crutchley 2015; Pietsch 2013), this remains a broad claim than a closely argued historical position. It is a claim that often ignores a substantial historical and sociological literature on the development of school systems and, in its celebratory guises, is content to laud and seek to replicate in the contemporary private school sector the success of Protestant missionaries in “teaching the colonized to read.” But historical and sociological analysis demonstrates that school systems around the world were at least partly a reflection of different processes of state and empire formation in which who was, or could be, a citizen was always a matter of political, educational, and intellectual debate.

These debates were structured from the outset by relations of class, gender, race, and disability. In the British Empire, it was, theoretically, possible for everyone to claim British citizenship through access to schooling but certainly not on the same terms. Educational ideas and discourses helped to justify deep inequalities in access to, and experiences of, education. The dimensions of those experiences, forced familial separation, forced migration, the denigration and expulsion of Indigenous languages and cosmologies, and systematic abuse, are only now, and only slowly and unevenly, becoming clear. Recognizing and responding to those histories, and using them to understand the dimensions of contemporary inequalities around citizenship, has the potential to transform our understanding of both the past and the present.

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Abstract

Educational psychology is a multifaceted and contested domain of knowledges and practices that resists simple definition. Its forms and foci have varied across time and place, and strands of knowledge and practice that have travelled under this disciplinary descriptor have been shaped by, and contributed to, shifting understandings of the problems and promises of education. Concepts of individual differences and forms of mental measurement are readily associated with the emergence of educational psychology. Yet, its history is broad in scope, including concerns with child development, adjustment, learning, and behavior. This chapter focuses on two major strands of historical studies of educational psychology: key figures and disciplinary developments; and critical analyses of its knowledges, practices, and impact.

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A concise overview of the history of educational psychology from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century is provided. The chapter considers major strands of thought, contexts of emergence, and sites of development, as documented by historians. This includes exploration of foundational influences and examination of the role that various waves of psychological thought have played in shaping policy and in forming understandings about best practice in education, from compulsory schooling spaces to more informal educational sites such as child guidance clinics and preschools. Alongside this mapping of the historiography, central debates about the scope, promise, dangers, and effects of psychology as a foundational knowledge for education are outlined. Here, consideration is given to discussions in the past as well as more recent interpretations and critical angles.

Keywords

Educational psychology · Scientific movement · Therapeutic turn · Developmental psychology · Cognitive constructionism · Critiques of educational psychology

Introduction

As a named field of knowledge and practice, educational psychology emerged during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Charles 1987). Its development was related to the transformation of psychology from a subfield of philosophy to an independent discipline (Wooldridge 2006), a general shift toward specialization, and a “scientification” of knowledge (Klein 1990), as well as a wider movement of “progressive” educational ideas and social reforming practices, particularly in North America, Great Britain, and continental Europe (Charles 1987). Pre-nineteenth-century antecedents – from Ancient Greek philosophers like Aristotle to Renaissance and Enlightenment thinkers such as Bacon, Rousseau, and Descartes – are acknowledged as important to the development of the discipline of psychology in general and to educational psychology in particular (Charles 1976; Evans 1969). The overview presented in this chapter, however, focuses primarily on the period from the late nineteenth century when educational psychology became a specialized field with increasingly formalized applications to schooling.

The study of individual differences, forms of mental measurement, and understandings of child development are readily associated with the history of educational psychology (Glover and Ronning 1987; Wooldridge 2006). Yet, as with the nature of the discipline in the present, the history of educational psychology is broad in scope, encompassing not only concerns with development, differences, and psychometrics but a long-standing focus on learning as well as interests in social behavior and concepts of adjustment (Glover and Ronning 1987). Educational psychology may be usefully understood, then, as an umbrella term encapsulating a variety of research and theoretical perspectives that have the common aim of applying

psychological knowledge to educational practices (Walberg and Haertel 1992). Topics explored, and, according to some scholars, *produced*, by educational psychology (e.g., Burman 2017; Rose 1990), have included the growth and maturation of children and young people, the constituents of “intelligence” and “ability,” and the means by which such elements can be measured and optimized (Glover and Ronning 1987; Wooldridge 2006).

In this chapter we use the general term *educational psychology* but emphasize that this is a shorthand and convenience descriptor, one that potentially obscures the multifaceted forms of inquiry, knowledge, and practices often grouped under this term. As Glover and Ronning (1987, p. 4) note, finalized definitions of educational psychology are, and indeed have always been, elusive: “since at least 1898. . . scholars have been debating the nature of the field, its definition, and its unique features.” Nevertheless, there are generally agreed upon sets of knowledges and practices that are recognized as constituting the domain of educational psychology, and it is the narratives and contours of its history, as well as critiques of its influence, which inform the focus of this chapter.

The chapter provides an overview of how the origins, foundations, and some of the key contributions of educational psychology have been understood by historians concerned with its formation as a distinct field of knowledge. It first summarizes established narratives about the emergence of educational psychology as a named though contested discipline. This is followed by examination of some key strands and waves of influence shaping the field from the early to late twentieth century. Major figures and the conceptual advances they are credited with are considered, focusing on powerful bodies of knowledge developed in the west but which travelled globally and zooming in upon some major developments: behaviorism, mental measurement, developmental theories, and the embrace of cognitive and constructivist perspectives. Throughout, attention is drawn to areas of critique, both historical and from outside the discipline, and to contemporary debates.

The overview presented here is, inevitably, selective. Rather than an exhaustive and detailed examination, what is illuminated are some of the major strands that comprise the history of educational psychology alongside key tensions and debates about its purposes and effects. As noted, internal disputes about concepts and methods have been present within the field from the outset. However, in the late twentieth century, educational psychology and its varied applications also became increasingly subject to scrutiny from outside the discipline as scholarly critiques began to chart ways in which psychological approaches had undermined rather than advanced the interests of children. Key tenets of critiques advanced over the last three decades are summarized. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of more recent debates about the so-called therapeutic turn in education, the psychopathologizing of children in schools, and the value of positive psychology, which are suggestive of issues that are likely to become important foci of historical studies of educational psychology in the future.

Nineteenth-Century Origins: From Philosophy to Psychology

Historical accounts of the development of educational psychology as a disciplinary specialization point to its emergence during the late nineteenth century from the nascent field of psychology, the period during which psychology itself was establishing an identity distinct from philosophy and physiology (Charles 1987; Hilgard 1996a). According to Walberg and Haertel (1992, pp. 6–7), early nineteenth-century experiments on topics such as “optics” and “reflex action,” as well as increased theorizing about the location “of the mind in the brain,” were important precursors to what by the late nineteenth century was termed the “new psychology.” Long-standing philosophical reflections, such as the “problem of mind and knowing,” are identified as important antecedents to a more modern and “scientific” approach to such matters, which included the study of individual differences and consideration of the practical implications of such questions, for example, as they pertained to the education of young people.

A number of figures are identified as contributing to the conceptual and practical spaces that were opened up for psychological research, which in turn came to inform various facets of education. In the early nineteenth century, German philosopher and psychologist, Johann Herbart, proposed a theory of learning – that it was motivated by interest – and related pedagogical steps that emphasized *apperception*, that is, that learning depends on the making of connections with ideas already existing in memory (Charles 1987; Hilgard 1996a). Translations of Herbart’s texts, *Psychology as a Science* (1824), for example, inspired British works such as *The Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education* (Adams 1897) and were in circulation into the twentieth century in the USA (Wooldridge 2006, p. 63; Charles 1987).

Herbart’s concept of the learning process anticipated the twentieth-century emphasis on the child’s interest and experiences rather than simple adherence to formal subject learning as the basis for educative processes, a view espoused by progressive educators and curriculum reformers, such as John Dewey (Hilgard 1996a; Wooldridge 2006). Another German philosopher, Wilhelm Wundt, founded an experimental laboratory in Leipzig in 1879 (Leadbetter and Arnold 2013). He sought to establish psychology as a new and distinct domain of science through the study of elements such as human sensation, perception, attention, feeling, and association. Wundt’s laboratory was the site for considerable knowledge exchange, and influential figures in early twentieth-century educational psychology studied with or visited Wundt, inspired to pursue a science of the mind (Charles 1987; Walberg and Haertel 1992).

Other early influences identified as antecedents to educational psychology include the work of Francis Galton, a Briton, who was informed by Charles Darwin’s evolutionary ideas. In *Hereditary Genius* (1869), Galton argued that intelligence has an important “hereditary component” (Walberg and Haertel 1992, p. 7). His text, although now considered deeply problematic, is credited with sparking ongoing debate about “nature or nurture” (Charles 1987, p. 20). It also informed research about psychological traits, a topic that became a focus of educational research

throughout the early to mid-twentieth century. In addition, Galton's work is recognized as an important precursor to research on individual differences, ability, and mental measurement (Walberg and Haertel 1992).

But educational psychology did not simply emerge from the work of prominent researchers who in more hagiographical, and often gendered, accounts are termed *founding fathers*. Perspectives from cultural and transnational history suggest that in order to make sense of the rise of educational psychology as a new form of expertise, consideration is needed both of international forms of knowledge exchange and a range of cultural and historical factors (McLeod and Wright 2013). For instance, during the nineteenth century, there was a growing understanding of childhood as a distinct period in the lifespan with its own qualities and needs. Romantic literature played a role in such notions (Thomson 2006), as did progressive pedagogical initiatives, such as the Froebelian Kindergarten movement. It emphasized children's play as the vehicle for healthy growth in garden like settings, beginning in Germany but soon spreading to other national contexts (Davidson and Benjamin 1987).

As Davidson and Benjamin (1987) have noted, a growing attention to childhood was often coupled with the idea that it provided a unique opportunity to intervene to improve the adult population and indeed reform society in general (Thomson 2006). Liberal progressive ideas about the significance of childhood as a site for social reform coincided with and were bolstered by a growing interest in sciences of the mind, which emerged in the context of broader processes of "scientification" (Klein 1990, p. 21). This is evident, for example, in the nineteenth-century *child study* practices of observing children in what was considered a scientific manner (Varga 2011). Writing about psychology and education in early twentieth-century England, Thomson (2006, p. 118), for example, suggests that emerging pedagogical sciences gained traction in the context of an existing "lay energy that saw the future as lying in discovery of and fulfilment of the child's potential" and in the expression by educational professionals of the promise of new psychological knowledge to remake both people and society.

As many historians of education have drawn attention to, the late nineteenth century saw increased numbers of children in primary schooling due to the introduction of compulsory state education in many jurisdictions. One consequence of this was the emergence of new concerns about how to manage what was understood to be a wider range of scholastic capacities. Other challenges were also identified, including how to best categorize children according to various skills, how placement in schools should be determined, and how progression through academic year levels should be managed (Leadbetter and Arnold 2013; Wooldridge 2006).

More broadly, the late nineteenth century was marked by increased urbanization and a rise in what has been described as *population thinking* – an understanding that nations are made up of a population that is more or less "fit," providing the basis for national wealth, strength, and progress or, conversely, societal degradation and weakness (Rose 1985; Walkerdine 1984). Wider eugenic concerns with social efficiency – reflected in anxieties about "feeble-mindedness," "mental deficiency,"

and “delinquency” – buttressed a growing appetite for the development of tools that could measure intelligence and other traits (Wooldridge 2006, p. 52, 81; Davidson and Benjamin 1987; Wright 2011). Increasing numbers of school pupils also offered access to a “cross section of the [child] population as a whole” to the emergent professionals of the new psychology (Thomson 2006, p. 110). This made possible large-scale projects which sought to study and quantify developmental norms of childhood. As Turmel (2008) has documented, this occurred first in relation to physical traits, such as height and weight as they corresponded to age. Concepts of “mental age” and forms of mental measurement then followed. These practices were integral to the growth of psychology in general and educational psychology in particular (Davidson and Benjamin 1987).

Since the late nineteenth century, those involved in marking out the terrain of empirical science had conducted systematic observations of very young children (Davidson and Benjamin 1987). Charles Darwin’s 1877 *Biographical Sketch of an Infant* is a seminal work. However, it is Granville Stanley Hall, an American who studied with Wundt for a time, who is credited with founding “child study” in America and who would become a key figure in this transnational movement (Wooldridge 2006). Inspired by German studies of children beginning school (Davidson and Benjamin 1987), Hall facilitated large-scale, teacher-conducted questionnaires to gather data on “children’s knowledge of the world, their opinions and their physical attributes” (Walberg and Haertel 1992, p. 9).

For Hall, improved knowledge of children and childhood had an obvious practical application to the field of education (Davidson and Benjamin 1987, p. 48). In an 1894 article entitled, “The New Psychology as the Basis for Education,” he suggested that the psychological knowledge being produced by child study heralded “the science of human nature and the art of developing it to its fullest maturity” (cited in Davidson and Benjamin 1987, p. 48). As Charles (1987) has noted, the scientific approach of child study and psychology had wide appeal. It tapped into the optimism of the time that saw “science and technology of all kinds” as having “the capacity to alleviate or solve many of the problems of society and to improve nearly every aspect of life,” with the school being a particularly fruitful site for the application of such knowledge (Charles 1987, p. 35). However, some expressed concern. William James, for example, argued that teachers should not be co-opted as psychologists or scientists because collecting data on children was at odds with their pedagogical role (Berliner 1993).

Nevertheless, the child study movement flourished during the late nineteenth century, with swathes of research projects and publications describing children’s mental and physical attributes. This new knowledge was widely disseminated, for example, through summaries of results included in teacher training materials in the USA (Walberg and Haertel 1992). Encompassing diverse goals and various forms of disciplinary expertise, child study was an important precursor to the focus on individual differences and the development of mental testing, which became central components of the new educational psychology (Davidson and Benjamin 1987; Wooldridge 2006).

Turn of the Century Foundations: Scientification and Behaviorism

Writing on the history of educational psychology, Charles (1987, p. 17) notes: “Until the 1920s, at least, we simply had psychologists, some of whom, some of the time, paid particular attention to problems of an educational nature.” William James, for example, began delivering lectures to teachers on educational matters in the early 1890s. These were later published as *Talks to Teachers on Psychology and to Students on Some of Life’s Ideals* (James 1899). Yet when he was asked about “educational psychology,” the question was reportedly met with a bemused response. According to Charles Judd, Director of the School of Education at the University of Chicago (1909–1938), James responded, “Educational psychology? I think there are about six weeks of it” (Judd [1932] cited in Charles 1987, p. 25).

Former Dean of Teachers College, Columbia, James Russell, recalls foreseeing rather greater possibilities for the emergent sub-discipline. Reflecting on his 1899 decision to hire Edward Lee Thorndike, the figure most readily associated with the development of educational psychology, Russell stated, “At the time neither the term nor the subject of educational psychology had been created; but I had a notion that a field of study so obviously fundamental to educational theory and practice should have both a name and a sponsor in the kind of teachers college I was planning” (Russell [1940], cited in Mayer 2003, p. 126).

While identifying exact points of origin is problematic (Charles 1987), there are nevertheless key markers for the establishment of educational psychology as a discrete field and sub-discipline. These include the publication in 1903 of Thorndike’s early work under the title *Educational Psychology*, which is credited with providing the first definitive explanation of the aim of educational psychology, namely, that it offered “knowledge of human nature to students of educational theory” (Thorndike [1903], cited in Glover and Ronning 1987, p. 5). Influenced by his teacher, William James, Thorndike insisted that educational psychology be a “highly empirical, theory-based approach to research,” which, as Glover and Ronning (1987, p. 5) note, was crucial in setting educational psychology apart from the child study movement. Thorndike rejected the child study approach of gathering data through questionnaires, arguing instead for the use of only “objective methods” (Charles 1987, p. 25).

Thorndike’s stature and importance to the emergent field is reflected in an invitation to write the lead article for the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Educational Psychology* in 1910. Entitled “The contribution of psychology to education,” it focused primarily on questions of learning, transfer, and individual differences (Mayer 2003). Unlike Hall’s interest in “genetic psychology” (Charles 1987, p. 23), Thorndike’s research was concerned with examining how the environment could be harnessed to modify human abilities. Opening the first of the three volumes of what was an extended and updated version of his 1903 book, *Educational Psychology*, he asserted in the 1913 revised edition: “It is the province of educational psychology to give such knowledge of the original nature of man and the laws of modifiability or learning, in the case of intellect, character and skill” (Thorndike [1913], cited in Glover and Ronning 1987, p. 5).

During Thorndike's fifty-year career at Teachers College, Columbia, he produced more than 500 publications drawing on a broad-ranging program of research (Sheehy 2004). In addition to foundational studies and the development of new understandings of learning, transfer, and individual differences, he produced curricular materials, such as arithmetic books, dictionaries suitable for school children, and various types of educational tests (Mayer 2003). His work was widely, although not universally, endorsed (Sheehy 2004) and was particularly influential in the USA in the first half of the twentieth century (Berliner and Calfee 1996). It inspired John B. Watson's behaviorism and B. F. Skinner's subsequent formulations (Charles 1976).

Thorndike is acknowledged as "one of the great pioneers in the scientific movement in education" (Moehlman [1944] cited in Mayer 2003, p. 143). His prominence is due in no small part to his emphasis on the importance of quantitative measurement. He was particularly interested in quantifying learning outcomes, which he saw as key to educational improvement (Mayer 2003). Thorndike's position is nicely summed up by his phrase, "Whatever exists at all exists in some amount. To know it thoroughly involves knowing its quantity as well as its quality" (Thorndike [1918], cited in Charles 1976, p. 83). This perspective was increasingly reflected in American psychology, as it was in the social sciences more generally (Charles 1976).

While Thorndike's work often overshadows that of his contemporaries, others also played critical roles in the professionalization and maturation of the discipline (Charles 1976, 1987). Charles Judd, for example, made important contributions to the early development of educational psychology (Van Fleet 1976). He published *Genetic Psychology for Teachers* (1903) in the same year as Thorndike's *Educational Psychology* (Hilgard 1996b). Judd was interested in the biological and psychological development of children and in the application of psychological knowledge to school subjects, including reading – particularly remedial reading – as well as writing and arithmetic (Charles 1976).

John Dewey was another key figure (Hilgard 1996b). As with Hall, he contributed to the fields of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy (Berliner 1993). Dewey's work has had an enduring influence, stimulating a progressive educational emphasis on curriculum – particularly in the early years – based on children's own interests in order to promote "social skills for democratic living" (May 2009, p. 16). His belief in democracy and in the school as an institution through which social reform could be enacted both inspired and aligned with wider progressive aspirations for a full and transforming vision of education.

A key moment identified in the history of psychology, one regarded as also having a major influence on educational psychology, was the turn to behaviorism. In the USA, Watson's 1913 lecture at Columbia University, "Psychology as the Behaviourist Views It," is often cited as a turning point, with Watson widely considered the "father" of this intellectual development, with Skinner referring to him as the first behaviorist (Gross 2009). It would be an oversimplification to credit Watson's address and its subsequent publication as alone shaping the discipline. In Britain, for example, behaviorism was advanced through the work of

C. Lloyd Morgan (Evans et al. 2008). Nevertheless, Watson's lecture is a useful marker of a shifting orientation.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, concerns with consciousness and the mind, which had preoccupied nineteenth-century thinkers, were diminishing. The new psychology was promoted as a branch of the sciences, with the analysis of behavior replacing introspection as the primary method. Central to the early conceptualization of a behaviorist approach was that psychology should only be concerned with that which can be empirically observed and measured (Gross 2009).

The historiography of educational psychology, notably that addressing the USA, tends to characterize behaviorist theories of learning – inspired and espoused by Thorndike, Watson, and Skinner – as having eclipsed all other movements. The research programs and associated conceptions of learning, sometimes termed the “scientific movement in education” (Hilgard 1996a, p. 997), had considerable influence on the formation of key concepts and fostered major developments in educational psychology (Walberg and Haertel 1992). However, behaviorism was not monolithic, nor did it go unchallenged. There were conflicting viewpoints, for example, Dewey's functionalism (Hilgard 1996a). The limits of the scientific movement in addressing wider aims of education were also acknowledged.

Frank N. Freeman, Head of the National Education Society, offered a reflection on the contributions of the scientific movement in 1938. While he praised it as making an “impressive showing,” he remained skeptical. As he stated: “It is possible after examining these achievements, to view them as essentially superficial in character, as concerned with the husk rather than the kernel of the educational process. Science can, in this view, evaluate the means but not the ends, it can estimate the efficiency of the process but it cannot determine or even influence its direction. It has therefore, gone about as far as it can in improving education” (Freeman [1938], cited in Hilgard 1996a, p. 997).

Behaviorism constitutes an important strand in the history of educational psychology, with its influence felt long after its early twentieth-century foundations. Yet as Glover and Ronning (1987) note, research into child development, individual differences, and mental measurement also constitute important elements. Indeed, within and across numerous national contexts, significant research in those areas was also shaping the field.

Intelligence, Mental Measurement, and Individual Differences

Groundbreaking work conducted by French researcher Alfred Binet, and his colleague Theodore Simon, produced in 1905 “the first scale for measuring the intellectual status of children” (Collins and Hartup 2013, p. 7). The instrument was developed in response to a mandate from the French government to improve education for children with learning difficulties (Beauvais 2016). What became known as the Binet-Simon Scale comprised a sizeable number of brief single-item “tests” that aimed to assess cognitive abilities – language, reasoning, memory, and

judgment – through the performance of tasks using everyday items such as pencils, paper, blocks, and coins. Underpinning the development of tools to measure intelligence and other traits was a concern with understanding individual differences, a topic that has been central to educational psychology (Jensen 1987).

The Binet-Simon Scale had a major influence internationally, and adaptations were widely used in Europe, North America, and beyond (Boake 2002; Wooldridge 2006). In Australia, for example, Turtle (1987, p. 233) notes that the 1905 measure and its 1908 and 1911 revisions were “used almost immediately by staff of the Sydney Teachers College” (see also Wright 2011). While various forms of mental measurement were already under development in the late nineteenth century, notably Galton’s aptitude tests, as Blumentritt (2008, p. 781) observes, it was the scales devised by Binet and Simon that “ushered in the modern era of standardized testing.” Both through adaptations (e.g., the Stanford-Binet Scale, which became the dominant American test and is still in use) and in providing a model and sources of content, the early measures paved the way for future cognitive tests (Boake 2002).

In related work, Binet developed the concept of *mental age*, which was determined by the age at which the “average child” could solve a given problem (Thorndike-Christ and Thorndike 2008, p. 549). Calculations of mental age for individual children could thus vary considerably from their chronological age. As with his earlier work measuring intelligence, the construct of mental age had considerable influence internationally (Beauvais 2016), and his research inspired work across Europe, North America, and Britain (Boake 2002). During the 1930s and 1940s, researchers refined testing protocols and developed techniques of factor analysis. Further psychometric measures were devised throughout the twentieth century. Measurement and testing were fundamental to the scientific promise of educational psychology and remain central to the discipline (Fletcher and Hattie 2011). Indeed, since the early twentieth century, psychometric testing in its various forms has been widely embraced as an important tool for generating information about the skills and capacities of young people and has been used extensively in school systems throughout the world.

Yet from the outset there was debate about how to conceptualize and measure children’s skills and attributes, particularly intelligence and, outside the discipline of psychology, the use of mental measurement has been the focus of much scholarly critique (e.g., Burman 2017; Rose 1990; for an overview, see Wooldridge 2006). Even strong proponents of present-day educational testing concede that it has a “dirty history” (Fletcher and Hattie 2011, p. 13). At the heart of the matter, as elaborated below, is the assertion that tests are not objective measures of capacity but rather a sorting mechanism that entrenches socioeconomic disadvantage (McCulloch 2011, see esp. pp. 42–54).

Beyond questions of reliability and validity, which have long occupied internal disciplinary debate, an important reason that psychometric testing has been subject to intense critique is that it has shaped decisions of educators and policymakers about school selection and placement (Thorndike-Christ and Thorndike 2008). In addition, forms of mental measurement have long been used to identify “atypical” children deemed to require particular kinds of psychological and educational intervention

(Wright 2011). This includes placement in so-called special classes, as well as assessments of vocational aptitude and mental capacity, with instruments to measure these used both in schools and in other settings, such as child guidance clinics (Jones 1999; Wright 2012).

In Britain, the work of controversial psychologist Cyril Burt is closely associated with the early period of mental testing. In the context of the rise of mass schooling, selection was a key issue – at both ends of the ability spectrum. Godfrey Thomson, a contemporary of Burt's, noted that psychologists were charged with the responsibility of “how with most justice to select eleven-year-old children in the primary schools for the privilege of free secondary school education” (Thomson [1952], cited in Wooldridge 2006, p. 70). Psychologists were also required to differentiate between those merely “intellectually dull and backward” from “mentally defective” children (London County Council [1911], cited in Wooldridge 2006, p. 82).

In 1913 Burt was appointed in a part-time role to the Education Department of the London County Council, which was, according to Wooldridge (2006, p. 11), the first appointment of this kind in the world. There he was responsible for psychological assessments of children in schools and for examination of individual children in order to report on delinquency, provide guidance, and identify “subnormality” and “giftedness” for the purposes of allocation to special classes (Hearnshaw [1971], cited in Fletcher 2017, p. 389). Both through the London County Council and his later appointment to University College London, he popularized mental testing and according to McKibbin (1998, p. 228) “achieved an unequalled prominence in the field.”

During the early twentieth century in Britain, the USA, and other western countries, intelligence testing and other forms of mental measurement shaped the structures of schooling. Psychometric testing was integral to both the egalitarian promise and meritocratic ideal that many advocates saw in educational psychology but which later became the subject of fervent critique. The extent to which these techniques were used varied both within and across nations (Faulkner and Jimerson 2017; Thomson 2006) and the early fervor eventually subsided (Wright 2011). Mental testing was, nevertheless, pivotal to the professionalization of educational psychology and its practical application in schools. More broadly, the theory of individual differences which underpinned such tests was, as Burman (2017) observes, the forerunner of another specialization: *developmental* psychology.

Child Development and Constructivist Perspectives

Alongside the growth of educational psychology, developmental psychology was also emerging as a distinct subfield. It contributed to the knowledge base that informed tests of intelligence and other abilities, as well as theories of learning and attendant pedagogical and curriculum approaches. As Collins and Hartup (2013) note, developmental psychology is itself an eclectic domain, with a range of approaches taken in the description and explanation of child development and individual differences.

In the first half of the twentieth century, a variety of theories that addressed aspects of children's physical, intellectual, social, and emotional growth and change was elaborated. Building on Hall's biological perspectives on development, and in contrast with Watson and other environmentalists, Arnold Gesell, for example, stressed the importance of inherited traits. He undertook observational studies of infants and children using innovative techniques, such as motion picture recording of children's behavior (Thompson et al. 2012). He argued that internal factors of maturation were the key drivers of development, with heredity being a primary factor. For Gesell, physical and psychological growth unfold in an orderly sequence, although the *rate* at which development occurs varies (Thompson et al. 2012). Gesell's central and enduring contribution, while often criticized for normativity, is to be found in the concept of *child readiness* and the notion of child-paced education, a key tenet of much progressive education.

In theorizing intellectual development, the work of Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget stands as preeminent. His most well-known contribution is a theory of cognitive development conceptualized as a set of stages through which the child passes. For Piaget, the child is active in their own development, building their own sense of the world using schemas – psychological or physical structures or patterns – which are the building blocks for growth. Piagetian theory holds that the ways in which children understand and learn vary across different stages of development (Oakley 2004).

Piaget's constructivist theories of learning and child development informed much progressive curriculum reform in the 1930s and 1940s, with an increasing educational focus on what British child psychologist, Susan Isaacs, described as the "principle of activity" (Isaacs [1938], cited in Giardiello 2014, p. 119). His work was particularly influential in primary and early years curriculum in the 1960s, and the popularity of Piagetian approaches lasted into the 1980s and beyond (Hilgard 1996a; May 2009). Piaget's concepts strongly informed arguments for child activity and new curriculum approaches. According to Berk (2013, p. 260): "He gave teachers new ways to observe, understand, and enhance young children's development and offered strong theoretical justification for child-oriented approaches to teaching."

While a cognitive focus formed one strand of developmental psychology, in the first part of the twentieth century, much research and theorizing into social and emotional development was also progressed (Collins and Hartup 2013). Here, the psychoanalytic theories of Freud were drawn upon. Freud explained development as the outcome of a series of psychosexual challenges, with a healthy personality the outcome of a series of successful adjustments to the demands of society and competing internal drives (Du Rocher Schudlich 2008). In Europe, for example, these were articulated in educational discourses by figures such as Anna Freud and Susan Isaacs. Their work informed progressive approaches of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s that emphasized the importance of self-expression through activities such as the "creative arts, dramatic, and social play" (May 2009, pp. 15–16).

Theorizing concerned with emotions and personality was also influential in shaping transnationally circulating progressive concerns with educating the "whole child" (Giardiello 2014, p. 134) and with promoting the development of happy and well-adjusted children as future citizens (McLeod and Wright 2013; Wright 2012).

New ideas about the full health of the child, including in emotional terms, are recalled in New Zealand, for example, as informing a *freeing up* of kindergarten programs and as underpinning a growing emphasis on child-directed activity and choice (May 2009). Such curriculum and program transformations were not, however, universally embraced – and the balance between permissiveness and discipline was a subject of some debate (Thomson 2006).

Related to concerns about the welfare of children and the role of educational psychology in addressing this, another area that has been both explored and critiqued by historians of education is the development from the 1920s onwards of various forms of child and adolescent guidance (Horn 1989; Jones 1999; Stewart 2016; Wright 2012). During the early to mid-twentieth century, psychological work informing concepts of the “well,” “normal,” “progressing,” or “troubled” child led to the burgeoning of child guidance practices (Wright 2012). Beginning during the interwar period, and extending beyond the Second World War, much research was concerned with understanding the factors affecting child welfare. Underpinned by concepts of emotional health and the “adjustment” of the child to their environment, remedial strategies were devised for children deemed socially “maladjusted,” which placed them at risk of becoming delinquent or mentally ill (Horn 1989).

Varied programs of psychological research continued to develop and contribute to education practices after the Second World War. Of particular note is the so-called cognitive revolution of the late 1960s (Hilgard 1996a, p. 999). This saw educational psychology shift away from a behaviorist focus on learning, where instructional techniques were based on the notion of stimulus and response (Walberg and Haertel 1992, p. 13). Instead, attention shifted to internal mental processes and structures of knowledge that were *built* by children and students during their interactions with environments (Resnick [1981], cited in Hilgard 1996a, p. 1001). The emergent emphasis on cognition also prompted a move away from the primarily hereditarian focus that had buttressed earlier theories of intelligence (May 2009).

Piaget’s constructivist theory of knowledge building is most readily associated with the newfound attention to cognitive growth in educational psychology. Yet, like other conceptual developments, many researchers and theorists contributed (Hilgard 1996a). A variety of factors coalesced to inform the rise of cognitive constructivism. In the USA, for example, the *Sputnik* era is regarded as sharpening concerns about educational outcomes (Hilgard 1996a, p. 999). Growing concerns with inequality, often couched in the language of cultural deprivation, were also emerging as significant themes in many national contexts.

A constructivist perspective on the growth of knowledge, informed by an image of the child as a “little scientist,” offered hopes for educational improvement through the provision of stimulating learning environments (May 2009). Such hopes animated, for example, the *Project Head Start* preschool programs in the USA, established in 1965 as part of a nationwide “war on poverty.” Still in operation today, the program began with many thousands of preschool-aged children from so-called “deprived” homes attending summer camps and participating in ongoing programs offering “rich” environments to support their cognitive development and school readiness.

Primary school curriculum was especially marked by the constructivist emphasis on the learning environments and children's need for exploration as the engine for intellectual growth. According to Walkerdine (1984), Piagetian theory dominated best practices in primary schooling for many decades. Yet, alongside the uptake of constructivist perspectives, critical and sociologically oriented researchers – and some psychologists – were beginning to advance varied and sometimes strident critiques about the cultural and epistemological bias and assumptions embedded in much of the psychological theory shaping education (e.g., Rose 1985; Walkerdine 1984). An important dimension was growing attention to the cultural, social, and historical elements informing development, learning, and cognition. The work of Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky, active in the 1930s and 1940s and first translated to English during the 1960s, was central to this shift (Berliner and Calfee 1996). Subsequent neo-Vygotskian and social constructivist theorists, such as Barbara Rogoff, continued to emphasize the role of language and culture in the processes of learning and making meaning, stressing that social and cultural interaction shapes development and learning (Walker and Debus 2002).

Theories of child development and cognitive processes provided important knowledge for the field of educational psychology through perspectives on how children learn and how they acquire knowledge and skills. Piaget's influence from the mid- to late-twentieth century shaped much research and classroom practice that was focused on the individual child as an active explorer. Vygotsky's sociocultural theories emphasized that learning is constructed within, and varies across, particular contexts. While the work of Vygotsky and Piaget are often viewed in opposition, Burman (2017) identifies an important connection – the influence of psychoanalysis in the development of the theories of both. She suggests that both theorists suppressed its influence, which in turn suppressed subsequent analysis of common threads in their work. While constructivism remains influential, other prominent theories of learning that have shaped directions in educational psychology include social learning theory, developed by Albert Banduras, and concepts of experiential learning and multiple intelligences (see, e.g., Berliner and Calfee 1996; Berk 2013). Developmental and constructivist perspectives have provided important insights for educational psychology. However, as with other contributions to the field, they have not been without controversy.

Critiques of Psychological Expertise in and for Education

Since its emergence, educational psychology has been the subject of considerable debate and contestation, both from within and outside the discipline. Its early history is marked by efforts to distinguish this new field of inquiry from other scientific endeavors, notably, child study. This involved criticism of the epistemology and methods of child study, from both educators and psychologists, but sometimes for different reasons. Thorndike, for example, objected to the recapitulation theory and biological basis of the child study movement and its lack of scientific rigor

(Davidson and Benjamin 1987). By contrast, James was concerned about the co-option of teachers for non-pedagogical purposes.

A key area of contention was the extent to which psychology – educational or otherwise – should be scientific or humanistic. James resisted the project of scientification. In *Talks to Teachers*, he questioned psychology's capacity to inform pedagogical practices, asserting, "Psychology is a science, and teaching is an art; and sciences never generate arts directly" (James [1899] cited in Berliner 1993, p. 50). He went further. As Berliner (1993, p. 50) has noted, James argued that laboratory studies of teachers could not adequately test their capacity "because they did not treat the whole person in real contexts." Similar views were advanced by Dewey, who regarded behaviorism as reductionist. As he argued: "When the result of laboratory experiments informs us, for example, that repetition is the chief factor influencing recall, we must bear in mind the result is obtained with nonsense material – i.e., by excluding the conditions of ordinary memory" (cited in Berliner 1993, p. 58).

At the same time, teachers were expressing concerns about the relevance of psychology to their work, and there was ongoing tension about the position of the discipline within teacher training programs at least up until the mid-twentieth century (Thomson 2006, p. 129). While Thorndike's behavioral research was widely influential, Charles (1976) reports that concerns about the direction and momentum of the scientific movement in education were actively expressed by leading figures within the American Psychological Association. By the mid-twentieth century, there was also increasing concern about a lack of disciplinary coherence. Anxieties about the capacity of educational psychology to clearly stake out its own field of knowledge – amid the varied work that went under its name – were allayed to some extent by the fillip given to the field in the 1960s, with a boom in educational research funding, at least in the USA (Charles 1976). While debate within the discipline has persisted, by the late twentieth century, educational psychology had firmly established itself internationally as a specialization indispensable to modern educational systems (Berliner and Calfee 1996).

Educational psychology is, of course, not unusual in being marked by internal debates and divisions about its nature, purposes, and the best ways to advance knowledge. What is more interesting is a strand of scholarship that questions psychology's suitability to address the varied functions of education and schooling and, importantly, the unintended consequence of the uptake of psychological knowledges and practices. Over the past several decades, approaches to interpreting the history of educational psychology have been marked by critical and cultural turns in the social sciences and humanities. Accounts of educational psychology as part of wider histories of schooling and education are many and varied. Yet some key trends are notable.

By the 1970s, in line with wider social, cultural, and epistemological shifts, debate about psychological expertise had taken on an overtly critical and reflexive quality. This included a new questioning of the forms, scope, and place of psychology in education as part of wider engagements with the politics of knowledge and expertise, particularly in relation to processes of social differentiation, equity, subjectivity, and schooling (e.g., Walkerdine 1984). An important line of analysis

was critical sociological interpretations of education that focused on the uneven effects of access to schooling based on so-called “neutral” psychological knowledges (e.g., Burman 2017; Rose 1990).

For some critics, expertise purporting to describe normal child development was tied to ruling knowledge, within structural arrangements designed to produce certain norms of conduct and maintain social hierarchies (McCulloch 2011). Other influential critiques drew on poststructural perspectives that interpret the expansion of “psy knowledges” as a form of social regulation, including the production of normative and gendered subjectivities (e.g., Burman 2017; Rose 1990; Walkerdine 1984). Such varied critiques were, however, advanced alongside the continued development and application of psychological theories as frameworks for educational policy and practice, evident, for example, in the application of constructivist theories as frameworks for learning.

An important body of historically grounded scholarship, which emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, critiqued the meritocratic ideal, selective school systems, concepts of intelligence, and the use of mental measurement. A key contribution was the Foucauldian readings developed by Nikolas Rose, in particular, those elaborated through two major texts, *The Psychological Complex* (1985) and *Governing the Soul* (1990). As Thomson observes, Rose’s work was important because it provided important new perspectives on the history of psychology – including educational psychology – not as a history of ideas but importantly as a field of practice. Indeed, examination of how psychological knowledge was *applied* opened up new ways of understanding its history and its effects.

Building on Foucault’s earlier genealogies, Rose positioned educational psychology as a field primarily concerned with individual differences, measurement, and normalization, and underscored its alliances with state imperatives of population management (Thomson 2006). According to Rose, theories of individual differences – which were operationalized through testing techniques – became powerful discourses that purported to explain differences in achievement. He argued that rather than measuring innate capacities, the results of educational testing reflected socially produced inequalities. Psychometrics thus came to be understood by critical scholars as a mechanism that maintained and justified differences based on the disadvantages of social class.

In contrast to Rose’s primarily theoretically driven analysis, other scholars, such as Thomson (2006) and Wooldridge (2006), developed more nuanced accounts of psychology’s influence, in education and beyond. While still engaging in projects of critical history, their work may be understood as attempts to reorient and ground such critique in more complex analyses. Both seek to avoid conflating intent (of psychologists or schools or policy) with influence (how widespread practices such as testing were and what effects they had). In doing so they offer alternate readings of the impact of psychology and mental measurement based on detailed historical analysis rather than what they suggest are characterizations of the history of the field as simply reflecting new modes of government and regulation.

Of the diverse ideas and practices that comprise the history of educational psychology, mental testing has been the area subject to most criticism. As

Wooldridge (2006, p. 5) has noted: “Few scientists have aroused as much hostility as the psychometrists.” Since the 1970s there have been a multitude of texts chronicling and critiquing its history, methods, aims, and effects. Thomson (2006) suggests that one reason why psychometrics has been the focus of such extensive analysis and critique is that it supports the notion of psychology as regulation. Wooldridge (2006, p. 5) seeks to offer a correction to the thesis of regulation through expertise, suggesting that accounts of educational psychology and testing have been dominated by “an undisguised bias against the subject.” Thomson (2006), similarly, suggests that the historical impact of psychometrics in education has been overstated.

While mental measurement has been a major focus of critiques, disquiet has also been expressed about more humanistic strands of psychological knowledge and the ways it has shaped educational reform through curriculum and pedagogical change (Thomson 2006). Child-centered curriculum based on children’s “active exploration” and “hands-on learning” in infant and primary school settings is understood to have been granted scientific authority by progressive advocates of the new psychological sciences. “Developmental curriculum” that followed children’s interests and allowed choice and expression was taken up in many educational settings internationally and seen as a beacon of more humanistic and tolerant approaches in education (e.g., May 2009; Thomson 2006).

Histories of education that engage with social and cultural theory have produced more critical interpretations of child-centered curriculum. The historical and cultural specificity of developmental knowledge and practices has been highlighted and the inequitable and normalizing effects of this explored (Baker 2001; Walkerdine 1984). Notions of child readiness have been subject to much critique, implicated in practices of “judging” children according to purportedly neutral psychological expertise and developmental norms (e.g., Cannella 1997). The foundational status of developmental theories in education during the twentieth century, Cannella (1997) argues, justified conditions of surveillance and intervention into the lives of children and families. She asserts that rather than being freeing or democratic, developmental norms have constructed children as “objects of control” (Cannella 1997, p. 36).

Late-twentieth-century analyses of psychology and its effects are connected to a longer history of critique of child-centered approaches, including those advanced early in the century, as progressive curriculum reforms were underway. For example, the move to interest-based curriculum, advanced by Dewey, was viewed by some critics as embracing a “‘soft’ pedagogy” (Hilgard 1996a, p. 995). There have been ongoing related concerns, which have waxed and waned over time, regarding the undermining of discipline-based knowledge. The shift away from traditional subject or discipline-based learning is interpreted by some as a sign of cultural degradation, reflecting the demise of the proper functions of schooling, that is, the transmission of culturally valued traditions, dispositions, and knowledge. Such disquiet is also evident in more recent critiques about the so-called therapeutic turn in education, which critics suggest privileges emotional well-being and psychological health above traditional forms of knowledge acquisition (Ecclestone and Brunila 2015; Wright and McLeod 2015).

As with warnings about the risks of progressive and permissive education, the encroachment of therapeutic activities into classrooms is argued to have detrimental effects for young people. The adoption of popular notions from “therapy” in education, a process Ecclestone and Brunila (2015) call “therapeutization,” is seen as undermining resilience and displacing the powerful subject-based knowledge needed to overcome socioeconomic disadvantage. A related set of concerns has also been expressed with regard to the psychopathologizing of children in schools through the embrace of diagnostic labels (Harwood and Allan 2014), while another strand of critique questions the value of curriculum, pedagogical, and school program approaches drawing on positive psychology and concepts of well-being (Wright and McLeod 2015).

These more recent lines of analysis share some common concerns with earlier critiques of mental measurement, including what might be overly alarmist assessments about the therapeutic turn in education (e.g., Ecclestone and Hayes 2009). Yet other appraisals fall more in line with the interpretations developed by Thomson (2006) and Wooldridge (2006), that is, acknowledgment of educational psychology’s complex histories and contradictory effects (e.g., Wright 2012). Importantly, recent debates about psychologization have been advanced in parallel with other ongoing concerns and discussions within education about the importance of evidence-based approaches in teacher preparation and classroom practices. This is reflected, for example, in continued – and what some would argue is a growing emphasis on – testing and measurement, with key developments in this area including the elaboration of frameworks for student assessment and motivation (Fletcher and Hattie 2011).

Conclusion and Future Directions

Studies in the history of educational psychology reflect its wide-ranging foci and its heterogeneity as a field, one that encapsulates multifaceted concerns, varied research programs, manifold theories, and a wide range of overarching aims. Since its inception, and across its varied forms as a guide for practice and a rationale for reform, analyses and evaluation of its promises, achievements, and outcomes have been wide and varied. The forms of research and practice that constitute, or indeed should constitute, educational psychology have been debated from the outset, as have the knowledge claims and ideas about the appropriate reach of psychological research and theories for education.

The rise and shape of psychology’s influence in education and schooling have transnational as well as national and locally distinct features, some of which have been drawn out above. A wide range of ideas and concepts, from the “laws of learning” to the psychology of individual differences, have been marshalled in the practical application of psychological knowledge to everyday problems of the classroom. The nascent educational psychology brought considerable ambition, namely, to examine “all those phases of the study of mental life which concern education” (Bagley et al., cited in Glover and Ronning 1987, p. 6). Importantly, this

included the aim of “acquaint[ing] teachers with the scientific study of mental development” (Glover and Ronning 1987, p. 5). Such knowledge of human nature, development, and learning was pursued through empiricist and positivist research, through theory building and philosophy, and through quantitative methods (Charles 1987; Walberg and Haertel 1992).

From the early to mid-twentieth century and into the present, psychological research and theory has influenced many aspects of education. It has shaped policymaking and processes of educational reform, from the scientification of knowledge in the early twentieth century that underpinned the development of psychometrics, through to ideas about individualized instruction and “progressive” schooling approaches, to the rise of positive psychology, discourses of well-being, and much else besides. Historical studies of educational psychology help make sense of this complex picture. Given its broad scope, most accounts concentrate on particular dimensions, such as notable figures, influential concepts, and major developments, and are concerned with debates and tensions within the field.

Since the late twentieth century, some of the most engaging scholarship on the history of educational psychology has emerged from other disciplinary perspectives, notably history and sociology, but also the distinct subfield of critical psychology. This work has made vitally important contributions to understanding the legacy and implications of psychological research and its influence on society, education, and young people, challenging taken-for-granted and dominant views of psychology as an impartial and neutral “science of the mind.”

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A Brief Historical Overview of Curriculum in Early Childhood Care and Education

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Jenny Ritchie

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Abstract

Across time and national boundaries, infants and young children grow and learn, mastering such huge accomplishments as mobility, language, and socialization within their particular cultural milieu. This chapter traces trajectories of early childhood education curriculum, firstly identifying some of the key European theorists who informed and invented curriculum and pedagogical systems for young children. It then considers how a curriculum of “guided participation” is enacted via informal education processes in traditional communities such as those of the Māori in New Zealand, in the 1930s, and Pukapuka in the northern Cook Islands, in the 1970s. Lastly, it provides some examples of a range of particularly influential curricula, some of which have intentionally worked toward countering dominant, universalizing western discourses. These include Montessori, Reggio

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Emilia, developmentally appropriate practice (DAP), Te Whāriki, Te Kōhanga Reo, the anti-bias curriculum, and outdoor early education programs. The chapter concludes by suggesting that there is much that can be learned from the study of the strengths and contributions of these various programs, historically and currently, which can inform our decisions about early childhood care and education which will sustain children, families, communities, and our planet, into the future.

Keywords

Early childhood · Curriculum · Guided participation · Countering dominant discourses

Introduction

This chapter begins with consideration of the terms “curriculum” and “early childhood education” followed by an explication of some of the ideas of scholars who recorded views as to the core components of early years’ education. Traditional cultures, while allowing children freedom to explore, also provide opportunities for children to learn through the informal “curriculum” of observation and participation in the work of the community. Western models of early childhood education have been exported internationally while also having served as instruments for the colonization of Indigenous people. Meanwhile, the democratic ideal of the empowerment of young children to act responsibly and in concert for the collective well-being of their communities can be seen as another overarching theme that is represented in many curricula across the ages and is illustrated in some of the selected case studies of various curricula overviewed later in the chapter.

The question of what is an early childhood education “curriculum” is contested, requiring contextually specific responses (File et al. 2012; Wood and Hedges 2016). It can be viewed as both formal and informal, hidden and explicit, ranging from a boxed set of materials accompanied by a teacher’s manual, to a philosophical guide accompanied by exemplars, or considered to be the full set of experiences available to the young child within the home and/or in an education setting (File et al. 2012; New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996). Early childhood curricula have drawn on a range of theoretical domains, some of which have focused on the processes of children’s growth and learning and expected developmental or culturally determined outcomes, while others have been more concerned with subject knowledge and skills (Wood and Hedges 2016). The education of young children takes place in both formal and informal settings, from homes and communities to public facilities, some focusing predominantly on “child care” for working parents and others on preparation for school, with more recent recognition of the importance of integrating both care *and* education for all young children, from the youngest infants through to school-age children (May 2013).

One of the interesting paradoxes regarding early childhood education curricula is the tension between the long-standing recognition of the importance of the early years as foundational to future learning and life in general and the reluctance of

governments to accept that this period of life requires educational oversight beyond that of the child's family. Along with a comparative lack of financial resourcing of this sector in relation to schooling and tertiary education, this situation has meant that there has been less emphasis on producing early childhood education curricula.

Over the centuries, scholars fascinated with the growth and learning of young children have engaged with the question of what might be "appropriate" curriculum for this period of life. Central to much of this literature is the recognition that for young children, play is a key source of their learning. As John Dewey wrote in 1933: "There is, then, nothing mysterious or mystical in the discovery made by Plato and remade by Froebel that play is the chief, almost the only, mode of education for the child in the years of later infancy" (Dewey 1933, p. 210). For Dewey, "*Playfulness* is a more important consideration than play" (Dewey 1933, p. 210) [italics in original]. Dewey associated this internal disposition to play with an attitude toward learning which allows children to develop not only their sense-making capacities but also their creativity and ingenuity. Part One of this chapter explores how key historical educational philosophers conceived the components of early childhood curriculum.

The scope of this chapter is such that only an admittedly selective overview can be provided. The reader may wish to pursue longer, more in-depth histories of early childhood education and curriculum (see for example: Lascarides and Hinitz 2011; May 1997; Nutbrown et al. 2008; Prochner 2009; Wolfe 2000). This chapter begins with a brief historical overview of key early childhood education curriculum theorists. This is followed by discussion of traditional modes of supporting young children's growth and development. Lastly some examples of the contestation of developmentalist discourses are provided.

Part One: A Brief Historical Overview of Early Years' Educational Ideas

Historically in many countries, learning in the early years of life has not been viewed as part of the formal education system. Young children have participated fully in the lives of the parents, siblings, and wider family and community members. This learning has been described, from a sociocultural perspective, as being informed by "guided participation" within the everyday activities of the child's family and environs (Rogoff 2003). The work of even very young children has been and continues to be a valuable contribution to sustaining the well-being of the family in many societies and countries, while the care of young children has been the shared responsibility of older siblings, parents, and/or the elders of the community. Meanwhile, there have been a range of western philosophers and scholars who have published works outlining their understandings of the ways in which adults might support the growth and learning of young children. In this section, some examples of these ideas are outlined, demonstrating some of the antecedents for early childhood curricula in the modern era. These include the recognition of the importance of the formative nature of the early years and thus early years' education; play as central in young children's growth and learning including practical play activities such as

construction and gardening; the role of the senses along with learning in and from nature; transmission of the cultural knowledges contained in traditional stories and poetry; freedom for young children from formal lessons; the great variety in the ways that individual children learn and arrive at different readiness periods for growth and learning; and the role of the adult in both observing and supporting young children's growth and learning.

Tracing the history of curriculum in early childhood as far back as the time of the Greek philosophers Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) and Plato (427–347 B.C.), we can note that both advocated for the value of play, exercise, and stories for young children. Plato considered that play should offer practical experience that would prepare them for later life, such as “building children's houses” or gardening (as cited in Wolfe 2000, p. 9). He also stressed the role of adult observation in enabling an understanding of children's needs and interests and to enable planning of their education accordingly.

Both Aristotle and Plato highlighted the importance of early education and environment in the preparation of future contributing citizens of their democracy, although this was focused on boys more than girls in this patriarchal society (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011). Later, the Roman writer Quintilian (A.D. 35–100) identified stages of child development and advocated that young children should be provided with moral guidance and praise, as well as tasks that suited their level of ability. The Romans viewed play as practice for later life (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011).

According to the medievalist scholar Philippe Ariès, during the Middle Ages, there was little distinction “between children and adults, in dress or in work, or in play” (1960, p. 59). However, other scholars point to the burgeoning of parenting advice books by the fifteenth century (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011). These offered a clear moral imperative that parents ensure that their young children receive an education and for parents and teachers to be good role models.

The educational philosopher Jan Amos Komensky or Comenius (1592–1628), who was born in Moravia, now part of the Czech Republic, envisioned an education which was guided by sensory experience of nature (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011; Wolfe 2000). His guide, *The School of Infancy*, advised that young children should have knowledge of nature, including plants and animals; of astronomy, local geography, and politics; and of household matters. Children should be encouraged to play freely, where possible with real objects. Stories and fables were to be utilized as a conveyance for moral guidance. Education should match the developmental pace of the child, and parents should provide equipment, safe spaces, and other children with whom to play (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011).

The British scholar John Locke (1632–1704) recognized the impact of an infant's early upbringing in the home as “crucial to the development of good character” (May 1997, p. 5). He also advocated for children to have “freedom to grow, play, experiment, and make mistakes” and for adults to encourage children's curiosity (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011, p. 48). Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who lived mostly in France, advocated for the removal of the tight infant swaddling wrappings which, while inducing passivity, were undoubtedly unhygienic, unhealthy, and

unconducive to well-being or learning. In contrast to Locke's notion of the view of the child as a "tabula rasa" or blank slate, Rousseau believed that children were born both good and free and thus should learn from their exploration within the world of nature (Wolfe 2000).

In Switzerland, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) upheld a concern for social justice, in particular for the impacts of poverty and other societal power imbalances (Wolfe 2000). Unlike previous scholars, Pestalozzi actually *applied* his ideas as a teacher, relishing the sense of empowerment that his pupils experienced. He had a holistic view of the child, as comprising "the hand, heart, and head" and advocating for learning through practical activity. He was against punishment, intimidation, or rewards as teaching strategies, directing teachers to reflect on their educational processes rather than blame children for inattention. He likened teachers to gardeners: "But what is the true type of education? It is like the art of the gardener under whose care a thousand trees blossom and grow" (as cited in Wolfe 2000, p. 63). He developed a curriculum of instructional methods which, once published, were widely influential.

This "garden" metaphor reappears in the work of German educator Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel (1782–1852). Froebel, who was influenced by Pestalozzi, is acknowledged as the originator of the "kindergarten" curriculum, having coined this term (children's garden) for his schools for young children. Froebel articulated a curriculum based on his understandings of children's stages of development and designed a set of equipment (he called these "gifts") and occupations to enable this (Wolfe 2000). For Froebel, "Play is the highest phase of child development. . .for it is self-active representation of the inner. . .necessity and impulse [and] gives, therefore, joy, freedom, contentment, inner and outer rest, peace with the world" (as cited in Wolfe 2000, p. 113). His primary goal was "to lead children early to think" (as cited in Wolfe 2000, p. 114). Froebel's program of "indoor and outdoor play space, opportunities for gardening, nature study, outings, songs and games, educational playthings (the gifts), and handcrafts (the occupations) laid the foundation for early childhood curriculum as it is today" (May 1997, p. 55). All these foundational ideas regarding early childhood curriculum, albeit briefly sketched in this overview, not only challenged the norms of their day but came to have a wide-ranging influence on future iterations of formal early childhood curricula.

Responsive and Progressive Twentieth-Century Innovations

The infant schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a response to the realities of their particular contexts, many being posited as philanthropic or reformist remedies for the social ills of young children being left unattended while carefully couched in ways that would not challenge the doctrine of women's place being in the home (May 1997). Dr. Maria Montessori's (1870–1952) began her Casa dei Bambini in 1907. The Italian scholar, feminist, peace activist, and innovative progressive educator was the first Italian woman who gain a medical degree. After becoming interested in education, she did further study in experimental

psychology and “pedagogical anthropology,” applying her observational skills and critical analysis to developing an extensive pedagogical philosophy and curriculum for the education of young children. Montessori had a strong sense of social justice, extending the notion of human rights to both women and children (Wolfe 2000). She was critical of the “monotonous servitude” and competitive nature of schooling which failed to counter social ills such as war and racism (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011, pp. 163–164). She considered the young child to have an “absorbent mind” and that infancy was the time for education of the senses as well as social education (Lascarides and Hinitz 2011, pp. 148–149). Her understandings of young children’s growth and development recognized what she termed “sensitive periods” in which children focus on particular interests or objectives, such as walking, talking, and “becoming involved in understanding the civil rights of others and establishing a community with them” (Maria’s son Mario Montessori, as cited in Lascarides and Hinitz 2011, p. 151). Montessori was critical of the schooling methods of the time which required children to sit for hours in rows of benches or desks, while their teachers “pour out dried facts” into their heads, manipulating them with prizes and punishments (Montessori 1914, p. 21). She wrote that “In such a school the children, like butterflies mounted on pins, are fastened each to his place, the desk, spreading the useless wings of barren and meaningless knowledge which they have acquired” (Montessori 1914, p. 14).

Montessori’s program employed neither prizes nor punishment. It aimed to heighten children’s powers of observation, particularly of “the phenomena of life,” and to inspire children with a “feeling for nature” via an “education of the senses” (Montessori 1914, pp. xi–xii). Her “method” included gardening and horticulture, the careful use of a range of purpose-specific, “didactic” (self-correcting) materials, along with a set of exercises for everyday practical life such as sweeping, sorting and stringing beads, and shoelace tying. Her program, initially established for poor children in Italy, became popular with middle-class families around the world, but was also criticized for its lack of creativity, cooperation, and free play (May 1997).

Another original and influential Italian articulation of early childhood curriculum is that of the philosophy developed later in the twentieth century, under the leadership of Loris Malaguzzi (1920–1994) in post-World War II in the city of Reggio Emilia in Northern Italy. It is renowned for its honoring of children’s creativity and collectivity and its valuing of the environment and aesthetics. Children are viewed as active co-constructors of knowledge, as social beings, and as rights holders (Soler and Miller 2003). Listening is considered by Carlina Rinaldi, who succeeded Malaguzzi as the director of Reggio Emilia services, to be at the heart of this curriculum, serving as a metaphor for dispositions of openness, curiosity, sensorial receptivity, and awareness of interior and exterior emotions (Rinaldi 2006). The curriculum created in Reggio Emilia has, like the Montessori method, become popular in other countries. Particular aspects that have been adopted include a particular aesthetic incorporating art using recycled materials, the facilitation of long-term projects led by children, and careful, detailed pedagogical documentation (Eckhoff and Spearman 2009). The importing of curricula developed elsewhere, sometimes without authenticity and often as a marketing ploy, has been critiqued

(Johnson 2000). Yet the transfer of curricular and pedagogical methods and systems across eras and cultures is undoubtedly a feature of early childhood curricula.

As formal early childhood curriculum began to be produced, themes raised by these early scholars can be identified, such as the recognition of different developmental readiness periods and the value of children learning through sensory exploration, having freedom to grow and learn through play and creativity, and connecting with the natural world. More recently, western models reflecting white western middle-class values such as “developmentally appropriate practice” have been critiqued for attempting to impose normativizing expectations that are not necessarily relevant or appropriate across diverse cultures (Mallory and New 1994; O’Loughlin 1992). In the remaining sections of this chapter, a trajectory of both informal and formal “early childhood education” is addressed, with reference to a range of different cultures and societies, both western and non-western, presented in the form of selected brief case studies.

Part Two: Traditional Modes of Rearing Young Children – A Curriculum of “Guided Participation”

All curricula are contextually derived and culturally and historically located. In the area of early childhood care and education, different cultural groups have historically developed different ways of rearing young children. In many traditional societies, young children were not segregated into separate child-focused arenas, but participated alongside adults to whatever extent they were capable. In the many countries that have been colonized, the imposition of the expectations, educational practices, and languages of the colonizers has impacted on the experiences, including learning opportunities, available for young children. As Barbara Rogoff notes, “Colonial education was central to empire building” (Rogoff 2003, p. 344). Inculcating western religious beliefs was a fundamental tool of the colonizers in their “civilizing mission,” based in their assumption of superiority and faith in their own values and belief systems as being the “One Best Way” (May et al. 2014). Traces of this assumption can be seen in curricula in early childhood that determine normative expectations for child development based on western values and research, which again ignore the diversity of experience, histories, beliefs, and knowledges held by those in traditional societies such as Indigenous peoples. In the rest of this chapter, selected examples are offered to illustrate some of the diverse manifestations of both formal and informal early childhood education curricula which have provided “counter-narratives” to dominant discourses (Wisneski 2012).

“Guided participation” is the phrase coined by the sociocultural theorist Barbara Rogoff to describe the way children learn within and from their sociocultural contexts (Rogoff 2003). It includes not only intentional instruction but also the ways in which “children participate in the values, skills, and practices of their communities” by simply being present alongside others, observing, listening, and modelling their behaviors on those around them. Rogoff describes how in her cross-cultural studies: “Bridging between toddlers’ and parents’ understanding

appeared consistently in the widely different communities studied” (Rogoff 2003, p. 285). Their interactions involved a shared agenda and parents’ interpretation of preverbal children’s nonverbal communication, with reciprocal “readings” of emotional contexts. Rogoff emphasizes the active role that even very young children play in their own learning and socialization.

The values and beliefs of caregivers, the types of community practices, and the extent to which children can exercise their own choices all impact to determine the nature and range of experiences in which they participate or observe. In turn, observant caregivers are able to structure children’s involvement by scaffolding the children in increasing levels and depths of engagement. Narratives in the form of traditional stories, genealogies, songs, proverbs, and artwork are sources of knowledge for both intentional and peripheral instruction and learning. Activities that contribute to the well-being of the collective, such as sourcing and preparing foods, also provide a rich context for learning and the transmission of traditional knowledges. Opportunities for children to practice their new learning also feature as important within this sociocultural theoretical perspective. This can occur both in routines, whereby even very young children can serve food to others, for example, or during times when children are able to play freely, often away from the adult gaze. Play enables children to “try on” and practice adult roles and language formats. Children often share their own unofficial curriculum of games and expectations aside from the adult gaze. In this sociocultural view, “curriculum” is not merely a written set of expectations for transmission by educators, but a wider assemblage of informal, contextually and culturally derived set of experiences, values, narratives, and practices.

Two short case studies of traditional early childhood learning follow, both of which illustrate the notions of guided participation as outlined above. One draws from the work of educationalist Rangimarie Rose Pere’s (1983) description of her rural Māori childhood in New Zealand in the 1930s. The second draws upon the ethnographic work of Robert Borofsky to describe the informal curriculum for early learning among the people of the Pacific Island of Pukapuka in the 1970s.

Ako: Traditional Māori Learning and Teaching in the 1930s

Ako is the Māori term for the reciprocal process of learning and teaching. Māori educationalist Rangimarie Rose Pere was raised by her grandparents in a small traditional Māori community in Ohiwa, near Lake Waikaremoana. She describes her early childhood learning experiences as follows:

I slept, ate, played, worked and learnt alongside four generations, and was never excluded from anything my grandparents were involved with, including attending celebrations, tangihanga (ceremonial mourning), and many other gatherings. I learnt through observation and participation. It was my grandparents’ generation, and older, who influenced most of my learning in those early formative years. (Pere 1983, p. 2)

The Māori value of *manaakitanga* includes the obligation to care; to be kind, respectful, and generous; and to offer good hospitality (Benton et al. 2013). Children were expected to “learn how graciously to give or accept kindness and hospitality right from the time they could help with the preparation of food” (Pere 1983, p. 66). Even young children participated in the work of hosting guests, each contributing “at their own level of competence” (Pere 1983, p. 39). Children were expected to be polite and respectful, and humility and observation skills were valued:

Consideration and respect for other people is developed at an early stage in a child’s upbringing through the protocol that applies to *hui*. The first concern is for people and their needs, so one learns to observe people very closely. (Pere 1983, pp. 39–40)

Similarly, children participated alongside adults in ensuring the sustenance for the well-being of the extended family:

The planting, harvesting and storing of crops, and the need to know and respect the land were all part of the children’s learning. The children were exposed to patterns of regular activity, For example, seasons, plant and animal rhythms, family and community gatherings. These patterns of learning were necessary and important. (Pere 1983, p. 50)

Elders, the highly respected repositories of tribal knowledge, taught children their “history, mythology, tribal and local legends, tribal sayings, *waiata* (variety of chants and songs), genealogy, *karakia* (invocations), various crafts, hand-games and other leisurely pursuits” (Pere 1983, p. 49). This teaching began in utero and continued in the form of “chants and songs that lulled babies and children off to sleep” that contained genealogical knowledge and detailed accounts of their ancestors’ successes as well as failures (Pere 1983, p. 53). Spiritual well-being as a vitally important part of this learning underpinned all activities and spiritual learning was present from birth:

Babies and children developed an appreciation of their inherent spirituality through being exposed to such things as *karakia* (incantations, invocations), or to people talking about their own spiritual experiences. This is a natural part of everyday living. The spiritual world became just as meaningful and present for the children as the physical world that surrounded them.

Pere highlights “the warmth and affection that traditional Maori people have for children, including babies” (Pere 1983, p. 59). She states that “children were acknowledged as having rights and could always find a sanctuary somewhere within the kinship group if there was strife at home” (Pere 1983, p. 60). Pere explains that for Māori, “Sensual experiences are encouraged, including the development and usage of intuitive intelligence” (Pere 1983, p.68). Furthermore, “Recognition and respect are given to what the child already knows” (Pere 1983, p. 70). Lastly, in accordance with the collectivist nature of traditional Māori society:

[whilst] the individuality of each child is fostered and encouraged. . . the individual learns that the quality of her own life and the survival of the whole are dependent on the contribution she makes to the group and on how well she adjusts to the demands that the group imposes. (Pere 1983, p. 70)

The rich descriptions provided by Rose Pere demonstrate a child-centered informal learning curriculum in action, the processes of guidance and participation serving to prepare the child to take her place knowledgeably and confidently within the genealogical pathway paved by her ancestors.

Pukapuka: A Pacific Island Culture in the 1970s

The Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka in the northern Cook Islands was in the late 1970s the site for ethnographer Robert Borofsky's work (Borofsky 1987), which provides another example of an informal curriculum of guided participation for young children in which learning occurs "within situationally relevant contexts" (Borofsky 1987, p. 78). As in Pere's narrative above, on Pukapuka children learned much through the stories related by their elders, which children were eager to hear.

As with Māori and other Polynesian societies, children were included as of right in most of the everyday activities of their families and community. Observation and listening were key strategies for both participation and learning. Taavini reported that as a child:

I mainly watched the people making things and then I would try myself to do it. I would try doing it and it would be correct. That is the way I learned making hats; we (taua) would watch the people who knew how to make hats; then we would know how to make them. (as cited in Borofsky 1987, p. 81)

Listening was valued more highly than questioning. In fact, "extensive questioning by children is generally discouraged" (Borofsky 1987, p. 83). An elder related how she had learned through observation, but without questioning:

I learned by observation while next to. . . the old people as they made these things. I would watch and then I would know how to make them. I did not ask people questions. (as cited in Borofsky 1987, p. 81)

Neither direct instruction nor direct praise was apparent as strategies to foster learning. Unlike in traditional Māori communities where children were not punished (Salmond 1991; Smith 1995), on Pukapuka, children were physically beaten. Children however perceived themselves to be agentic learners, Borofsky having noted, for example, children telling him that they had deciphered the names of different fish on their own. Repeated observation and careful listening were the socially valued processes whereby young children eventually acquired mastery.

Part Three: Resisting Dominant Discourses

In this final section, we consider some examples of specific early childhood curriculum that deliberately set out to challenge dominant discourses. The New Zealand examples of the Kōhanga Reo movement and *Te Whāriki: He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: Early childhood curriculum* (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996) both demonstrate resistance to colonialist models which had suppressed the Indigenous culture and language. Lastly, the Anti-Bias Curriculum (Derman-Sparks and the A.B..C. Task Force 1989) from the 1980s in California, USA, proactively seeks to discuss issues of racism, culture, gender, and ableism.

Kōhanga Reo: Māori Language Nests and *Te Whāriki*, a “Bicultural” Curriculum

The Kōhanga Reo movement is a response to the threat of the loss of Māori language that was seen to be “dying out” by the 1970s due to the imposition of the British colonialist education system (Benton 1997). It was initiated in 1982, by Māori rather than government, to bring Māori elders who were the remaining speakers of the language together with infants and young children in order that a new generation of Māori speakers would be fostered. The curriculum of Te Kōhanga Reo has focused primarily on the support and fostering of te reo (the Māori language) and of whānau (extended families). Te Kōhanga Reo can be viewed as a Māori response to restore their mana (pride, esteem) and that of their language, in defiance of an education system that had almost destroyed the language as well as failing Māori educationally (Waitangi Tribunal 1986).

The first New Zealand national early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki* (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996), received impetus from Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR), with two of the four co-writers being nominated by the TKR National Trust (Nuttall 2003). The draft document (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1993) stipulated that in addition to considering “developmentally appropriate” practice, early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand was to reflect nationally, culturally, educationally, and individually appropriate learning experiences. Both the 1993 draft and 1996 curriculum aimed to contribute toward the sustenance of Māori language and culture, making these visible and affirming their value for children from all cultural backgrounds.

The acknowledgment of the importance of “culturally appropriate experiences” recognized that:

One of the purposes of the curriculum is to make available to the next generation the knowledge, skills, and attitudes which are regarded as valuable by their culture. Different cultures have different child-rearing patterns, beliefs and traditions. . . There may be differences in the way they make sense of their world, communicate with each other, and plan and live their lives. (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1993, p. 14)

The 1996 *Te Whāriki* defined “curriculum” as “the sum total of the experiences, activities, and events, whether direct or indirect, which occur within an environment designed to foster children’s learning and development” (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996, p. 10). *Te Whāriki* was positioned as the first “bicultural” curriculum statement developed in New Zealand (p. 7), in its recognition that “In early childhood education settings, all children should be given the opportunity to develop knowledge and an understanding of the cultural heritages of both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi,” recognizing the status of both the Indigenous Māori and the settler population (p. 9). It was inclusive to all children and families’ and their home languages and cultures, requiring that “The languages and symbols of their own and other cultures are promoted and protected” (p.16). It built on earlier philosophical and pedagogical approaches in recognizing the value for children in play and exploration, insisting that “their play is valued as meaningful learning and the importance of spontaneous play is recognised” (p. 16). It went further pedagogically, in asking teachers to take a dispositional approach, fostering in children dispositions for learning such as curiosity and persistence, and in encouraging children to develop working theories that expressed their understandings as they made sense of their worlds. Threads of the ideas of western theorists such as Friedrich Froebel, Urie Bronfenbrenner, and Jerome Bruner were interwoven within a “whāriki” (woven flax mat) derived from Māori philosophy. Traces of developmentalism were still visible, if not explicitly so, in the taken-for-granted assumptions underlying much early childhood practice in New Zealand, as elsewhere in the west at this time. As Farquhar and Flear wrote in 2007 of both Australian and New Zealand early childhood education: “We have as yet not seriously disrupted the western developmental perspectives as the main and only view of early childhood education” (Farquhar and Flear 2007, p. 42). The following example outlines a curriculum that deliberately sought to challenge dominant discourses regarding gender, culture, and ableism.

Anti-bias Curriculum: Resisting Developmentalism and the Normativization of Early Childhood

Developmental theory has been hugely influential in western early childhood education theory and practice. It was informed by the work of developmental psychologists such as Stanley Hall (1846–1924) in the USA and the French biologist and psychologist, Jean Piaget (1896–1980). Developmental theory was primarily focused on cognition and cognitive development (Vejleskov 1999). It resulted in the expectations of “normal” stages of development, which were to be used to assess children’s progress. The Piagetian child came to be conceptualized as an individual “researcher” whose development would gradually advance through predictable stages as the child continued to explore “his” world. The difficulties of the influence of such a dominant discourse on curriculum and pedagogy can be seen in whereby in Piaget’s thinking, a characteristic of the pre-operational child (aged between 2 and 7 years) is egocentrism. If this assumption informs curriculum and pedagogy, there

may be little attempt to encourage empathy and cooperation, as these might be considered developmentally inappropriate aspirations. Thus, the “theory. . . creates its own truth” (Ingleby 1986, p. 312). The pervasiveness of applications of Piagetian child development theory is an example of the proclivity of western researchers to claim the right to name the world and, in naming the world, to create “truths” which have come to be applied as “universal knowledge” (Ingleby 1986).

Meanwhile, the work of theorists Jerome Bruner (1915–2016), Urie Bronfenbrenner (1917–2005), and Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934) challenged curriculum and pedagogy to address sociocultural considerations of early education processes, broadening the individualized, western lens of developmental psychology. In 1990 the US National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) produced a document: “Developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs serving children from birth through age 8” (Bredekamp 1990). While hugely influential in the USA and elsewhere, developmentally appropriate practice (DAP) was criticized for its normative approach which lacked recognition of cultural and socioeconomic differences (Cross 1995; Jipson 1991; Lubeck 1994; O’Loughlin 1992). In response to such challenges, the subsequent edition (Bredekamp and Copple 1997) “explicitly acknowledges the powerful influence of [social and cultural] context on all development and learning” (Bredekamp and Copple 1997, p. 41). Fendler has pointed out that “flexible is not necessarily free, developmentality is not necessarily appropriate, and interaction is not necessarily democratic” (Fendler 2001, p. 121, as cited in Farquhar and Flear 2007, p. 34). Developmentalism has continued to be critiqued as “privileging culturally narrow and/or ethnocentric individualistic goals” for children (Mac Naughton 2003, p. 177).

Other theorists, such as Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Edgerton and Roberts 2014), Michel Foucault (1980), and Antonia Darder (1991), have challenged educators to recognize the hidden power effects associated with regimes of truth and the way in which the cultural capital of certain groups of society is ignored by members of the dominant culture. Inequities were recognized as being perpetuated through pedagogical processes that reinforced the status quo, with curriculum being designed and delivered by the dominant groups with society, ignoring the invisibilization of the languages and cultures of Indigenous and other cultures and the impact this had on those children.

In response to this issue, a range of pedagogical approaches sought to recognize the centrality of culture in children’s identities and learning, such as:

- Culturally relevant pedagogy (Bartolome 1994; Bowman 1991; Darder 1991; Ladson-Billings 1995; O’Loughlin 1995)
- Culturally responsive pedagogy (Osborne 1991)
- Culturally sensitive approaches (Gonzalez-Mena 1992; Mangione et al. 1993)
- Culturally consistent and inclusive programs (Booze et al. 1996)
- Culturally congruent critical pedagogy (Hyun 1998)
- Educationally effective cultural compatibility (C. Jordan 1985; Cathie Jordan 1995)

- Culturally appropriate early childhood education (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996)

All of these approaches recognized the “problem of discontinuity” between home and educational setting experienced by learners who are not members of the white middle-class dominant culture (Ladson-Billings 1995, p. 159). It is clear that uneven power effects will continue to pervade early childhood practice, unless the traces of developmentalism guiding frameworks and curriculum are overtly challenged.

Many members of the writing team of the *Anti-bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children* (Derman-Sparks and the A.B..C. Task Force 1989) were associated with Pacific Oaks College, an early childhood teacher education provider in Pasadena, California, that was founded with strong Quaker values of community, equality, peace, and progressive education. This curriculum provided both a philosophical rationale and practical pedagogies for challenging “racism, sexism, and handicapism” (Derman-Sparks and the A.B..C. Task Force 1989, p. ix). Not only did it aim at empowering children from different ethnic backgrounds and genders and with disabilities; it also challenged the assumptions of privilege of those who were white, male, and able-bodied. It was upfront about its progressive political positioning:

[The A.B..C.] “is values based: Differences are good; oppressive ideas and behaviors are not. It sets up a creative tension between respecting differences and not accepting unfair beliefs and acts. It asks teachers to confront troublesome issues rather than covering them up. (Derman-Sparks and the A.B..C. Task Force 1989, p. x)

As an example of its stance, the A.B..C. Curriculum critiqued “multicultural” approaches as potentially being a form of “tourist curriculum” that “teaches about cultures through celebrations and through such “artifacts” of the culture as food, traditional clothing, and household implements,” often on a special day each year, such as Chinese New Year (Derman-Sparks and the A.B..C. Task Force 1989). In this mode, the dominant white western culture remains ubiquitously invisible, and its privilege remains unchallenged. The A.B..C. Curriculum required teachers to proactively create an anti-bias environment, utilizing images, books, and equipment that is representative of diverse children and families and eliminating stereotypical materials. Engagement with actual community events and activism was recommended, as was critique of the misrepresentation of First Nations Peoples that was often perpetuated during celebrations such as “Thanksgiving.”

Furthermore, it asked teachers to similarly interrogate the nature of their own interactions. The use of narratives enacted by “persona” dolls was recommended as a technique to illustrate how children with different abilities and from diverse backgrounds might experience discriminatory behavior, often mirroring actual experiences in the classroom, such as children using the term “Chinese” as an insult. The proactive use of the personal dolls aimed at honoring children’s emotions, enabling their fears to be recognized and validated in a safe and respectful manner.

The A.B..C. Curriculum conformed to developmentalist discourse in providing sets of “developmental tasks and guidelines for child-teacher interactions” for the various age groups. However, using the anti-bias lens opened up spaces for conversations, such as in the guidelines for 2-year-olds, which suggested that diaper changing and toileting are opportunities for casual conversations about aspects such as gender identity and skin color. Both baby dolls and art materials which have a range of skin colors were recommended for supporting this learning.

Engagement with parents was advocated, beginning with establishing open dialogue and the creation of safe spaces for parents to engage with issues of discrimination and privilege in their own and their children’s lives. As with *Te Whāriki*, parents were to be involved with curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation.

Conclusion and Future Directions: Responding to Global Challenges

Curricula for young children reflect the history, politics, and cultures of the society in which they have emerged, including the educational ideas that were current, along with beliefs and practices in relation to young children, families, and childrearing, attitudes with regard to the role of women, and views regarding the responsibilities of government (May 2013).

Historically, young children were very much an intrinsic part of the everyday life of the community, while contemporary western models of early childhood curriculum tend to separate even very young children to be cared for in educational settings outside of the home. The quality of these experiences is dependent not only on the mandated curriculum but also on the qualifications of the teachers, the ratios of teachers to children, the group size, and the environment and resourcing. The brief overview of selected early childhood education curricula outlined above has highlighted philosophies that aim beyond merely supporting children’s physical and cognitive development, toward supporting children to learn dispositions of respect, fairness, and concern for others. Continuities traced across the curricula examined include a respect for young children’s freedom, rights, and agency as learners and as contributing members of a community; approaches that foster dispositions such as playfulness, observation, curiosity, and attunement with nature; and intergenerational transmission of culturally valued knowledge via legends, songs, stories, and poetry.

Currently, the UNESCO Sustainable Development Goals call upon educators in all the world’s countries to embrace curricula that will enhance children’s dispositions for caring for fellow citizens and for our planet, oceans, lands, forests, wetlands, and living creatures (UNESCO 2017; UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Project 2016). There is a growing global movement in response to concern for our planet’s well-being that suggests that young children should have experiences in the outdoors on a regular basis, thus engendering a disposition of

attunement with the natural world and concern for the sustenance of biodiversity. Responsiveness to this concern is evident in the Australian early years framework, *Belonging, Being and Becoming* (Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2009), and in the recently refreshed New Zealand early childhood curriculum *Te Whāriki* (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2017). Other models such as Forest Schools in Europe, the UK, and elsewhere, along with bush kinder in Australia, provide similar opportunities for children to experience the outdoors on a regular basis (Elliott and Chancellor 2014; Waite et al. 2016). This chapter has provided illustrative examples of different forms and focuses of early childhood curricula, with the intention of generating reflection and discussion on the nature of curriculum, the groups that are served by these, and the potential for these benefits to contribute to the wider well-being of collectives, inclusive of the global community of life into the future.

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Resistance to, and Development of, Technical Education from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century

32

Special Reference to Britain, France, Germany, and Russia

Martyn Walker

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on the beginnings and developments of technical education with regard to four countries: Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. Technical education in this context refers to subjects and practical skills required to support early industrialization such as practical science, engineering, and building and construction. The four countries have been selected, not because they happen to be European, but because there are similarities and differences between the way they founded and developed their technical education, particularly during the nineteenth century. Britain was chosen as historians and economists are in agreement that it was the first country to industrialize on a large scale by the beginning of the nineteenth century. France was selected for its early technical developments despite the effects of political upheaval. Germany was studied for its early developments relating to apprenticeships and polytechnics, and Russia for its policy of developing technical education supported by expertise from other parts of Europe. Similar technical education developments were also taking place in other countries as and when they were industrializing on a large scale. Technical education curricula reflected the needs countries had in order to industrialize; and during the period of study, all four countries were offering

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similar subjects, albeit not at the same time or on the same scale. The chapter concludes with the opening decades of the twentieth century, by which time technical education had become firmly established.

Keywords

Technical education · History of education · Polytechnics · Technical education for industrialization · Politics and technical education · Development and history of European technical education · Working-class education

Introduction

This chapter discusses the history and developments of technical education in relation to four European countries: Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. Venables (1956) states that “whatever else may be said of technical education, it lacks neither problems nor promise” (p. 565). Venables, the then Principal of Birmingham College of Technology in England, highlighted in a book on technical education in England the complexity and challenges that technical education had in establishing its presence as part of what is commonly referred to as further education. Such education is voluntary beyond the school leaving age but is funded by the state. Moreover, were the “problems and promise” the same for the other countries described in this chapter?

Technical education is very complex in comparison to school-age compulsory education which at least, was, and is, fairly straightforward in that it offers elementary education in mathematics, humanities, the arts, sciences, foreign languages, and language of the country. Technical education, by contrast, was not, and is not, easy to define. This was made more complicated as traditionally, in Britain at least, it was not offered as part of the school curricula which, like technical education, was not state-funded on a large scale until the end of the nineteenth century but was originally only available to young people and adults.

During the nineteenth century, technical education was associated with the teaching of the arts and sciences relating to industrial expansion. In the case of Britain, Musgrave (1964) noted that in 1868, the “notion of technical education” was “almost entirely new to the country” (p. 105). Some 20 years later, in 1888, technical education had acquired “two distinct meanings, the teaching of a specific art or trade and instruction in elementary science bearing on all arts or trade and the training of hand and eye” (p. 106). Summerfield and Evans (1990) noted that Bernard Samuelson, a British industrialist and Victorian campaigner for technical education, stated that it was “everything which prepares a man or woman for the walk of life which he or she intends to pursue” (p. 2). Samuelson identified the need for both working-class men and women to have the opportunity to have a technical education at a time when post-school education referred to university education for the sons of the upper classes attending the ancient universities, particularly Oxford and Cambridge. More recently, Buck (2012), referring to nineteenth-century Canada, states that “from its origins in manual training . . . and industrial arts, technical education has consisted of

practical and applied subject matter that reflects the practices of current society” (on-line). Magnus (1910) noted, with regard to Britain, that such education included “the branch or branches of technical education which have particular reference to the application of science to industrial processes” (p. 103).

This chapter will highlight that technical education, particularly state funded, did not always become established during industrialization, when it would be assumed most appropriate in supporting and developing technological advancement. Indeed, it has identified that some countries were establishing technical education during the eighteenth century, prior to their early industrial activity.

The Beginnings of Technical Education

By the mid-eighteenth century, many European countries were slowly beginning to change from agrarian to industrial society with subsequent urbanization, albeit at different rates and at different times. Skills and expertise transmitted from father to son and mother to daughter were no longer relevant for the industrial age. Emerging technological developments, initially using water and wind power, tended to be ad hoc and discoveries by the first generation of industrialists were made through trial and error with few having had little or no formal education.

Historians and economists are in general agreement that Britain was the earliest country to fully industrialize and, as such, is often referred to as the first industrial nation. Early industrial developments were taking place between the 1780s and early 1800s. Crucially, they were not triggered by an “educated” class as both school and university education was only for the privileged few as there was no state funding. At both school and university, the curriculum was based on English, mathematics, history, and the classics. Science, particularly practical science, and technical education generally were seen as of little relevance to the professional classes, bureaucrats, future members of parliament, or the gentry. Industrialists and inventors were mostly from the lower ranks of society, self-taught, and there was “every reason to suppose that the British Industrial Revolution was achieved despite a workforce extensively illiterate” (Stephens 1998, p. 57).

Yet it was “a workforce extensively illiterate” that identified the potential for “modernization” in their respective industries through problem solving to support expansion. For example, engineers, who often learned their skills as wheelwrights and watchmakers, mine workers, and shipwrights, began to develop skills and inventions which supported industrialization. Watch makers and wheelwrights, for example, used their skills for designing and building machines, initially water-powered, for the newly established mills. With the rapid demand for coal, mines became deeper and required steam-powered water pumps to prevent flooding and mechanical equipment for quick and efficient ways of bringing it to the surface. George Stephenson could not read or write and yet as a coal miner in the North East of England, he developed a steam engine to power the colliery headgear, previously done by miners carrying coal to the surface in buckets using ladders or by horse power, using pulley systems. While this may be an oversimplification, there were

many from humble backgrounds who had had little or no education and who went on to become inventors and industrialists. The key factor is that technical education, and indeed school-age education, was almost nonexistent and therefore made no significant contribution to early industrialization in Britain.

There were, however, various societies that had been established during the eighteenth century in support of science and technology, particularly through the Scottish Enlightenment Movement and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, more commonly referred to as the Society of Arts, which was founded in 1754 specifically to support technological developments in both agriculture and industry. It was, however, only the wealthy elite educated classes that benefited from such societies and in the main it was intellectual science and the arts for those with a theoretical interest rather than an understanding of application required to support the practical skills of workers specifically for the new industrial age. Such institutions were, in any case, privately funded with income from membership fees to support lectures and to have access to libraries which were often attached to them.

A significant education establishment was the Andersonian Institute, opened in 1796 and named after its founder, James Anderson. It supported working men in Glasgow and established a reputation for offering technical education in the form of practical science, particularly chemistry. George Birkbeck, one of its professors, would become an important personality in establishing the Mechanics' Institutes Movement in nineteenth-century Britain which would spread to other parts of the world, including the USA, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

Green (1995) points out that despite other countries, notably France and Germany, that were not yet as advanced as Britain with their industrial developments, had already established technical education which was well-organized, on a large scale and offered courses at both elementary and higher level, particularly through the newly developing polytechnics. These were first established as early as the eighteenth century. The first one was the Berg Schola, which was founded by the Court Chamber of Vienna in Hungary, now part of Slovakia, in 1735. It was established specifically to train specialists in precious metal and copper mining, both of which were expanding rapidly in the region. The oldest German polytechnic was founded in 1745. In France, the *École Polytechnique* was founded in 1799. However, in contrast to several European countries, with the exceptions of the Royal Polytechnic, founded in 1838, Woolwich Polytechnic, founded in 1891, and Borough Road Polytechnic, founded in 1892 (all in London), polytechnics in Britain would only be established after 1965, in response to a demand for degree-level courses in science and technology post-World War II. Many of these did become universities after 1992, gaining their own degree-granting powers. This is thus further evidence that Britain was behind with regards to technical education, only establishing polytechnics some 230 years after the first one was founded in Hungary.

France had established technical education before industrialization had really taken hold on the scale similar to that in Britain. Examples of educational institutions included the *Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées* (School of Bridges and Construction), which was opened as early as 1747, the *Ecole du Corps Royal du Génie* (School of

Royal Engineers) in 1749 and the Ecole des Mines (School of Mines) in 1783. As previously mentioned, the Ecole Polytechnique (Polytechnic) was opened in 1799, offering several kinds of technical education and relevant courses as its name indicates (Green 1995).

In the eighteenth century, while Britain was able to offer little technical education and both France and Germany were gaining state funding for supporting it, Russia was also aware of the need for adult education. According to Armytage (1962), Russia had “an absorbent economy, soaking up its real nutriment in the form of foreign capital, foreign methods, foreign machines, foreign technicians and engineers, and ideas” (p. 79). The Academy of Sciences, for example, was established in St Petersburg during the late eighteenth century for the purpose of sharing knowledge and intellect, with the Academy having foreign academics from various European capitals, particularly London, Paris, and Berlin. It was made up of three parts: a secondary school, an academy, similar to later further education colleges, and a university.

A School of Navigation and Military Engineering was also established in St Petersburg. The School offered mathematics, geodesy (branch of mathematics dealing with the shape and area of the earth or large portions of it), cartography sailing, astronomy, and various engineering and technical subjects, all supported with up-to-date specialist laboratories. The School was not only to become the first but also the biggest institution of its type in Europe. In the same city, an Engineering School was founded in 1713 and a mining college in 1733. These were equal in status to the academies. A medical school was also founded at around the same time and by 1799, a more advanced military medical school had been established which in 1835 was to become part of the University of St Petersburg.

Britain had been the first country to industrialize substantially, with the textile industry being the first to do so. According to Rostow (1959), the textile industry was the first in a country to industrialize as it had a mass home market as its population expanded, requiring machines and power to replace hand spinning and weaving so as to speed up processes and export large quantities to other parts of the world where industrialization had not yet been established. These factors stimulated growth in other industries, such as coal, engineering, as well as transport, banking, and so on. Yet by the end of the eighteenth century, technical education seems to have had no serious impact on industry in Britain and yet was firmly established in France, Germany, and Russia, even though they were some years behind with industrialization. The study of technical education in the nineteenth century will go some way to explain why this was the case.

Nineteenth Century Technical Education

In Britain, by the early decades of the nineteenth century many working people were not educated or trained to work in what was becoming a rapidly industrializing society. Yet, there was a growing need for substantial scientific and technical advances that were required for such developments to be successful. This included

developments in engineering, building, and transport. Water power was being replaced with steam power which required skilled engineers, particularly boiler makers to build the engines, for mills and later transport, and operatives who could also maintain and repair the machines. In order for this to be successful, workers needed to be able to read and write as well as learning skills for new manufacturing processes. Yet government had little or no interest in the need to establish and fund technical instruction or, indeed, elementary education for children.

The School of Arts in Edinburgh was opened in 1821 and provided practical knowledge of science and technology to Edinburgh's working men. The institution was initially of modest size, giving lectures two nights a week in rented rooms with a small library of around 500 technical publications. It seems to have been over-subscribed despite the high cost of 15 shillings for a year's access to lectures and the library.

However, as a result of its success, similar institutions for working men were established across the whole of Britain. They were often referred to as mechanics' institutes and were originally formed to provide adult working-class education, particularly in technical and scientific subjects. They were funded by local industrialists on the grounds that their businesses would benefit from having more educated and skilled employees. A substantial number of institutes were also financed by the Temperance Society, a social movement against the consumption of alcohol, providing education as an alternative to gambling and drinking in public houses. Initially, these institutes were rooms or properties that their committees rented from landlords and sometimes included a small collection of books for members.

In Britain, a number of administrative unions were set up, including the Lancashire and Cheshire Union with the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, the latter being the largest in the country. These, and other Unions, became known as the Mechanics' Institute Movement and which over time spread to other parts of the world. Many colleges of further education and several universities can trace their origins back to their local institute in Britain and overseas. Similar educational establishments, often under different names such as philosophical societies and literary and scientific institutions, were established across Britain and were associated with the Mechanics' Institute Movement. George Birkbeck, having previously taught at the Andersonian Institute, and Lord Brougham, MP, and supporter of adult education in Parliament, established the London Mechanics' Institute and gradually the Movement expanded to other parts of Britain and particularly, but not exclusively, in the industrializing towns of the North and the Midlands. By 1850, there were well over 600 institutions throughout the country (Walker 2016). It was common for these institutes to offer classes and public lectures in pure science rather than practical trades. As Hudson (1851) observed, the curriculum was "not suitable or relevant for the working class" (p. iv). The crux of the problem was that without having had an elementary education and a good understanding of practical science, such classes and public lectures would be of little interest or relevance to laborers or operatives. As a result, many institutes closed.

With rebranding, through offering elementary education, particularly in reading, writing, arithmetic, and science to adults who had never had the opportunity to attend school, the Institute Movement reestablished itself in many parts of the country. The institutes were able to offer additional subjects such as “geometry, mechanics, surveying, hydrostatics, electricity, chemistry, geology, steam engine design, textiles and industrial art” (Inkster 1975, p. 457). Public lectures were given on a wide range of subjects relevant to local industry.

However, in comparison to other industrializing countries, Green (1995) points out that Britain was still offering theoretical rather than practical science. Indeed, without universal elementary education, it was difficult to learn either practical or theoretical knowledge required to support apprenticeships and trade skills. In any case, skilled workers were reluctant to attend local institutes as they were concerned that their skills and expertise might be copied by others who perhaps were not as motivated to learn as they were. They believed that knowledge was power in that it protected their jobs and supported employment opportunities. In countries such as France and Germany, where there was state-funded education and training, this was not such a serious problem since there was an opportunity for those who were capable, and keen, to take advantage of free elementary and advanced technical education.

In Britain, where only a small percentage of the working class could afford to attend their local institute as fees were high in relation to weekly wages. In any case, the quality of teaching varied substantially and was delivered in rented accommodation which was often not conducive to learning. This highlights two serious concerns. Firstly that institutes relied on patrons and membership fees and secondly, classes and lectures were not delivered in purpose-built educational establishments. This was in contrast to state funding and permanent technical education institutions being established from the mid-eighteenth century in other countries including France, Germany, and Russia.

However, despite these challenges, Britain was establishing design schools for the purpose of offering industrial art and design to young people and adults and by 1858 there were 56 such schools (Green 1995, p. 135). Science schools were also introduced but were slow to develop, partly at least due to only £898 forthcoming from government in 1858 to support such institutions. The Department of Science, which distributed funds on behalf of government, had been founded in 1853, following the findings of the 1851 Great Exhibition and was very active in distributing what funds government provided for technical science. When the Department became integrated with the Board of Education in 1899, following the findings of the Samuel Commission in 1885, state education was becoming better organized and more funds were forthcoming.

Despite industrialization, British Parliament was still made up of aristocratic landowners and not industrialists. Government believed the economy worked best if industry and markets were not regulated and that society generally should take care of itself, commonly referred to as *laissez-faire* (leave alone). The political class expected industrialists to educate their workforce as they saw fit from their own profits and capital.

The lack of political interest or involvement by government, particularly with regard to state funding for both elementary and technical education, was challenged by the experience of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the first international exhibition of its kind in the world. Mass produced exhibits from Europe, particularly from France and Germany, as well as the USA, were generally of better quality and cheaper to produce and purchase than those available in Britain. The quality and development of many industrial products from overseas shook the British government as it was feared the country's industrial position as Workshop of the World might stall and be superseded by its political and industrial rivals. Certainly, the quality and price of goods from overseas were already impacting on the economy.

As a result of the shock of the Great Exhibition, two Royal Commissions were set up by government to investigate why Britain was seemingly being overtaken by overseas competition. The Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science carried out its inquiry between 1870 and 1875. It recommended that good practical science teaching be offered in schools and adult institutions, some 5 years after the passing of the first Education Act in 1870, when some town councils were funding elementary education for children (Maclure 1986). The Commission was chaired by the Duke of Devonshire, himself a University of Cambridge mathematics graduate and MP.

The Royal Commission Report on Technical Instruction was chaired by Bernhard Samuelson who was an industrialist, educationalist, and MP. He was born in Hamburg, Germany, and came to England when his father became a merchant in Yorkshire. The Commissioners traveled overseas to see what was happening with regards to technical education and training, particularly in the USA, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, and Holland.

The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction was published in 1884, and it recommended that grants be made available for secondary and technical education, and "that local authorities be empowered, if they thought fit, to establish, maintain, and contribute to the establishment and maintenance of secondary and technical schools and colleges" through a local tax (Maclure 1986, pp. 121–122). The devil was in the detail: "if [local authorities] thought fit." This meant that local authorities in towns and districts could decide to provide funding through a local tax but in reality, very few did. In retrospect, the local authorities would not have been able to fund such education to the level required when compared to national state funding being available in France, Germany, Russia, and other countries.

Considering that the 1851 Great Exhibition had raised grave concerns, both Royal Commissions were slow in submitting their findings. The Devonshire Report was published some 25 years and the Samuelson Report 34 years after the 1851 Exhibition with little sign of increased government funding for supporting technical education and instruction. In the meantime, industrialization was continuing to develop and expand successfully overseas. In Britain, the economy had gone into a depression during the 1870s. It is realistic to surmise that elementary and technical education was not being funded on the scale required to respond to the needs for supporting and developing new technology, and must have been a major contributory factor to the decline of the British economy.

However, the findings of both Reports, when they were finally published, did contribute to changes that supported funding. This included the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888 which resulted in the reorganization of County and County Borough Councils and included setting up new local authorities with responsibilities for education. The following year, the Technical Instruction Act (1889) was passed which gave local authorities powers to put 1d (one penny) on the rates for funding technical and manual instruction. Finally, in 1890, the Local Taxation Act was passed, putting a tax on beer and spirits, which is often referred to as “whisky money,” the proceeds of which were set aside specifically for technical education. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, a national system of education managed via local authorities with state funding raised from local taxation as well as financial support from central government was being established.

In Germany, mechanization of textile manufacture began to take place on a large scale by the 1840s, followed quickly by rapid industrial developments in the textile, iron, steel, and mining industries, with the state providing relevant technical education for a manufacturing workforce. Training and funding, which had been the responsibility of trade guilds from the Middle Ages, was taken over by the individual German states. This was a crucial factor. Germany was funding technical education while in Britain the medieval trade guilds still had some power of authority and, as has already been discussed, there was minimal government funding for education generally and technical education in particular.

Thus, Germany and France, as well as other countries, notably Russia and the USA, were industrializing on a more efficient scale to that in Britain. As they had not had to develop by “trial and error” they were able to “leap frog” Britain by learning from its developments and mistakes with regard to industrialization, as well as being supported with their state-funded general and technical education. This was evidenced at the international exhibition held in Paris in 1867, at which Britain’s industrialists were only awarded 10 out of the 90 prizes presented for originality and quality of its exhibits in comparison to those submitted from across Europe and North America (Sanderson 2001, p. 14).

As previously mentioned, Germany had also been offering state-funded higher technical education since the eighteenth century through its polytechnics and by the nineteenth century these were given the same recognition as universities, offering graduate-level courses. Subjects included science and engineering, covering a substantial number of subjects such as transport, building, power sources, and chemistry for industry. Apart from general polytechnics, there were also specialist polytechnics such as the one at Freiberg, for example, which offered courses associated with the mining industry and metallurgical processes. The traditional universities did not have the up-to-date technical and engineering departments that the polytechnics had and, in any case, they concentrated on offering traditional subjects such as the classics and medicine. In Britain at the same time, as Musgrave (1967) observed, technical education was still being offered as “on the job” apprenticeships rather than specific technical subjects with theoretical underpinning.

Germany had for the previous 135 years or so identified the importance of technical education in supporting industrial growth and developing its workforce

and therefore, by the 1880s, it was far more advanced than any other country in supporting technical education for the working population in support of its rapidly developing industrialization. This was due, in no little part, to substantial state-funded German technical education which apart from polytechnics also included technical schools that were being established across the country and were specializing in local skills and manufacture. Most offered full-time courses for the young as well as night classes in trades and skills for adults. The purpose of such schools was to offer advanced technical education so that Germany could become both economically and politically more advanced than Britain (Musgrave 1967). This indeed is what happened.

Meanwhile in France, technical education also continued to develop. The *Ecole des Arts et Métiers* (School of Arts and Trades) had been founded by the Duke of Rochefoucauld in Liancourt for training war orphans in skilled trades following the Napoleonic Wars. He also set up similar trade schools in Chalons (1806) and Anger (1811), the former gaining a reputation as being the best elementary trade school in Europe (Green 1995, p. 131). However, the French wars had had a negative impact on industrialization and its economy was still some way behind Britain, although this was due to the political situation and not for any lack of state-funded education.

The French wars also affected Britain politically and had a substantial negative impact on developing both elementary and technical education. The British political class, made up of the aristocracy, had seen its counterparts in France face the guillotine. They were concerned that the working class in Britain would, if they were well educated, question the authority of the establishment and might spark a similar political revolution in Britain. There was much resistance from members of parliament (MPs) to support education for all. Daily, weekly, and monthly newspapers and periodicals, for example, were taxed so that even those of the industrial classes who could read were unable to afford their own copies. They had to visit institute libraries if they wished to keep up with world affairs as free public libraries were only established during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

With the Restoration in France, industrialists were insistent that there was a need to further develop and expand technical education in order to improve the economy and also to have an industrial lead over Britain, her political and industrial rival. As a result of pressure from industry, several new institutions were established in France. For example, the *Superieure de Commerce de Paris* was opened in 1820 and funded by several Parisian industrialists (Green 1995). However, unlike industrialists funding mechanics and other institutions in Britain until the end of the century, the French government took over the funding of the *Superieure de Commerce de Paris* in 1839.

Not only was the French state supporting adult technical education, it also developed primary education with *Ecole Primaire Superieure* and in 1841 there were 352 such schools across France. By 1887, these had increased to 700, of which 200 were for girls, and all were offering “vocationally orientated education . . . for small manufacturers, artisans and white-collar employees” (Green 1995, p. 132). French elementary vocational schools had also been established by 1850,

including trade and agricultural schools. Municipal colleges and lyceums were also offering vocational curricula by the mid-nineteenth century.

Russia was also developing its technical education in supporting its growing industrial economy. In 1802, the Academy of Science was founded. Additionally, by 1804, six universities had been established which were organized on similar lines to those in France and Germany, including the Imperial German University of Russia. German chemistry technical education was introduced at Kazan in the Volga Region. As Armytage (1962) noted, “in these universities, scientific endeavour began to stir” (p. 79), albeit with support from several European countries.

In 1828, the St Petersburg Practical Technological Institute was founded, which was followed 2 years later by the Moscow Handicraft Education Institution which was opened specifically for supporting technical and theoretical knowledge for the Russian workforce. The Institute of Engineering was opened in 1842 and the Electro-Technical Institute in St Petersburg in 1886. Other professional higher educational institutions in support of technical education for the expanding industrial workforce included the Mining Technological Institute, the Practical Technological Institute and the Kharkov Technological Institute. Many of the higher technical educational institutions had four departments: mechanical, chemical, engineering with construction, and economics, all relevant to Russian industrialization, which was rapidly developing from 1890.

Technical Education by the Early Decades of the Twentieth Century

In Britain, the Balfour Education Act of 1902 required local education authorities, through local rates, to take responsibility and manage elementary, secondary, and adult education. Local technical committees were set up to allocate government funding for the building and management of new technical and further education colleges which were being established across the country, having been slow previously to invest in state education and technical training for all (Venables 1956). It would be another 50 years or so before Britain’s technical education was firmly established and at a similar standard to that of other countries, such as Germany and France. Indeed, Floud (1984) states that government funding priorities in Britain were nowhere as favorable as those of Germany or France during the last century which offered state-funded technical education and training from kindergarten (nursery school) through primary and secondary education as well establishing trade and technical schools.

As a result of this, by the first decade of the twentieth century, Germany’s industrial economy had overtaken those of other European countries including Britain. For example, by 1900, Germany had invested 12.3 million marks of state funding specifically for science and technology departments in its universities. This compares with England which had invested the equivalent of only two million marks (Berghoff and Moller 1994). German technical institutes had three times more

engineering students than England and by 1914 with the outbreak of war, the former had 65,202 degree educated students compared with only 48,000 in Britain.

It was not just engineering where there was a shortfall of well-qualified employees. Aldcroft (1975) found that in the chemical industry there were 1,500 trained chemists in Britain compared with 5,500 in Germany in 1910. As with engineering, this indicates that new scientific developments were more likely to take place in Germany through its technical education programs. With regard to apprenticeships in both engineering and the chemical industries, Britain did well, providing shared training between industry and technical colleges. Apprenticeships tended to include general education, particularly mathematics and English, in order to provide “an all-round education” at advanced level after leaving school. However, with higher-level trained engineers and a well-established state-funded technical education from the mid-nineteenth century, Germany was able to develop a much larger competitive industrial base than Britain.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, various state-funded institutions had been established in France for delivering both technical theory and apprenticeship training. By 1913, there were 14,766 students in these institutions of whom 25% were female (Green 1995, p. 133). As a result, France had a very significant technical and vocational education sector, suitable for its ever-developing industry and more efficient than that of Britain.

In Russia, by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the higher technical educational institutions previously referred to had expanded along with new ones such as the Moscow Engineering College, the Kiev and Warsaw Polytechnic Institutes, the Yekaterinoslavl Mining College, the Tomsk Institute of Technology, and the Petersburg Polytechnic Institute. Thus, technical education was continuing to expand and support industrial progress but not as rapidly as in other countries, notably Germany.

The firm foundation on which Russian technical education was now established is evidenced in its survival following the early twentieth century political upheavals not experienced in other industrialized countries at the time. Harcave (1970) states that the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 had an impact on technical education. For example, many scientists were expelled and others had their work restricted while science societies were banned altogether. However, despite these restrictions, Russia’s economy continued to expand as a result of rapid developments in transport and industrialization following more peaceful times. Russia’s economic growth averaged 8% a year between 1892 and 1902, and by 1914 industrialization was firmly established. Yet despite the later 1917 Revolution, Russia continued to expand industrially, particularly and not surprisingly in armaments and defense-related industries.

Aref’ev, A. L and Aref’ev, M. A (2013) state that Russia became one of the top five industrial countries certainly in Europe, if not the world, by the early twentieth century. Indeed, engineering and technical education developments reflected this. Many industries, including shipbuilding and defense, needed highly qualified engineers and technicians. These professions were seen as highly prestigious and had high status, with salaries that reflected this. At the top of this hierarchy were

engineers in mining, railways, timber and forestry, surveying, and communications. During the Soviet period, they had military rank although they were unlikely to have been commissioned officers unless they had originally joined the army. This was in contrast to Britain, where the landed gentry still had the majority of wealth and the highest status in society, and their political power was only now beginning to recede.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most important finding highlighted in this chapter is that Britain, although the first industrial nation in the world, was not prepared for the consequences of not meeting the need for a well-educated population of both children and adults to support its economic development. Industrialization had been supported by “trial and error” as state education was minimal, particularly in England and Wales, until the passing of various Acts of Parliament relating to taxation and education. As industrialization had become well-established by the early decades of the nineteenth century, the British government did not see any urgency in funding technical education as it had not supported the early successful industrial expansion. In contrast to Britain, France, Germany, and Russia had been receiving state funding for both school and adult education from the late eighteenth century, prior to their industrialization.

The Mechanics’ Institute Movement, founded in Britain during the 1820s, was relatively successful in providing technical education albeit for a small proportion of the working class. However, the institutes were privately funded by local patrons and from membership fees as the government believed in “self-help” and *laissez-faire*. At the same time in France, Germany, and Russia, technical education continued to flourish as a result of state funding.

The issue of Britain providing little technical education was reflected in the high quality of overseas exhibits on show at both the London and Paris exhibitions. This concerned the British government as it feared that countries in Europe, North America, and other parts of the world would overtake its industrial position, reduce its export opportunities, and have a serious negative impact on the economy.

However, the fact remained that British governments had little interest in providing state funding for education generally and technical education in particular. The two British Government Royal Commissions (Devonshire and Samuelson) only published their findings in 1875 and 1884 respectively, by which time other countries, including those referred to here, were much further ahead with their industrialization and technical education. By the 1870s, as a result of strong competition from other industrialized countries which had leaped frogged Britain technically with up-to-date state-funded technical education, Britain had fallen into an economic depression. As Green (1990) identified, in contrast to Europe which had state support from the beginning of the nineteenth century, British governments believed in *laissez-faire*. Not only was the political class fearful of social unrest as a result of having an educated working class, but to fund technical education would be “an

unwanted tax burden” and “interfere in the market, undermine the manufacturer’s own training provision and endanger trade secrets” (Green 1990, p. 294).

With the passing of the 1889 Technical Instruction Act, providing for local councils to put a one penny tax on the rates, and the 1890 Local Taxation Act (whisky money), providing government funding for technical education, many towns began to fund technical education. Venables (1956) put it succinctly, when he observed that technical education “lacks neither problems nor promise” (p. 565). Certainly, in comparison to France, Germany, and Russia, Britain seems to have caused its own problems with governments being reluctant to support state-funded education without promises of it being available on a large scale during the rapid period of industrialization during the early nineteenth century. Even by the beginning of the twentieth century, despite Britain developing state-funded school and technical education, it would not be on the same scale as that of other countries until well into the 1950s and 1960s, by which time there was rapid growth in post-school age education opportunities in support of a new technological age.

Historians have tended to leave the history of education to educationalists, many of whom have concentrated their research on contemporary issues. Others with a specific interest in the history of education have tended to focus on the origins and developments of primary and secondary education, as well as university higher education. While this chapter has described developments in technical education relating to subjects and practical skills which were required in support nineteenth-century industrialization, there is a pressing need for more research and writing that looks at technological, vocational, and training education over the last 50 years or so. Technical education was associated with the teaching of the arts and sciences relating to industrialization during the nineteenth century but from the mid-twentieth century, it was superseded by the term “technology” that encompassed traditional subjects with new ones for a global economy. These included aeronautical engineering, aerospace, medicines, nuclear power, computer science, and, more recently, robotics and artificial intelligence. Vocational education, which is also offered in further education colleges, or their equivalent, relates to what is often referred to as the caring professions, such as teaching, child care, nursing, and care of the elderly.

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A Contested Practice in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Secondary Schooling

Nelleke Bakker

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Abstract

This chapter discusses the history of coeducation in secondary schooling, mainly in Europe and North America. The analysis focuses on the gendered characteristics of educational systems and curricula, as well as on national discourses about single-sex or mixed schooling. The focus is on the latter half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, when the merits and perils of coeducation were debated for this stage of schooling. Until after World War II, children of the working class hardly ever attended school past the age of 13 or 14. Therefore, this is a history of middle- and upper-class education. In the early nineteenth century, girls had to do with a very limited, private education that prepared only for homemaking and motherhood, while boys could attend public grammar schools that opened the door to the university and the professions. From the mid-nineteenth century, initiatives to improve the quality of girls' education were taken. Few countries opened up boys' public schools for girls; in most cases, new girls' schools were established with more serious but still unequal curricula, focusing mainly on humanities. Schools teaching a curriculum equivalent to that of the boys' schools were not created until after the turn of the century,

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when a more critical view of coeducation became the rule. Democratization and coeducation came hand in hand with the introduction of comprehensive mixed secondary schooling in the 1960s and 1970s. The shortcomings of coeducation, however, were not rediscovered until after it had generally been introduced.

Keywords

Coeducation · Coinstruction · Secondary schooling · Single-sex schooling · Gendered educational systems · Gendered curricula · Comprehensive mixed schools

Introduction

Today, across the western world, coeducation is the rule at all levels of schooling. However, in most countries, the coinstruction of boys and girls in a single classroom and with an identical core curriculum is a relatively recent phenomenon. In many cases, single-sex schools prevailed until the 1960s and 1970s, especially in secondary and vocational education. In those years, new kinds of integrated schools replaced the existing boys' and girls' schools. In elementary schools, mixed classes met with less opposition, except among Roman Catholics who as a rule rejected coeducation even of primary pupils. For a long time, higher education was a boys' privilege, but when around 1900 universities finally opened up to girls, coeducation turned out to remain relatively undisputed at the tertiary level.

This chapter discusses the history of coeducation of girls and boys between the ages of 12 and 19 from the early nineteenth to the late twentieth century. It concerns primarily secondary schooling, but does not exclude other kinds of teaching of teenagers beyond the primary level. Vocational training, until recently usually in sexually segregated institutions, is, however, not considered, with the exception of teacher training. This is because late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century normal schools and teachers' seminars cannot be distinguished from secondary education with respect to either the age of admittance (between 12 and 16) or the level of teaching. However undefinable "secondary" education and how varied the names of the referred schools before the last half century may be, examining it implies a focus on middle- and upper-class youth, as school attendance of the working class did as a rule not reach beyond the age of 13 or 14.

The analysis focuses on the gendered characteristics of the educational systems and the curricula of secondary schools, as well as on national discourses about single-sex or mixed schooling in a number of western countries. Next to the development of national systems, transnational influences will be examined. Few historical studies have paid attention to coeducation explicitly, but there is an abundant literature on the history of girls' secondary schooling that allows for a reconstruction of the ups and downs of coeducation, especially in countries where it was debated at some point in history, like Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands. Although a systematic comparison has not yet been made and no comprehensive study is available, it seems safe to assume that predominantly Roman

Catholic countries – like France, Belgium, and Italy – have shown the least receptivity to coeducation and that imperial countries have had considerable influence on the education in their colonies (Albisetti et al. 2010; Allender 2016; Proctor 2007).

The history of coeducation on the secondary level is a history of girls moving forward from a limited and one-sidedly feminine education to getting new academic high schools of their own or access to the existing boys' grammar schools. It starts around the middle of the nineteenth century, when industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization manifested themselves more particularly across the west. As before, girls' schools socialized middle-class girls to their expected roles and contributed to the growth of separate spheres for men and women in the bourgeoisie, but both mixed and single-sex quality schools contributed to the isolation of this class from the lower orders, a process that was meant to be undone only after World War II with the introduction of democratic and coeducational comprehensive schools and a rising age of obligatory schooling. The education of middle- and upper-class girls will be followed through the years when the merits and perils of coeducation were debated on scientific instead of moral grounds and curricula became more gender-specific, until the 1980s, when feminists (re)discovered coeducation's hidden "injuries" for girls after it had generally been implemented. The emphasis will be on the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century.

Schooling for Separate Spheres

The United States has been used to coeducation in urban public schools much longer than European countries. Examples of American boys' state-maintained grammar schools opening their doors to girls can be found from the late 1840s (Tyack and Hansot 1990), while European girls had to wait until the turn of the century before boys' schools that prepared for the university admitted small numbers of them or girls' schools teaching a curriculum equivalent to the most prestigious German *Gymnasium*, French *lycée*, or British public school were created (Albisetti et al. 2010). This is a remarkable difference, but it may not obscure the fact that up to that time across the west, all girls' education beyond the elementary level was founded on what was considered middle-class girls' destination: becoming a ladylike homemaker, wife, and mother. Around 1800, in both Europe and the USA, publicly maintained town schools were exclusively male, while girls were educated privately: at home by family members, at small day schools, or at a boarding school. Home schooling by a governess was a prerogative of the elite. In each case, the quality of a girl's education varied according to the level of training of her teachers, as there were no fixed standards for private teaching.

Throughout the Victorian era, English Protestant middle-class girls were taught at home or at a small private school that was often located in the household of the schoolmistress. In advertisements, proprietors described their institutions in domestic terms, indicating the continuity between the curriculum and the girl's future in the home. Public schools that benefitted boys were thought inappropriate for girls, as was mixing social classes. Middle-class boys might share homeschooling with their

sisters up to the age of 10, when they would enter a public boarding school, where their character was bound to be molded according to the ideal of the public school that emphasized academic competence, discipline, sportsmanship, and leadership. The boys who fitted the system received a classical education in Latin, Greek, and mathematics that prepared them for the university. Girls, by contrast, received “a sound English education” and “the usual accomplishments.”

At best, an “English” education offered a comprehensive program in all the elements of the English language – literature, grammar, composition, elocution, and calligraphy – with French conversation, history, geography, elements of natural science like botany, and the teachings of either the Church of England or one of the dissenting religions. English grammar was the counterpart of the Latin grammar taught to boys, while French was regarded as a frivolity because it was taught through conversation, rather than through grammar and translation. The “female accomplishments” referred either to the cultural studies of music, art, dance, and drawing or to the totality of women’s studies. The segregated curriculum was rooted in the eighteenth-century evangelical tradition that emphasized domesticity for women and was mapped onto an enlightened concept of a “natural” mental difference between the sexes that upheld women’s supposed lack of fitness for higher study. Unlike the unwanted outcome of female learning, the “bluestocking” who spoiled her chances to marry by too much study, the “accomplished” woman’s learning was deployed in the private home, showing both her decorative abilities in the kind of entertainment that cemented middle- and upper-class social networks and a morally “superior” motherliness in serving others (Goodman 2010; Theobald 1996).

Costly fashionable boarding schools were the privilege of the daughters of the British upper middle class. Their curricula, however, did not differ significantly from those of the smaller ladies’ schools, although a larger teaching staff enabled more variety in the subjects. In the 1830s, the curriculum of one “finishing” boarding school for rich girls in Brighton covered no more than deportment, drawing, calisthenics, foreign languages, English, history, and geography (Purvis 1991).

By the mid-nineteenth century, at least half of all middle-class girls in England attended a private school, ranging from fashionable schools emphasizing the accomplishments to the academically sound schools of Unitarians and Quakers. The curriculum of the Quaker girls’ school at Stoke Newington in 1824 testifies, for example, to the Quaker ideal of an education of equal value for both sexes, as it included English grammar, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, ancient and modern history, elements of mathematics, physics or experimental philosophy, chemistry, natural history, French and needlework, to which at extra cost might be added Latin, Greek, Italian, and drawing (Goodman 2010). Presbyterian Scotland, where coeducation in elementary schools was much more common, provides another example of a deviation from the predominant pattern of very limited and one-sidedly feminine secondary education for girls in the early nineteenth century. In the 1830s and 1840s, Glasgow and Edinburgh saw the founding of, among more traditional schools, a number of ladies’ institutions with an identical curriculum to the boys’ departments. The most innovative aspect of these curricula is the inclusion of sciences like

physics, astronomy, physiology, and chemistry, taught by masters with a university degree. Inspiration was found with enlightened thinkers for whom training of a girl's full intellectual capacities was not incompatible with her future domestic duties (Moore 2003).

Traveling women entrepreneurs exported the British Protestant model of ladies' schools to the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, bringing along all kinds of cultural capital. These schools stuck to the traditional accomplishments curriculum, took in pupils as boarders or day girls, and made arrangements to educate them, while their proprietors hired the best teachers available, cultivated links with the churches, and carefully watched their reputations and connections in their new communities. Though no part of a system, unregulated, and staffed by women teachers without a formal qualification, many of the "female academies" founded in colonial settings in the mid-nineteenth century survived into the next century by adapting as good as possible to the local conditions. A number of these academies became well-known institutions, some of which developed into teacher training colleges or tertiary colleges (Theobald 1996).

Next to the English, Protestant model of female middle-class education – with its roots in the evangelical culture of domesticity – a concurrent Roman Catholic model traveled likewise across the globe by the agency of female religious teaching orders. They established large numbers of boarding schools for bourgeois girls. Most of these orders had their origins in Old Regime France, particularly in Counter-Reformation's efforts to provide serious moral schooling for both boys and girls. Post-revolutionary France saw the reemergence of the female religious congregations, such as the Ursulines, and the reopening of their schools, as well as the creation of new congregations that specialized in the teaching of a Catholic version of an "English" education to upper- and middle-class girls. Some of these specialized in boarding-school education, among whom the Ladies of the Sacred Heart were the most influential and elitist. They aimed to rechristianize French society through the education of girls (Rogers 2010). By the mid-nineteenth century, these orders had branched out to overseas countries with considerable Roman Catholic populations – such as Ireland, England, Canada, and Australia – so successfully that they had a monopoly of the teaching of Catholic girls there. Convent schools attracted large numbers of pupils in a wide range of colonial and foreign settings and often had excellent reputations (Goodman 2010; Goodman and Rogers 2010; Raftery 2015).

Quality Secondary Schools for Girls

From the middle of the nineteenth century, an increased need for quality secondary education for girls materialized in the founding of new academic schools for girls in many European countries. This impulse culminated in acquiring the right to university admittance for the graduates of the most intellectually ambitious tracks. In some countries, such as Germany, France, and Belgium, the new quality girls' schooling emerged alongside an existing male system and shared many of the latter's characteristics, notably a conviction that secondary studies should not prepare for

a vocation. In Italy and Spain, however, the emergence of more serious studies for girls took a vocational path via teacher training. In these countries, girls aspiring to a postprimary education did not have to challenge gender norms, as throughout Europe education was seen as an acceptable profession for women. In England, opportunities for girls expanded along both lines. The development of new girls' schools is best documented for England, Germany, and France. The explanations that are given focus on the need of rapidly growing economies for educated women, like teachers, nurses, and administrators, on the demographic "surplus" of women that stimulated girls to look for a "useful" profession in case she remained unmarried, on feminist promoters of equal opportunities for both sexes, and on female teachers' activism to enlarge their own opportunities. Women headed only schools with an exclusively female staff, which explains why associations of headmistresses opposed coeducation.

In England, the first attempts to provide for a higher level of education for middle-class girls were born out of discomfort with the lack of quality of much female teaching. Queen's College was established in London in 1848 as an institution for raising the educational qualifications of governesses, but it admitted girls from the age of 12. Church of England clergymen formed a significant part of its professors. That may have been a reason why, in the next year, a second college for women was established by a wealthy Unitarian woman at Bedford Square. Both colleges provided no more than a good secondary education, but both were drawn into higher education after 1878, when London University pioneered in the admission of women on the same terms as men. Early students of both colleges include women who in later life became involved in the women's movement and in public life or became headmistresses of girls' high schools.

In 1868, the Schools Inquiry Commission (SIC) found only 14 endowed grammar schools for girls in England and Wales compared to 820 schools for boys and, after having considered but dismissed coeducation, called for improvement of the overall inferior quality of secondary education for girls. As model of a new girls' school, they presented Frances Buss' North London Collegiate (NLC) School. This school had been established in 1850 as alternative to the fashionable ladies' institutes. It provided an academically sound and liberal education. The headmistress, a former Queen's student, encouraged intellectual attainment according to "male" academic standards, but she equally valued traditional "female" qualities. The curriculum included Latin, French, mathematics, sciences, history, geography, divinity, and physical education. Lessons were organized only in the mornings, so that afternoons could be spent at home learning "domestic and social virtues" or taking optional courses in German, Italian, music, painting, and dancing (Dyhouse 1987; Purvis 1991).

The model of this "high" school for girls was adopted by the Girls' Public Day School Company (GPDSC) that was set up in 1872 by a feminist organization, the National Union for Improving the Education of Women of all Classes Above the Elementary (1871). The GPDSC aimed to provide a first-class education in endowed day schools to girls of all classes. Therefore, fees were placed as low as possible. Knowing how important the accomplishments were to middle-class

parents, the schools held on to instruction in the rules about appropriate conduct and dress. By 1901, the GPDSC had founded 38 endowed schools following Miss Buss's model (Goodman 2010). It also established a training college for women secondary school teachers, called after one of its initiators, Maria Grey. It is remarkable that around 1870, she was one of few English commentators who considered the American practice of coeducation "an advantage to both sexes" but was convinced that the time was not yet ripe for it to be implemented in England. In her opinion, the two sexes would learn by "common work for common aims to recognize their common human nature, to complement what in each is deficient" (Albisetti 2000, p. 476).

The first girls' public boarding school, the Cheltenham Ladies' College (CLC), was established in 1854 by professional men who wanted a school for their daughters that matched the quality of Cheltenham College for Boys. Headmistress Dorothea Beale, another Queen's alumna, started with a curriculum that was only slightly more academic than the traditional curriculum, but in a few years, she extended it to include Latin, Greek, mathematics, and science. After a successful campaign to open up the local public examinations for girls, Beale's pupils were entered. From 1863 she, moreover, stimulated her pupils to return to the classroom to further improve the quality of teaching. By the end of the century, the CLC was involved in training teachers for kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools. Just like the NLC influenced the development of quality day schools for girls, the CLC had an impact on public boarding schools founded in the final decades of the century. All of these schools followed a strategy of double conformity to both an academic curriculum and certain standards of ladylike behavior, to which competitive games like lacrosse, cricket, and hockey were added to imitate the boys' model of public schooling (Dyhouse 1987; Goodman 2010; Purvis 1991).

From the 1870s, even that traditional English model of boys' education started to adapt to the SIC's recommendation to differentiate between levels of grammar schools and introduce a vocational element into their curricula. To the classical "side," a "modern" one was added in virtually all boys' public schools (Hunt 1987), with the effect that schooling became more equal for boys and girls and comparisons of the results could be made. When the sexes studied the same programs, the girls did "very decidedly better" than the boys in the final decades of the nineteenth century (Jacobs 2001). Mixing of the sexes took place only in some "third-grade" grammar schools in England (Albisetti 2001).

German lands were relatively autonomous in matters of education. Compared to national states, they had a tradition of more active involvement, but they distributed money no less unevenly between boys and girls. In Catholic Bavaria, the post-1815 revival of Catholic education led to the readmission of nuns as teachers in the girls' schools. The *Englische Fräulein*, who had a very good reputation as teachers of middle- and upper-class girls, were especially successful with the reopening of five institutions in the 1820s. By 1873, thanks to their ability to transfer teachers from their houses in England, Ireland, and Italy to Germany, they had managed to found 14 institutes with 58 branches in Bavaria. In 1861, in Lutheran Prussia, private girls' schools outnumbered those maintained by the state, but they were far smaller in

size and more expensive. Some private foundations were eventually transferred to municipal authority, and as a result, schools directed by women were taken over by male principals. Private *höhere Töchterschule* (girls' schools) offered not much more than German language, writing, and the "female accomplishments," while public secondary schools provided a more extended curriculum, including French, arithmetic, history, geography, and, in the highest grade, English.

During the 1860s and 1870s, in the German states, many secondary girls' schools responded to a growing shortage of male teachers by adding a teachers' seminary. In 1874, Prussia banned nuns from teaching as a result of Otto von Bismarck's anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf*. As a consequence, Prussia founded new teachers' seminaries for Catholic laywomen, while other states such as Bavaria established their first nondenominational girls' secondary teachers' seminaries. While the German women's movement started a campaign to upgrade girls' education, the male principals of secondary girls' schools opposed adopting the boys' classical *Gymnasium* curriculum, the only track that gave access to higher education and middle-class careers. Instead, they clung to the "feminine" character of the girls' schools. Given the state's reluctance to open up academic careers for girls, in 1893, the president of the German Women Teachers' Association, Helene Lange, started a 4-year course to prepare graduates of secondary schools for the *Abitur*, the final examination that gave access to a German university. After continued pressure from the women's movement, in 1908, a 10-year girls' *Lyceum* was established by the state, after which a 3-year teacher training course could be followed, that eventually opened the possibility of enrolment in university study. A few years later, in 1912, two secondary tracks for girls leading directly to *Abitur* were created as a separate but equal part of the school system, identical with the boys' schools: a *Gymnasium* with Latin and Greek and a *Realgymnasium* with Latin, modern languages, and sciences (Albisetti 1988; Jacobi 2010).

Like elsewhere in Europe, in France, the 1860s witnessed initiatives to improve secondary girls' education. After a survey of girls' boarding schools had highlighted the increasing weight of religious orders, who ran about two thirds of the schools, Napoleon III's liberal Minister of Public Affairs urged the creation of 3–4-year secular secondary courses for girls in 1867. Although most of the approximately 60 courses that he established were short-lived, received no state funding, and were a far cry from the existing boys' *lycées*, they represent a significant step in the involvement of the French state in girls' secondary education. The teachers came from the local *collèges* and *lycées* for boys and – even more radical – religious instruction was eliminated. That is why the bishop of Orléans, Felix Dupanloup, led a Catholic campaign against the new courses, scaring away the public by arguing that girls' education should remain in the hands of women and that these courses would bring about "professors of atheism," a "dreadful" kind of woman.

Nevertheless, in 1880, the liberal Minister Camille Sée created a new national and public system of *collèges* and *lycées* for girls. Despite their names, the structure and curricula of these schools were distinctly feminine. Rather than a 7-year course of study leading to the prestigious baccalaureate degree that opened the door to university study for boys, Sée's law set in place a watered-down 3-year program,

followed by an additional 2 years for the more intellectually ambitious. The courses proposed were similar to those present in the better girls' boarding schools: French literature, modern languages, history, geometry, physics, and natural history, to which even more particularly "female" subjects like domestic economy, hygiene, and needlework were added. Instead of a baccalaureate the girls received no more than a certificate. As before, municipalities were not eager to establish the new kind of schools for girls, while the Catholic bourgeoisie failed to flock the new secular institutions, preferring the familiar environment of the religious boarding schools for their daughters.

Increasingly, moreover, the much more limited feminine curriculum of France's secondary girls' schools came under criticism from teachers, professional organizations, and feminists who argued that girls should be trained for the baccalaureate. Finally, in 1924, a new law extended the public secondary program for girls from 5 to 6 years and introduced a curriculum that allowed girls to prepare for the baccalaureate. By 1930, the old feminine curriculum had virtually disappeared, but Catholic opposition to girls studying for the baccalaureate remained strong and was reinforced by Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri*, issued in 1929, that harshly condemned coeducation. However, this did not prevent that, when a girls' *collège* or *lycée* was not available in the vicinity, boys' schools accepted girls. Statistics reveal that by 1939, only 17% of French girls attending secondary schools were in boys' schools (Rogers 2010).

Belgium followed the example of Minister Sée in 1881 and introduced a law that stimulated towns and provinces to establish girls' secondary schools, the quality of which varied considerably. However, as in France, convent schools continued to attract the larger part of the female secondary pupils, and enrollment in boys' schools was not allowed until after World War I (Gubin 2010). In other Catholic countries with secondary schools for girls with a "female" curriculum, mostly normal schools, the nonavailability of this kind of school in the vicinity provided families the argument to place girls in a high-quality boys' school. After permission was obtained in the early 1880s in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, this smuggling in of girls occurred much more frequently than in France. By 1920, in Italy, the number of girls attending coeducational public schools almost equaled that of girls in private single-sex schools, while in Spain, about one third of the girls preparing for a baccalaureate in the late 1920s did so in a boys' school (Albisetti 1999, 2004a).

The Merits and Perils of Coeducation

The admission of middle-class girls to boys' public grammar schools and the founding of coeducational high schools in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century were largely the result of parental and feminist pressing for more serious education for girls in a society that was already used to mixed elementary schooling, even in the upper grades. In addition, the saving of public money and coeducation's practicality, especially in sparsely populated areas, steered local school authorities in the same direction. Sometimes, sources allow insight into

the reasons why grammar schools turned to mixing the sexes. In 1848, the school committee of Charlestown, Massachusetts, decided to reorganize its school system. It had just created a coeducational high school and decided to mix the sexes in the three formerly single-sex grammar schools. After a group of residents had protested the shift to coeducation, the committee asked the parents of a former girls' school to detail their objections and the masters of the grammar schools to comment on mixed schooling. The question was also put before the masters of the grammar schools in nearby Salem that had introduced coeducation earlier. The controversy that evolved foreshadowed most of the arguments over mixed schools that appeared in educational journals and reports in the next half century.

The protesting parents wanted to keep the sexes strictly separate and also preserve class barriers in the Charlestown grammar schools. They appealed to tradition, invoked the principle of separate spheres for the sexes, and hinted at the danger of association of their daughters with lower-class boys. The teachers focused on what happened in the classroom. Some were convinced that mixing the sexes produced greater restraint and decorum and thus fostered discipline in the schools. Others said that coeducation produced better morals. The masters from Salem grammar schools gave differing testimonies as to didactics. One preferred teaching single-sex classes because of different needs as regard methods of discipline and instruction. Another said that girls might soften and refine the boys but that boys coarsened the girls. Only the third Salem master was so convinced of the favorable mutual influence of boys and girls that he even placed them side by side at the same double desks. School board members took the part of the parents. They were not convinced that discipline improved in mixed schools or that the more diligent girls would stimulate the boys to learn more and subscribed to the parents' idea that coeducation threatened morality and that the future destinies of girls and boys were so different that they should be educated separately. The single dissenting board member objected especially to the parents' aversion of the social mixing, which he valued as the essence of public schooling. In a coeducational school, he had observed that both learning and deportment improved through mutual emulation of boys and girls. His and the teachers' arguments must have convinced the school committee, because after a long discussion, they came to the conclusion that mixed grammar schools were best and fitted the overall social organization of society.

In the 1850s, coeducation became a common topic of discussion in American state teachers' associations and in the reports of state superintendents. In 1851, the Ohio Teachers' Organization, for example, voted unanimously for mixed schools, while in 1854, in Pennsylvania, the teachers' organization endorsed a report approving coeducation. A classic and influential summary of arguments for coeducation was given by the St. Louis superintendent William T. Harris, who was later to become US Commissioner of Education. With the elementary schools and the local high school already mixed before 1858, in the early 1870s, he witnessed the transition of the St. Louis grammar schools from separate to mixed and was convinced that coeducation improved discipline and instruction for both sexes as their differences were tempered. Boys' rudeness and girls' sentimentality and frivolity disappeared, Harris argued. Likewise, mixing them in the classroom improved

boys' and girls' different mental abilities and promoted a balanced kind of instruction and learning that would avoid both "masculine" mechanical formalizing and "feminine" learning by rote. He moreover held that the psychological and sexual development of both boys and girls benefitted from their mutual association, as did their school results: girls made "wonderful advances even in mathematical studies," while boys took hold of literature far better. In 1882, city school superintendents' responses to a survey by the US Bureau of Education indicated that a large proportion of Harris' peers agreed that, apart from economy and institutional convenience, coeducation was "beneficial" because of "a more harmonious development of both sexes" (Tyack and Hansot 1990, pp. 103–104).

One argument against coeducation rapidly evaporated. Once girls had been admitted to coeducational secondary classrooms, they did at least as well as boys, and often better. In Washington D.C., in the 1870s, girls tested notably better than boys in English grammar and spelling and – against the expectations – about the same in mathematics. The same pattern was manifest in the academically oriented coeducational high schools that were established from the 1860s. They attracted more girls than boys and struggled with massive rates of "retardation" and "drop-outs" of "hand-minded" boys to such an extent that toward the end of the century, a campaign was initiated to differentiate the curricula and add vocational classes of all sorts to help solve what was called the "boy problem."

Nevertheless, in the early 1890s, most public school leaders took it for granted that public schools were coeducational and that the curriculum should be substantially the same for both sexes. Another survey by the US Office of Education among superintendents showed that the matter was more or less settled. Out of 628 cities, only 41 had any single-sex secondary schools. Throughout the national school system, authorities believed that coeducation brought better discipline, more balanced instruction, and a healthier psychological and sexual development of both boys and girls. Women had proven themselves at least equal to men in intellectual capacity, and the fears expressed by physicians such as Edward H. Clarke in 1873 that strenuous study would undermine their health and fertility had been shown groundless (Tyack and Hansot 1990).

Around the turn of the century, European critics, as well as admirers, commented on coeducation as "an American invention." Among travelers who wanted to observe the phenomenon with their own eyes were many feminist teachers, who reported home enthusiastically about coeducation as the "powerful stimulant for the progress of studies and of moralization." This appreciation, however, seldom led to proposals that it be imitated in Europe (Albisetti 2001). Progressive educators, especially in England and Germany, were among the most enthusiastic supporters of coeducation. Reformers such as J.H. Badley of Bedales and Cecil Reddie of Abbotsholme applied it in their boarding schools. They saw it as a means to realize the more sublime ends of the "new education," such as the "perfection" of the relations between men and women. It supported, moreover, their veneration of the "natural" family as model to emulate in schools. Like the well-known American protagonist of "new schooling" John Dewey, they also believed that coeducation fitted democracy and made "natural" differences

between boys and girls decrease and morals and manners improve. Boys would become “less rough in deed and coarse in word,” whereas “[g]irls lose many little personal vanities and their tendency to titter and giggle,” one observer reported in 1897 (Brehony 1987, p. 11).

The ensuing theoretical reaction against coeducation was inspired first of all by the psychologist G. Stanley Hall’s voluminous study *Adolescence*, first published in 1904. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church that launched vitriolic attacks on coeducation as threat to morality, this evolutionary psychologist and child study pioneer focused on harm done to the individual development of adolescents. Because motherhood was women’s destiny, girls’ education should be directed toward it, he held. Therefore, reproductive harm should be prevented by adapting the curriculum to the “female” way of thinking, less abstract and more concrete, and to girls’ superior ardor and accuracy, which made mental overburdening a serious risk. According to Hall, girls needed a curriculum with an emphasis on child care, hygiene, housekeeping, religion, and some knowledge of nature and the environment. A different learning style, moreover, dictated separate schools to prevent boys from contenting themselves with “female” memorizing without exercising their “male” talent for discovering and, consequently, without the further development of their more complicated minds. Hall countered the arguments of coeducation’s advocates concerning improved morals and manners by pointing out that, instead, a full realization of sexual differentiation was essential to progressive civilization. Teenage boys should be allowed to have fits of brutality in order to become “real” men, while girls needed opportunities for their sentimental instability before settling down. Daily association would make boys and girls too much alike, he warned (Bakker 1998). These ideas did not have any influence on school practice, but they provided fuel to opponents of coeducation, especially after World War I (Albisetti 2004b; Tyack and Hansot 1990).

Despite the common assumption at the time that it was an American invention, coeducation in secondary schools was not limited to the United States. Another predominantly Protestant country, the Netherlands, practiced it in the latter part of the nineteenth century. From 1857, higher primary schools were established for the children of the lower middle class. Like elementary schools they were mixed, except for Catholic schools. In 1863, a Secondary Education Act introduced a new kind of school for upper middle-class boys, the *hogere burgerschool* (HBS), with a science-oriented curriculum, as an alternative to the classical *Gymnasium* that prepared the sons of the elite for the university. In the wake of the HBS, a quality secondary girls’ school, the *middelbare meisjesschool* (MMS), with a humanities-oriented curriculum was created. But that curriculum did not satisfy the more ambitious among upper middle-class girls. After the first girls had officially been admitted to the HBS in 1871 and to the classical *Gymnasium* in 1880, the number of girls in these schools continued to increase rapidly. From the beginning of the new century, girls in former boys’ schools outnumbered those in the MMS, which – unlike the HBS – was never upgraded to a level that provided access to the university. Dutch upper middle-class girls, or their parents, preferred the “male” curriculum and the possibility of continued study above the separate and unequal feminine curriculum of the MMS.

As in the United States a few decades earlier, the fast-growing proportion of Dutch girls attending mixed academic schools inspired organizations of secondary teachers to inquire into their members' experiences. In 1881, 10 years after the first girls had been admitted to an HBS, neither teachers nor school directors reported classroom discipline or morality to be threatened by their presence. The fear of "feminization" of the curriculum or teaching methods lacked empirical ground, although critical notes concerned the inadequacy of the boys' curriculum for girls. Girls were reported to perform less well in mathematics and sciences and to discontinue their study of these subjects more often while performing better in languages. All respondents took different intellectual capacities of the two sexes for granted, as well as different motives for study. In 1899, another inquiry showed that almost every HBS director supported coeducation. Like progressive educators in Germany and England, they stressed the pedagogical benefits of girls and boys growing up together, called coeducation "natural," and praised the neutralization of erotic tensions. As with American teachers, they reported positive influences on the behaviors of both sexes: boys became less coarse and girls less prim and coquettish. In 1898, at the National Exhibition of Women's Labor's conference on education, the topic was discussed extensively. Although the delegates included women MMS teachers, all agreed that equal opportunities for girls would best be served by the teaching of an identical core curriculum in coeducational schools (Bakker and van Essen 1999).

(Un)differentiated Curricula

It did not take long before in the Netherlands, and elsewhere, a shift toward a more critical evaluation of coeducation occurred. As in the United States, this had hardly any implications for coeducational practice. In the Netherlands, for example, girls continued to prefer mixed secondary schools above MMSs until after World War II, when Catholic support brought the girls' school a short-lived renaissance before it was abolished by law in 1968.

In the Dutch case, the shift toward a more critical position can first be observed shortly after the turn of the century. In 1907, another inquiry into the experiences of teachers and directors of HBS's and *Gymnasia* that had opened up to girls was published. Although it confirmed the positive influence of the girls on pupils' morals and manners, learning styles and individual development turned out to be more important now. It was reconfirmed that in mixed classes, boys were ahead in the sciences and girls in the literary subjects, but some respondents added the consideration that girls fell behind only in the upper grades, when adolescence started, and managed to keep pace in the lower grades only through diligence. Nevertheless, girls' school careers at the *Gymnasia* and HBSs were on average only a little less successful. It was explicitly stated now that there were no indications that school had a detrimental effect on girls' health. Still, the report makes clear that, even in this country, the days of unambiguous support for coeducation were gone. The questions as well as the answers show a new sensitivity to adolescence as a critical phase in the development of gender identity (Bakker 1998).

The inspiration came from Hall and other scientists. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century and across Europe, their ideas inspired proposals to further differentiate the curricula of boys' and girls' schools and add "female" subjects to the latter, such as household economics. Some feminists who used to support coeducation changed their opinion because of either a lack of women teachers at mixed schools for the girls to identify with during adolescence or fear of leveling of gender differences. Concern about homogenization of the sexes, a traditional Catholic objection, was expressed more frequently also by European observers of American coeducation; it would produce masculinity in women and effeminacy in men (Albisetti 2001; Bakker 1998). Around 1910 in Europe, as in the United States, physicians and psychiatrists produced a wave of publications on gender differences that stressed the weakness of the female body and mind and the imperative to prevent girls from studying too much. Some mentioned adolescence as a high pathogenic risk, especially for girls (Albisetti et al. 2010; Bakker and van Essen 1999). Psychologists focused likewise more often on gender differences. However, the results of their most important new instrument, intelligence testing, did not confirm assumptions about intellectual inferiority of women or an inherent lesser ability of girls at subjects like mathematics and science (Albisetti 2004b).

In spite of the increasing emphasis on sexual differentiation, the development of gender identity, and gender-specific learning styles, coeducation continued to grow in many countries during the interwar years. It was stimulated by the increasing demand for quality secondary education for girls and by financial considerations, especially during the 1930s economic depression. Mixed schooling saved money. In England, for example, despite an unfriendly public opinion, the number of mixed secondary schools continued to grow throughout the first half of the twentieth century. In 1939, no less than one third of secondary schools were mixed (Goodman 2010). Fascist regimes in Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, however, made separate-sex schools with strongly differentiated curricula obligatory, including girls' schools nicknamed as "pudding academies" (Albisetti 1999; Jacobi 2010).

In the postwar period, maternalism and the emphasis on differentiated curricula, including child care and household economics for girls, were even more particularly stimulated by Bowlbyism. Another impetus came from an extended school attendance of lower-class and ethnic-minority pupils, for whom vocational and gender-specific subjects were considered more important than for white middle-class children. At the same time, the demand for quality secondary education for middle-class girls continued to grow, with governments being more compliant to their educational demands because of the postwar economic boom. These developments produced paradoxical conditions in secondary education: a convergence of boys' and girls' curricula at the highest, pre-university level, next to an increasing divergence at lower levels, especially the reinforcement of vocational aspects in the curricula.

The introduction of comprehensive mixed schools in most western countries in the 1960s and 1970s was partly an answer to the increased participation of the lower classes in secondary nonvocational education. It was also stimulated by a

rejuvenated women's movement and left-wing activism, both of which emphasized equal rights. Democratization and coeducation came hand in hand. The new schools were usually introduced without much debate about the (dis)advantages of either comprehensive or mixed schooling (Albisetti et al. 2010). The hidden "injuries" of coeducation for girls were only rediscovered by feminists in the 1980s, after comprehensive schooling had been implemented generally. They cover all aspects of education, and none had remained unnoticed in the past: having to adapt to "boys'" standards of teaching and learning, sex bias in choice of subjects, being subjected to teachers' prejudices about a lesser ability at subjects like mathematics and science, academic underachievement in those subjects, lack of self-confidence in the classroom as against boys' bravado, more traditional sex role development fostered by a male-dominated adolescent subculture, and having to do without female leadership to identify with at a crucial age in the formation of gender identity (Riordan 1990). In the 1990s, a new "boy problem" was recognized, and, as consequence, it began to be argued by some educationists that it was boys rather than girls who were put at a disadvantage by coeducation and the feminization of schooling, much as Hall had argued at the turn of the century (Weaver-Hightower 2003).

Conclusion

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the western world, coeducation in secondary schooling has always been a contested practice. Until the general introduction of comprehensive coeducational schooling in the late twentieth century, school systems were unequal in terms of provisions and money spent. Girls' education was privately organized and paid for, and their schools had curricula that provided few opportunities except for domesticity and motherhood. From the mid-nineteenth century, attempts were made to improve the quality of girls' schools, but governments were reluctant to develop a parallel system equivalent to the boys' public grammar schools. Opening up boys' schools for girls was the exception. At first, only the United States did so; later on, the Netherlands followed. Belief in a traditional "English" education for girls, focusing on the "accomplishments," continued to be strong in Britain and had become firmly entrenched in its White Dominions through the agency of women teachers-entrepreneurs. Next to the English, Protestant model of feminine middle-class education, female religious teaching orders, mostly of French origin, spread a concurrent Roman Catholic model across the globe. The best of these schools valued both intellectual attainment and traditional "female" qualities. Although Catholics feared coeducation theoretically as a dangerous threat to morality, toward the end of the century in Italy, Spain and Portugal parents managed to smuggle ambitious girls into boys' schools. After much feminist campaigning, in the early twentieth century, Germany and France created separate girls' paths leading directly to the prestigious *Abitur* or baccalaureate. The choice for separate schools fitted the more critical perception of mixed schooling of the post-1900 period. Rather than on the merits, such as improved morals and

manners of boys and girls, it focused on the perils of coeducation, particularly on disregarding gender-specific learning styles and the need to fully develop gender identity during adolescence, themes that were rediscovered in the 1980s after coeducation had generally been introduced. These continuities over time in the arguments pro or contra coeducation remind us of the importance to reflect on its history and on the significance of conceptualizations of gender differences for curricula that today are meant to support equal opportunities for all.

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Modern Schooling and the Curriculum of the Body

34

Kellie Burns, Helen Proctor, and Heather Weaver

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Abstract

This chapter argues that the myriad of formal and informal operations of modern schooling organized around the bodies of children represent the curriculum of the body. Curriculum is understood to encompass not just the content or transmission of formal syllabuses, but rather a whole range of teaching and learning that goes on, both in accordance with and despite the stated or unstated objectives of school-teachers and other authorities. The historical period treated by the chapter begins in the nineteenth century, a period during which mass schooling gained international traction and in which the imperatives of public health were becoming increasingly systematized. Five thematic groupings are identified to describe the diverse range of technologies and practices that constitute the curriculum of the body in modern schooling: (1) the school as clinic, (2) formal curriculum and sports, (3) architecture

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and spatialization, (4) classroom pedagogies and disciplinary practices, and (5) clothing the student body. Drawing on scholarly analyses across a variety of national settings, each theme demonstrates how the curriculum of the body was shaped by the broader values and norms governing particular nation-states or regions at particular points in time. They also highlight the key authorities and dominant bodies of knowledge instrumental in establishing childhood during the schooling ages as a period of physical vulnerability in need of management.

Keywords

Curriculum of the body · Mass schooling · Childhood · School as clinic

Introduction

In the classic autobiographical early twentieth century Australian novel *The Getting of Wisdom*, the young protagonist, Laura, daughter of a widowed country postmistress, is sent to an exclusive city boarding school where she finds herself socially out of her depth. She quickly learns that her bodily conduct and presentation – her hair, her clothes, and her manners – do not fit. The school in the book is recognizable as a famous founding institution of academic schooling for girls in Australia, Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC), Melbourne; but rather than celebrating such pioneering training of the intellect, the author, Ethel Richardson (writing under the pseudonym Henry Handel Richardson), detailed a performative – and repressive – curriculum of the body.

While Richardson approached schooling with twentieth-century skepticism, one of the foundation texts of the British Empire school fiction tradition, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (first published in 1857), was entirely earnest. In this novel – also broadly autobiographical – the English boarding school, Rugby, is a total environment for the creation of white Christian gentlemen. The school works on the growing body of Tom Brown through a combination of vigorous manly activity (sports and games) and morally purposeful stillness (prayer, religious contemplation). Even the violence perpetrated by the bully, Flashman, serves as an opportunity for the proving of manly deportment.

These two novels illustrate how institutionalized schooling was an induction to the patterns and rituals of schooling and how “the body” was a site to be managed through a range of everyday practices. These practices encouraged conformity and control as well as promoting new varieties of difference, in which older distinctions of birth and rank were overlaid by newer classifications of school-based knowledge or skill. And they not only were aimed at the efficient management of school populations but also addressed the interiorities and dispositions of young people and the raced, classed, and gendered ways in which young people grew to adulthood. As Bernadette Baker and others have argued, curriculum is “non-neutral and non-objective,” not separable from “socio-politics” (Baker 2009, p. xxxiii).

For the girls of the social stratum attending PLC in late nineteenth century Melbourne, a level of social competence in a narrow, white, upper middle-class milieu was an entry requirement for a good marriage and thus a secure economic

future. The boys of Rugby and other schools like it were being readied to take their places in the white ruling cadres of the multiracial British Empire. Rugby and PLC shared many practices with each other and also with other kinds of schools – but the differences *between* schools are also important. The large urban working-class elementary schools that spread through cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, were laboratories for detailed technologies of crowd management, for keeping the bodies of students still or in motion in precise ways. Knowledge about and experiences of the body were thus shaped by the *type* of school and schooling systems being imagined and the underpinning distinctions between these.

The curriculum of the body was strongly influenced by dominant ideas about childhood and adolescence and about how schools (and other state institutions and social welfare organizations) should intervene in the lives of young people and families. Mass schooling was part of a mounting recognition that states could and should promote particular values of citizenship and social opportunity (Bloch et al. 2003; Mintz 2012). Normative ideas about childhood and adolescence were shaped by the shifting priorities and practices of schools. For example, age stratification, the development of kindergartens and high schools, and the expansion of schooling to broader segments of the population (which intensified in the twentieth century) all contributed to age becoming a dominant way in which the life course was organized.

The category “young” was sometimes intended to cut across other kinds of categorizations – of class, race, and so on – and other times not. Pioneering social psychologist G. Stanley Hall, at the turn of the twentieth century, described the new biopsychological developmental category “adolescence” as a turbulent period linked to puberty. This ostensibly applied to boys of all social classes and nationalities while differentiated by race – in a Darwin-inspired hierarchy of civilization. Girls were categorically distinct: Stanley Hall (and others) warned that the body-mind connection was such that schoolgirls who attempted to compete academically with boys risked damaging their internal organs and their reproductive capacity (e.g., see Dyhouse 1981). As Steven Mintz (2012) contends, constructions of childhood play “a crucial role in the intergenerational transmission and development of collective identities” (p. 21), naturalizing cultural practices appropriate to “children” and “adults” that are grounded in racist, classist, and sexist ideologies.

The “discovery” of adolescence and the claim that childhood and adolescence could be understood as distinct developmental phases contributed to the expansion of pediatric medicine and to the emergence of developmental psychology and child psychiatry. These fields were instrumental in educational reform, including, for example, the incorporation of physical education into formal school curricula. Elizabeth Gagan (2004) argues that the physical education and playground movements in the USA at the turn of the twentieth century were a response to the work of Stanley Hall and that of neurologist George M. Beard, whose 1881 publication *American nervousness* described the causes and symptoms of “neurasthenia.” Beard maintained that a finite reserve of nervous energy was required to support muscular actions and intellectual functioning, both of which had been seriously compromised by the shift from rural laboring to urban schooling and work life. His critique

extended to schools as emasculating institutions, not only because young boys spent time sitting in classrooms “thinking” but also because schools were often staffed by female teachers (Tyack and Hansot 1990). Stanley Hall mobilized Beard’s concerns about “neurasthenic leaching” and its attendant “crisis of masculinity” in rationalizing the need for physical education in American public schools. Alongside other physical fitness initiatives aimed at young men (e.g., Boy Scouts, YMCAs), universal physical education was viewed as an inoculation against the deleterious effects of an expanding urban environment.

A profound assumption of modern schooling was that bodies and minds could be understood, and thus taught and trained, as distinct entities that while connected, could be acted on separately. As Cynthia Veiga (2018) argues, in so-called civilized societies, the body/person dualism organized a variety of professional fields including education (but also medicine, sport, and psychology) and was fundamental in naturalizing social inequalities. That the body was assumed to be distinct from the person pathologized non-compliant bodies, particularly poor and racialized bodies, as individualized problems to be managed, and by the same process normalized social structures that maintained social inequalities. This split or dualism also underpinned curriculum hierarchies of prestige and esteem. For example, Raewyn Connell and co-authors (Connell et al. 1982) critiqued the implication of the “competitive academic curriculum,” which valorized brainwork over handwork and (supposed) mental capacity over manual prowess, in their early 1980s study of how secondary schools “make” social class differences through routine assumptions and practices. Bodies, contends Mona Gleason (1999), are “arbitrators of experience” (p. 113); they are sites through which children learn “their positions in well-established hierarchies of power” (p. 113), not only how they differ from adults but also from one another.

Modern Schooling and the Curriculum of the Body

This chapter employs the concept of the “curriculum of the body” to distinguish a set of educational technologies and schooling practices that were enacted on or through the body – not in isolation but rather “in permanent interdependence with other beings and objects” (Veiga 2018, p. 22). Histories of embodiment or corporeality in and through schooling have been considered across a range of historical sub-disciplines including histories of medicine, public health, childhood, and teachers/teaching. The contention of this chapter is that when brought together, this seemingly disparate body of work elucidates the formal and informal operations of modern schooling as it was organized around the bodies of schoolchildren.

This chapter is informed by an expanded view of curriculum that includes “text,” “discourse,” “practice,” and “institution” (Green 2018). It is informed by the understanding that the school curriculum encompasses not just the content or transmission of formal syllabuses, but rather a whole range of teaching and learning that goes on, both in accordance with and despite of the stated or unstated objectives of schoolteachers and other authorities. This includes those elements of

schooling that are ostensibly designed merely for the smooth running of the real curriculum but have pedagogic power of their own, such as the routines characterized by Phillip Jackson (1968) in his famous essay “The daily grind” as “the hidden curriculum.”

The subsections that follow outline a range of dimensions and practices that collectively constitute the curriculum of the body in modern schooling. It is not an exhaustive overview – the discussion focuses primarily on the ways in which the bodies of children and young people are discursively constructed and materially implicated in and through the formal and informal technologies and practices of curriculum. Somewhat tangential to the chapter’s focus but nevertheless important are the performative possibilities and limitations of teachers’ bodies, which are also shaped by schooling practices and technologies and which strongly influence students’ and families’ understanding of their bodily capacities or limitations. While recognizing that the practices and effects of any kind of curriculum, or set of curricular practices, will always to some extent be messy, contested, or inconsistent, the chapter nevertheless identifies certain themes and continuities. In varied ways, each thematic subsection demonstrates how the curriculum of the body was shaped by the broader values and norms governing particular places at particular points in time. They also highlight the key authorities and dominant bodies of knowledge instrumental in establishing childhood during the schooling years as a period of physical vulnerability in need of management.

The historical period treated by the chapter begins in the nineteenth century. During this period the belief that all children should spend years in school, separated from other kin and community, gained international traction. (This is notwithstanding both formal and informal exclusions from these institutions, such as on the grounds of race or disability.) It also delineates a period in which the imperatives of public health were becoming increasingly systematized and bureaucratized and schools were identified as key sites for health and welfare interventions (Proctor and Burns 2017). The rationale for the time period and institutional focus is to pay attention to the development of a set of institutional forms and bodily practices that became normalized and naturalized as elemental to schooling and thereby to childhood and adolescence.

The School as Clinic

With mass schooling came an intensified focus on the ill health caused by schools. The co-mingling of “the masses” meant schools posed new health risks to children, including the spread of infectious disease: “public schools were crowded, often unhealthy spaces for children in which contagions of all manner spread quickly through the attending population” (Gleason 2013, p. 10). School buildings and classroom practices raised a myriad of health concerns, including anxieties about hygiene, ventilation, children’s posture, and eyesight. For those children whose health was already deemed to be compromised, attending school posed heightened risks.

The open-air school movement in the early twentieth century attempted to reduce this threat for children at risk of tuberculosis, aimed at ensuring they could continue learning while receiving medical treatment. These schools functioned as both sanatoriums and learning spaces constructed with open-sided classrooms (and in some cases dormitories) and prioritizing outdoor learning to ensure students had sufficient “fresh air” time. In Britain the first open-air school was founded in 1907, but the movement was at its peak in the 1930s, with approximately 16,500 children attending 155 of these schools (Bryder 1992). It was the job of School Medical Officers to identify children who would benefit from attending an open-air school (Bryder 1992).

With the introduction of Robert Koch’s diagnostic “tuberculin test,” which screened for infection, childhood testing and treatment became a primary focus of the national tuberculosis campaign. Children were described as “seedlings of tuberculosis,” and those children most “at risk” of developing the disease in adulthood were diagnosed under the emergent diagnostic category “pretuberculous.” Many of the children selected to attend open-air schools did not have active tuberculosis and in some cases might not have even been exposed to the disease. However, it was determined they showed characteristics that made them particularly susceptible to future infection – undernourished, anemic, pale, and/or debilitated. Such characteristics, Linda Bryder (1992) notes, were common to a lot of children living in urban slums. While historians of public health often interpret open-air schools as exemplars of “progressive” and “preventative” public health, Bryder (1992) argues that this movement enforced the Victorian ideal of self-discipline through the management of children’s bodies and classroom learning, controlling deviance as much as it did disease. For example, it was determined that some students’ health continued to be compromised by the time they spent “at home” in dirty slum areas. Health visits to family homes were initiated in some jurisdictions to assess physical living conditions and provide advice on better hygiene and nutrition. In some cases, if parents failed to adopt the healthy values and routines recommended, their children would be expelled from the open-air school to teach the parents a lesson about self-determination and healthy living.

Mass schooling served as impetus for population management through the bodies and practices of children, adolescents, and their families. Compulsory attendance meant that schools became the ideal site for the inculcation of psychosocial habits of personal hygiene and communal health. As David Armstrong (1993) argues, while “the school might have been established as a mechanism for learning, [it] also functioned as a laboratory in which the body of the child could be subjected to analysis, experimentation and transformation” (p. 402; see also Gard and Plum 2014). Across the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of school-based public health and welfare initiatives extended schools’ medico-clinical capacities, and school design and curriculum were reassessed with the aim of making them “healthier” spaces. The introduction of medical inspection systems to assess the physical condition of schools and identify “unhealthy” students was a widespread international response to the health risks posed by schools. Between 1874 and 1906, school medical inspectors were appointed in at least 20 countries, usually in large urban centers (Harris 1995).

Efforts to improve school hygiene and schoolchildren's health discursively constructed childhood as a sociomedical problem and introduced specific interventions and services to remedy it. Notions of the "healthy child" were borne out of school medical inspections, which transformed classrooms into temporary clinical spaces for the preventive management of childhood health and pathologized children and families who failed to conform to urban, middle-class, and Anglo-Celtic models of healthy living (Gleason 1999, 2002) (Fig. 1).

Over time what constituted childhood health problems changed as medical knowledge expanded. Nelleke Bakker (2017) notes that for the Netherlands there was a marked shift *away* from focusing on screening for medical "abnormalities" from the 1940s to considering the psychosocial dimension of children's health. A more holistic view of childhood health was promoted by national organizations overseeing school medical inspections resulting in various psychosocial dimensions of childhood health (e.g., school readiness, behavior, disability) being subsumed by the medical model. In this way psychosocial dimensions of development and learning were framed through medicalized ideas of childhood health.

Free school meal programs were also elemental to school medical services. By the 1930s, schools in many countries provided free milk, which was considered particularly beneficial to children's growth (Atkins 2005; Harris 1995). Figure 2 shows school children in Christchurch, New Zealand, in the 1940s drinking milk



Fig. 1 A nurse inspects the throats of schoolchildren. Orange, New Jersey, USA, c. 1913. (From Gulick and Ayres 1913, 148–149)

Fig. 2 Children drinking their daily bottle of school milk. Linwood, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1940s. (Photograph by John Dobree Pascoe. Alexander Turnbull Library (1/4-000033-F). <http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=15118>)



from half pint bottles, part of a national school milk scheme aimed to improve childhood health and make use of surplus milk supplies. As was the case in many countries, the scheme ended in 1967 due to cost and mounting skepticism about the health benefits of milk.

School-based vaccination clinics were incorporated into school health services in the early twentieth century. Schools were considered optimal sites for mass vaccination because of mandatory attendance. In Australia, the earliest recorded school-based program was the national diphtheria toxoid vaccine, administered from 1932 to 1936. From the 1940s to the 1980s, national school-based programs were rolled out for tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, and rubella (Gidding et al. 2001; Ward et al. 2010). In England and Wales, the administration of vaccines at school from the mid-1950s onward led to the school health service's involvement in public health campaigns against diseases such as tuberculosis and poliomyelitis (Harris 1995). This type of preventive role was characteristic of the period, marked by a decline in schoolchildren being identified and treated for physical "defects" or "abnormalities" (e.g., skin diseases, eye diseases, postural problems) and a growing focus on school guidance services and broader public health objectives.

Vaccination programs against poliomyelitis are particularly salient examples of how the histories of public health, schooling, and childhood intersect. Images of polio-afflicted children confined to "iron lungs" were central to the disease's terrifying public image and in ensuring public support of vaccination. In a number of countries, schools operated as temporary clinical sites for early vaccine trials and for the administration of vaccination programs. In Australia, the school-based administration of the polio vaccine occurred between 1955 and 1966, with the initial rollout of the imported Salk inactivated poliomyelitis vaccine (IPV) (Gidding et al. 2001); see Fig. 3.

Fig. 3 Girls show their upper arms to demonstrate their participation in an anti-polio campaign. Randwick Girls School, New South Wales, Australia, 1956. State Library of NSW, Government Printing Office (2-07718)



American scientist Jonas Salk's vaccine had been deemed a medical breakthrough following a large-scale trial involving 1.8 million children, first in America and later in Canada and Finland. However, the safety and efficacy of the vaccine were called into question when in 1955 some vaccine batches manufactured at Cutter Laboratories in Berkeley, California, were found to contain live virus serotypes that resulted in 204 Americans contracting polio and 11 deaths. In Australia (and a number of other developed countries, e.g., Canada and Britain) "the Cutter Incident," as it became known, led to the establishment of independent authorities to provide final quality checks on vaccines before distribution (a role now carried out by the Australian Therapeutic Goods Administration) and hastened efforts for the mass production of IPV *locally* as a means of ensuring higher manufacturing safety standards (Day 2009; Gidding et al. 2001). Commonwealth Serum Laboratories (CSL) in Melbourne commenced production of IPV in 1956. Alison Day (2009) outlines the impact the Cutter Incident had on shaping New Zealand's polio immunization program given their lack of infrastructure to manufacture an equivalent vaccine locally. The result was that, despite broad public support for polio vaccination, the country was "forced to sit on the sidelines" (Day 2009, p. 51), awaiting results from vaccine trials in Australia, Britain, and Canada and then information about which countries might have surplus stock they could purchase. This period of waiting coincided with the onset of another seasonal polio outbreak in the summer of 1955–1956, placing increased pressure on the New Zealand Health Department to justify why New Zealand children continued to suffer, while other children around the globe were achieving immunity.

Formal Curriculum and Sports

Modern schooling systems divided the curriculum (and extra curriculum) into different school subjects or otherwise bounded activities such as hobby groups, clubs, or organized sports. As with all school practices, the details and experiences

of these kinds of curricula varied, but certain kinds of material objects and bodily movements – running along a pre-arranged pattern, throwing and catching a purpose made sports ball, wearing shorts or a sports tunic, and wielding a bat or racket – became closely associated with both schooling and childhood (Fig. 4). This section focuses on how formal curricula, including sports, provided lessons about the discipline of and care for the body that were wedded to classed, raced, and gendered citizenship values.

The masculinist and nationalist aims of physical education and organized school sport are well documented (see, e.g., Gagan 2004; Hargreaves 1994; Kirk 1998; Phillips and Roper 2006; Pruter 2013). In Australia, an early twentieth-century campaign for compulsory physical training in schools was propelled by both international eugenic anxieties about white racial fitness and national defense fears (Kirk 1998). With the retraction of British forces (from 1870) and perceived threats of attack from the north, schools were deemed the appropriate site for military training. An early and exceptional federal government intervention in schooling saw compulsory junior cadet training introduced across the country in 1911. National funding was provided for boys aged 12–14 to be instructed in marching, squad drill, and rifle shooting alongside gymnastics, swimming, running, and organized games (Phillips and Roper 2006).

The curriculum of organized sports and physical education remains markedly gender-differentiated in many places, in comparison with other school curriculum areas. Historically, training the bodies and disciplining the minds of *boys* were often



Fig. 4 Schoolgirls using their arms to link together. Okayama City, Okayama Prefecture, Japan, 1935. Kjeld Duits Collection (70302-0002), MeijiShowa

primary aims of physical education, with girls missing out on active time during school hours. Jennifer Hargreaves (1994) points out that the provision of girls' physical education in England from the turn of the century well into the 1930s frequently perpetuated both gender and class distinctions. Girls attending upper- and middle-class public schools and grammar schools, for example, participated in an expanding range of energetic games and activities including gymnastics, cricket, lacrosse, and rounders, whereas many poor working-class schools had neither the facilities nor resources to promote physical activity or games. Gender and class therefore shaped the type of physical experiences children had and the physical education curriculum frequently produced or reinforced gender and class distinctions.

Interscholastic sport reform in American schools in the first decade of the twentieth century was driven by broader progressive educational reforms. However, it was also underpinned by fears of urban underclasses living in "slums" and by a desire to "Americanize" immigrants and the working class. Sport was framed as an important educational tool that promoted healthy vigor (again, particularly for boys whose masculinity and energy levels were under threat) and redirected young people away from delinquency and a preoccupation with sex as training and tiring the body through sport would focus and redirect the mind of the adolescent boy (Pruter 2013). Team sports with their war-like tactics would also promote patriotism and facilitate military preparedness. Histories of school sport often show how social inequalities and economic disparities between schools were reflected in the number and range of opportunities afforded to different groups of students. Robert Pruter (2013), for example, argues that interscholastic sporting opportunities for African-American students (from the 1920s) varied greatly across the country, with districts in the Deep South in particular typically providing starkly unequal athletic facilities to White and Black schools (also see Ladson-Billings 2004).

The history of racialized educational inequity in New Zealand presents a different although related picture. Brendan Hokowhitu (2004) argues that the significant success of male Māori athletes in sport has become "a form of positive racism" (p. 268) that reflects Māori men's restricted access to social arenas that would unsettle the pervasive national "representational genealogy of physical warrior" (p. 269). In his critique of Māori men as "natural" athletes and savage warriors, Hokowhitu argues that Aotearoa/New Zealand schooling in the early colonial periods was instrumental in creating and maintaining racist distinctions between Māori and Pakeha. Māori boys received limited educational opportunities and were streamed into nonacademic subjects and directed toward blue-collar employment. Confinement to manual labor, and the widely held belief that Māori men were "inherently" physical, led to generations of *tane* (males) considering themselves "practical" and emphasizing athletic success (also see MacLean 1999).

Another element of bodily education often legitimized in the formal curriculum was "health" education. This is a capacious category that could encompass instruction in teeth or hand cleaning for little children or, in the mid- to late twentieth century, various forms of "sex education." In her account of British health education in the modern period, Jane Pilcher (2007) maintains that children's bodies were viewed as gendered "works in progress," crucial to the future social order. Although

in language and illustration, the future subject of health education was most commonly male, girls were seen to be pivotal to securing the future health of the nation. Health content (e.g., hygiene practices and nutrition) was directed toward providing the “foundations of motherhood” to girls through housecraft and mothercraft. Girls and their bodies, notes Pilcher, were the primary recipients of school-based health knowledge well into the second half of the twentieth century, with post-Second World War health education expanding to target the “problems” of girls’ bodies during adolescence. Boys were primarily excluded from early sex education, and when included the changes associated with male puberty were not pathologized in the same ways. Significantly then, since its inception, health education has upheld sexist, heteronormative, and cisgender assumptions about young people’s developing bodies and their desires (also see Adams (1997) on sex education and the making of heterosexuality in postwar Canada).

Architecture and Spatialization

The built environment and material fit-out of school rooms and buildings encouraged, or aimed to mandate, certain kinds of movements and particular arrangements of bodies across space. Grosvenor and Burke (2008, p. 12) propose that “the design of school buildings, both the exterior shell and the interior ordering of space and furnishings, is in a symbiotic relationship with ideas about childhood, education and community.” According to Bilsel and Dinçyürek (2017, p. 394), the role of school architecture is, at least in part, to “deliver political, cultural, or religious ideas into built form.” Illustrative of this point is Kirsten Orr’s (2017) analysis of how a commitment to the principles of liberalism and free trade drove the development of technical education and the reimagining of school architecture for a short but productive period of building in late nineteenth-century Australia. She focuses on the strong direction of an early New South Wales Minister of Public Instruction who, in partnership with his Architect for Public Schools, worked at “the interface between political ideology, educational reform and design” (p. 48) to prioritize buildings that were distinctly ambitious in layout and appearance. (The existence of an official government position, Public School Architect, is telling in itself.) The buildings’ Romanesque style, high-quality craftsmanship, and provision of manual technical workshops reflected a desire both to focus attention on the possibilities of education for national progress and to equip students with internationally competitive, up-to-date skills. These new architectural spaces would come to shape the bodily movements and routines of students, shape curriculum priorities, and limit or enable certain pedagogies and teaching practices.

School architecture was influenced by beliefs about what constituted good teaching practice and about the bodily needs of children and adolescents. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, school buildings generally became increasingly complex, from a single mixed-age schoolroom, or an adapted domestic residence, to larger aggregations of classrooms and the addition of other kinds of spaces such as internal washrooms, libraries, and assembly spaces. The work of Michel Foucault

has been instrumental in shaping how historians consider the school as a disciplinary institution, a site for the exercise of power, on and through the bodies of children, teachers, family members, and others (ISCHE 2017). Kim Dovey and Kenn Fisher (2014) describe the “traditional classroom” as “a form of what Foucault terms a disciplinary technology where the gaze of authority works to produce a normalized and disciplined subject” (p. 43). This space was designed to accommodate teacher-centered pedagogies, with students directing their focus toward the teacher and the chalkboard, both of which were at the front of the classroom. From the early twentieth century, student-centered learning, influenced by the work of John Dewey, directed architectural trends toward new priorities – connecting indoor and outdoor learning spaces, installing movable classroom furniture, and creating “hands-on” learning spaces (e.g., science laboratories, studios, gymnasias), which students would move through more independently. The 1970s saw the proliferation of “open-plan” schools though this was largely forsaken by the 1980s when many open-plan schools were reorganized into traditional classroom cells (Dovey and Fisher 2014).

The politics of school spatialization not only organizes, differentiates, and manages schooling bodies; it also constructs and constrains corporeal *histories*, impacting how schooling is remembered and memorialized. This is poignantly illustrated by debates in Washington, D.C., in the mid-1970s as to whether or not the 1916 building that formerly housed Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, the successor of the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth, the first high school established for black students in the country, should be demolished and replaced with more modern facilities (Wiley 2013). Those steering the demolition suggested the poor facilities of Dunbar High were an enduring symbol of racial segregation, no longer necessary in a post-segregation society. The design concept for the proposed new building attempted to reflect a history of black protest, changes in educational pedagogy, and an expanding consciousness of cultural empowerment. Opponents of the rebuild on the other hand argued that the original building was a vital part of African-American history and served as a physical reminder to students of black academic excellence in an era of history shaped by Jim Crow laws.

Classroom Pedagogies and Disciplinary Practices

Daily classroom routines, learning practices, and the materials of instruction such as books, writing instruments, and desks were significant elements of the curriculum of the body. For example, schools and school teachers played a crucial role in embedding the habits and practices of reading and writing into everyday life. The exercise of repetitive writing drills in copybooks or on slates, for example, altered the body practices of the student so that the many small skills and movements required to shape words and sentences would become habitual or automatic. As Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins (2000) note, for Māori pupils of the missionary schools of early nineteenth-century Aotearoa/New Zealand, such bodily mechanics were fundamental to profound colonial transformations, representing “a significant opportunity for

colonizing power to enter the Indigenous body” (p. 35). Handwriting pedagogy was largely focused on repetitive tracing of letters, words, and phrases, routines which, Jones and Jenkins argue, can be read as signs of pupils’ successful civilization.

The furnishing and decoration of classrooms and the shape, size, and arrangement of school desks (e.g., in rows or clusters, fixed to the floor or movable) constrained and shaped children’s (and teachers’) bodies as lessons were conducted. In the cash-strapped schools of post-unification Italy, desks were also used as tools to promote national fitness. The “gymnastics between school desks” movement (from the 1870s to the 1970s) was nationalistic in rationale and quasi-military in expression, consisting of a range of drills using the desk as an object to leap over, balance on, or stretch with (Brunelli and Meda 2017). While this practice may not have been widespread, it does underline the significance and strength of the relationship between school desk and school student in the literal, and in this case entirely purposeful, remaking of children’s bodies.

A carefully theorized rejection of the confinement of drills and desks was axiomatic to successive “progressive” education programs from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s and onward. Progressive pedagogies often included activities and movements intended to be liberating for the developing body, and the mind, or “personality” within it and were particularly influential in early childhood education. Reformist early childhood teachers sometimes cleared their classrooms of desks, to encourage children to move more freely around the room (May 2011).

In an essay on feet, Catherine Burke (2018) has argued for the significance of different *sections* of the schoolchild’s body: “Modern schooling, as it developed into its present form from the mid-nineteenth century in industrialised nations, has,” she proposes, “denied the lower half of the body in favour of the upper parts in defining what it means to be educated” (Burke 2018, p. 1). British progressive primary school educators of the mid-twentieth century apparently worked to address this imbalance by promoting such activities as barefooted dance. The 1970s saw the architectural and spatial reorganization of some secondary schools with an aim to counteract what was seen as a traditional infantilization of young adults, by creating spaces that offered them more privacy and autonomy (including places where they were permitted to smoke cigarettes) (McLeod 2014). The democratic schooling movements of the 1970s were intellectually related to twentieth-century critiques of colonial civilizing practices, for example, the work of Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire, whose respective early 1970s publications, notably Illich’s *Deschooling Society* and Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, became required reading for radical teachers.

In their collection *Discipline, Moral Regulation, and Schooling*, Rousmaniere (1997) and her co-authors show how classroom punishments (e.g., caning and detention) aimed to produce “moral” behavior that upheld dominant distinctions between right and wrong and normal and pathological. “Over time,” they argue, “a narrow range of behaviours, beliefs, and values have come to be seen as evidence of good teaching and learning” (Rousmaniere, Dehli, & de Coninck-Smith, p. 5). At the same time, they caution against an overdetermined reading: “although moral regulatory practices are pervasive and powerful, one of the persistent stories of moral regulation is its failure” (p. 5). Several colorful, albeit fictional, instances of the

failure of moral regulation are identified in Heather Weaver's (2014) study of the early twentieth-century mass cultural representation in the USA of classroom-based practical jokes or "mayhem," as rendered through broad physical humor (e.g., a teacher pelted with books or soaked by a deliberately placed bucket of water). Weaver's study suggests how certain tropes of classroom order and resistance – and certain bodily performances of beleaguered teacher and unruly pupil – became recognizable and familiar to cinema audiences and embedded in popular imagination.

The proliferation of classrooms meant new kinds of mixing and heterogeneity, as well as new kinds of categorizations and classifications. Classroom organization and discipline relied on the drawing and redrawing of boundaries between who was allowed in through the classroom door and who was kept outside, or placed in a different classroom space. Classificatory processes were fed by a combination of educational science, ideology, and administrative pragmatism – in each of which assessments of young people's bodies were meaningful. Clementine Beauvais (2016), for example, describes a range of metrics used by early twentieth-century Anglo-American educational psychologists to measure children's mind and body maturation against chronological age, for the purpose of better situating them in classes. Others have shown how the pragmatic willingness to mix genders in coeducational classrooms, particularly at high school level, allowed for efficiencies of scale in the building and financial maintenance of schools (Tyack and Hansot 1990).

Schooling in many places has encompassed segregations by ethno-religious heritage and by race, whether by legislation, regulation, or practice. In Australia this has included the building of a separate school system for Catholic children, as well as the common exclusion of Indigenous children from public schools until the mid-twentieth century (Campbell and Proctor 2014). In late nineteenth-century New South Wales, Australia, Aboriginal children were officially, if not always in practice, permitted to attend a mainstream public school, if they were considered by school authorities to be "habitually clean, decently clad, and [able to] conduct themselves with propriety in and out of school" (NSW Education Department letter from 1884, cited in Fletcher 1989). (During the first half of the twentieth century this modest entitlement was withdrawn.)

Clothing the Student Body

The regularized appearance of students has a long history, dating back in Europe to the clerical dress worn by medieval scholars and, in England specifically, to the parish-supplied "bluecoats" worn by charity-school pupils beginning in the Tudor period. It was over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, that the body of the schoolchild more generally became a uniformed body.

Although this phenomenon took place in countries across the globe, the styles coalesced around several European, especially British, vestimentary codes: ecclesiastical attire as just noted and also military dress and the distinct outfits and team clothes of organized sport. *Tom Brown's Schooldays* described "all the eleven" of

Tom's cricket team wearing matching garments. By the later nineteenth century, items from the cricket kit – V-neck pullover and cap – as well as pieces worn by members of rowing clubs, blazer, straw boater, and tie, were being restyled as items of school uniform. The gymslip (a sleeveless dress originally of navy-blue serge) was first worn by girls in elite secondary schools as a games uniform: hanging from the shoulders and leaving the waist relatively unencumbered, it allowed for mobility during sporting activities. By the 1920s, such dresses were being brought in as the everyday uniform for schoolgirls in countries such as Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Girls were expected to enact a degree of masculine aggression on the playing field while embodying a feminine docility within the school walls. The experience of schoolgirls was thus constructed as bifurcated and both ambiguous and anomalous (Craik 2005; Hertz 2006).

British and other European styles would prove in other ways to reverberate globally in schools. The uniform worn by schoolboys in Japan starting in the late nineteenth century was rooted in Prussian and French army uniforms. A generation later, Japanese schoolgirls were donning sailor suits influenced by nineteenth-century English naval apparel (Kinsella 2002). Catholic schools in North America took the tartan kilt traditionally worn by Scottish men and boys, adopting it for use in plaid skirts for older girls and matching sleeveless dresses for younger ones.

The orthogonal tartan patterns worn by Catholic schoolgirls were an example of the straight-line aesthetic often displayed in school uniforms. Spots, dots, spirals, or waves were not a part of this vision. Diagonal colors on a silk house tie, gingham checks on a poplin school dress, embroidered trim on a prefect blazer, and stripes at the top of a gym sock: these lined patterns – all mimicking the ordered, rational, and unswerving nature of ruled paper and desks in a row – clad pupils in messages of sameness, rigidity, and rectitude (Weaver and Proctor 2018). Such messages could be conveyed by clothing in other ways. Inès Dussell (2005) has detailed how the white smock (resembling a laboratory coat) that came to be worn in Argentinean public schools during the early part of the twentieth century overlaid discourses of morality, hygiene, and homogeneity onto the bodies of schoolchildren.

Students could thus be made to wear certain garments in order to establish, express, and reinforce the identity of something as specific as a school or as general as a nation. The uniform could visually transform a schoolchild in an instant, even as it served as a sign of the eventual transformation that the schoolchild was expected to undergo while wearing it. Photographs lent themselves to the fetishization of this sort of transformation. This was particularly marked in the case of Indigenous students sent to assimilationist boarding schools in North America. Malmsheimer (1985) has shown how the founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania oversaw a portrait project to capture the “civilization” of his pupils. “Before” and “after” images of students were close studies in contrasting clothing, hairstyles, comportment, and apparent skin tone. There were also photographs of larger assembled groups taken from a distance. These carried their own message. An 1880 image featured a mass of boys from 16 different tribes dressed exactly alike, their previous tribal identities subsumed under matching American military-inspired school uniforms (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Native American schoolboys stand in uniform ranks. Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pennsylvania, USA, 1880. (Photograph by John Nicholas Choate. Sheldon Jackson collection of Indian photographs (WC055); Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library)

Conclusion and Future Directions

This chapter describes a set of consequential encounters between modern schooling and the bodies of children by mapping key dimensions of what is identified in the chapter as the “curriculum of the body.” It is a *curriculum* in that there is a level of coherence and direction to its practices, which are *instructional* in nature, even if not always at the level of transparent or even consciously articulated planning by school authorities. This coherence and direction occur despite the lack of a monolithic center of power, despite this curriculum being untidily put together from various different parts of the operation and forms of schooling, and despite both instances and patterns of inconsistency and contradiction. The situating of this bodily curriculum in *modern* schooling draws attention to the historical significance of the institutionalization of education, across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Schooling is theorized as one of the great organizing institutions of modernity, which, in the case of the curriculum of the body, coexisted and intersected with contemporarily emerging fields of authority, knowledge, and organization in medicine, public health, and developmental psychology. Schools became so closely identified with first childhood and then adolescence that the artificiality of this connection is now scarcely visible. Modern categorizations of childhood and adolescence grew interactively with the expansion of modern, classroom-based schooling and occasioned new beliefs and practices of corporeal management, protection, and discipline.

Young people in schools are taught to use their bodies in certain ways – to move or be still in certain sequences and patterns – and in considerable detail. For its illustrative content, the chapter draws on a number of historical studies from a variety of settings and locations, some of which have theorized the body more explicitly than others, yet all of which underline the body's curricular significance. The chapter identifies five exemplary thematic groupings, describing a diverse range of technologies and practices: (1) the school as clinic; (2) formal curriculum and sports; (3) architecture and spatialization; (4) classroom pedagogies and disciplinary practices; and (5) clothing the student body. In doing so it mainly focuses its gaze on children (broadly defined) and how their bodies were managed or disciplined, either by or in the course of systematic school practices.

There is, of course, more that could be said. The bodies of teachers, for example – including the literature of teachers' sexuality – could be drawn into this curriculum of the body (e.g., Blount 2000). The chapter has only scratched the surface of accounts of resistance and other kinds of counternarratives to the coherence of the curriculum of the body. Instructive here might be accounts of peer relations, such as indicated by the chapter's opening fictional examples, or work on children's subcultures including child-initiated games. Although the chapter details various kinds of power, it touches only briefly on the violence of physical bodily contact. Recent public inquiries in Australia and other places have forcefully drawn attention to sexual violence in schools perpetrated by those in authority (Wright et al. 2018). Additionally, understandings of the curriculum of the body will continue to shift and require adaptation in relationship with a range of nonhuman actors and circumstances including planetary climate change as well as developments in artificial intelligence that in a different way pose existential questions about the conduct, meaning, and mutability of bodies.

This chapter has called attention to the production and governance of children's bodies in and through schooling practices. Schools are extraordinarily powerful and important social institutions, and, as with all school lessons, the curriculum of the body is carried and has impact well beyond the classroom walls and well beyond the schoolyears of children. The curriculum of the body cannot be overlooked, not only because of how it shapes bodies through the kinds of practices discussed in this chapter but also because bodies are productive, they produce and order schools, and they are also often at the fore of challenging and changing schools discursively or materially. Minoritarian corporealities unsettle normative subjectivities that order schooling – “the teacher,” “the student,” “girl,” “boy,” and so on – and trouble child/adult binaries. As Anna Hickey-Moody (2013) insists, “growing up” is not a teleological process with a clear beginning or end, but rather is a dominant narrative deterritorialized over and over, and then reterritorialized by the norms and impositions of adult regulated knowledge cultures and institutions. Drawing on the writings of Gilles Deleuze, Hickey-Moody urges that adult sensibilities must be read as part of the virtual capacities of the child body:

If we were to reconceptualize childhood as a partial mixture, as a temporary surface upon which specific childhood affects are inscribed, then the capacity for ‘adult’ emotions and

sensibilities which form the partial mixture on which childhood . . . rests, becomes part of childhood. (p. 284)

Children's bodies thus have the capacity to deterritorialize schools *and* the idea of childhood itself, actively disrupting racist, heterosexist, classist, and colonial practices, many of which rely on monolithic and static constructions of the child.

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Part V

Governance, Policy, and Management



Joyce Goodman

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Abstract

The introduction to this part of the Handbook uses contributions from section authors to map the contested terrain of governance, policy, and management and to discuss scholarly approaches to circulation(s) through which notions of governance, policy-making, and management have been and continue to be dif/fused. It discusses government and governmentality, policy as text and policy as discourse, and the shifting terminology of management around administration and leadership. It considers how circulation(s) and dif/fusion(s) of practices of governance, policy, and management have been understood through postcolonial, transnational, and global analytics, as well as through spatial frames. It comments on Big Data as an avenue for research and as a form of governance.

Keywords

Governance · Policy · Management · Postcolonial · Transnational

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Introduction

Governance, policy, and management are three highly contested terms that relate to knowledge claims about educational activity and action. Each has its own theoretical terrain and its own history through which truths are constructed with consequences for education, for individual lives, and for populations. Reconfigured understandings of governance, policy, and management work to reposition educational practice and to engender changes with/in practice and shift their locations in intellectual fields. As terms they also entangle, as Ball (1990) demonstrates for political aspects of policy-making in relation to the governance of education, and as Hodgkinson illustrates in characterizing policy-making as philosophy, planning and politics, and policy implementation as mobilizing, managing, and monitoring (cited in Gunter 2004, p. 26). The introduction to this part uses contributions from section authors to map some of this “contested terrain” (Ozga 1999, p. 1) and to discuss scholarly approaches to circulation(s) through which notions of governance, policy-making, and management have been and continue to be dif/fused.

The section introduction begins by discussing notions of government and governmentality which Rose (1999) argues mark out the field upon which investigations of the modern operations of power/knowledge can be located. It looks at definitions of policy through Ball’s (2015) differentiation between policy as text and policy as discourse and considers questions of voice to which Rose and Ball alert. It highlights shifts in the terminology of management around administration and leadership that Gunter and Fitzgerald (2008) chart. It uses Fitzgerald’s (2003) analysis of the “whiteness” of school leadership theory to move discussion from governance, policy, and management as a “contested terrain” onto how circulation(s) and dif/fusion(s) of practices of governance, policy, and management have been understood through postcolonial, transnational, and global analytics; and it touches on the spatial frames through which technologies of the self and technologies of power interweave in governing oneself and governing others. In suggesting future directions for research, it highlights the potential of Big Data for analysis of governance, management, and policy-making but also the potential to research Big Data as an emergent form of governmentality.

Governance, Policy, and Management: A Contested Terrain

Rose (1999) notes that the *Oxford English Dictionary* uses governance to refer to any strategy, tactic, process, procedure, or program for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering, or exercising authority over others in a nation, organization, or locality. As such, governance directs attention to “the nature, problems, means, actions, manners, techniques and objects by which actors place themselves under the control, guidance, sway and mastery of others, or seek to place other actors, organizations, entities, or events under their own sway” (Rose 1999, p. 16). Governance links with the patterns or structures that emerge through the interaction of a range of political actors that include public, private, and voluntary associations

and the state. In this sense, governance refers to the outcome of all these interactions and interdependencies (Rose 1999, p. 17). Despite as Woyshner argues in (► Chap. 41, “Black Civic Organizations in the History of Education,”) voluntarism often being a response to exclusions from mainstream political and public life Rose’s contention that governance tends to be seen as good when it means less government illustrates the normative and Western-centric lens of much thinking on governance that casts the potential for voluntarism in polities like America and Britain as a norm against which to judge centrist patterns of government as orientalist, coercive, and “other” (Sluga 2010).

Mundy et al. (2016) signal how earlier approaches to politics, power, and education were constrained by geographical notions of the nation-state as a “natural” frame for political systems. For Weber, Durkheim, and Mill, national education systems formed part of the apparatus of modern government in the Western world, where education provided a mechanism for socializing citizens as part of the state’s right to exercise legitimate authority within its national territory. The state operationalized this “right” by controlling allocations of public resources for education, by setting national (and subnational) curricula and standards, by hiring and paying teachers and structuring their work, and by owning the schools themselves (Mundy et al. 2016). Rose (1999) notes that classical concepts of nineteenth-century sociology constituted the state as a centralized body and collective actor able to authorize all other legitimate authority, cast individuals as autonomous subjects with will and agency, and regarded human collectivities as singularities with identities that provided the basis for political interests and political actions. As Keynes demonstrates in (► Chap. 37, “History Education, Citizenship, and State Formation,”), emergent systems of modern schooling and professionalizing historical discipline were implicated within European processes of state formation by shaping a historical consciousness to bind members of the citizenry together around a common civic identity anchored in a shared history that moved calendrically through an homogenous view of time associated with modernity that ruptured experiences of a post-revolutionary era.

State formation exhibited diversity and unevenness across countries. What comprised the state also differed markedly from country to country, as Lowe maintains in his discussion of ► Chap. 36, “Policy-Making in Education.” Like Green (1990), Lowe argues that the development of public education systems can only be understood in relation to state formation. Using comparisons of national systems of schooling in England, France, and the United States, Green concludes that class relations continued to determine the purpose of schooling, but the nature of the state explained the national forms and timing of the development of school systems. Countries in which processes of state formation were most intensive developed national systems of education more quickly, and “liberal” states created more decentralized systems. When discussing how the state in England began to take on its recognizably modern form, Lowe references Archer’s (1979) analysis of why systems of education developed in different forms across countries. Archer uses a historical and structural comparison of educational systems in France, Denmark, England, and Russia and distinguishes between centralized and decentralized

systems. She theorizes structural changes in educational systems through two forms of group assertion that are not necessarily mutually exclusive: *substitution* through which groups create rival educational institutions, and *restriction* through which groups devalue the educational monopoly of dominant groups.

In ► [Chap. 40, “Education and Elites,”](#) O’Neil and Sandgren see the rise of mass schooling and the creation of formal national education systems as a point of demarcation for elite education. They draw on Müller et al.’s (1987) analytic of *systematization* (through which schools were transformed into a highly structured system of delimited and interrelated educational institutions) and *segmentation* (the division of educational systems into parallel tracks that differed as regards curricula and the social origins of their pupils) to illuminate processes of structural change in education and the capacity of education systems to define and perpetuate social distance, although as O’Neil and Sandgren note, the extent to which *systematization* and *segmentation* provide a Western or Eurocentric optic is open to question.

The governance of education did not only play out in terms of class and social distance, as Whitehead outlines in ► [Chap. 39, “Headmistresses.”](#) In the apparatus of modern government aspects of gender, race, and ethnicity were organizing principles in national education systems as well as for families. Foucault (1988a) situates the bourgeois family as a key site for social government through a shift from a notion of family built on alliances and the transmission of wealth, privilege, and status, to a notion of family that stressed the importance of the “maintenance and reproduction of healthy and normal offspring whose intellectual abilities, constitution and moral fibre were not compromised” (Rose 1999, p. 128). Rose notes that in these processes of social government the bourgeois mother was assigned new and “productive” responsibilities. These new responsibilities might be exercised alongside other family members, governesses, and tutors, as Whitehead notes. In addition to the school, the domestic environment proved important for the formal and informal education of elite children but was not O’Neil and Sandgren argue, as consistently sex segregated as has been supposed. Through the administration of dispositions (as pedagogy), children, as future elites, were encouraged, protected, polished, and transformed into “future leaders” who would govern (and exploit) their “inferiors.”

Whitehead traces how with the rise of mass schooling the familial model continued, with mid-nineteenth-century teaching constructed around prevailing ideas of gender difference, in addition to race and class. Lowe highlights gender as an underlying but often unspoken assumption that resulted in boys and girls being prepared for separate and distinct social roles. New forms of respectable and domesticated middle-class and working-class womanhood were solicited through education to enact government in the domestic space through a range of technologies to manage the population and the “civility” of the masses that focused on the contribution of the working-class family to the production of healthy, responsible, and adjusted social citizens (Rose 1999).

Popkewitz (1998) claims that governmentality directs attention to political rationalities embedded in norms by which we reason about the social administration of modes of behavior and being inscribed in the construction of subjectivities. In

► **Chap. 38, “Empire of Teacher Education and Training,”** Sherington highlights the moral purpose of Battersea Training College for teachers, where pupil teachers received an extended general education and an induction into the arts and practices of teaching. Illustrating Popkewitz’s (2014) contention that earlier forms of religiosity were reworked as salvation narratives that became embedded in the rationalities of teaching and learning, at Battersea teacher trainees lived as moral leaders of their social class under a regime similar to the religious life of a seminary. Keynes points to how a homogenous progressive temporality, pointing forward like an arrow in an underlying chronosophy that framed historical progress as an infinite march toward the realization of greater freedom was configured as a salvation narrative that aligned citizens of nation-states to a hopeful future with a common story and set of values, myths, and traditions. The principles of scientific method to generate policy knowledge at the International Council of Women (ICW) and the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) also constituted salvation narratives of modernity. In ► **Chap. 42, “International Women’s Organizations and Education”**, Goodman analyzes the principles through which the ICW and IFUW constructed their members as experts by framing knowledge generated in their organizations as objective and conducive to policy generation, while abjecting the Women’s International Democratic Federation (WIDF) from the policy-making landscape by situating the WIDF and WIDF members on the basis of “interested knowledge” defined as propaganda.

In seeking to define policy, Ball (2015) differentiates between policy as text and policy as discourse. Ball’s formulation moves away from policy as the actions of government, aimed at securing particular outcomes (as configured in the *Oxford English Dictionary*), and away from a view of policy as the operation of statements of intent, comprising transparent values and based on consensus or partnership. Policy as text explores the interpretation and translation of policy through which actors enact policy. It draws attention to policies as “contested and mediated by different actors in different contexts” (Ball 2015, p. 311). Contributions to the Handbook from Lowe, Goodman, and Woysner illustrate Ball’s (1993) contention that policy texts are rarely the work of single authors, or of a single process of production. Rather, as Goodman demonstrates, they operate in multilayered landscapes in which epistemic communities include a range of players. Lowe and Goodman highlight that such players seek to bring their interpretations to bear as agendas are being determined, with the result that policies are the product of compromises at various stages and shift and change their meanings in the arena of politics (Ball 1993).

Woysner’s account of how African American men and women of different classes came together to determine the aims and means of education, and Goodman’s analysis of policy-making activities in international women’s organizations, illustrate some of the strategies used by groups whose voices have been excluded from formal channels of educational policy-making. Both Woysner and Goodman demonstrate the importance of voluntary societies and of international alliances for educational policy-making in Western societies, where policy-making in and for education did not just occur in formal state-centered organizations. Woysner

illustrates that distinctions between formal and informal education were not so sharply marked in the African American struggle for education, and Goodman demonstrates that East/West relations were not necessarily so sharply demarcated within international women's organizations as in intergovernmental organizations like UNESCO. Both black civic voluntary organizations and international women's organizations linked their educational policy platforms with wider political agendas. As Woynshner charts, in the African American struggle for education, social justice, racial and social uplift, economic sustenance, and education for citizenship in a democracy fed into major policy themes for black civic organizations, which developed educational programs in black heritage to facilitate individual development and to progress black social and political advancement. Woynshner's analysis of the exclusions facing black civic organizations, Goodman's illustration of the interplay of race and practices of standardization around qualifications, and Lowe's reference to the suggestion that his daughter might become a nurse rather than a doctor demonstrate that policy texts "enter" existing patterns of inequality which inflects how they are mediated, how they interrelate with other policies, and how they are taken up in schools and organizations through creative social action (Ball 1993).

Policy as discourse resonates with approaches to governmentality in exploring how subjects and subject positions are formed and reformed in relation to policy (Ball 2015). Policy as discourse decenters the state by drawing attention to how policies are produced through "taken for granted and implicit knowledges and assumptions about the world and ourselves" (Ball 2015, p. 311). This is exemplified by Keynes' analysis of the taken for granted assumptions about temporality that underpinned history curricula and by Goodman's account of the epistemological assumptions of the ICW and the IFUW. Policy as discourse points to how policies exercise power through the production of "truth" and "knowledge" (Ball 1993). By attending to "how it [is] possible to think and speak about education and the kinds of practices involved in the constitution of education as a process of teaching and learning" (Ball 2015, p. 307), policy as discourse points to ways in which subjects and subject positions ("the teacher," "the student," "the leader," etc.) are formed and reformed by policy (Ball 2015). Goodman's analysis of knowledge production as authoritative or propaganda with consequences for positioning in expert-related fields and Lowe's portrayal of shifting regimes of policy illustrate Ball's (2015) contention that struggles over the interpretation and enactment of policies are "set within a moving discursive frame which articulates and constrains the possibilities and probabilities of interpretation and enactment" (Ball 1993, p. 15). This may have the effect of redistributing voice so that it does not matter what some people say or think, with the result that only certain voices are positioned as capable of being heard as meaningful or authoritative, as Woynshner and Goodman demonstrate. Furthermore, the enactment of policy is not always linear and rational, as Whitehead illustrates in her analysis of how black women school leaders lost out in terms of employment in the wake of the *Brown v. Board of Education* determination in the United States.

Gunter's (2004) case study of shifting nomenclature around management in the English educational system from 1944 onwards illustrates that what constitutes

management shifts historically in relation to administration and leadership, reworking power relations in the process. Gunter (2004) traces how the terminology of educational administration was configured around the development of practice and an inclusive understanding of administration that aimed to create a professional development imperative for headteachers, who were regarded as both leading professionals and chief executives, in a configuration in which the terms administration and management might be used interchangeably. At a time of economic dysfunction, when the teaching profession was struggling for status, the policy strategizing central to educational administration was transferred to management, and administration was downgraded to clerical delivery work, with the term educational management reconfigured around the interplay of problem solving, practice, and private sector management models linked with accountability. The role of the headteacher as chief executive was now allied with notions of strategic planning, marketing, quality, and teams. As part of the neoliberal reforms of the state, school management was then redesigned as technical, and systems maintenance, and leadership was reconfigured as transformational and energizing (Gunter 2004). Here, leadership focused on performance management from a leader with a vision and mission to bring about school improvement through the leadership of systems, of consumers and of performance, defined in terms of measurable outcomes (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008). This practice separated leaders from managers through a terminology of distributed leadership that situated other post-holders in receipt of delegated management (Gunter 2004) and replaced communal aspects of power relationships with a top-down distribution that enabled performativity to work as a hierarchical process (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008). For Lowe these shifts turned the teacher into a unit of production directed toward measurable and limited outcomes in which children became victims of educational policy rather than its object.

In other times and other places, administration, management, and leadership were cast differently, making visible intersections of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and age. As Whitehead illustrates, in addition to teaching, the headmistress's shifting and multifaceted role spanned administrative direction of the policies of their sponsors (the educational state, religious or secular organizations), building manager, supervisor, professional figurehead, leader of staff and students, and the first point of contact with the local community. In a context where African Americans were excluded from mainstream organizations, they developed skills in organizing, money management, and administration through the workshops and mentoring provided by their organizations. Some black civic voluntary organizations also continued to provide leadership and direction for schools they had founded in an environment where there were fewer educational institutions for African Americans. An imbalance in economic resources meant that economic education and money management were important aspects of focus for African American leaders. But without glimpses into the schooling, educational leadership, and curriculum development in and through black civic voluntary associations, the historical record is incomplete, as Woynshner argues. Whitehead points to the paucity of explorations of race and of Indigenous leadership in current research on women's historical leadership of educational institutions. These silences resonate with Fitzgerald's

(2003) analysis of Western notions of leadership as both masculinist and taking for granted whiteness as a race privilege and social construct. This resulted in what Blackmore (1999) terms a monoculture of the powerful, which Fitzgerald (2003) argues casts difference to/from the norm of whiteness, or has tended to generate a discourse of homogeneity that constrains people to act and work in particular ways.

Governance, Policy, and Management: Circulations and Dif/fusions

Fitzgerald's (2003) critique of silences around whiteness in accounting for women's leadership, and Whitehead's (► Chap. 39, "Headmistresses") analysis of how missionary wives were involved in negotiating class, gender, and race relations in colonial societies, point to links between imperialism, national cultures, identities, and governmentality. These analyses resonate with calls within postcolonial theory for what Young (2004, p. 24) terms the decolonization of the "spaces blanked out by that ruthless whiteness." Woyshtner notes that white oversight of some black civic voluntary organizations resulted in sanctions from the white leadership, who did not always approve of black associations and took measures to prevent them from forming amid racial tensions from stereotypical beliefs about Asians, American Indians, and African Americans. Goodman illustrates how seemingly neutral processes of institutional accreditation played out tacitly in the American Association of University Women around questions of race. Although recruiting and governing practices excluded African American principals from white schools in the United States, historians have revealed a long history of influential leadership by African American headmistresses in segregated schools from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. But Whitehead notes that one of the outcomes of the United States civil rights movement was the abolition of racially segregated schooling following the *Brown v. Board of Education* court case in 1954, where instead of empowering African American principals by appointing them to integrated schools, the vast majority were fired and replaced by white men. Postcolonial concern with "disparate forms of representations, readings, practices and values" (McLeod 2000, p. 5) highlights how colonialism and aspects of race were shaped in struggles. Pérez (1999) writes of a decolonial imagination that seeks the interstitial gaps where the unheard and the unspoken are located in order to interrupt the linear model of time in spatiotemporal models that have enforced a colonialist historiography. Keynes illustrates the contribution of postcolonial perspectives to the ruptured fault line in temporalities associated with salvation narratives of modernity and its relation to the nation-state that currently rub against a Western time-consciousness dominated by a preoccupation with the past and by an immediate self-historicization of the present that play into notions of a "problematic and contested past in contentions around policy for history education."

The importance of life geographies (Lester 2001; Livingstone 2003) and the significance attributed to concepts of hybridity and to processes of contact, intrusion, fusion, and disjunction (Young 1995) mark points of connection between (post)

colonial and transnational approaches in educational research (Ossenbach and del Mar del Pozo Andrés 2011). As O’Neil and Sandgren, Goodman, Whitehead and Sherington trace in the Handbook, these connections are exemplified by overlapping notions of imperial careering (Lester 2001), and also by intercultural locators, and transnational connectors in the guise of the tutor, the governess, women headteachers and education officers, and teacher educators and professors. As they relocated across national borders, carrying notions of educational policy and ideas of “good” governance in their traveling suitcases, teacher educators and university professors exercised forms of educational authority in multiple sites in ways that illustrate the complexities of policy diffusion. Sherington places the lives of educational innovators within wider networks that demonstrate that colonial discourses were not simply transferred or imposed through geographies of connection (Lester 2001). Professors who initiated policy reform in teacher education and the universities in Australia were part of a late nineteenth century academic diaspora and saw themselves as members of a worldwide community of scholars. Associated with new patterns of career in education across empire, they embraced study and employment in a number of European countries, as well as in various locations across the British Empire and the United States. They brought these experiences to the exercise of authority, to educational policy development, and to change management. They did so in ways that demonstrate how education was made and remade through complex and shifting relations (Lester 2001) and in circulations between colonies (Ballantyne 2016) that complicate the single frame within which nation and empire, metropole, and colony were reconfigured as interdependent (Stoler and Cooper 1997). As Sherington highlights for Bell’s monitorial system at Madras, this web of imperial relations also infused metropolitan relations of governance, not least by treating colonial schooling as a site for experimentation in techniques later used “at home” (Rose 1999). The multifarious influences impacting in Australia illustrate a web of connections stretching across multiple sites of empire that brought about policy change in Australian teacher education and placed Australia as part of a growing international educational research community during the 1930s in what Sherington terms an expanding transnational world of education, with empire at the center.

For Vertovec (1999) transnational research traces “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states” (Vertovec 1999, p. 447). Transnational research examines the social spaces that people inhabit beyond and across national borders and boundaries, the variety of networks they form, the ideas they exchange, the epistemic communities, and connections and cleavages they create (Clavin 2005), the affiliations and social formations that span nation-states and include non-state actors (Vertovec 1999), and the spatial movement and physical connections that involve “multi-local sets of identities and memories, fluid and hybrid forms of cultural reproduction and transnational flows of . . . expertise” (Grant et al. 2005, p. 1). In unfolding entanglements (Sobe 2013) and focusing on non-state actors and spaces that do not fall into national categories, transnational histories redefined the territories and territorial regimes through which earlier understandings of educational governance, policy, and

management were framed and guide attention to translocal relationships between local spaces. As Woynshner notes, when white fraternal groups would not sponsor black civic organizations some African Americans forged transnational alliances that not only enabled them to become established but also worked to support and shape their educational endeavors. The federated structures of some black civic organizations also facilitated translocal associations that helped members to meet one another around the country and to unite around common interests and causes. While the export of elite educational institutions was often the result of intricate webs of exchange between different countries, rather than the one-way transfer of ideas and concepts related to elite education, O'Neil and Sandgren stress the distinction between historical accounts of transnationality in education, and the emerging academic field of transnational education, primarily focused on the post-1980s internationalization of higher-level student bodies and the globalized curriculum.

Mundy et al. (2016, p. 4) define globalization as the de-territorialization of social, political, and economic relationships and the rapid integration of societies across the previously territorially bound units [of] "nation-states" that had formerly underpinned analysis of educational governance, policy, and management. Globalization – like the world systems analysis of Meyer et al. (1992) – has been critiqued for Eurocentrism and as a top-down approach. But Caruso (2008) claims that in its more sophisticated conceptions, globalization is not a one-way process but "opens up a space of conflicting narratives and struggling forces" (Caruso 2008, pp. 839–40). Lowe's reference to velocity (the pace of change) and to the extensity of globalization (that makes it increasingly difficult to adopt policy without reference to what is going on abroad), Sherington's reference to the spatiality of global education markets (that have gone beyond old boundaries of empire to undermine the professional ideal established in the nineteenth century), and Keynes' argument about temporalities around the relation of history to (real and imagined) threats of globalization resonate with Held et al.'s (1999) view that globalization can be thought of as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a "transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, which can be assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact, and the generation of transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power" (Held et al. 1999, p. 16).

Hirst et al. (1996) distinguish globalization from internationalization, which they understand in terms of promotion by institutions based on notions of the nation-state. Goodman's argument for analysis amenable to the emergence of the diversities of internationalisms that Sluga and Clavin (2016) highlight, and which are fashioned as solidarities (though not without struggle) through specific translocal articulations and connections in and between different sites, suggests an entangled (*histoire croisée*) approach to circulations and dif/fusions to nuance Eurocentric and top-down approaches to the circulation of notions of governance, policy, and management. Entangled history has been applied to thinking about transcultural interaction and cultural transfer in the historical development and operation of schools and school systems (Sobe 2013). Werner and Zimmermann (2006) argue

for paying attention to the consequences of inter-crossing, and not just to the effects of crossings at the point of intersection or contact. To cross, argue Werner and Zimmermann, is also to crisscross, to interweave, that is to cross over several times at a tempo that may be staggered. This points toward an analysis in studies of governance, policy, and management of resistances, inertias, modifications, and new combinations that can result from and develop in the process of crossing and to the multidirectional flows and ties of ideas and practices. Entangled histories also highlight spaces of encounter (Dussel and Ydesen 2017) that enable policy information to flow in multiple directions through networks of international, supranational, national, and local organizations with differential (and unexpected) outcomes.

Imperial, transnational, world systems and global approaches share spatial attempts to clarify the play of homogeneity and diversity in processes of diffusion and translation as they play out in governing at a distance (Latour 1999). As well as freeing up bounded notions of nation and colony that have in the past framed accounts of political governance and histories of education as a national endeavor, this spatial dimension facilitates a reconfiguration of the Cold War as a spatial, institutional, and ideological phenomenon. Spatial dimensions highlight how notions of Eastern Europe, based on particular representations of space and time (Chari and Verdery 2009), locate Communist countries behind a metaphorical Iron Curtain in the East in ways that link to practices of governmentality. Metaphorical assumptions related to spatial dimensions work to map notions of knowledge and propaganda onto grids of East and West in policy landscapes in ways that include normative and dismissive judgements to which Goodman alerts. As Whitehead illustrates, these play out in assumptions (and fears) of supposed coercive and propagandists behavior that underpin the dismissals of teachers affiliated with communist organizations (Whitehead).

The structuring of space is fundamental to how subjectivities are constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed (Tamboukou 2004) through technologies of the self and technologies of power at the intersections of governing oneself and governing others (Tamboukou 2003). These technologies play out as limits and possibilities through the entanglement of space, power, and subjectivity. Spaces of schooling, like nodes of networks, congresses, organizations, and institutions can constitute spaces of opportunity, imagination, adventure, and shelter where power (as desire) can be productive and not only determinate (Tamboukou 2016). Whitehead and Sherington show that the spaces of schools in which women became headteacher activists and of training colleges where women played leading roles conferred a public presence that flouted traditional norms of women's place in the households of fathers and husbands. Black civic voluntary organizations shielded African Americans from racial abuse and humiliation in a racially autonomous world that also enabled them to serve the black community with dignity and respect and to work for full political, social, and economic equality for African Americans, for equitable funding for segregated schools and for an end to segregation, as Woynshner charts. Empire, too, represented a space where white women teachers and headteachers could pursue opportunities for

advancement and leadership denied in national contexts (but where their work might constrain the lives of Indigenous peoples). Foucault (1988b, p. 178) terms spaces of opportunity or shelter, heterotopias — places “utterly different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to.” Heterotopias operate as a kind of contestation, both mythical and real, of the spaces where governance, policy, and management touch lives.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The chapters in this part of the Handbook, covering policy-making in education (Lowe), history education and the nation-state (Keynes), education and elites (O’Neill and Sandgren), management and governance at Sydney Teachers’ College (Sherington), headmistresses (Whitehead), black civic organizations (Woyschner), and international women’s organizations (Goodman), illustrate ways in which the “contested terrain” (Ozga 1999, p. 1) of governance, policy, and management is being revised through new approaches to older questions, as well as through recourse to emergent areas of research. Together the chapters indicate new ways of working with sources old and new. All provide pointers for further research with the potential to reconfigure thinking and practice related to governance, policy, and management.

Digitization has fostered the proliferation of online urban directories, name-rich census records, dictionaries of national biography, and school records. New methods of searching data have the potential to open up research on governance, educational policy-making, and educational management and to enable researchers to work in new and interesting ways. O’Neil and Sandgren note the arrival of Big Data as one of the most significant methodological innovations in recent decades. As Sobe (2018) outlines, Big Data does not simply refer to the use of large data sets, nor is it about quantification, or about the data itself. It refers to emergent sets of technologies and forms of processing that exceed the calculative capacities of networks of human researchers. Sobe contends that Big Data, with its focus on pattern recognition, clustering algorithms, and correlations that bypass interpretive and critical analysis, is inherently conservative. In this sense, the rise of algorithmic analysis and the decline of critical interpretation resonate with the loss of confidence in expertise that Lowe and Sherington highlight. It also reverberates with the rise of Big Media to which Lowe alerts. The increasing velocities of Big Data processing holds consequences, too, for future understandings of changing temporalities and their entanglement in education along lines similar to those Keynes demonstrates. As an emerging global scopic knowledge system (Sobe and Ortegón 2009), Big Data also constitutes a form of governmentality. It both opens up aspects of governance, policy-making, and management for future research *and* constitutes a form of governance with implications for practices of education, for policy-making, and for the management of individual lives and populations. Big Data provides a paradigm shift of consequence to which future research on governance, policy and management will need to be alert.

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Abstract

The introduction to the chapter outlines factors which need to be borne in mind when analyzing the making of educational policy and highlights some of the major contrasts between states and nations in different parts of the globe. The chapter then moves on to a case study of the historical development of educational policy and policy-making in the UK. This history is seen as a contributory factor leading to the crisis in policy-making which has developed at the present time. The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of that crisis and argues that a reconsideration of how education policy is made and where it is leading is required, which can only be effective if it takes account of the issues raised in the chapter.

Keywords

Policy-making · State · Nationhood · Social and economic change · Media

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Introduction

Educational policy is never made in a vacuum, and this means that any meaningful account of policy-making in the field of education needs to bear in mind several considerations. These may appear obvious but need to be highlighted at the outset.

First, the nature and history of the particular state in which policy is being made needs to be borne in mind. Countries such as China, India, and the USA are enormous in scale and face different issues from those faced by smaller countries. There may be, for example, a much greater need to devolve responsibility to local agencies but, at the same time, an imperative to ensure that any policy reinforces, or at least does not undermine, a sense of nationhood and shared values. More fundamentally, what comprises “the state” may differ markedly from country to country and depend too on which stage of state formation that country has reached. All of these factors will bear, in one way or another, on the making of policy over a wide range of fields and certainly in respect of educational policy.

The tensions which can develop between central and local agencies in a country which is vast are nowhere better exemplified than in the USA, in respect of both the working of the system and the details of the curriculum (Taylor et al. 1997). So, if we take the two issues of the desegregation of schools and the teaching of evolution or creationism as examples (both key issues within the education system of the USA during the most recent century), it is clear that, although separate states have pursued different policies from time to time and Congress has sought, intermittently, to give an overriding direction to educational policy, the controlling agency has been the Supreme Court, which has ruled repeatedly on a succession of pleas and which has in reality been defining what is and is not acceptable across all the states of the union.

Thus, in respect of desegregation, the infamous Jim Crow laws of the late nineteenth century culminated in the Supreme Court’s *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896 which confirmed the legality of “separate but equal” educational provision. This applied to Louisiana but was widely seen as a test case for the whole nation. Similarly, it was a series of Supreme Court rulings during the years following the Second World War (most notably the 1954 *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* case) which defined what came to be seen as acceptable practice across the whole country. Although that ruling applied only to the State of Kansas, it meant that the development of segregated schooling became an impossibility across the USA.

In much the same way, it is possible also to chart the changing national mood in respect of the teaching of evolution through a series of Supreme Court cases, most notably *Epperson v. Arkansas* in 1968 (which ruled the Arkansas ban on the teaching of evolution to be a contravention of the First Amendment) and *Edwards v. Aguillard* in 1987, which similarly overruled a Louisiana statute requiring the teaching of creationism. Thus, under the convention of “the separation of powers,” which has always (at least until 2016!) been seen as paramount in the USA, the judiciary is given a key role in specifying exactly how and within what parameters policy will be implemented. In the process it becomes the *de facto* maker of policy.

In India, by contrast, the challenge is far more one of stimulating and overseeing economic and social development (VaIdyanatha Ayyar 2009). This has had the effect of obliging central government to take control. The guarantee of minimal educational standards across a vast country with sharp contrasts between rural and urban areas is paramount, alongside the development of the skills which are needed in a quickly developing society. In this situation, central government has, since independence, been the key arbiter of educational policy. A National Policy on Education was devised for the first time in 1968, revised in 1986 and again in 1992, and is currently awaiting yet another reworking. To achieve this, central government, working through the Ministry of Human Resource Development, is conducting a series of regional consultations. On 30 April 2016, this resulted in the publication of a lengthy progress report from the Committee for the Evolution of a New Education Policy. Thus, in India, educational policy-making is tightly controlled by central government but through a very overt and democratized process which runs the risk of becoming extremely bureaucratized.

China, too, contrasts with the USA, since it has no tradition of federalism, but finds it necessary for central government to assert itself in a situation in which the world's biggest country is being dragged (at least since the Cultural Revolution) into modernization at a bewildering pace (Zhang 2011). Here, the imposition of a single model of education on a widely divergent society has involved the introduction of a 9-year compulsory education program in 1985. At the same time, the administration of the education system was devolved to regional governments. But the scope for local variations is slight, since this is all overseen by the State Education Commission, a national body. In brief, it is largely because every aspect of China's educational system is answerable to a central government, which sets tight targets and parameters that society has been able to modernize at an amazing pace.

Secondly, the stage of social and economic development that a society has reached must also necessarily help determine which areas of policy predominate and which directions educational policy might take. For example, the Victorian emphases on drill, repetition, and memorization in school, which dominated the provision of elementary education in Britain are clearly not generally seen in the early twenty-first century as being appropriate, although they were widely seen as necessary at the time. Equally, the growing interest among policy-makers on higher education which developed in the 40 years after the Second World War contrasted with its complete neglect a hundred years earlier. This was clearly, in retrospect, part of the response to a quickly developing tertiary sector of the economy and a transformation of the skill requirements of young entrants to employment.

Analysts need to reflect too on who are the makers of policy. Where does power actually lie in any particular state? With politicians? If so what are their backgrounds and aspirations? Or with civil servants? If so what are their prejudices and predilections? Or is the making of policy devolved to advisory and ancillary bodies? If so, where are they coming from (both metaphorically and in reality) and what are their aims? In developed economies, and certainly across northern Europe, policy-

making involves all of these agents, although their respective influence may vary from time to time, depending on the issues under consideration and the particular political context.

Important too is the mood music around educational policy. What are the wider influences on educational debate? What is the role of the mass media, the press, and a number of other authorities? Alongside this we need to keep in mind the lobbyists, advocates, and interest groups who all play their part in shaping educational debate and attitudes to education and who are, often, themselves direct players in the political process. Thus their influence may be both direct and indirect. Among the most important of these are the churches and faith groups which involve themselves in social issues. In many parts of the world, they play a decisive role in making educational policy. Traditionally, industrialists, manufacturers, and commercial interests play a powerful role, as do professional organizations and trade unions. But increasingly significant in recent times are the special interest groups which have campaigned for equal rights or at least recognition in respect of gender, for ethnic minorities, and for LGTB groups.

Not least, we need to reflect on the extent to which power and decision-making is devolved to the schools themselves. Some states afford little if any power to individual schools. Recently, across the developed world, as “management” has been used increasingly as a motif to distract from governmental interference, considerable powers have been delegated to individual schools, although this is always within a framework that lays down tight regulations and is usually backed by a strong inspectorial regime, which allows blame and responsibility to be placed squarely at the door of the individual agents rather than the policy-makers. All of these questions have generated a rich field for sociologists as well as historians of education, and there is already a considerable literature dealing with these issues. This work provides an important backdrop for this analysis (Ball 1990; Daghlish 1996; Whitty 2002).

Against the background of these considerations, we can now turn to examine the historical development of policy in one country (the UK) to get a glimpse of how these factors have played out in practice in one location over time.

The Evolution of Educational Policy-Making

Any meaningful account of the development of policy-making in the UK will bring into focus from the outset its intimate interconnections with social and economic change and the evolution of the state. This is particularly true in respect of education.

In Britain, it was not until the early nineteenth century that the state began to take on its recognizably modern form. One of its characteristics was that for the first time, government began to take a direct interest in the educational provision (Archer 1979). Previous to this, if there was such a thing as an “educational policy,” it belonged to individual agencies such as the churches or to lobbying groups such as the London Corresponding Society or perhaps to those industrialists who were keen to start factory schools. Any legislation which impinged on education was aimed at

some other issue. For example, the 1559 Injunction regulating education was nothing more nor less than a part of the process of imposing a religious settlement on Elizabethan England by obliging the Anglican clergy to promote education and banning all Catholics and Puritans from any involvement in teaching (Sylvester 1970, p. 124).

The picture is made more complex by the simple fact that, certainly before industrialization and arguably up to the present, the Anglican Church was itself part of the state, playing a central (and sometimes exclusive) role in local and national governance and administration. As the major provider of popular schooling during the first industrial revolution, acting through the National Society, it confirmed its centrality to educational policy-making (Cruickshank 1964).

But industrialization, urbanization, and population growth generated a series of crises, either perceived or real, which demanded some response and which led to the establishment of government departments. Education was to be one of the first of these, established in 1839, followed quickly by the establishment of a schools' inspectorate. From that moment onwards, the state, as well as the churches, was inextricably and directly involved in the making of education policy.

There is another important point to make at the start. This is, quite simply, that the focus of policy-making in any field to do with social development, and particularly in respect of education, reflects and responds to the changes that are taking place in the economy and in social structure. In respect of schooling, this has meant that the form which schools and colleges are meant to take is itself often a close reflection of the ways in which industry and commerce operate. A changing workplace means a changing schoolroom, as we will see repeatedly in this chapter. Policy-making, to rework the famous phrase popularized by the Watergate scandal, follows the money, and this involves developing a schoolroom which reflects the organization of the workplace.

So, if we turn our attention to the first phase of industrialization, roughly from 1760 until 1870, several points stand out. First, the effectiveness of voluntary organizations, particularly the National Society and the British and Foreign Society, in quickly establishing a near universal provision of elementary schooling at the start of the nineteenth century resulted in real hesitancy about the appropriateness of state provided schooling which took over a century to break down completely and which is still echoed in contemporary support for faith schools. This hesitancy is in complete contrast to the ongoing determination in France to keep the church out of education and to make schooling exclusively secular and state controlled, as was specified in the Code Napoleon.

This hesitancy has placed a dead hand on education policy-making in Britain for over 200 years. No administration, of whatever ilk, has sought to terminate church involvement in the provision and governance of schools. The 1870 Education Act sought merely to augment it. At critical moments, notably 1902 and 1944, the right of the churches to involve themselves in education has been confirmed, and the "dual system" survives and prospers to this day.

During the first industrial revolution, this meant that the determination of policy-makers to restrict the school curriculum to the basics involved teaching of

the catechism in Anglican schools and of the Bible in schools run by the non-conformists. A core curriculum, comprising essentially reading, writing, and arithmetic, was seen as appropriate for a population destined for the factory, and a large schoolroom modeled on the cotton and woolen mills which had sprung up in the north of England was widely thought to be an appropriate environment for the growing child. The school bell taught the punctuality which was required of a docile labor force. In all of these ways, what became the key elements of educational policy reflected both the historical moment and the economic context. As Richard Johnson pointed out many years ago in his seminal article on policy-making (Johnson 1970), the object of educationalists and politicians during the first half of the nineteenth century was social control. The state's concern with and investment in education followed from the fact that schools were seen as the cheapest and surest way to ensure the generation of the labor force which was required.

This was a value system which reached its apogee in two often cited remarks made at the time. First, the Rev. James Fraser, giving evidence to the 1861 Newcastle Commission which reported on elementary education, reflected that "I doubt whether it would be desirable to keep the peasant boy at school until he was 14 or 15 years of age. . . We must make up our mind to see the last of him at 10 or 11. It is quite possible to teach a child, soundly and thoroughly, all that is necessary for him to possess in the shape of intellectual attainment by the time he is ten years old [note the gendering!]." He went on to compile an extremely restricted list of requisite skills, concluding, "underlying all, acquaintance enough with the holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the arguments of a plain Saxon sermon." His definition of what should comprise an effective policy for education saw him promoted to an Assistant Commissionership and a closer role in the formulation of policy in the years that followed (Maclure 1968, pp. 70–78).

Fraser's gloomy prescription was given shape in terms of policy by Robert Lowe, only a year later, who told the Commons, while introducing his Revised Code for elementary schooling, "I cannot promise the House that this system will be an economical one and I cannot promise that it will be efficient. . . But I can promise that it shall be one or the other. If it is not cheap it shall be efficient, if it is not be efficient it shall be cheap" (Maclure 1968, pp. 79–80). From this moment on, payment by results and an all-powerful inspection regime guaranteed the very limited aspirations of educational policy-making in late nineteenth-century Britain.

There are two further points to be made concerning educational policy-making during this early phase of industrialization. The first is that this restricted education which the state was increasingly involved in planning for the lower orders had nothing to do with secondary schooling, which served the middling classes. As the state began to turn its attention to them during the mid-nineteenth century, there was no suggestion that the two systems should be merged. Such separatism as was advocated by the influential Clarendon and Taunton Royal Commissions only made distinctions between the types of secondary schooling thought appropriate for the different levels of the middle classes, and these were not seen as in any way overlapping the groups which comprised the working poor for whom elementary schooling was appropriate. Industrialization had generated a labor force whose

educational needs were seen as completely distinctive from those of the professionals who worked in the growing towns and the factory owners. The “two nations” needed two quite separate education systems (Simon 1960).

Underlying all this was an assumption which ran largely unchallenged across British society and which underpinned education policy-making. It was, quite simply, that a society which was gendered in almost all aspects of day-to-day living needed an education system which not only reflected but reinforced that gendering by preparing boys and girls for separate and distinct social roles. In Victorian England this was seen as a truism which did not need underlining (Dyhouse 1981). This enables us to make another observation about the formulation of policy. In a situation where there was no strong or visible lobby for women’s rights, some aspects of policy-making were based on widely held but unspoken assumptions. The assumptions that men and women were born to different roles and that there should be differing access to public space and to positions of power and influence went largely unspoken, and it was therefore taken as given that the schooling of boys and girls should be distinctive and in many contexts separate. Thus, for the best part of a century, one of the cornerstones of educational policy was formulated and implemented with little or no need for comment. That which was obvious went unspoken, as it often does.

The first phase of industrialization was focused on iron, coal, textiles, and the greater productivity engendered by the agricultural enclosures of the early nineteenth century. It generated large unskilled or semi-skilled labor forces toward whom the schooling we have described was directed. But it is possible to identify a second phase of industrialization, extending from roughly 1870 until 1914, and this began to make new and more extensive demands of the education system (Perkin 1989). During this period, new industries began to develop – electrical, petrochemical, engineering, and the manufacture of bicycles and cars. At the same time, a revolution in administration and financial practice saw the appearance of a plethora of secretarial and administrative jobs which had never previously existed. It was an expansion which reinforced the gendering of the workplace. All of this placed new demands on the education system and was to have a massive impact on educational policy-making.

Not only did policy-making take a new form, but policy itself came to focus on more aspects of the educational provision. In brief, there was a new interest in secondary schooling, which was increasingly needed to staff the new and growing industries, and a growing interest in technical education, for which industrialists and leaders of commerce campaigned extensively. This involved new agencies in the formulation of policy as the school boards and town councils which appeared in the new and growing urban centers became significant players. There is not space here to detail this process, but what emerged by the end of the nineteenth century was a three-way sharing of power, between central government (now reinforced through the creation of the Board of Education), local government, operating in the main through the school boards established after the 1870 Education Act, and the schools themselves, which were left in complete control of teaching method and the delivery of the curriculum (although the national curriculum introduced by Robert Morant in

1904 did specify what that should comprise). At local level, the school boards merged into the new, more powerful local education authorities which were established at the turn of the twentieth century. This three-way sharing of power in questions of policy-making in education was to persist until well after the Second World War.

It is interesting to reflect on how educational policy itself evolved under this new regime. First, there was nothing short of a stampede to provide technical education, but it took place within a system in which elite models of a classical curriculum ruled supreme, and this meant that the massive extension of technical education tended to take place in schools and colleges which were not generally seen as the elite institutions, whatever had been the rhetoric of their founders. Accordingly, those who followed the technical track tended to be drawn from the respectable working class rather than the middling classes who still aspired to a classical education and to Oxbridge for their sons, or at least to a grammar school education leading toward employment in one of the minor local professions (Weiner 1985).

The second major characteristic of educational policy which evolved at this time was a demand for wider and ultimately universal secondary education. But this was only achieved in 1944 at the cost of setting up a system of secondary schooling which was differentiated and socially exclusive. Justified on grounds of ability, the tripartite system of secondary education which evolved in fact served the function of minimizing the interplay of social classes and particularly of ensuring that the children of the poor did not compete on an equal footing with their more privileged contemporaries. The strong lobby from within the labor movement for comprehensive secondary education eventually became enshrined in national policy but never succeeded in creating a system which had the same cachet as the pre-existing grammar schools (Lowe 1988).

At the same time, there were strong demands for the establishment of wider opportunities for girls, particularly through the setting-up of an increasing number of girls' secondary schools (many of them municipal grammar schools). But those who argued for these schools, people such as Michael Sadler, saw them as fulfilling a need for the greater numbers of elementary schoolmistresses, nurses, and secretaries who were needed in this transforming economy. Due to prevailing power relations of gender, these new girls' schools were to sustain the gender gap for much of the twentieth century (Martin and Goodman 2004).

As had happened during the first industrial revolution, the form that schooling was expected to take reflected the changes that were occurring in the workplace. Now, the schoolroom was to be replaced by the classroom, in much the same way that the office was slowly supplanting the factory. This change was the subject of a vigorous policy debate at the start of the twentieth century, much of it behind closed doors (Seaborne and Lowe 1977).

Finally, it should be added that, if one is looking for a diminution of the influence of the churches at this time, it simply did not happen, despite the fact that the secularization of society was already well underway. Rather, the 1870 and 1902 Education Acts underlined and confirmed that the "dual system," by which schooling was provided by the churches and, where that was not happening, by the state,

would be the dominant model for twentieth-century (and even, so far, for twenty-first-century) Britain. This historical anachronism helps explain several characteristics of educational policy in modern Britain, not least the legal specification of a daily act of worship in schools, now more honored in the breach than the observance, but has never been rescinded.

A third phase of economic transformation and growth followed the Second World War, and this too saw major developments in educational policy-making. Now suburbanization accelerated, placing unprecedented demands on the building industry. This was related to the ongoing professionalization of society, as the tertiary sector of the economy grew and increasing numbers were employed in the service industries and distribution. The steady advance of banking services to the centre of the economy continued at this time too. It is no coincidence that the appearance of the “open plan” classroom at this time mirrored developments in office planning which were taking place in the world of work (Lowe 1997).

By now, a steadily increasing number of parents had themselves experienced a more protracted education than their forebears and held strong views in what the schools should be offering, anxious that their own children were given the best start in life. All too often this involved a stress on the basics, on multiplication tables, on the teaching of grammar, and on a concept of discipline which was rarely precisely defined. Admirable as this concern was, by the 1980s, it enabled a transformed press and popular media to generate a new “mood music” around education, playing to the anxieties of parents. Almost inevitably, this involved favoring a core curriculum and what were seen as “traditional” approaches to pedagogy (Chitty 1989).

In this swiftly evolving context, it is possible to discern the main threads of the educational policies which did emerge. Immediately after the war, the key issues were the provision of school places for the “baby boom” and the development of an appropriate policy toward secondary education. For some this meant a lobby for universal comprehensive schooling; for others the preservation of the best schooling for the elite defined increasingly by ability rather than inherited wealth. Also, the expansion of higher education, which had not previously been central to education policy-making, became another political football. Although there were moves toward mixed secondary schooling, this was not seen as part of a more generalized attack on the gendering of society. Consequently, it remained true that the maintenance of separate spheres for the sexes was reinforced as much as brought into question by educational practice (McCulloch 1998).

Initially, the respect for the teaching profession, which had resulted in society never questioning what went on within the schools, survived. But the comment made by David Eccles, the then Minister of Education, to the Commons in 1960 that the time has come for politicians to take a look at the “secret garden of the curriculum” proved prophetic. Within 20 years curriculum reform and teaching methods were at the heart of all education policy-making (Cunningham 1988).

The central argument of this chapter thus far is that the evolution of policy-making in education has followed wider social and economic changes. But looking at the most recent 20 years, it is hard not to conclude that the transformation of the mass media has become an increasingly important driver of educational policy, if not

the main one. This has mirrored the drift of educational policy toward the heart of governmental policy agendas (Lowe 2007). For many years, during the early twentieth century, the education office was seen as a political graveyard. Numerous eminent politicians, not least R. A. Butler during the Second World War, were given the Ministry of Education job as a way of marginalizing their influence. This all changed after Margaret Thatcher demonstrated that it could offer a route to the highest office of state. The growing press interest in education reflected a growing popular concern for “educational standards.” Once initiated, this became a process which was irreversible.

This coincided with momentous changes in the mass media. The disappearance in the 1960s of *Reynolds News*, the *Daily Herald*, and the *News Chronicle* left a vacuum which was soon filled by a new style of tabloid. *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* began to offer not simply a new kind of more simplistic political credo but a new way of presenting it, choosing brevity and succinctness over detailed argument. The trend toward simplification, of argument and issues, was accelerated by the coming of universal television and, most recently, by the instant global communication offered by the Internet. This culminated, most recently, in the implosion of the American electoral system, resulting, in large part, from one candidate’s ruthless and cynical exploitation of Twitter.

As these transformations began to hack in, the nature of educational policy-making began to change irrevocably. “Expert” opinion had always been sought, whether through the Royal Commissions of the nineteenth century or through quasi-governmental bodies such as the Office of Special Enquiries and Reports set up at the end of the nineteenth century. This not only had a direct impact on policy-making but became the model for much of the day-by-day work of the Board of Education, whose Consultative Committees offered influential advice impacting on many aspects of the educational provision. After the Second World War, quangos such as the Schools Council continued to sustain the influence of experts.

Thatcher and Blair were the two Prime Ministers on whose watch this system can be seen, in retrospect, to have begun to break down. “Thatcherism” insofar as it applied to education, can be seen to have been driven as much by conservative leaning think tanks, such as the Centre for Policy Studies (founded by Keith Joseph in 1974) as by officially appointed committees, although these were numerous and not without influence. It is perhaps not unfair to comment that, at this time, the role of governmental enquiries and commissions was increasingly to provide a range of policy options from which a government with a clear ideological commitment and with views derived from these think tanks could cherry pick and choose as they saw fit (Knight 1990).

Under Tony Blair, this trend accelerated. Once he had articulated “education, education, education” as a centre piece of his national renewal, the die was cast. Lowe (2007) shows in some detail how this was a decisive moment in the long-term process by which teachers and professionals slowly lost control of the classroom as the panaceas proffered by the new mass media came to dominate the thinking of politicians. What developed was a frenzy of policy initiatives which seemed all too often to be a response to the previous week’s banner headlines rather than the result

of balanced long-term consideration. Certainly, under these two administrations, the preparedness to tinker incessantly with the education system through a continuous tweaking of policy reached new levels. A succession of Ministers of Education each sought to leave their imprint on the system, and this meant crescendo of policy initiatives which would have challenged even the most stoical practicing professionals (Chitty 2013).

Yet even within these administrations, longer-term objectives and elements of policy can be discerned. In the case of Thatcher, it was the saving of the grammar schools, the introduction of private funding to facilitate the diversification of secondary schooling, and the provision of several new technical routes through school. Much of this was sustained and even intensified under Blair, although the drive to achieve a massive upturn in the numbers passing through higher education was a policy initiative more clearly associated with his administration. So too was the outsourcing involved in the Private Funding Initiative, a development which has semi-permanently changed the face of schooling (at least financially).

The outcome is that we find ourselves today in a context which is markedly different from that experienced by previous makers of educational policy. The pace of modern life has quickened. The urgency of the social, economic, and educational challenges before us is greater than ever before. Globalization means that it is increasingly difficult to adopt more or less any item of policy without reference to what is going on abroad. The conclusion comments on what this might mean in reality for today's educational policy-makers. It argues that what confronts them is nothing short of a crisis.

Conclusion and Future Directions

This account of the evolution of educational policy-making helps explain the situation in which policy-makers find themselves today but also underlines the uniqueness of the present situation. The overall result of earlier policy is that we inherit an education system in the UK which is deeply flawed. It continues, in numerous ways, to confirm the separate roles of males and females, not simply through the continuing existence of single-sex establishments but through a whole value system which is unthinkingly absorbed by many members of the teaching profession. The author's own daughter, now an experienced GP, had the words "Well done: maybe one day you will be a nurse!" written by a teacher in response to one piece of her school work. You do not need to look far to find myriad examples of this and other kinds of day-by-day unconscious sexism in schools, even at the present time. The survival unchallenged of a powerful system of private schools which is unquestioningly granted charitable status underpins a society which is divided against itself by clear distinctions of social class. The continuing existence of the dual system, together with the encouragement of faith schools, reinforces prejudices and increasingly dangerous religious tensions. These have surfaced most notably in the "Trojan horse" schools in Birmingham when governing bodies were said to be "infiltrated" to the detriment of schools (Miah 2017). A series of false starts and

contradictory initiatives in respect of technical and scientific education have generated a society which is failing to educate the legion of technicians, engineers, and scientists which are needed if Britain is ever again to become a powerhouse of industrial production. Yet this appears increasingly imperative in any post-Brexit scenario. The continued advocacy of and support for grammar schools only strengthens a system which generates massive contrasts of earning power, wealth, and ultimately influence. It is a sorry legacy, and it is one which has become self-replicating.

Further, this glance at the ways in which policy-making has developed serves only to highlight the uniqueness of the situation in which policy-makers now find themselves. A society which deferred to the professionals and to expert opinion and which ensured that the best professional advice was available to policy-makers has slowly morphed into one driven by the social media. First the popular press and, more recently, journalists operating through the radio and television have eroded public respect for the teaching profession, simplified the political messages, and propagandized elite institutions. In recent years the rise of the social media has transformed a trend into a torrent. Any advocate of democracy, however defined, would concede the need for the teaching profession to be answerable to wider society. But what no thinking observer would condone is a situation which turns the teachers into units of production in a system increasingly molded by sound bites. That is the reality of what is happening now.

It is all too easy to extend this critique to become an essay on the difficulties of coherent policy-making at the present time. Historically, educational policy was driven by broad underlying objectives which were open to debate but which were consistent and thought through. Comprehensivization offers a good example. The ideal that all children would attend the same kind of secondary schools firmly founded in the collectivism which developed during the Second World War and which was only slowly eroded during the postwar period. Although it was an argument which was never universally accepted, the calls for a shared experience of secondary schooling had a defensible rationale. The contemporary obsession with privatization and outsourcing stems from a far more arbitrary neoliberal agenda which seems this observer to have as much to do with placating powerful special interest groups by facilitating private profit from public educational ventures as it does with implementing a coherent and universal policy plan. The introduction of “choice” as a driver of policy overlooks the fact that in respect of schooling, any choice on offer must necessarily be illusory. As an example the author can cite one West Midlands’ township which for many years has had two secondary schools. What happens when the vast majority choose the same one for their own children? Whatever stratagem the local authority adopts, the outcome quickly becomes the exercise of choice for some, but not all. Equally damaging is the way in which the popular media constantly switch their attention from one issue to another, generating a series of short-term policy initiatives, many of which are not followed through or implemented over time.

But that is only part of the argument, although an important one. Perhaps more important are two side effects which are critical in the field of education. Arguably

the most damaging result of the incessant media concern for education is that policy is increasingly directed toward outcomes which are measurable and limited. A strong inspection regime needs something to assess which can be quantified, and this results in an attenuation of what is seen to constitute a good or successful education. External examination results have become the yardstick by which schools and individual pupils are measured. This constraint has molded what is taught, how it is assessed, and which areas of the curriculum are seen as most important, and it has placed a hobble on effective educational policy-making.

But there is a deeper outcome from all this which goes largely unnoticed and unremarked. This is that in this new policy ferment, children and students become the victims of educational policy rather than the objects of it. Rather than provide the balanced schooling which gives the young the best chance of living fulfilled lives and discovering the full range of their potential, our schools are using them as instruments to fulfill the dreams of their parents or the ambitions of the school by generating an appropriate line of examination results. It is a victimhood which results in greater alienation of the young and which acquiesces in narrow definitions of what constitutes a good education.

The time is long overdue for a reconsideration of how education policy is made and where it is leading. Such a reconsideration can only be effective if it takes account of the issues raised in this chapter.

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History Education, Citizenship, and State Formation

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Mati Keynes

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Abstract

This chapter has two main aims. The first is to establish the close historical and ideological relationship between the construction of nation-states, the development of the profession of history, and the emergence of modern schooling systems, all of which were evolving during the “long nineteenth century” in Europe. The focus is particularly on history education given its citizen-shaping agenda of forging national identity and shaping historical consciousness. The second aim is to reanimate debates about the role of history education today. This proceeds by arguing that a shift in the experience and understanding of temporality which has occurred in the post-Cold War era has triggered a crisis of legitimacy for the nation-state, which has generated two related responses in Western democratic nation-states since 1989: an increased reflection and attachment to national identity and an impetus to reckon with the problematic past. Here, history education has come to be positioned as both a prominent target of memory contests, as well as a solution and tool of justice and reconciliation,

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and a means by which to regenerate the nation-state amidst a crisis of legitimacy precipitated by the lack of recourse to an unproblematic national past.

Keywords

History education · National identity · Nation-building · Temporality · Historical consciousness

Introduction

In the early nineteenth century, two domains emerged as key pillars in the burgeoning project of state formation occurring throughout Europe: a professionalizing historical discipline and an emergent system of modern schooling (Berger and Conrad 2015; Tröhler et al. 2011). Both were expressly aligned with the processes of nationalization and national identity construction (Anderson 2006). Historiography was largely directed toward establishing and preserving a nationalist master-narrative based on a collective (and often mythic) historical experience, and school education was, among other things, tasked with shaping an appropriate historical consciousness so as to bind forthcoming members of the citizenry together around a common civic identity anchored in this shared history.

In the post-Cold War era, characterized as it is by divisive memory politics and a preoccupation with the status and significance of the past (Huysen 2003), a major imperative for Western liberal governments has been to protect the unity of this nation-building project in response to the real and imagined threats of globalization, mass migrations, and identity politics. These are shifting the ground upon which nation-states have typically defined and defended themselves (Taylor and MacIntyre 2017). In this context, history education has regularly been implicated in political and cultural skirmishes about the representation of the past (Elmersjö et al. 2017). This rests on an assumption of the critical importance of shaping an appropriate historical consciousness through schooling for the ongoing health of the state-citizen relationship.

The chapter argues that we can more deeply understand the current preoccupation with a past seen as problematic, and the focus on history education as both its problem and solution, by investigating the implications of a changing experience of temporality which has occurred since the 1980s. First, this requires a historical understanding of the centrality of history education for political legitimation and nation-building. And second, it requires a knowledge of the character and effects of the changing experience of temporality characteristic of the post-Cold War period and, which in particular, has generated two related responses in Western democratic nation-states: an increased reflection and attachment to national identity and an impetus to reckon with the problematic past. Thus, retrospective politics has emerged at this juncture as a prominent form of political legitimation and a means to regenerate the nation-state amidst a crisis of legitimacy marked by its alleged diminishing authority.

To address this agenda, the chapter examines the effects of a changing experience and understanding of temporality for history education since the 1980s which has precipitated an intense focus on national identity and on coming to terms with a problematic past. I argue that this has had significant implications for history education and has undermined the relationship between history, education, and civic identity which has been central to the nation-building project since the nineteenth century. To do this, the chapter first addresses the shared nation-building agenda of professionalizing history discipline and history education as a part of emerging schooling systems during the long nineteenth century. The focus here is on their temporal and ideological roles as citizen shapers and legitimators of the nation-state, as well as orienters in a particularly progressive temporal configuration (Benjamin 1968; Koselleck 2004). The chapter then unpacks how by the late 1980s the close relationship between history, history education, and the nation-state, founded on a nationalist master-narrative and progressive historical consciousness, was becoming increasingly indefensible as the challenges of the post-1960s decades eroded the authority of master-narratives as well as the epistemological foundations of Western historical thinking. Finally, the implications of the post-1989 experience of temporality for history education are drawn out through an examination of its contested and contradictory agenda today, and future directions for research are suggested.

History and State Formation

The process of modern (nation-)state formation has been, since its beginnings, bound up with a particular experience and understanding of historical time, with history writing, and with the process of national identity construction, all of which emerged as a kind of programmatic core for the tide of state formation beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe (Berger and Conrad 2015). Reinhart Koselleck famously labelled this period the “saddle time” (*Sattelzeit*), roughly 1750–1850, which he argued marked the “dissolution of the old world and the emergence of the new,” and whereby a major transformation in the experience and understanding of temporality took place which signaled the “birth of modernity” (Bevernage and Lorenz 2013, p. 43; Koselleck 2004, p. 12). During this period, particularly Enlightenment, cosmopolitan ideas about liberty, the state, and the citizen were transposed into nationalist liberal frameworks by the victory of the nation-state as the primary form of territorial administration and the nationalist idea as the principal conception of collective allegiance (Berger 2007, p. 4). Of central importance for this project was forging the mutually reinforcing relationship between the individual and the state whereby “duties towards the state are traded for the benefits and rights of citizenship” (Rosa and Bresco 2017, p. 414; Tröhler et al. 2011, pp. 13–14). Here, history became a central device for remembering and creating collective belonging from which to construct a shared civic solidarity and to legitimate the emergent state’s demands and benefits (Popkewitz 2014, p. xii).

As many scholars have shown, the professionalized discipline of history was being formed in the early nineteenth century in close connection with the growing power of the nascent European nation-states and with the accelerating and rupturing experience of temporality characteristic of the postrevolutionary era (Berger and Conrad 2015; Bevernage and Lorenz 2013; Koselleck 2004). Chris Lorenz explains that:

... it was the birth of the future that paradoxically gave birth to the past as an object of historical knowledge. ... Therefore history as a discipline has been dependent on the “modern” worldview in which “progress” is permanently and simultaneously producing both “new presents” and “old pasts” - in one dialectical movement. (Lorenz 2014, pp. 48–49).

Professional historians tended to serve as an ideological support for the state and constructed historical “meta-narratives” that presented “the nation’s movement from its early beginnings, through the rise of national self-consciousness, to its current struggle for recognition and success” (Megill 2011, p. 25). The appeal to history for purposes of political legitimation and establishing collective belonging was considerable in these times of social upheaval where the state took to generating itself on the basis of an oft-imagined and distinguished past (Berger and Conrad 2015).

The underlying chronosophy at work in these processes framed historical progress as an infinite march toward the realization of greater freedom and shaped a dominant conception of historical time – as progressive and homogenous – like an arrow, pointed toward the future (Benjamin 1968). It also encouraged the idea of a national temporal and civic simultaneity, the continuous solidity of national citizens throughout time which thus moved “calendrically through homogenous empty time” as a solid, indivisible body (Anderson 2006, pp. 24–26; Bevernage 2012, p. 16). This historical nationalist master-narrative, coupled with the dominant conception of progressive temporality, aligned citizens of the new nation-states with a common story and set of values, myths, and traditions within which to ground their collective national identity and from which to orient themselves simultaneously toward a hopeful future.

Education and State Formation

Aside from historiography, another domain that has been particularly significant in forging national identity and fostering a sense of collective belonging has been the system of modern education that was emerging during this same period. The developing education systems of the nineteenth century were radically different from the sporadic and pluralistic schooling that had abounded during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Green 2013, p. 11). Andy Green explains that what gave these emergent education systems their particularly modern character was that they “involved the development of universal forms of provision, the rationalization of administration and institutional structure, and the development of forms of public finance and control” and that this together “signaled a revolution in the concept and

forms of education and a transformation in the relations between schooling, society and the state” (Green 2013, pp. 11–12).

This relationship between schooling, state, and society was highly significant for the process of nation-building during the “saddle time” and throughout the nineteenth century because state formation required:

...not only the construction of the political and administrative apparatus of government and all government-controlled agencies which constitute the ‘public’ realm, but also the formation of ideologies and collective beliefs which legitimate state power and underpin concepts of nationhood and national ‘character.’ (Green 2013, p. 83)

Thus, a major item on the new educative agenda was to consolidate and convey the values and traditions of the emerging nation-state and shape citizens in the image of the “national character” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, p. 264; Taylor and MacIntyre 2017, p. 614). Public and universal education came to be an “integral institution in the burgeoning nineteenth-century nation state and a vital pillar of the new social order” (Green 2013, p. 85).

Green has shown how this broad task included an array of competing and often contradictory expectations including but not limited to the assimilation of immigrants, the promotion of religious doctrines, the forging of national identity and culture, and the indoctrination of the political and economic creeds of the dominant class (Green 2013, p. 86). At its core, however, as Daniel Tröhler et al. (2011) have argued, the main concern of modern schooling in the early nineteenth century was with making society by making the child as a future citizen. The school was conceived as a repository of the general good and as society’s mechanism for promoting the moral health and social regeneration of society (Tröhler et al. 2011, p. 2). Thus, modern schooling “...helped to construct the very subjectivities of citizenship, justifying the ways of the state to the people and the duties of the people to the state” and came to “assume a primary responsibility for the moral, cultural and political development of the nation” (Tröhler et al. 2011, p. 87). Here, schooling was imagined as a new model of socialization for forming the citizenry and inculcating the principles and duties of the nation-state (Williams 2014, p. 1). Since the emergence of modern schooling systems, the production of the national citizen has been a foremost concern and aim of education.

The school subject of history has been the forum par excellence for conveying the nation-building story and from which to construct a sense of community and collective allegiance to the nation-state (Bellino and Williams 2017; Clark and MacIntyre 2003; Taylor and MacIntyre 2017). Indeed, the historian Allan Megill has argued that collective identities can be both “non-reflective and unintentional” but “are also formed, as a result of deliberate effort, most obviously as a result of teaching carried out in schools” (Megill 2011, p. 31). As such, thinkers and proponents of schooling during this time understood that national citizenship must be solicited and national identity actively constructed. As a result, schooling sought to explicitly construct and reinforce national imaginaries, the narratives and images of the nation whereby individuals could situate themselves temporally, as citizens with

obligations and responsibilities (Popkewitz 2000, pp. 7–9; Tröhler et al. 2011). Imparting nationalist historical representations, myths, and traditions so to form an appropriate historical consciousness and orientation in time was central to this process. It is through history teaching that historical events were transformed into a moral narrative and set of skills which defined and inscribed a normative and nationalist notion of the citizenry (Friedrich 2014, p. 8).

This was connected to the broader transformation of the Western *episteme* taking place in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century by the development of a strong historical consciousness, which Michel Foucault describes in *The Order of Things* (Foucault 1966; Berger and Conrad 2015). This forming of a distinctively modern historical consciousness was instigated by the rupturing and accelerating experience of revolution and historical progress characteristic of the post-revolutionary era. The experience of time as rupture and progress and history as a process of continual movement toward the future, as opposed to a series of timeless exempla, was rationalized within the emergent frameworks of nationhood and the national “character,” whereby advancing freedom and progress were framed within the system of European nation-states. The prevailing public discourse at this time was one characterized by melancholy and loss of traditional authority but for which national history served as “. . . a drama offering, perhaps at times consolation but, above all, explanation for the contingency, provisionality and malleability of the historical process” (Berger and Conrad 2015, p. 6). These explanatory nationalist narratives were at least partially imparted via the teaching of history and heritage traditions in schooling.

It should be clear therefore that there is a very close historical and ideological relationship between the construction of nation-states, the development of the profession of history, and the emergence of modern schooling systems with their citizen-shaping agenda of forging national identity and shaping historical consciousness. However, with some notable exceptions (Friedrich 2014; McLeod 2017; Seddon et al. 2018; Viñao 2001), an important and underdeveloped aspect of the education literature is that underwriting all of this was a particular experience and understanding of historicity (i.e., the idea that human life and ways of thinking are historically constituted) which characterized the long nineteenth century. This dominant temporal configuration was subject-oriented, disruptive, accelerating, and teleologically pointed toward the future. The central unit of orientation and organization during this period was the nation-state which Stefan Berger has explained: “. . . serves as the ‘central axis’ in this construction of a sense of historicity” (Berger and Conrad 2015, p. 6). Thus, history, history education, and nation-building came to be bound together by a shared temporal and ideological agenda.

The Challenges of the 1960s and 1970s

Contrary to the common assumption that after the world war nationalist master-narratives were largely repudiated and revised, there were many continuities between the pre- and postwar periods in terms of historiography and history teaching. In Europe, nationalist myths still largely dominated historical writing and

teaching as history-makers took up the task of justifying their nation's role in the conflict and position thereafter (Berger and Conrad 2015, pp. 285–301). In British settler colonies such as Australia, historians worked to retrospectively legitimate and explain prior colonial activities and attitudes as being distinctively nationalist in character and nation-building in effect (Hearn 2015). Importantly, there was an established peace agenda for history education present at the beginning of the century and which grew especially after 1914, which sought to align history teaching with “a spirit of international understanding” and orient it away from virulent nationalism (Elmersjö and Lindmark 2010, p. 64).

However, it was not until the 1960s that major aspects of the nexus between the nation-state, history, and history education were substantially challenged. The experience of decolonization and the associated civil rights, labor, and women's movements culminated in the 1960s in a widespread counterculture of protest, dissent, and anti-establishmentarianism. This was founded upon an awareness of the catastrophic futurism of the first half of the twentieth century, and legacies of the horrors thereby inflicted in the name of historical “process” and “laws” of human history, as well as knowledge of the destructive powers of nationalism and imperialism. The combined effect of this was the gradual erosion of the nationalist master-narratives which had previously underpinned national identity and had served as the ideological well-spring and legitimating fodder for the nation-building project.

These growing critiques manifested initially in professional history and later in schooling. In historiography, the rise of social history during the 1960s – which drew upon the methods of the social sciences and expanded the subject matter of historical research by exploring social life – exemplified the spirit of 1960s dissent and inclusion. This was shortly followed by an expansion in oral, labor, women, black, Indigenous, and communist histories which each challenged the traditional methods and role of historians as nation-builders and gatekeepers of the nationalist master-narrative and which built on approaches from the 1920s and 1930s.

In schooling, considerable changes were afoot during the 1960s and 1970s. Politically, in Western democracies there was a postwar reconstructionist agenda of investment in education. This involved the development of teacher training colleges, the construction of new universities and schools, and the increased accessibility of education at all levels, especially to members of the burgeoning middle class (Campbell and Proctor 2014, pp. 176, 186). In educational psychology, the cognitive revolution saw behavioral learning theories – which had been the predominant paradigm since the late nineteenth century – gradually replaced by the set of ideas which became known as constructivism and which emphasized the active, social, and constructive process of making meaning (Bruner 1960; Dewey 1938; Piaget 1954). This aligned with the 1960s and 1970s “New Left” agenda of participatory democracy, peace, and liberation.

For history education in the Anglosphere specifically, the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) launched at the University of Leeds in 1972 marked the beginning of the transformation of history education from the transmission of the nationalist master-narrative to a disciplinary process of inquiry. The project emphasized the distinctive disciplinary framework of historical study and conceived of the school subject as a discrete form of knowledge with its own procedures and concepts

for teaching and learning (Lee 1983, p. 25; Shemilt and Schools Council (Great Britain). History 13–16 Project, 1980). This is as distinct from the “more synthetic” historical thinking advocated at the same time by German history didacticians (Ahonen 2012, p. 76). The SHP framework positioned students to emulate the disciplinary thinking skills of the historian and was aligned with a broadly constructivist agenda focused less on the retention of facts and rather on the active process of learning (Seixas 2015).

By the late 1980s then, the close relationship between history, history education, and the nation-state, which had persisted since the late eighteenth century founded on a mythic nationalist master-narrative, was becoming increasingly indefensible. In Australian education, this was exemplified by the relative triumph of Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) by the 1980s and relegation of history as a discrete subject. Rather, SOSE was imagined as a socially relevant, inquiry-based curriculum which would empower individuals through fostering critical inquiry. Many progressive educators in Australia rallied around the new social education which was seen as possessing progressive democratic potential. Leading educators influenced by this revival envisioned the place of history in school curriculum, not as a discrete (and elitist, politically conservative) subject but as a contextual tool for a more inclusive and progressive social and civics education (Taylor 2012, p. 31).

Typically, the erosion of the transmissive, nation-building role of history education in Western nation-states has been explained in terms of changing approaches to educational policies, “progress” in history education research, political contests between reformers and traditionalists, as well as historiographical changes (see, e.g., Clark 2004; Seixas 2015; Taylor and MacIntyre 2017). All are correct to some degree. But we can deepen our understanding further by recognizing that a shift in the dominant experience and understanding of temporality in the post-Cold War era created a crisis of legitimacy for the nation-state and subsequently undermined the authority of its nation-building stalwarts history, and history education, to which the following discussion turns.

The Post-1989 Experience of Temporality

Since Koselleck’s work on the time of modernity, a wave of scholarship has examined various modern experiences and orderings of time (Koselleck 2004). One line of analysis which has proven influential is that since the 1980s, there has been a perceptible shift in Western experiences of time (Bevernage and Lorenz 2013; Harootunian 2007; Hartog 2016; Huyssen 2003). For example, in *Present Pasts*, cultural historian Andreas Huyssen argued that while the earlier decades of the twentieth century were oriented toward “present futures” where the future is seen as a hopeful possibility, since the 1980s the focus has shifted to “present pasts” (Huyssen 2003, p. 11). He thought that the contemporary obsession with the status and significance of the past signaled a shift in the ways modern subjects and societies experience temporality itself. Similarly, in *Regimes of Historicity*, François Hartog argued that the prevalence of contemporary watchwords such as “memory,”

“heritage,” and “commemoration” signal a fault line in the current “regime of historicity,” the paradigm which regulates the relations between past, present, and future in a given society. This fault line occurs when the relations with the past that underpin a given society’s time relations become no longer self-evident. The demand for memory that characterizes the current “presentist” time regime can, for Hartog, “. . . be interpreted as an expression of [a] crisis in our relation to time, as well as an attempt at providing a solution” (Hartog 2016, p. 144).

So, what has precipitated this shift in Western experiences of time? As previously outlined, throughout the “saddle time” and up until the period of the world wars, temporality was shaped in ways that oriented understanding and experience as progress and movement toward an anticipated future. In this context, professional historians were the “privileged interpreters of the present in its relationship to the past and future” (Lorenz 2010, p. 67) and the purveyors of the “grand narrative” of modern history which framed gradual advancement and enlightenment within a system of nation-states and which gave shape to historical understanding (Hutton 2016, p. 6). However, by the 1960s the historical profession’s dominion over historical knowledge, enjoyed since the nineteenth century, was being weakened, and their capacity to explain the connections between past, present, and future eroded. An awareness of the catastrophes that had been waged in the name of the future and progress, as well as the historiographical transformations and experience of the 1960s countercultural revolution, underpinned this (Lorenz 2014, p. 43), as did the formative intellectual atmosphere of the 1970s exemplified by Lyotard’s 1979 definition of postmodernism as “incredulity towards metanarratives” (Lyotard 1979; Hutton 2016, pp. 3–17). The subsequent fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the unforeseen reordering of global politics that followed, and the prevalence of ideas about “the end of history” exemplified by Francis Fukuyama’s 1992 text marked the “beginning of the end” and collapse of the future (Harootunian 2007, pp. 472–473; Hartog 2016; Koselleck 2004). Hartog declares this moment as inaugurating an “endless present” or “crisis of presentism” when the future is no longer conceived as a hopeful utopian possibility, as in the time-consciousness of modernity, but is rather seen as an increasing threat. Hereby, Western time consciousness has come to be dominated by a preoccupation with the past and by the immediate self-historicization of the present (Hartog 2016, p. 193; Lorenz 2017).

The Nation-State and the Crisis of Legitimacy

In the period since 1989, there is clearly an intense focus on national identity and on coming to terms with the problematic and persisting past. These can be read as effects of the changing experience of temporality since the 1980s, whereby the nation-state has been attempting to regenerate itself amidst a crisis of legitimacy. This has been prompted at least partly by the erosion of the previously taken-for-granted agenda of legitimating the nation via historical representation and history education which has become increasingly problematic in the period since the 1970s and especially since 1989. The intense political focus on issues of national identity

and the problematic past then overflows into public debates, particularly about education due, in large part, to its close historical and ideological relationship with nation-building and forming national citizens. This in turn has had considerable ramifications for history education in particular. This chapter contends that these educational implications are better understood when positioned within a broader set of cultural and political responses to a changing temporal experience.

For example, since the end of the Cold War, there has been a greater sensitivity about recognizing present-day responsibilities for historical crimes (Lorenz 2014, p. 50). The impetus and pressure to reckon with the problematic past is underwritten by the changing status of the past, which has led to growing recognition that the persisting past does not fade away for victims of injustice (Bevernage 2012). Thus, a “present past” has become increasingly burdensome for the nation-state which has been called upon to take responsibility and atone for past harms and historical injustices and to recognize minority experiences, in order to reconstruct or reconcile a polity after a period of violence, oppression, or forgetting. This has been labelled a “politics of regret,” “recognition,” or “reconciliation” and has manifested in various mechanisms such as criminal tribunals, truth commissions, and official apologies, subsumed under the notion of historical justice (Bevernage 2012; Olick 2007; Torpey 2006). This burdensome past is particularly heavy in settler societies, whereby the nature of settler colonialism involves the continuous denial of pre-settler sovereignty and ongoing practices of assimilation and elimination (Wolfe 2006). The expanding scope and demands of what has become a stretched conceptualization and experience of “the past” can be positioned within shifting Western experiences of temporality, whereby the past persists and demands reckoning with.

This impetus, founded on a changing experience of temporality, is then reflected in educational efforts to incorporate the findings of truth and reconciliation commissions and official apologies within history curricula and textbooks as well as state-sponsored learning materials (Bentrovato et al. 2016), to include educational reform (particularly history education reform) in peacebuilding and conflict-resolution proceedings (Cole 2007), and to promote “multi-perspectivity” – the disposition and pedagogy of confronting multiple perspectives in contested historical narratives as a tool for promoting plural, democratic participation and for overcoming divisive stereotyping (Ahonen 2012; Elmersjö et al. 2017).

This expands the agenda for history education beyond the current orthodoxy centered around developing cognitive disciplinary skills which emerged during the 1970s. It implies that history education can be used normatively to intervene in present/past narratives in order to actively shape student attitudes and thus change society for the better. It seeks to return history education to a moral narrative which inscribes and defines a normative account of what constitutes “good” citizenship. There is clearly a tension here between positioning history education as disciplinary, value-free process of critical inquiry on the one hand, and as a normative tool for shaping particular values on the other.

Likewise, in response to this changing temporal regime and the lack of recourse to an unproblematic national past, there has been an “increased reflection about and

attachment to national identity against the background of an accelerated process of globalization and immigration” (Van Nieuwenhuysse and Wils 2012, p. 158). Indeed, Taylor and MacIntyre (2017, p. 614) have explained how acrimonious public contestations concerning national history have tended to coincide with a weakening of the nation-state as the sole legitimate authority within a territory and singular vestige of identity. In response to the perceived threats of globalization and the subsequent weakening of liberal notions of citizenship, nation-states have responded with hostility and defensiveness seeking to discredit perceived attacks on the nation’s heritage and legacy and bolster a positive account of national achievement.

Common sources of contention internationally include military operations, genocide and violent atrocities, as well as colonial dispossession and the treatment and representation of minorities. In familiar debates around the world concerning the representation of the contested past, history education and schooling generally have routinely been drawn into broader cultural clashes over collective memory. Some high-profile examples include:

1. The 2005 French “memory of colonialism” law whereby school curricula were revised to emphasize “the positive role of the French presence overseas” and which required teachers to convey a positive account of French colonialism
2. (a) The weeks following the 2005 terror attacks in London, when French politicians immediately invoked schools and teachers as protectors of French secularism and the values of the republic
(b) The decades-long culture wars in the United States including the debates in the late-1980s about the “cultural literacy” approach to social studies and return of a “great canon” amidst the apparent “threats” of multicultural curricula
3. The insurrection of compulsory patriotism in American schools in the aftermath of the September 11 terror attacks in 2001
4. The Putin-sanctioned national history textbook revision in 2013 Russia
5. The 1990s “history wars” in Australia which centered around the issue of representing the nation’s colonial past in school curricula

These are just some examples of what Clark and Macintyre (2003) have shown as an international phenomenon. This reflection about an attachment to national identity since the 1980s has also manifested in curriculum and textbook revision efforts including the implementation of national curricula in Britain and Australia and the resulting controversies, as well as lavish commemorative educational programs particularly aimed at the remembrance of war and conflict (Van Nieuwenhuysse and Wils 2012).

In summary, the lack of recourse to an unproblematic national past has precipitated an intense focus on history education as a key battleground in the challenge of representing and using collective memory for political legitimation and identity building. When the nation-state perceives itself to be in crisis, history education is oft-invoked as a primary instrument for securing national identity and preventing further deterioration. In the post-Cold War era, this has manifested as a crisis of legitimacy exemplified by the global phenomena of “history wars” (Clark and

MacIntyre 2003; Taylor and MacIntyre 2017, p. 615). Yet at the same time, this crisis of legitimacy has also been reflected in efforts to position history education as a solution to the problems generated by a changing temporal experience. History education is now often implicated in the educational reform efforts linked to peacebuilding and transitional justice processes, as well as other forms of retrospective and reconciliatory politics, where it is positioned as a harbinger of justice and reconciliation. This is despite the imminent contradictions inherent in any attempt to align the prevailing disciplinary model of history education with the goals of justice and/or reconciliation.

Conclusion and Future Directions

It is crucial to keep in mind that what is often at stake in the memory debates which are a feature of the shifting “time regime” is a vision of the nation, including its contested past and present, as well as an imagined future. In the examples outlined, what is at stake for the defenders or apologists of the nation’s historical record is a legitimated and trouble-free present which is not stained by the minor “blemishes” of the past but is rather vindicated by a positive record of national achievement. The project of imagining and representing a positive or glorious past for the purposes of present political legitimation and identity formation is always also connected to an imagining of the future as the continuation of past and present political agendas (Bellino and Williams 2017, p. 5). By drawing attention to a nation’s violent and oppressive past, the nationalist project of legitimating the present and galvanizing support on the basis of a past legacy is undermined.

Public controversies on collective memory serve as good indicators of the problems and tensions within or between societies, and in such controversies, it is often a purported lack of historical consciousness, school curriculum, and other historical representations that are targeted. In addition, public controversies on public memory also reveal a broader disease among Western nation-states concerning the status and significance of the past (Hartog 2016; Huyssen 2003; Olick 2007). This is underwritten by the shift in the dominant experience and sensibility of time and apparent waning of national sovereignty, which has occurred in the period since the 1980s. This has undermined the nexus forged during the “saddle time” between history, (history) education, and nation-building which focused on creating and transmitting a nationalist master-narrative and forging the state-citizen nexus based on a shared history. As such, a shifting temporal experience and crisis of legitimacy has generated two related responses in Western nation-states: an increased reflection and attachment to national identity and an impetus to reckon with the problematic past.

Understanding the significance of this temporal shift is important for researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers concerned with the politics of history, remembrance, and education. First, it helps to explain the rise of memory politics since the 1980s, including especially the educative focus on (history) education as both problem and solution to contestations over collective memory. In understanding that

in the West history education has always been central to state and national identity formation, it becomes clearer why at the current juncture – where history’s traditional promises and character have become compromised and where the nation-state no longer has recourse to unproblematic past – there is considerable anxiety and confusion about the nature and purpose of history education. This temporal perspective provides a broader framework for understanding the persistence and virility of history and culture wars, as well as insight into the continuing appeal of revisionist and nationalist education reform efforts. It also incites broader historical investigations into how different temporal configurations in history shaped relationships between accounts of history, education systems and approaches, collective identity, and the prevailing system of governance in a given geographic space.

At the same time as history education is stripped of its traditional role as nation- and identity builder by the demise of master-narratives and changing temporal relations, it is nonetheless still heralded as a vital tool for civic identity and democracy. This maintains the idea that an appropriate historical consciousness shaped through formal schooling is still central for civic accord. It also rests on an assumption that the disciplinary skills of history are neutral and timeless and that they can be neatly divided from history education’s traditional civic agenda of constructing civic identity and belonging via a nationalist master-narrative. Thus, a mainly depoliticized history curriculum persists in Western nation-states which are ordered by cognitive “skills” and disciplinary thinking competencies. This largely eschews the political and presentist dimensions of historical consciousness and culture which are ever-apparent in the frequency and vehemence of public memory debates.

Therefore, there is a critical need to consider whether or not the skills of the historical discipline can in fact be meaningfully divorced from the temporal configuration that underlies both the discipline and history education. Further, this line of thinking compels a deep consideration of the political implications of temporal configurations in history education, in particular how temporal schemas frame what knowledge comes to be recognizable and legitimate in history education and the political and ethical implications of this, as well as how history-makers are performative and active constructors of temporal relations. Time is not merely a neutral container or abstract timeline upon which to base frame history lessons. If history education continues to be heralded as a purveyor of peace, justice, and reconciliation, paying attention to processes of historicization (whereby history-makers historicize phenomena to place it “in time”) would be essential work to supplement the proclamation of such weighty moral agendas. This represents a significant reinsertion of the political into history and remembrance education. Further research, both empirical and theoretical, is certainly required to determine whether a disciplinary framework for history education (founded in the epistemology of the nineteenth-century professional discipline) is able and suited to perform these tasks and, if not, what sort of historical learning is the most ethically and politically responsible.

Over 200 years since the emergence of the core nation-building relationship between history, education, and civic identity, as well as the characteristically

modern experience and understanding of temporality which underpinned that project, changing temporal experiences and understandings are now producing challenging possibilities for history education, and indeed the nation-state, to which researchers need to be attentive.

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Empire of Teacher Education and Training **38**

A Case Study of Management and Governance at Sydney Teachers' College

Geoffrey Sherington

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Abstract

The establishment of “schools” for the people during the nineteenth century prompted government support for the education and training of teachers in Britain and its Empire of settlement. Initially ideas and methods were based on the practice of schooling. A form of apprenticeships emerged with older students being selected as “pupil teachers” learning to teach under a master teacher while they continued their own schooling. The idea of a “teachers college” as a specialized institution was established for further training of some pupil teachers selected on the basis of merit. This system prevailed for much of the nineteenth century albeit in different forms throughout the Empire. By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of teaching as a profession had supplanted earlier notions of teaching as apprenticeship. Training through institutions supplementing practice in the classroom became more

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predominant. Increasingly, teacher education in colleges and universities prevailed as the rise of education as an academic discipline sought to combine patterns of research and teaching. Common patterns emerged throughout the Empire with Scottish influences becoming predominant in the Empire of settlement. A case study of the establishment of Sydney Teachers College under its Scottish-born Principal Alexander Mackie illuminates these trends. The associations of Empire continued into the years after the Second World War, but increasingly teacher education and training was absorbed into national higher education systems which became focused not on Empire but the market in a global economy.

Keywords

Empire · Teachers colleges · Scottish diaspora · Networks · Alexander Mackie

Introduction

Ideas on ways to educate and train teachers were part of the wider process of providing schools for the “people.” In Europe and America, the term “normal school” was often used to describe a place where prospective teachers, male and female, would gather to learn how to teach. In Britain, religious and other bodies, including the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, sought ways of providing mass instruction in elementary schools for the growing working class in the cities. One solution employed older students who became “monitors” to teach younger ones in the elements of literacy. Some of these originated in Britain such as the proposals of Joseph Lancaster at Borough Road London where older pupils taught the younger. Similar methods were practiced in the Empire such as the clergyman Andrew Bell and his monitorial system at Madras in India. By the early nineteenth century, the Anglican National Society was using the monitorial system of Bell who had formulated his ideas in India, while the nonconformist British and Foreign School Society had established a training college at Borough Road London under the Quaker Joseph Lancaster. In Glasgow David Stow trained teachers in his methods of teaching infants. Urbanization and industrialization prompted such educational experiments as ways to manage the unprecedented growth of populations of young people.

The emphasis on practice in the school and the classroom as a way to prepare teachers became the foundation of teacher training in nineteenth-century Britain and the British Empire. Teachers’ colleges of the churches supplemented this process emphasizing moral and cultural values for future teachers. By the late-nineteenth century, teaching became seen not so much a craft as a professional occupation requiring extended education and training in a college and a university. The dichotomy between these different modes of preparing future teachers explains much of the early history of teacher education and training in Britain. Equally, the extension into other forms of preparing teachers was part of the spread of ideas and processes throughout the Empire.

The Pupil Teacher System

By the mid-nineteenth century, state intervention had begun to replace the efforts of voluntary bodies in teacher training. State grants for church schools created a “pupil teacher” system, whereby selected older children were both pupils at school and apprentice teachers learning a craft. As secretary to the Education Committee of the Privy Council which provided the new state grants, the medical doctor Dr. James Kay Shuttleworth helped to shape this early pupil teacher system. Influenced by Stow in Glasgow as well as ideas from Europe, he founded Battersea Training School in South London in 1839. The students lived on-site in a regime that was similar to the religious life of a seminary. As future teachers they were seen as the moral leaders of their social class. The curriculum was divided into extending general education as well as providing an understanding of the arts and practice of teaching. The moral purpose of college life, as well as its educational and professional aims, thus became a feature of nineteenth-century teachers’ colleges in Britain (Selleck 1982).

By 1850, there were 30 training colleges in England and Wales. Most of these were Church of England residential colleges where students lived and studied. Overwhelmingly single sex in student composition, they provided a period of training of between 6 months and 3 years. The heads of these colleges were usually clergymen or graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. While state grants were directed toward creating teachers of the elementary schools, many of the colleges were concerned with maintaining the role of the church while improving the education of the students. A system emerged, whereby certain church colleges such as St. Marks Chelsea influenced the development of other colleges through staff appointments (Rich 1933).

Initially, enrolments in the colleges were small, but the expansion of scholarships in the 1850s encouraged many pupil teachers to seek a place in the colleges with age of entry being either 14 or 15. Academic standards of early entrants were not high, but increasingly the college curricula open up career paths which went beyond teaching in an elementary school, with some colleges becoming quasi-secondary schools (Rich 1933; Widdowson 1980).

By the 1850s the pupil teacher system had spread into the Empire of settlement. In Upper Canada, the government created both a model school as an example of how to instruct pupils as well as a normal school to train pupil teachers. The Canadian normal school was based in part on examples from the United States but also the Irish teacher training school in Dublin established as part of the Irish “national” experiment which attempted to introduce nondenominational or secular schools. The Irish influence in Toronto extended to the introduction of Irish national textbooks, the decision to have a model school attached to the normal school, and the selection of an Irish headmaster. The normal school allowed the entry of women but also rejected the idea of residential accommodation for students who came from outside Toronto (Houston and Prentice 1988).

In New South Wales, William Wilkins, a former student of Kay Shuttleworth at Battersea, was appointed headmaster of the Fort Street Model School in Sydney.

Fort Street would soon become an academic secondary school from where many matriculated to the university. Created head of state education in New South Wales, Wilkins was determined to follow the system of pupil teachers which he described as “an apprentice to a schoolmaster.” But the emerging system of public schools made little allowance for college training beyond that provided for a few elite students in the model school. After the Act of 1880 in New South Wales which removed grants to church schools in favor of government, secular schools teacher training was more concentrated in a nonresidential college for boys and a residential college for girls. By then two other Australian colonies, Victoria and South Australia, had founded training centers for their system of pupil teachers. By 1885, females made up between two-thirds and three quarters of pupil teachers and about 40% of head and assistant teachers in various Australian colonies (Turney 1992; Whitehead 2003). Overall, pupil teachers, trained and untrained, and most often women, were a vital part of teachers for the expanding Empire of settlement.

Throughout Britain and the Empire, the pupil teacher system still remained the most significant way of training well into the twentieth century. While Kay Shuttleworth expected most pupil teachers to be men, the opposite proved to be the reality. Increasingly females became predominant in these training schemes in both Britain and the Empire. Many women came to play leading roles in the associated colleges and training centers. By 1900, females were three quarters of the teachers in the elementary schools in England and Wales. The aim of Kay Shuttleworth to recruit working-class males as teachers had been transformed into career prospects for lower middle-class and working-class women who could aspire to a “white-collar” occupation. Change was assisted by the local school boards created under the 1870 Act for England and Wales. Some school boards created secular and coeducational daytime pupil teacher centers to increase the supply and standards of teachers. A minority report of the 1886 Cross Commission enquiry into teacher training encouraged these trends as a move away from the older forms of church residential colleges. As a further move toward the involvement of women in tertiary and higher education, many elementary school teachers, including women, found posts as lecturers in these centers (Robinson 2000).

Teaching As an Emerging Profession

The pupil teacher system had been created as a way to provide teachers for the elementary schools. By the mid-nineteenth century, teaching was being conceived more as a middle-class profession rather than a craft preceded by apprenticeship. The movement for change arose from a number of influences. First the movement for the higher education of women was associated with demands for qualifications to teach in both elementary and secondary schools. To meet this demand, there was the increasing involvement of universities in both education as an academic discipline and teaching as a profession. These trends became prominent in the “civic universities” in Britain but more specifically in Scotland and the public

universities of the Empire. By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of the college principal was being transformed from the earlier view of religious and moral mentor into a professional imbued with new ideas on the theory and practice of education.

University Day Training Departments

Despite the colleges and pupil teacher centers, there was growing concern that many regions in Britain had no forms of teacher training. In nonconformist parts of Wales, there were few training places provided because of the close association of the residential colleges with the Church of England. In other parts of Britain, students found it difficult to attend residential colleges (Thomas 1990a).

Some associated with the universities saw possibilities in teacher education. Owens College in Manchester provided evening classes for elementary teachers from 1853. Others regarded training in the residential colleges as offering a basic curriculum that was essentially illiberal in outlook and not suitable to include in higher education. But the recommendations of the 1886 Cross Commission, examining the effect of the 1870 Act creating school boards, supported the view that the universities become involved in teacher education. From 1890 there were grants for Day Training Colleges associated with the universities, justified on grounds that the existing system was failing to provide an adequate supply of teachers. The anticipated benefits were seen as being less expensive than existing arrangements with staff already in the universities being able to offer courses in the humanities or science. Regulations provided for the establishment of local committees to oversee practice teaching in schools, while masters of method would be appointed to lecture on education, giving a course of model lessons. Eventually such masters would be given the title of professor, assisted by a small number of staff, leading to the slow incorporation of education as an academic discipline within the universities (Patrick 1986).

The grants had most appeal to the “civic universities” that had emerged in the provincial cities over the nineteenth century. Focusing on local needs, they engaged with the various emerging professions such as teaching. Most of all, and unlike Oxford and Cambridge, the “civic universities” were coeducational and thus open to the entry of women. With the prospect of a new source of students, many civic universities established in the nineteenth century seized the opportunity to establish Day Training Colleges which soon became sub-departments of the university to which they were attached. In 1891, the University of Cambridge founded its own male only Day Training College under the historian and scholar Oscar Browning. By 1900, the Day Training College in England and Wales had become the embryonic form of teacher preparation which would influence much of the shape of training over the next half century (Crook 2000; Thomas 1990b).

Paralleling these changes in university provision for training elementary school teachers were efforts to find ways to recruit teachers for secondary education

particularly in the new boys' and girls' public schools founded in the nineteenth century. The College of Preceptors had been established in 1846 to stimulate training in schools outside the government sector by awarding certificate to candidates who completed training. The principle was founded on the idea of a "Teachers' University," whereby members of the teaching profession became responsible for their own training. In effect, the college fell back on offering evening lectures offered by a number of public figures including Joseph Payne who came to play a dominant role in the college. In 1869, the college admitted women to its council. In 1871, Payne became lecturer in education, later elevated to professor, offering lectures in a variety of topics such as "The theory or science of education" and the "The practice or art of education" (Dent 1975; Rich 1933).

More direct efforts to train women for secondary schools came through such institutions as the Cambridge Training College for Women established in 1879. The college had a close relationship with the headmistresses of the new girls schools as well as Newnham College which had been set up within the University to allow women to attend lectures even while they could not graduate (Hirsch and McBeth 2004; Searby 1982).

Local Authorities' Teacher Colleges

The establishment of the Board of Education in 1899 created an agency for building educational systems in England and Wales. The Education Act of 1902 created Local Education Authorities (which were principally local councils) to initiate change with the stimulus of state grants which the board administered through regulations. A system emerged for engagement between the central state regulation and local initiatives.

The interaction between the board and the local authorities had a number of implications for the education and training of a new generation of teachers. After almost a century, trained teachers were still in the minority in both elementary and secondary schools in Britain and the Empire. The ratio of trained teachers to untrained was 1:12, while less than half the qualified pupil teachers were admitted to a college. From 1907, the board also encouraged the growth of new state-aided secondary schools provided by the local authorities which now drew on these schools for a new source of teachers. With grants from central government, local authorities created their own secular training colleges attached to no religious faith (Jones 1924).

From 1902 until the outbreak of the Second World War, a system of training emerged involving the church colleges of the nineteenth century, new colleges established by Local Education Authorities and the emerging departments of education in the universities. By the eve of the First World War, the era of the old pupil teacher system survived only in rural areas. Most recruits to teaching had completed a secondary school education, often as "bursars" and "student teachers" and then entered teacher training institutions. Here they extended their academic studies and undertook professional and practical work with a

view to preparing to teach. These changing models of teacher education and training soon had an impact in the Empire but none so much as the Scottish example.

Teacher Education in the Universities and Colleges of Scotland

In Scotland, ideas on the education of teachers operated under different contexts to England and Wales. Since the Reformation, the parish school teacher in Scotland had held a special status in local communities. Some parish school masters had been able to attend university, although few graduated. This was part of the tradition of a “Scottish democratic myth,” whereby the poor boy from the parishes could supposedly rise in society through education. But the growth of population and increasing urbanization tended to undermine the idea of the parish school and the idea of a democratic intellect, whereby bright students could go straight to university (Anderson 1983).

Many, including the Church of Scotland, were concerned about the undermining of parish and teacher. By 1826, a Presbyterian normal school had been established in Edinburgh to bring together teachers from across Scotland for education and training. The provision of grants from the central state based in London led to the adoption of the pupil teachers scheme from 1846. But the “great disruption” in the Presbyterian Church in 1843, when a large section of evangelicals broke away to form a new Free Church, led to a new growth of teachers’ colleges allied to the new faith. Moray House was formed in 1848 as a Free Church nonresidential college training teachers in association with the University of Edinburgh: an association that lasted into the twenty-first century (Cruikshank 1970).

The Education Act of 1873 in Scotland created the further prospect of a national system based on local board schools with the universities as the pinnacle. State regulations now allowed pupil teachers to undertake studies in university. Eager for a new source of students, at least two of Scotland’s universities responded to this possible source of income. In 1876, professorial chairs, named in honor of Andrew Bell the pioneer of the earlier monitorial system, were established at the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Simon Laurie, secretary of the Church of Scotland Education Committee, was appointed to the Edinburgh chair. Laurie had a long record in supporting moves to create teaching as a profession, being prominent in the Educational Institute of Scotland set up in the 1840s partly to re-establish the idea of the “learned dominie.” Holding strong views on the status of teaching, Laurie argued that future teachers needed to mix with the middle class in secondary schools. And at university they should have a liberal education as the basis for teaching as a profession. He proposed first that universities become the “trainers of all aspirants to the teaching profession who are fitted by their previous education to enter on a university curriculum.” Second, he wanted to have education accepted as a subject discipline within the universities (Laurie 1882).

During the 1880s, a “Literate of Arts” providing for education as an optional course was introduced at the University of Edinburgh as well as a postgraduate

diploma in Education. Three years later, in the significant Act of 1889, the new Universities Commission in Scotland included Education as a full qualifying subject for the MA degree at all four Scottish universities. From 1895, there were Kings' Scholarships for students to undertake all their teaching training at university. As an academic area, as well as professional preparation, education was thereby established in Scottish universities (Bell 1983).

Education also found a place within Scottish universities as an emerging research-based discipline. Scottish philosophy had been long influenced by Europe and particularly Germany. Education was shaped as a discipline at the moment there was emerging interest in teaching methodologies. Much of this came through an understanding of the new "science" of psychology. The significant influences were German in origin. Generally there was German philosophic idealism and its impact on Scottish philosophy with a growing belief in state action to achieve change. In the area of education, "Herbartianism" was arising from the views of the German philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart, who published his *Science of Education* in 1806. Herbart proclaimed that "the one and whole work" of education was "Morality," to be found in individual "will" generated from desires which are the conditions of ideas. In Scotland and elsewhere, this provided a theoretical foundation for early educational studies (Bell 1983, 1990).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the small but growing numbers of academics in the discipline of education, in Scotland and elsewhere, were widening their visions beyond Europe to include America. A new generation including Alexander Darroch at Edinburgh and William Boyd at the University of Glasgow developed contacts with John Dewey and his laboratory school at Chicago. Increasingly, "progressivism" infused with ideas of socially useful knowledge began to prevail in the education of teachers. Mackie's friend Alexander Darroch argued that the aim of education should be "to fit the individual, intellectually, ethically, and practically, to fill his appropriate place in the social organism" (Darroch 1903, p. 136). After the First World War, Scotland became increasingly a center for educational research, developing instruments for testing and measurement of student achievements (Lawn and Deary 2015).

While Oxford and Cambridge continued to exercise influence in Britain and the Empire over the idea of a "liberal education" for an elite, Scottish universities became prominent in the area of professional studies, often in medical education but also in the preparation of teachers. Scottish migration of middle-class professionals assisted this process, as part of a general diaspora of Scottish university graduates who have been described as cosmopolitan in outlook considering themselves as part of a worldwide community of scholars. Scots had long sought opportunities abroad, engaged in imperial service in the army and civil administration. The expansion of the Scottish universities in the late-nineteenth century saw many graduates going overseas. An analysis in 1933 of 19,501 graduates from the University of Edinburgh showed only 56% living in Scotland, 28% in the rest of Britain, and 17% overseas mainly in the Empire (Anderson and Wallace 2015).

Scholar Teachers in Universities of the Empire

By the early twentieth century, formal and informal associations had emerged between the universities of the Empire. Networks, personal contacts, and institutional associations were a way of forming academic disciplines and forms of professional training. The diaspora of British academics was associated with the establishment of new universities in the Empire of settlement. This soon became not so much a simple transplantation of teachers and ideas from Britain to the Empire but a British world of higher education engaging Britain and Empire. By the early twentieth century, education had become part of the discourse at the imperial conferences involving Britain and the dominions of Empire (Pietsch 2013; Stephenson 2010).

In the antipodes the new universities established from the mid-nineteenth century were secular and public foundations of colonial governments with provision for philanthropic bequests including scholarships. Meritocratic in aim they focused on entrance and progress by examination soon opening up opportunities for women. Located in the capitals of the respective colonies, they shared some common purposes with the civic universities of England and Wales and the longer established universities in the cities and regions of Scotland. Conceived in terms of a close affinity to imperial ideals of the culture of higher education, they offered both liberal studies and education for the professions to meet the aspirations and needs of the local settler society (Horne and Sherington 2012; Sherington and Horne 2010).

The growth of school systems in the Empire, and particularly the role of government in financing public education, helped to generate closer association between teachers and the universities of the Empire. In 1876, the newly established University of Adelaide allowed female students to attend classes without even having to matriculate. Many of these early students were women teachers seeking to upgrade qualifications. Adelaide thus became the first Australian university to admit women and thereby initiated a new relationship between Australia's universities and school teachers.

The admission of women to the University of Sydney from 1881 was indirectly associated with curriculum reform including new academic disciplines and a Faculty of Science. By the late 1880s, there were also moves to include the university in the education and professional training of teachers. There were negotiations between the university and the colonial government over a proposal, initiated among the Sydney Professors, that some students from the teacher training colleges be allowed to undertake studies at the university. The initial negotiations broke down, but in the 1890s, J. H. Carruthers, the new Minister for Public Instruction, himself a graduate of the university, proposed that not only should training college students attend the university, but that steps should be taken to locate a teachers' training college within the grounds of the university (Turney 1990).

What encouraged this new interest was the Scottish academic diaspora of the late-nineteenth century. Professors from Edinburgh established the medical school at the University of Sydney. Others helped to expand the offerings of the Faculty of Arts beyond the classical languages. Of most significance was Professor Francis

Anderson, trained as a pupil teacher but then graduate in philosophy from the University of Glasgow. In 1902 Anderson helped to initiate a reform movement in New South Wales to bring about change in the education of teachers. In place of the pupil teacher system, Anderson proposed training in a specialized college which would be associated with the university as had occurred in Scotland (Turney 1990).

Victoria had already established a Training College for teachers in 1889. The college closed during the Depression of the 1890s, but its reopening in the early twentieth century was associated with new patterns of careers in education across the Empire. Born in Scotland John Smyth began teaching in Londonderry before emigrating to New Zealand where he completed a BA at the University of Otago followed by an MA in mathematics and mental science. In 1895, he travelled to study at Heidelberg in Germany. He then returned to New Zealand to take up a lectureship in education at Otago. In 1898, he enrolled at the University of Edinburgh for a Ph.D. in philosophy with further study in education and economics. He then studied in Jena and Leipzig before coming back to New Zealand as an inspector of schools. In 1902, he was appointed Principal of the Melbourne Teachers' College and lecturer in education at the University of Melbourne. He was a major example of how the expanding transnational world of education, with the Empire at the center, was embraced by teachers becoming research scholars even though Smyth's years in Melbourne would be constrained by bureaucracy within the state department of education as well as issues of academic status and recognition of education as a field of study within the university (Flesch 2017; Spaul and Mandelson 1983).

Prompted by such networks of Empire, by the early twentieth century, Australia was undergoing an educational renaissance. Each of the six Australian states moved toward building public education systems involving schools, colleges, and universities. As in Britain a centrally controlled state system of education was designed to be efficient in methods and meritocratic in intent. And government control to achieve these ends was even more pronounced than in Britain with the growth of Australian government departments and inspectors (Sherington and Horne 2010). As the following case study reveals, such proposed change had major implications for the education and training of teachers.

Sydney Teachers College, 1906–1940

In 1906, Scots-born Alexander Mackie became first principal of the recently founded Sydney Teachers College in New South Wales. After an academic secondary schooling, Mackie had become a pupil teacher, before completing concurrent studies in education at the Free Presbyterian College Moray House and the University of Edinburgh. His initial supervisor was Professor Simon Laurie, the main Scottish proponent who urged that teaching be founded as a profession based on a liberal education in the universities. For his final year MA dissertation, Mackie wrote a special study of Plato and education, so reflecting the growing

interest in philosophic idealism realized through state action. He soon embarked on an academic career becoming lecturer in education at the University of Bangor Wales. Six years later he applied for the position of Principal of Sydney Teachers' College (Sherington 2019; Alexander Mackie Papers).

The appointment of Mackie as Principal of Sydney Teachers College revealed the networks of Empire in the field of education which began to prevail in the early twentieth century. The *Australian Journal of Education* reflected on Mackie's significance. "That gentleman comes to us with the centuries of practical interest in and knowledge of education which Scotch parentage implied, and with several years of experience in Wales, one of the most lively quarters in matters educational to be found in the British Empire" (Boardman et al. 1995, p. 25). A committee based in London had recommended his appointment from a field of 31 applicants. His academic networks in Edinburgh and beyond resonated with the selection committee, most of whom would have known his Scottish and other referees personally. The chair of the committee was Professor John Adams of the University of London, a long-time friend and colleague of Professor Anderson at the University of Sydney; other members were John Struthers, head of the Scottish Education Department and Graham Wallas, Fabian Socialist, founder of the London School of Economics in 1895, and chair of the London County Council Subcommittee on the Training of Teachers. The committee was thus principally Scottish in origin and in all respects committed to modern and professional ways of education and teacher training. Of particular significance was the committee chair Professor John Adams who was known as one of the major theorists of teaching in the Empire. Adams maintained contact with Mackie for the next two decades (Boardman et al. 1995).

Networks of Empire, specifically the influence of the Scottish academic diaspora, were already present in Sydney when Mackie arrived in 1906. Apart from Professor Francis Anderson, Peter Board, the new Director General of Education in New South Wales, came from a Scottish migrant family with a strong tradition of teaching. Board had begun as a pupil teachers before attending university much in the manner of Mackie's profile. He was determined to reform the preparation of teachers to involve recruitment from new secondary schools as well as an increased role for the university. Anderson and Board were Mackie's strongest allies when he arrived in Sydney (Sherington 2019).

In an address to teachers in New South Wales soon after his arrival, Mackie drew upon his own education and learning and gave indications of possible future directions for teacher education under his supervision as college principal. "Though he could never forget the 30 years he had spent in Scotland, he hoped soon to be able to look upon Australia as his second homeland." The present was a time of "upheaval" not seen since "Socrates pointed out the fallacies of the Sophists." There was hope for "educational progress" provided educational administration worked with the "social and economic structure of the State." As to the pupil teacher system, it had "outlived its usefulness" not only in the "older countries of the world" but in Australia. There were, Mackie said, according to the press report, "two main points in the training of the teacher" – "first – a thorough general culture in

academics and in the techniques of his art” and “secondly, that he should carry the academic training so far as to obtain a degree in arts or sciences.” There should be no differences between primary and secondary teachers, he suggested, and “No obstacle placed in the way of obtaining a university education for young teachers.” As such he was holding out the prospect of teaching founded on a university degree rather than being in the traditional fashion of different qualifications for primary or secondary schools (Sherington 2019).

The aim of teaching becoming a university trained profession, based on education as an academic discipline, studied in college and university, and including practice in schools, would mark Mackie’s next three and a half decades as college principal and university professor in Australia. In his first decade as principal, such an ambition seemed a possibility. He recruited staff whose qualifications were based on both teaching and research. In this way he was following trends already apparent in Britain and which were well known to him. In 1913–1914 the percentage of graduate staff in the teachers’ colleges of the churches in Britain was only 62% compared to 82% in the university departments. The preeminence of the university departments of education in Britain was increasingly related to the status of the university to which they were attached (Jones 1924). Through key appointments in Sydney Teachers College at Sydney, Mackie actually surpassed the research records of many academics in the University of Sydney. And with support from Professor Anderson, the University of Sydney granted Mackie the title of professor and the right to teach in university courses (Boardman et al. 1995).

The institutional association between the university and the college was ensured when Peter Board, the Director of Education in New South Wales, reached an agreement with the university to establish a teachers’ college within the grounds of the university. By the end of the First World War, many students were undertaking a 4-year degree comprised of studies in university academic subjects followed by work in the college and practice in schools. The majority of these students were women laying the foundations for careers in teaching in the public schools (Boardman et al. 1995).

Mackie regarded the connection between college and university as perhaps the major achievement of his early years in Sydney. In 1921, when he visited Britain as part of an extended study leave, he attended the Second Congress of the Empire, delivering a paper on “The Universities and the Training of Teachers.” Most of his focus was on the University of Sydney, but he also referred to Australian universities in general. Pointing out that public education was the responsibility of each Australian State, he stated that “Professional training for teaching in primary and in secondary schools is provided by the Universities and by the Education departments” which control a “College for Teachers.” The university exercises no “direct control” over the colleges, although in each state, except Western Australia, the college is in or adjacent to university grounds. Often staff in the college held positions in the university, while college courses qualified for the professional diploma of the university (Sherington 2019).

Despite Mackie’s aims, the close arrangement between universities and teachers colleges was beginning to change by the early 1920s. In the wake of the costs of

the war, governments throughout the Empire began to reduce expenditure and to cut back on education and teacher training. Even at the Second Congress of the Empire in 1921, there was an emerging view that the university sector in Britain and the dominions could not absorb large numbers of students who might prefer a life in a college rather than being on the margins of the university. In 1925, a departmental report of the Board of Education for England and Wales reinforced the view that training colleges and departments of education in universities should operate in separate spheres with some limited scope for cooperation. This soon became a common model within the Empire (Patrick 1986; Turner 1943).

At Sydney Mackie faced specific problems in maintaining relations with the university, in part because of the views of the new Director of Education who sought to counter Mackie's aims. S.H. Smith was a former pupil teacher who had little sympathy for the values of a university education. Throughout the 1920s Smith reasserted bureaucratic oversight of Sydney Teachers' College, following government directions to restrict expenditure and denying opportunities for students in the college to undertake a university education. On one occasion Smith suspended Mackie as principal. He also ensured that Mackie's position as professor would disadvantage him by ensuring he could not receive a full pension from government. Relations remained tense. Mackie proposed the college become an independent body within the university, but neither the university or the State Department of Education would accept this (Boardman et al. 1995).

By the 1930s, Mackie and others in Australian education were turning more to America for ideas and support. Mackie had always admired Teachers' College in New York for its promotion of research and teaching. The interest of the Carnegie Corporation in Australia led to a research initiative. Mackie became part of a trio of administrators and academics based in Sydney and Melbourne who used Carnegie funds to support the establishment of the Australian Council for Educational Research. The new council sponsored a series of publications beginning in the 1930s which placed Australia as part of the growing international research on education (Connell 1980).

The growing interest in Australian education was associated with overseas visitors to Australia culminating in the major conference of the New Education Fellowship held in 1937. Mackie often drew upon progressive education in America to criticize top heavy bureaucracy and centralization in Australian education. In 1934 he was part of the committee reviewing curriculum and examination reforms in New South Wales. Some of his suggestions were later enacted after the Second World War when his former student Harold Wyndham became Director General of Education in New South Wales. In his famous report, Wyndham proposed a system of comprehensive secondary schools, drawing on ideas from his period as a doctoral student at Stanford but also his earlier years at Sydney Teachers' College working with Mackie (Hughes 2002).

Following a severe stroke suffered on a trip to Britain in 1939, Mackie retired as Principal of Sydney Teachers College and Professor of Education in the University of Sydney. In his honor the University of Sydney named a building

which was later a site for adult education. Sydney Teachers' College recognized him through naming a library while there were various other prizes throughout Australia. The Mackie medal was established in his memory as a recognition of his work in promoting educational research, so providing for national awards for work in the fields of education, psychology, and philosophy. More generally, he has been seen as the major founder of progressive teacher education in Australia (Connell 1980; Hyams 1979; Spaul and Mandelson 1983).

Less recognized is that Mackie's period as Principal of Sydney Teachers College had coincided with the rise of the institutional and personal networks of Empire in education. His policies showed that the idea of Empire could be associated with progressive policies in teacher education and training. In this way, his period in Australia needs to be seen as part of the influence of the Empire from the late-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

Conclusions and Future Directions for Research

Empire gave rise to not just networks but institutions and cultures of inquiry and research. One of the best examples was the London Institute of Education founded in 1902 at the beginning of the idea of education and Empire. Initially under the guidance of Professor John Adams, the institute emerged as the center of research and postgraduate training soon attracting students from across the Empire. Its role continued well into the years after the Second World War, a symbol of a world of education and focus for new ideas on the training of teachers (Aldrich 2002). And in Scotland, Moray House became a center for developing IQ and other testing material which was circulated throughout Britain and the former Empire (Lawn and Deary 2015). Comparative accounts of the rise of institutions and cultures of inquiry within outside the Empire would enrich current scholarship.

For the most part, national aims supplanted the older associations of Empire. Increasingly the post-Second World War expansion of universities absorbed or amalgamated different forms of education and training that had existed in colleges and universities. In Britain, the role of central government was significant in bringing about change. The McNair report of 1944 signalled the end to autonomous teachers' colleges, proposing a "coherent teaching service" leading to area training organizations involving universities and colleges (Crook 1995). The Robbins Report of 1960 placed the education of teachers within a wider context of overall higher education, recommending that the training colleges become "Colleges of Education" working in harmony with universities to form Schools of Education (Dent 1975). Over the next three decades, there was a gradual merging of universities and colleges in the area of education. Much of this occurred under increasing central government controls often designed to restrict rather than expand teacher education and training (Gosden 2000). How questions of gender impacted as these shifts played out remain to be researched.

For a brief postwar period, State Governments in Australia retained responsibility for teachers' colleges. Many new colleges were residential in rural areas, following

a traditional 2-year training and with little association with universities. But the Commonwealth Government gradually assumed responsibility from the states for the funding of both universities and colleges, raising questions for future research around the significance of regionalism in the provision of tertiary education as well as questions of educational opportunity.

Following a report from Keith Murray, the Scots-born chair of the United Kingdom University Grants Committee, Australia initially followed the British model of funding for universities through an independent authority. By the 1960s the commonwealth was funding both universities and colleges of Advanced Education, some of which were former teachers' colleges which began to branch out into other forms of professional education still deserving further study as part of a once binary system of higher education. The binary system of separate universities and colleges survived until the 1980s, and creation of the "unified national system" which combined some universities and colleges transformed some colleges and institutes into universities (Forsyth 2014). The original idea of university and college autonomy had now given way to the principle of higher education responding to markets to achieve national economic ends. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, a common Australian idea of the university had emerged throughout the nation still grounded in many of the ideas formed in the age of Empire in the nineteenth century but now subject to claims of accountability and efficiency the impact of which researchers continue to track (Davis 2017).

Amidst all this change, by the twenty-first century, new transnational connections gave rise to visions of "global educational markets" which went beyond the old boundaries of Empire. Global league tables emerged comparing the performance of students in different nations. In the process, the long transition of the education and training of teachers into a profession seemed under challenge. The call for more efficiencies and immediate accountability in teacher education and training was even leading to a revival of the "practical turn" in the preparation of teachers, so undermining the professional ideal established in the nineteenth century (Furlong 2014). How this will play out in the future and with what effects suggests ample agenda for future research.

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Abstract

Drawing on research published in English which is mostly oriented towards the English-speaking world, this chapter focuses on headmistresses as a subset of women educators. A headmistress is defined as a woman educator whose multifaceted role extended beyond classroom teaching into school leadership and/or administration in the domains of early childhood, elementary, or secondary education. Headmistresses were administrative directors of their sponsors' policies, be they the educational state, religious, or secular organizations. They were building managers, supervisors, professional figureheads, leaders of staff and students, and the first point of contact with their local communities. The category of headmistress includes women who led and taught in preschool situations and one-room rural schools, along with headmistresses in larger urban coeducational and girls' schools during the last two centuries. In addition to discussing the expansion and contraction of career paths for middle-class white headmistresses who are most often represented in the current scholarship, the chapter identifies some new directions for research in the history of education which will reinstate and explore the diverse lives and work of headmistresses in hitherto neglected

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contexts and eras. These include headmistresses in the African, Asian, and Pacific nations of the former British Empire both before and during campaigns for independence. Likewise there is significant potential for comparative studies of headmistresses in different sectors and nations.

Keywords

Headmistresses · Class, race, and gender · Marriage bar · Leadership · Educational state

Introduction

In *Troubling Women*, Jill Blackmore advances cogent reasons for studying women educators:

To reinstate women's presence in the past provides spaces for women's voices and actions in the present. History also reminds us that social institutions and organisations are socially constructed, not given, and are in an ongoing process of transformation. History informs political actors of the sense of possibilities of and impediments to, as well as the unpredictability of change. (Blackmore 1999, p. 24)

This chapter explores a heterogeneous subset of women educators, namely, headmistresses, who have played seminal roles in the field of education over the past two centuries but whose lives and work have not necessarily been highlighted in histories of education. In order to reinstate their presence, the chapter conceptualizes the category of headmistress broadly, as a woman educator whose multifaceted role extended beyond classroom teaching into school leadership and/or administration in the domains of early childhood, elementary, or secondary education. Headmistresses were administrative directors of their sponsors' policies, be they the educational state, religious, or secular organizations. They were building managers, supervisors, professional figureheads, and leaders of staff and students (Rousmaniere 2013). Last but not least, they were the first point of contact with their local communities. The chapter includes women who led and taught in preschool situations and one-room rural schools, along with headmistresses in larger urban coeducational and girls' schools. Expanding the category of headmistress enables a more comprehensive discussion of the possibilities and impediments negotiated by women educators historically and how they have changed over time.

In order to foreground headmistresses' lives and work, the chapter brings together historical research from a variety of theoretical perspectives. In keeping with the growth of women's and feminist history (Bornot and Diamond 2007; Morgan 2009), the recovery of hitherto unknown women educators has been an ongoing project since the 1960s. Feminist historians of education are concerned with documenting sexist and patriarchal practices and identifying women's agency in negotiating the dominant order (Prentice and Theobald 1991). Much of the scholarship to do with women educators prioritizes gender, followed by social class, with smaller bodies of

research addressing social differences such as race, ethnicity, religion, and sexuality. Since the 1990s historical research has also drawn from poststructural concepts and arguments regarding language and subjectivity while maintaining the concern with the material forces that shape women educators' experience (Middleton and Weiler 1999; Theobald 1996; Weiler 1998). While this chapter encompasses diverse theoretical frameworks, it is restricted to research published in English. This limitation also means that the chapter concentrates on the English-speaking world and the British Empire more so than other colonial empires.

Notwithstanding differences in the timing, nature, and pace of social and educational change across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the chapter is organized chronologically and aligned with headmistresses' lives and work in countries such as the United States, Great Britain, and the white settler British colonies (later dominions and then nations) of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The first section describes the education landscape in the early to mid-nineteenth century and locates headmistresses according to their race and social class. The second section revolves around the introduction of mass compulsory schooling in the late nineteenth century. Following on, headmistresses are considered in relation to the expansion of secondary schooling and early childhood education in the early twentieth century. The final section turns to headmistresses' lives and work in the wake of the World War II.

Entrepreneurial Headmistresses

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, teaching was a valued productive activity for white women in middle-class homes with mothers and family members or governesses providing at least the first lessons in literacy to young children in the English-speaking world (Clifford 1983; Whitehead 2007). White men and women across the social spectrum also generated income from teaching. In a relatively unregulated environment, working-class and middle-class married and single women established and led secular fee-paying rural and urban schools of various sizes, sometimes referred to pejoratively as "dame" or "venture" schools (Tolley and Beadie 2007; Whitehead 2007). Teaching was not necessarily a fulltime or lifelong occupation, so in countries where harsh winters prevented outside farm work, men often taught in the winter and women in the summer. Schools were mostly unincorporated institutions operating on an entrepreneurial basis and supported entirely by tuition fees (Tolley and Beadie 2007). This meant that headmistresses were reliant on parent and community goodwill to remain solvent. There is a dearth of documentary records from which to study working-class headmistresses' work, but there are more archival traces of schools for middle-class girls in this era. Whereas early studies dismissed middle-class girls' schools as ephemeral and their headmistresses as amateurs, Theobald (1996) and de Bellaigue (2001) demonstrate that the unregulated market shaped an elite of white middle-class headmistresses who instituted a rigorous "accomplishments" curriculum in Australia and Britain. This model of middle-

class girls' secondary schooling led by headmistresses was remarkably similar across the Western world (Albisetti et al. 2010).

Religious activism also drew white middle-class women into teaching throughout the nineteenth century. Christian churches in many countries established coeducational and sex-segregated schools for white working-class and middle-class children with women's participation as headmistresses being mediated first and foremost by patriarchal church structures (Fitzgerald 1994; Mangion 2005; Raftery and Smyth 2015). For example, headmistresses were rare in Lutheran communities where the teacher served as sexton to the local pastor but predominant in sex-segregated schooling as leaders of girls' schools (Clifford 1983). Not content with work at the local level, some protestant churches set up mission societies with the aim of civilizing and Christianizing peoples throughout the British Empire (Leach 2012). For example, the Church of England established the Christian Missionary Society in 1799, focusing firstly on the African colonies and extending into Asia and the Pacific from the mid-nineteenth century (Fitzgerald 1994). Married couples were preferred as missionaries, and thus white women were thoroughly implicated in negotiating class, gender, and race relations in colonial societies (Fitzgerald 1994; Leach 2012). Given that men were in charge of official correspondence, historians cite many challenges to researching missionary women's lives and work. Although missionary wives are mostly studied through the lens of domesticity, Fitzgerald (1994) argues that missionary women often prioritized education over domestic work and that the schoolroom rather than the pulpit was central to the civilizing and Christianizing process. Fitzgerald's research in New Zealand, along with Leach (2012) and Allen's (2010) studies of Africa, reframe married women missionaries as headmistresses with considerable agency in the conduct of their schools. Furthermore, some missionary organizations were preparing Indigenous women converts to be teachers and headmistresses (Leach 2012; Sengupta 2005). Implying the potential for further research into both groups of headmistresses, Leach (2012, p. 153) concludes that "wives can perhaps be seen as the first of a long line of strong women who would serve as school principals in Africa."

Teaching was not only the prerogative of protestant women but also Catholic women in the English-speaking as well as the French- and Spanish-speaking worlds (Curtis 2016; Mangion 2005). Rogers (2011) states that Catholic laywomen opened the first schools for girls in Algeria and Van Essen (1999) also acknowledges their work in Dutch schools. However, it was the dramatic growth of women's religious orders in the nineteenth century that has mostly captured historians' attention. Curtis (2016) states that French nuns spread to all six continents during this period, but to date there is little research about them. With colleagues, Raftery and Smyth (2015) are interrogating the lives of women religious in various parts of the British Empire, paying close attention to their educational work. In so doing, they have shown that religious life had many attractions in addition to its spiritual dimensions, not the least of which was the potential to exercise power and influence as headmistresses in their homelands and abroad. Nevertheless, the expansion of religious teaching orders diminished opportunities for laywomen to exercise their leadership as headmistresses in England and Wales (Mangion 2005) and Algeria (Rogers 2011),

for example. Further research is necessary to explore the implications for both groups of Catholic women educators.

Notwithstanding the proliferation of entrepreneurial schools across Western countries, governments gradually began to sponsor various forms of schooling around the mid-nineteenth century. In the United States, Britain, and most of the white settler colonies, the fledgling educational state provided some financial support for pre-existing secular and religious, coeducational, and sex-segregated elementary schools for white working-class children (Mangion 2005; Weiler 1998; Whitehead 2007). Schooling for nonwhite children throughout the British Empire was mostly left to missionaries and the Indigenous people whom they trained until the mid-twentieth century (Sengupta 2005; Tripp 2004).

The extent to which the educational state intervened in curriculum and teaching practices varied from place to place, but mid-nineteenth century labor forces were universally conceptualized and constructed around prevailing ideas of gender difference and also class and race. The educational state reinforced the patriarchal white household, privileging men teachers as household heads, safeguarding their positions as headmasters, and paying them higher wages than women. Middle-class married and single women's presence in state schools was legitimated by their cultural capital as moral guardians of girls and teachers of literacy and by their need to contribute labor and income to their family economy (Theobald 1996; Weiler 1998; Whitehead 2007). Middle-class white headmistresses staffed small coeducational one-room rural schools (Weiler 1998; Whitehead 2007); they were recruited with their husbands as a teaching family in coeducational schools but not always counted in the statistics or remunerated (Theobald 1996; Whitehead 2007), and they led girls' schools, especially in urban areas (Theobald 1996; Van Essen 1999). As in the case of missionary wives, more careful attention needs to be paid to married women's roles in teaching families (Fitzgerald and May 2016). Theobald's (1996) research in Australia points to an elite of matriarch headmistresses operating independently of their husbands in early state school systems.

In essence, the recruiting and governing practices of the educational state expanded opportunities for white middle-class married and single women but marginalized working-class and nonwhite women. Although the subsequent expansion of state schooling was to change the profile of women educators, teaching was both women's and men's work in mid-nineteenth-century entrepreneurial and state-sponsored schools.

Headmistresses in the Spinster's Profession

The education landscape underwent significant change in most Western countries, and the educational state gained the ascendancy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Vastly expanded and bureaucratized state school systems were established to enact legislation for mass compulsory elementary schooling (Blackmore 1999; Danylewycz and Prentice 1986; Morris Matthews 2009; Whitehead 2007). Very large institutions, either divided into boys, girls, and infant departments or conducted

as separate schools, were the common pattern of state schooling in heavily populated urban areas. Smaller coeducational schools with two or three teachers were located in less populous communities, and one-room schools dominated rural regions (Essen 1999; Oram 1996; Weiler 1998). Unable to compete with free state schooling, secular entrepreneurial schools disappeared except for the wealthiest children. Catholic schools were incorporated into the state system in some countries but not in others (Essen 1999). Likewise, state schooling continued to be segregated by race. The US government provided far less support for black schools than their white counterparts (Rousmaniere 2013; Weiler 1998). Indigenous children were relegated to a separate school system in New Zealand and residential schools in Australia and Canada (Morris Matthews 2009).

Teaching in reformed state school systems was reconstructed as waged labor, and the patriarchal educational state protected men's career paths as teachers and headmasters as well as their salaries and status as breadwinners (Blackmore 1999; Danylewycz and Prentice 1986). Headmistresses were excluded from leadership of medium and large coeducational schools and boys' departments/schools; but they led urban girls and infants' departments and one and two or three room rural schools (Blackmore 1999; Lopez 2013; Oram 1996; Theobald 1996; Van Essen 1999). Furthermore, marriage bars were applied to women educators across English-speaking countries (Blackmore 1999; Oram 1996; Prentice and Theobald 1991; Theobald 1996) and some parts of Europe (Van Essen 1999) and Latin America (Cortina and San Roman 2006). In the absence of official prohibition, married women were nevertheless pressured to leave the occupation (Lopez 2013). In effect, the occupation of teaching was reconstructed as the province of married men and single women, and state schools became the primary site for white middle-class women educators' wage labor. Single women soon constituted between 70% and 90% of elementary teachers in rapidly expanding state school systems (Blackmore 1999; Prentice and Theobald 1991; Weiler 1998). As Blount (2005, p. 45) states, "a 'spinster' likely taught" in late nineteenth century state school systems.

Such were the recruiting and governing practices of the educational state that men managed and women taught in the late nineteenth century (Blackmore 1999). Or did they? Certainly, women teachers dominated state school systems numerically, and men's career paths were protected so that they led the largest and most prestigious coeducational and boys schools, but the vast majority of state schools were much smaller. Between 1900 and 1950, over two-thirds of American elementary schools were led by headmistresses (Weiler 1998). Most of the headmistresses were in charge of one-room and small coeducational schools, as well as infant and girls' departments/schools in urban areas. Given that this was a common pattern in other countries, perhaps it is time to reinstate women educators as the majority of leaders as well as teachers in late nineteenth-century state school systems and move headmistresses' lives and work to the center of analysis of both histories of school leadership and of women educators. A potential starting point might be to elaborate headmistresses' multifaceted roles as outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

Rather than being differentiated from their teaching colleagues, headmistresses are mostly incorporated in histories of white women educators' lives and work in late

nineteenth-century state school systems. Gender remains a central theme, and there is little exploration of race in current research. Historians have variously highlighted women educators' career paths, feminist politics, unionism, and resistance to the amalgamation of girls, infant, and boys' departments which almost always favored headmasters (Oram 1996; Theobald 1996; Weiler 1998). What seems to be missing, however, are specific studies of headmistresses who were leading coeducational elementary, infants, and girls' schools/departments in urban areas. Rousmaniere (2013) points out that there are few studies of urban white men or women principals in the United States. In English-speaking countries, it seems that historians have highlighted the leadership of school governors, superintendents, and inspectors (Coulter and Harper 2005; Goodman and Harrop 2000) and the often young semi-qualified headmistresses who dominated one and two room rural schools but ignored school leaders in the middle. Far from the bureaucratic center geographically and with intermittent visits from inspectors, headmistresses of one-room schools shouldered the whole responsibility for teaching, administration, and community relationships and arguably experienced greater autonomy than headmistresses in larger urban schools (Weiler 1998). However, it is necessary to recover and problematize more individuals and cohorts of white middle-class headmistresses as subjects and agents in the making of late nineteenth-century state elementary schooling. Read's (2013) study of two headmistresses in British infant schools demonstrates the potential for illuminating this group of women as intellectual and progressive educators.

Although infant and elementary headmistresses in urban school systems are neglected figures, the same cannot be said of secondary school headmistresses. Concomitant with and sometimes entwined with the expansion of mass elementary schooling and state school systems, education for white, middle-class girls was being reconfigured to prepare them for university entrance (Albisetti et al. 2010). In turn, secondary school teaching became the dominant occupation for white middle-class women graduates and gave rise to a new generation of headmistresses, mostly single women. In some countries these academic secondary schools were incorporated as the pinnacle of state school systems (Fitzgerald and May 2016; Theobald 1996), and in others they were sponsored by various churches and secular organizations (Fealy and Harford 2007; Goodman 2007; Watts 1998). From the outset, biographies of individuals and case studies of cohorts of secondary school headmistresses and teachers have positioned them as intellectual and professional elites who exercised significant authority inside their schools and were actively involved in the wider educational world through their professional organizations (Goodman 2007; Watts 1998). Relationships between infant, elementary, and secondary school headmistresses and their professional/industrial organizations need to be interrogated closely.

The expansion and reform of girls' secondary schooling across the white settler colonies/nations of the British Empire also enabled English-speaking headmistresses to forge transnational, imperial careers from the late nineteenth century (Goodman 2002). Likewise, highly educated European Jewish headmistresses were contributing to the reform of girls' education in the late Ottoman Empire by establishing pioneering schools in Eretz Israel (Shehory-Rubin 2015). Additionally, Catholic

teaching orders and missionary societies established girls' academic secondary schools in the colonies, thereby creating transnational opportunities for university graduates, especially single women (Jayaweera 1990; Raftery and Smyth 2015). At the same time, the profile of missionaries changed from clergy and married couples to single women (Allen 2010). Thus teaching not only became the spinster's profession in state school systems and girls secondary schools but also the mission fields in the late nineteenth century.

Concerning Early Twentieth-Century Headmistresses

For the generation of young white single women who began teaching at the dawn of the twentieth century, state school teaching was relatively secure paid work that fostered their public visibility. Depending on their qualifications and marriage bars, they had access to clearly defined but limited career paths. Headmistresses in one-room schools were respected publicly because their work provided a valuable service to their communities (Weiler 1998), and teaching in urban areas, especially capital cities, facilitated women educators' access to social and political networks (Oram 1996). Whatever the context, teaching fostered a strong sense of self-worth (Coulter and Harper 2005; Oram 1996; Weiler 1998; Whitehead 2016). Of equal importance was that teaching provided white middle-class women with sufficient income and security in the form of pension funds to make marriage a choice rather than an economic necessity. Given the career paths in state school systems, women who chose teaching over marriage, namely, the spinster teachers, were more likely to be found in urban schools (Blount 2005; Oram 1996; Whitehead 2016). Unlike most women workers, they had the time, money, and education to articulate their grievances and pursue their aims collectively. Mixed and separate women teachers' unions were prominent in the early twentieth century (Oram 1996). Women educators, including headmistresses, were also activists in the major suffrage and post-suffrage organizations. Their economic independence and collective action conferred a public presence which flouted traditional norms of women's place in the family households of their fathers and husbands (Blount 2005; Oram 1996; Weiler 1998). In essence, white middle-class spinster educators were generating a mixture of concern and respect in the early twentieth century.

The situation of women educators was indicative of much broader societal changes. Waged work for single women was generally acceptable by the 1920s and accompanied by an increasing age at marriage, declining birthrate, and a significant minority of women never marrying. Of particular concern were the numbers of white middle-class women who seemed disinclined to marry and reproduce, preferring instead to remain in paid work, live separately from their families, and participate in a host of public activities. Headmistresses and teachers, the largest and most visible group of women in professional employment, were identified as the vanguard of these so-called new women (Blount 2005; Cavanagh 2005; Whitehead 2007). Spinster headmistresses and teachers, as well-educated white, middle-class women, were perceived to not only be rejecting patriarchy but

also contributing to the demise of the white race. The anxieties thus generated were fueled by the advent of sexology and Freudian psychology which focused on female sexuality and promoted heterosexuality within marriage as essential to women's health and happiness. Women educators who married were placed beyond suspicion, but those who remained outside the institution had to contend with recurring images of the unattractive, stern spinster teacher who had failed in the business of marriage (Blount 2005; Cavanagh 2005; Oram 1996).

Notwithstanding tensions surrounding teaching as an occupation, young white middle-class women continued to take advantage of expanding opportunities in the early twentieth century. One of the most significant changes was the extension of state schooling above and below the ages of compulsion. State school systems established vocational institutions to regulate working-class students and supervise their transition into blue-collar employment; middle-class students were prepared for white-collar professions in academic secondary schools. Both forms of secondary schooling were frequently sex-segregated, thus creating spaces for headmistresses in girls' departments and separate girls' schools (Fitzgerald and May 2016; Oram 1996). The teaching workforce not only diversified sectorially but also fragmented: whereas elementary and infant teachers continued to attend normal schools and training colleges, secondary teachers were drawn from universities and paid more highly than their colleagues in other sectors (Whitehead 2016). Universally seen as women's work, the extension of early childhood education was led by headmistresses who conducted small kindergartens and nursery schools for children from about the age of 3 and differentiated their work from infant schools and departments (Read 2013; Whitehead 2016). In some countries, the education of young children in kindergartens was incorporated in state school systems, but in others it was separate both organizationally and ideologically. Whatever the sector, teaching remained single women's work where marriage bars were being enforced.

Opportunities for white middle-class women educators to pursue transnational careers also proceeded apace in the early twentieth century. From its base in the imperial center, the League of Empire instituted an exchange teaching scheme which attracted British, Australian, Canadian, New Zealand, and South African headmistresses and teachers. The English-Speaking Union acted similarly and included women educators from the United States (Crutchley 2015; Whitehead 2016). While these schemes were ongoing, headmistresses and women teachers from the white-settler dominions were recruited to South Africa to teach Dutch-speaking children during the "Boer War" (Riedi 2005). Later on, a significant number of British women taught in South Africa on contracts of 1–3 years to mediate the shortage of trained early childhood teachers (Whitehead 2016). British teachers were also recruited to Canada during periods of teacher shortage. While historians have deployed gender (and class to a lesser extent) as central themes in studies of women educators in their homelands, the emergent research to do with exchange and contract teachers is also inquiring into imperial, cultural, and race relations in the early twentieth century. In these respects it is akin to research to do with women missionaries in the British colonies of Africa and Asia (Allen 2010; Jayaweera 1990). By the 1920s, mission work was well and truly the province of single

women, but the implications of their marital status are yet to be thoroughly investigated. Furthermore, there is little research into the relationships between missionary headmistresses and the fledgling education departments (staffed by British male colonial servants) which were established in British colonies to fund and supervise mission and “native administration” schools from the early 1920s (Allen 2010; Tripp 2004).

To date, this chapter and the historiography more generally have focused mostly on white middle-class women in state school systems, middle-class girls schooling, religious teaching orders, and mission work. The recruiting and governing practices marginalized nonwhite women educators from all of these educational sites, but by the 1920s, African-American women were the majority of teachers in segregated schools for African-American children in the United States, and a significant number were headmistresses (Rousmaniere 2013; Weiler 1998). Although African-American principals were excluded from white schools, historians have revealed a long history of influential leadership by African-American headmistresses in segregated schools from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century (Johnson 2006). With few exceptions such as Morris Matthews and Mane-Wheoriki’s (2014) study of a Maori headmistress in New Zealand and Australia, the history of nonwhite headmistresses in other parts of the early to mid-twentieth-century English-speaking world is largely untapped.

Marginalizing Postwar Headmistresses

The World War II saw the decline of British imperial power, especially in the remaining colonies, the rise of the United States and Soviet Union as superpowers, and the concomitant competition between communism and capitalism. Amidst these profound economic, social, and political changes, the profiles of postwar headmistresses and teaching workforces shifted in the English-speaking world.

Fueled by the postwar baby boom and resultant teacher shortages and by commitments to middle-class married women’s participation in paid work, marriage bars were gradually removed and equal pay introduced in English-speaking countries (Llewellyn 2012; Oram 1996; Weiler 1998). However, the reinstatement of teaching as white middle-class married women’s work took place amidst an increasingly rigid gender politics. Married headmistresses and their colleagues who were married were portrayed as better teachers and heterosexual role models for girls but neglectful wives and mothers. Negative images of spinsters proliferated and suspicions about their sexual orientation intensified, further marginalizing single headmistresses and teachers as failed women and problematic educators (Blount 2005; Cavanagh 2005). In addition to concerns about homosexuality, teachers in capitalist countries were increasingly scrutinized about their politics and dismissed if affiliated with communist organizations. Llewellyn’s (2012) study of postwar headmistresses and teachers in Canadian secondary schools addresses tensions to do with sexuality and Cold War politics. Using oral history as well as archival sources, her study reveals ways in which married and single women educators negotiated gender and global politics at work and more broadly in postwar Canada.

Just as schooling has long been used to inculcate capitalism, it was also integral to the spread of communism both before and after World War II. Ewing (2009) has highlighted Soviet principals' extensive responsibilities in addition to their school work in the 1930s. A similar situation applied in postwar Czechoslovakia where teachers "were expected to meet the requirements of the [Communist] party in power, not only in their educational work but also in their private lives, by their attitudes and behaviour and their participation in public life" (Zounek et al. 2017, p. 486). In the absence of access to documentary records, historians in former communist countries are also making effective use of oral history to explore educators' lives and work. Although this emerging research agenda is providing important insights into educational leadership, it is yet to interrogate potential differences between headmistresses and headmasters' work under communism.

The aftermath of World War II not only heralded changes in women educators' marital status in English-speaking countries, but the restructuring of state education systems drastically reduced their career paths. One of the outcomes of the US civil rights movement was the abolition of racially segregated schooling following the *Brown v. Board of Education* court case in 1954. Instead of empowering African-American principals by appointing them to integrated schools, the vast majority were fired and replaced by white men. Within a decade the number of African-American principals in the American South had been reduced by 90%, thus decimating promotion opportunities for headmistresses as well as their male colleagues (Rousmaniere 2013).

The removal of African-American school leaders mirrors the marginalization of white headmistresses from rural schools in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia (Coulter and Harper 2005; Weiler 1998). Improved roads and transport, the depopulation of rural areas, and notions of efficiency contributed to the dismantling of one-, two-, and three-room schools in favor of larger regional schools. The postwar "consolidation" of rural schooling impacted on white middle-class headmistresses in the same manner as amalgamations of sex-segregated urban schools throughout the twentieth century: headmistresses were invariably subordinated to headmasters, and career paths for women educators shrank. In many cases rural headmistresses returned to classroom teaching under the leadership of inexperienced young headmasters who were building their careers (Coulter and Harper 2005; Weiler 1998). Furthermore, rural consolidation proceeded alongside the construction of much larger urban schools. For example, local education authorities in Britain economized by building combined infant-junior schools and installing headmasters, thus reversing the previous trend towards separate infant schools which were headmistresses' domains. The proportion of separate infant schools fell by 20% in postwar Britain (Whitehead 2016). In effect, integration, consolidation, and amalgamation in state school systems decimated women educators' leadership after the World War II. By the 1970s teaching was married women's work, and school leadership was indubitably white men's sphere (Rousmaniere 2013; Llewellyn 2012).

The closing down of promotion opportunities for white middle-class British women educators motivated some headmistresses to work overseas in the postwar era. Racially segregated South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were popular destinations (Whitehead 2016). Single and married headmistresses joined the mass migrations to

Canada and Australia, and some single women took advantage of expanding opportunities in the Colonial Education Service to work as Women Education Officers (WEOs) in the British colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific (Adams 2006; McMahon and Decker 2009; Tripp 2004). Amidst colonial people's demands for self-government and no longer able to justify colonial rule in the aftermath of World War II, British policy focused on preparation for independence. Education featured prominently in development plans, and WEOs led and taught in girls' boarding schools and residential training colleges, thereby adding to the long-standing presence of missionary headmistresses (Whitehead 2016). Although colonial and missionary schooling privileged English language and culture, some African women and girls selectively adopted and adapted their education to establish teaching careers, become headmistresses and WEOs, and forge social and political networks which contributed to their countries' women's and independence movements (Adams 2006; Tripp 2004). However, there were significant differences between colonial education departments that mediated opportunities for African girls and women. For example, married Muslim women in Zanzibar established teaching careers in girls' schools, but Nigeria's insistence on coeducational schooling restricted Muslim girls' opportunities to do the same (McMahon and Decker 2009). The intertwined histories of white expatriate and African headmistresses are yet to be thoroughly interrogated in both the colonial and postcolonial eras.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Using research published in English, this chapter has mapped both the expansion and contraction of opportunities for women educators to work as headmistresses over two centuries, thereby disrupting a linear narrative of progress in women's lives and work. Neither the historiography nor this chapter has accorded equal weight to white and nonwhite women educators in the English-speaking world: future scholarship from multiple theoretical standpoints is required to redress this imbalance. The chapter has also identified possibilities for future research in each era in order to expand our understanding of headmistresses' seminal roles in the history of education. Many more studies are required to reinstate and problematize headmistresses in specific contexts, especially in the African, Asian, and Pacific nations of the former British Empire. There is also a need for more comparative studies of headmistresses in different sectors, nations, and empires. In essence, there are still many histories to be written about headmistresses in all sectors of education and in all countries and the intersecting social dynamics of their lives and work.

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Abstract

In this chapter we set out to survey the exciting field of the history of elite education – a subfield that intersects with the history of elite groups more generally, and with the history of education, but is owned outright by neither. The chapter begins by looking at ruptures and fusion in studies of educational institutions and global and transnational studies of elite education, consistent aspects of elite education now finally gaining traction in a field that was hitherto nation-focused. It then looks at the borderlands of elite education. In this second section, we survey new histories of domestic education of elite families and childhoods and ask questions of histories of gendered education now emerging. We end with some reflections on future directions, especially the possibilities afforded to historians by the advance of mass digitization of name-rich sources.

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Introduction

There is now a clear movement within the field of histories of elite education toward a greater appreciation of transnational and global flows of people and ideas between states, regions, and polities. This is, of course, reflective of the change within the wider field of history since the late 1980s, as history itself retreats from hyper-specialization and returns to the *longue durée* and the “bigger picture.” The publication of Jurgen Osterhammel’s monumental global history of the nineteenth century, along with the pioneering work of C.A. Bayly, has helped to show how global histories can be well done (Bayly 2003; Osterhammel 2014). Nevertheless, several scholars have objected to recent interpretations of this “turn,” noting that within the *Annales* school, Braudel’s conception of the value of the *longue durée* was that it enabled a history “in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles” (Braudel 1995, p. 20 orig 1949). Historians of elites are well equipped to cope with this turn in historiography. The study of elites and their education almost always requires the researcher to think in terms of intergenerational social mobility, incremental advance, or decline. Elites are not invented; they must be coached, encouraged, protected, and polished. Their education is not consistent but rather contingent on the fashions of the day and the context in which they will eventually lead, govern, and exploit their inferiors. To analyse elite education is, in some senses, to research an imagined future for one’s subject, their preparation for power.

In this chapter we set out to survey the exciting field of the history of elite education – a subfield that intersects with the history of elite groups more generally, and with the history of education, but is owned outright by neither. The chapter begins by looking at ruptures and fusion in studies of educational institutions, and global and transnational studies of elite education, consistent aspects of elite education now finally gaining traction in a field that was hitherto nation-focused. It then looks at the borderlands of elite education. In this second section, we survey new histories of domestic education and of elite families and childhoods and ask questions of histories of gendered education now emerging. We end with some reflections on future directions, especially the possibilities afforded to historians by the advance of mass digitization of name-rich sources.

A Shared History of Segmentation and Fusion in Educational Institutions

The middle of the nineteenth century, with the rise of both mass education and the creation of formal national educational systems, serves as an important breaking point in the studies of the relationships between elites and education. From a

relational perspective, the ascent of mass education served as a stark demarcation to what that should be regarded as “elite education.” Having received any form of formal education would in the period before the mid-nineteenth century place a person in the “educational elite” sphere. It is, however, important to bear in mind that when it comes to enrollment in secondary schools and universities, the shift from elite to mass took place first in the final decades of the twentieth century.

The rise of modern educational systems during the second half on the nineteenth century created divergent “streams” or “tracks” within the national educational systems, which catered to different social groups. Educational historian Fritz Ringer has defined this pattern of educational “segmentation” as “one in which parallel courses of study are separated by institutional or curricular barriers, as well as by differences in the social origin of their students” (Ringer 1979). The elite “track” within these segmented school systems often consisted of a classically oriented secondary school (Lycée, Gymnasium, Grammar school), which was the only way to gain access to further studies at the universities. In the period up to the 1960s, the percentage of students in a cohort that embarked on the track that took them from a classical secondary school and up to the university was so low that studies on these two institutions during this time period would fall into the category of elite education studies. There is therefore a large amount of national case studies on what role classical secondary schools and universities have played in the transmission of social position between generations and the communication of ideals and lifestyle that were linked to the position that was reproduced. Studies on the role educational institutions play in the transmission of social position between generations, and the ideals and lifestyle these institutions transmit to its students have often made use of Bourdieu’s terminology with keywords such as “symbolic capital” and “habitus” (Bourdieu 1989).

This period, from the middle of the nineteenth century and onward, is also central because many of the theories on the relationship between elites and education – from the abovementioned Ringer to Pierre Bourdieu – are formulated based on primary sources from this time period. One of the most prevailing theories to explain the changes that took place in the field of education from the middle of the nineteenth century and onward is the idea that it is the reproduction strategies of family groups that determine the changes and shape of the education system rather than the actual needs (requirements of the system of production) of new institutions. In other words, the focus has been on intended supply rather than pressing demand.

Historians such as Fritz Ringer, Detlef K. Müllers, and Brian Simon have argued that the emergence of new social classes, particularly the rise of an upper middle class that had need of its own institutions for social reproduction or wanted to gain access to the educational institutions of the “old” elite, was a key driving force in the changes that occurred in the educational landscape of many parts of the world in the post-1850 era (Müller et al. 1989). The extent to which this process has been Western or Eurocentric is something currently under revision by various scholars who have begun to approach the idea of social stratification from a decentered and transnational perspective (López and Weinstein 2012).

The relationship between elites and educational institutions can be divided into three key words: continuity, circulation, and fusion. The proponents of emphasizing the role of continuity – social reproduction – of elites through the educational system argue that the function of a socially divided educational system was to legitimate and to enhance class differences by pointing to diplomas of a completed secondary and tertiary education as “objective” proof that the position of the dominant groups is earned and not given to them. The idea of circulation, how an old elite is being replaced by a new, can be traced back to the Paris-born Italian Vilfredo Pareto’s book *Trattato di Sociologia generale* and his pithy saying *la storia è un cimitero di aristocrazie* – “history is a cemetery of aristocrats” (Pareto 1916, pp. 467–7). The idea of a circulation of elites through education is represented in the vast number of studies on how “open” or “closed” elite educational institutions are at different point in time, that is, if they served as an arena for social mobility and thereby changing the social composition of the elite. The war academies in different parts of Europe, which had previously been reserved for the nobility, is one example of an elite educational institution that became more “open” during the eighteenth century by admitting sons of the bourgeoisie. It is, however, a challenge to decipher whether a change in the social background of the student boy at an elite educational institution should be interpreted as a *déclassement* (demotion) of a social group (the nobility in the case with the war academies) or as a successful adaptation strategy from the middle class, pursuant to changing power structures in society.

One of the key challenges in studying educational elites is to try to unveil the role different educational institutions have played in giving their students elite status. Two, albeit rudimentary, groups of educational elites can be identified. Firstly, there are those pupils who were already destined for elite positions, derived from their position of birth; in these cases the educational institution here fills the function of preparing them for this position in the best way possible. Secondly, there are those pupils whose future elite position is completely derived from the credentials given to them by certain educational institutions. The fixation on institutions that produce national elites, particularly evident in the historiography of elites after Bourdieu but also present in elite studies as far back as Mosca and Pareto, has meant a larger literature on the latter category (Mosca 1939). In this way, what is often considered the study of elite education would perhaps be more accurately categorized as bourgeois education.

Transnational Education and Global Models

At the core, what differentiates transnational education from globalized, cosmopolitan, or international forms of education? The study of transnational phenomena hones in on intrinsic movement, circulation, flow, or overflow. It is, therefore, all about the movement of people, ideas, policies, and things, as well as their lack of respect for imagined borders. Over the past decade or so, several studies of transnational education have emerged in historical contexts. It is, however, important to make a distinction between these historical accounts of transnationality in education

and the emerging academic field of “transnational education,” which is primarily focused on the post-1980s “internationalization” of higher-level student bodies and the globalized curriculum being foisted on them. Here we prefer instead to look at some distinct types of transnational studies of elites and education: those that follow the students themselves, those that follow transnational trends in elite pedagogy or curriculum, and those that follow the teachers of elites, the educationalists.

Firstly, a new type of history places the focus on student experience in the elite school. It has long been evident to historians of education that schools can act as a regional locus for disparate elite groups. A school in France in the 1780s might have served the elites of France, England, the Low Countries, Ireland, and the West Indies, but the focus in elite studies on national elite group may mean that the school only figures in the analysis of any one of those nations or regions. The problem, then, is to try to capture the *experience* of education in such a multinational, cosmopolitan environment. In contemporary studies of elite education, an ethnographic approach can help to elucidate the experience of attending an elite school. For the historian of transnational elite education, the project must be to identify schools serving multinational or regionally diffuse elite groups. Luckily, these are quite numerous. Recent studies suggest that a mixture of school records, school magazines, as well as family and personal correspondence either housed in the institutional archive or, more usually, in estate papers can help to shed light on the experience of attending an Eton, a Clongowes Wood, a Girton College, or a Lundsberg. Earlier work on sport and masculinity within elite schools points the way for historians, in a technical sense, but the source material is there in school archives for those that seek to recover the student voice, albeit an often mediated one.

Studies focused on a particular franchise or brand of education aimed at elites are numerous. Projects that focus on specifically elite educational religious groups, such as Jesuit priests, Benedictine monks, or Sacred Heart nuns, for example, abound, so too do studies of forms of elite or state elite schooling, such as the Ritterakademie of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or, most famously, Bourdieu’s study of the state nobility in France. What is most obviously missing from these studies is a focus on teacher agency or autonomy *within* the classroom itself. This is partly a deficiency of sources of course; very few seventeenth-century teachers are known to have been compelled to record their experiences in a reflective journal, but the work of Kamecka (2007) shows what can be done with this type of source.

A key concept to help our understanding of the diffusion of particular institutional models of elite education is “defining institutions,” which were coined by Hilary Steedman in the 1980s to describe the process of how the ideology of the great public schools trickled down to the rest of England’s grammar schools. Apart from Steedman’s “defining institution” (Steedman 1987), sports and education historian J. A. Mangan’s term “imperial diffusion” (Mangan 1981) is crucial for understanding how the English tradition of elite education spread globally, first throughout the British Isles and later throughout the British Empire. Based on how the German, Japanese, and American universities have influenced each other during the final decade of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century, Masahiro Tanaka’s monograph, *The Cross-Cultural Transfer of Educational Concepts and*

Practices (Tanaka 2005), is an illustrative example of a study that moves beyond the idea of a one-way transfer of ideas and concepts related to elite education. Petter Sandgren's global history of elite boarding schools from 1799 to present – *Globalising Eton* (Sandgren 2017) – is another example of a study which shows that the export of elite educational institutions is often not executed in any easily identifiable one-way direction; rather it is often the result of intricate webs of exchange between different countries. Empirical studies on the global diffusion of a particular institutional model, or “defining institution,” of elite education are, however, still an understudied area. The German Gymnasium or the French Lycée as models for elite secondary schools (Anderson 2004) or the globally shared and interconnected genesis of business – and technical schools on tertiary level – are a couple of examples for potential future studies on the globally entangled history of elite educational institutions.

The English “public school” and the German “research university” became global models through a process of emulation and imitation. There are, however, a number of examples of how elite schools have been exported to another country in a form that more resembles a franchise logic. One example is Kurt Hahn's boarding school at Salem Castle in Germany, which was transplanted in Scotland with the name Gordonstoun due to Hahn having to flee from Germany during the 1930s. A more contemporary illustration of how elite educational institutions have become more supranational is how elite American and English universities and secondary schools have set up satellite campuses in emerging economic powerhouses in Asia and the Middle East (Bunnell 2008).

Histories of charismatic forms of innovative educationists promise to teach us much about transnational elements within elite education. Studies of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Maria Montessori, and Rudolf Steiner all show that a transnational dimension is key to understanding their enduring popularity in contexts quite removed from their own lifetime and experiences. Whitehead and Peppard (2006) discuss what they call the “disruptive” potential of such charismatic innovators, sometimes operating at an elite level and sometimes not. Historians of elite education at a policy level will gain much from these studies, which tend to be either intellectual histories or else biographies, but we contend that by far the most important form of personal elite education that exists from the middle ages to the twentieth century is not these charismatic innovators but the humble tutor and, later, the governess. Some outstanding studies of these “intercultural” interlocutors include those that focus on the governess as a middle-class impostor in the elite environment, on their role as transnational careerists, or their place at the nexus of national identities, fashion, and trend in accent acquisition and “learning” styles (Hardach-Pinke 1992). The tutor, despite a longer and deeper history beyond Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle, has been much more badly served by historians of elites (Pownall 2006). This may be related to the decline in one-to-one education as a preferred mode of elite tuition from the late eighteenth century, concomitant with a rise in the socialization of elites in the hot-house conditions of the more institutional boarding school. But the gap is still very evident and made more tantalizing by the rare studies that exist of the educational strategies pursued by elite families

employing their own tutor. Work on Mexican elite families shows the potential, as does much more recent work by Alexander Lock on British Catholics (De Lomnitz and Lizaur 1987; Lock 2016).

The late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century saw many local elites being transformed into national elites. The scholarly output on the role played by educational institutions in the transformation of local or regional elites into national ones is fairly extensive. In the postwar period, there has been, both within academia and in the general discourse, a debate about whether a global elite has emerged. The relationship between educational institutions and the formation of a “transnational capitalist class” (TCC), to use the term coined by sociologist Leslie Sklair (2012), is still largely unexplored. The rather scarce research on this topic does, however, suggest that members of business boards in the major industrial countries still consist of members that have the same nationality as the countries where these corporations are based. This would indicate that notwithstanding the process of globalization, the rationale of the nation-state in the formation of elites through education remains to be reckoned with. In other words, in the postwar period, new “global” elites continue to be constructed first and foremost at the national and local levels. This might change in the future, but it is very likely that top business managers will follow a mainly national educational trajectory – with possibly a short stint at an internationally renowned school – instead of spending their entire school and university years in another country. A similar pattern can be seen in the development of the European Union as a supranational entity staffed with transnational bureaucratic elite that is mainly educated in their country of origin.

Gender and Elite Childhoods

Recent studies of elites and education have begun to re-interrogate the idea of a holistic educational process shared between home, school, and wider society. This is a throwback to the work of scholars such as Bernard Bailyn and Judith Okely, who both insisted on thinking about education as something that occurs right across society, at home, at work, and (only some of the time) at institutions designed for this purpose (Bailyn 1972; Okely 1978). Historians of elites and elite education have tended to privilege the institution over the family or domestic environment, partly for understandable reasons of available sources. Institutions preserve their memory and archival trace more systematically than individuals or their families do, and it is a great deal of work for the historian to develop even a crude analysis of the networks feeding into a school such as Eton, or Harrow, than it is to focus more simply on curriculum, prospectus, pupil career trajectory, or school ethos and leadership. This overt focus on institution, rather than home, has meant that very few historians have thought about elite childhoods in a rounded way or about female childhoods especially. Since most of our measures for social mobility and social class are professionally driven, this has meant that the more private, ring-fenced, world of elite girls is under-researched. In what follows we survey what is being done to address both of these issues in current historical scholarship.

Between School and Home

Recent work by Claire Maxwell, Shamus Khan, and others has helped to identify the research gap between studies of elite institutions and the domestic context that produces their pupils (Khan 2012; Maxwell and Aggleton 2014). This gap is perhaps even more acute in historical scholarship, but complementary and cognate studies can in fact bridge that gap effectively. Researchers can draw on ample biographies of elite and noble families with which to reconstruct home life for the boys and girls they are interested in, as well as countless histories of “informal” modes of education such as the Grand Tour, leisure and sporting activity, and holidaying. Forms of association, often city based out of summer season and resort-based in warmer weather, can and should be reintegrated into any study of elite education, especially for those who are interested in transnational networks of elite circulation. In this short section, we will signpost some examples of these three phenomena over the modern period.

Histories of the Grand Tour tend to be at their most illuminating when focused on the individual experience of a young nobleman (and later noblewoman) who is on the receiving end of this civilizing process. Indeed, the ideology of the Grand Tour was partly one of individuation, as well as one aiming for a degree of cultivation and the acquisition of cultural capital both tangible and intangible. As each generation of elite families in Britain, Ireland, and later the New World came of age, a key stage in their separation from local and atavistic society was their experience of a 1–3-year Grand Tour of Europe within the first 10 years of adulthood. A variation of this is still with us in the guise of what privileged British families call a “gap year” between leaving secondary education and entering university, usually at the age of about 18–20. The reason for travelling physically and culturally in this way fluctuated in subtle ways between the beginning of its post-Renaissance popularization in the late seventeenth century, but it peaked in the late eighteenth century, before its eventual demise in the early twentieth century as feudal landholding systems eventually gave way to the expansion of the bourgeoisie, and with its appearance, mass tourism (Sweet 2012). The privileging of French, Greek, and Italian acculturation continued to have a strong role in elite education through the modern period, with the pilgrimage to the home of Greco-Roman civilization seen as the natural culmination to a classical education and capping off a 10–15-year immersion in the literature and history of the ancient world. In recent years scholars have begun to think of the Grand Tour in more rounded ways, looking at east/west and north/south conceptions of the civilizing tour, as well as thinking about it in a more postcolonial language of centers and peripheries (Gupta 2008).

Elite recreation is a developing field, and we learn much from the expansion of studies on the many resorts, seaside locations, and mountain spas frequented by the global elites from the eighteenth century onward. In Europe mountain resorts in the Pyrenees and the Alps competed with the coastal attractions of the French Riviera and the Italian cities of Parma and Florence for the attentions of noble European families and “new money” from the Americas and Antipodes. For those not in a position to “summer” so far from domestic affairs, a satellite system of domestic spa and resort towns began to spring up in the early nineteenth century right across

Europe as the healing powers of water began to mix with contemporary orientalist ideas to give us the spread of the “Turkish Bath” (Smith and Puczkó 2014) and other forms of healing waters. In the colonial world, similar recreational centers were modelled on European equivalents and must also have served an educational purpose for those elite adolescents and children circulating through them every summer (Jennings 2003).

Gender and the Historiography of Elites

Historical questions of gender and education have always been intertwined. Modern studies of masculinity and femininity in education are unevenly weighted toward the former, and they are rarely considered in tandem outside of studies of specific co-ed institutions. The sexual division in education was not always consistent, especially in elite circles, where it was not uncommon for sisters and brothers to share a tutor or governess during childhood (Davidoff 2012; Davidoff and Hall 2013). Recent work by Hamlett and others has suggested interesting avenues to explore these “shared” formations through analysis of built environment and material culture (Hamlett 2013).

Arguably the historiography of elites and education has been segregated by sex to a greater degree than is warranted (Albisetti et al. 2010). This is true, too, of the emerging literature on histories of femininity and masculinity, all too often a way of neatly dividing the sexes once more in an updated scholarly language. The history of masculinity and its place in elite male education has quite a rich historiography, especially in relation to extracurricular activity and, in particular, the primacy of sport in elite male education (Mangan 1981). Though this began as a primarily German and British preoccupation, work by Susan Brownell and others has seen the Mangan thesis expand outward to take in Chinese, Indian, and South American examples of a global phenomenon, whether elite status be coupled with cricket, rugby, hockey, or tennis (Brownell 1991). Though many of these studies focus ostensibly on the rise of nationalism, they necessarily consider education as part of the way states disseminate a central idea of masculine archetype. Historians of sport in the Anglo world have honed in on ideas of muscular Christianity as a hallmark of the expansion of sport as education in the nineteenth century, while this aspect of female education has been largely ignored. Very little work has taken both concepts in tandem, though scholars such as Kobia have done instructive work on masculinities and femininities in school textbooks distributed in contemporary Kenya (Kobia 2009).

The literature on the place of femininity within formal and informal education generally focuses on girls’ education during and after the enlightenment. Michèle Cohen, for example, argues that education in Enlightenment in England and France was commonly understood to aim at improving a broad set of behaviors from deportment to linguistic development, *politesse*, and, of course, more traditional formal instruction in the liberal arts and science (Cohen 2004). Jennifer J. Popiel has likewise argued that what happened *outside* of formal education was arguably more important to modern constructions of elite femininity than anything that happened within, devoting only one chapter of five to institutionalized education in her 2008

book *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France*. The general tendency has been to look at femininity as something that has been foisted upon women rather than something elective or indeed produced by women for women. The literature is likewise heavily weighted toward the "western" development of female education. This is perhaps more true of constructions of femininity within bourgeois advice manuals or didactic and moral literature disseminated by church and state. At elite levels of society, however, the picture is less clear. How different was an elite or bourgeois femininity in practice from an idealized petit bourgeois or working class femininity? Was education empowering in any way for women post-Enlightenment? (Hatfield and O'Neill 2018).

Conclusion and Future Directions

It is a futile exercise to offer a conclusion to a field in perpetual motion. There are many new areas yet to excite the interest of a critical mass of scholars. The work of Leila Angod points to the possibilities of critical race theory (CRT) and feminist theory when applied to the field of elite education in historical contexts (Angod 2015). This may seem counterintuitive since CRT developed out of a combination of radical diasporic groups and US legal scholarship in the 1970s. Nevertheless, a wider appreciation of intersectional studies of elites over the long term will help to address what is a very white and Euro/Anglocentric literature, helping to nuance our understanding of those multiply marginalized within even elite contexts (Hancock 2016). One only needs to see the ambivalence surrounding the education of former President Barack Obama to realize how the elite education of historically subjugated groups needs to be more comprehensively historicized.

We expect to see many more monographs and theses that explicitly conceive of educational institutions in their global contexts, already a feature of histories of universities and now becoming a feature of histories of schools too (Sandgren 2015, 2017). Likewise the strategic transnational migration of peripheral elite groups to metropolitan centers of power has begun to emerge and will add much to our understanding of elite circulation and the acquisition of forms of capital (O'Neill 2014). Historians interested in multi-region education providers are now beginning to think transnationally (Chambers and O'Connor 2017) as well as comparatively or cross-culturally (Azuma 2003; Bagchi et al. 2014).

In the last few years, a significant sociological literature has developed around elite education that emphasizes transnationalism, led by figures such as Fazal Rizvi (USA), Jane Kenway (Australia), and Anne-Catherine Wagner (France) (Kenway et al. 2017; Wagner 2007). It would be fruitful for historical studies on elite education to engage with the sociological scholarship in a more substantial way. Developing a clearer linkage between historical and sociological treatments of elite education would be beneficial for both academic subdisciplines and would enrich the field of research as a whole.

Of all the methodological innovations to make a difference in recent decades, the arrival of the so-called Big Data has proven to be the most exciting. With the

proliferation of urban directories, name-rich censal records, dictionaries of national biography, and school records freely available online, the challenge is, perhaps, no longer one of access but of capture or harness. Historians of elite education will need to conceptualize and then convince funders that they can collaborate effectively on multi-region elite education projects. A return to cliometric forms of analysis seems likely and with it a turn to the macro rather than the micro.

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Black Civic Organizations in the History of Education

41

Leadership, Curriculum, and Resistance

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Abstract

Black civic voluntary organizations were essential in the fight for equality, social justice, and racial and economic advancement from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Given that African Americans were virtually excluded from mainstream political and public life during this time, they established a range and number of organizations to help provide services and programs for black communities, as well as offering literary and artistic outlets. Central to the mission of black civic organizations were education and the schooling of black youth. Almost universally, the associations developed programs in education for adults and youth, shaped the curriculum in segregated schools, and educated members and the wider community about American civic ideals and the need for social justice and political reform. Through membership, African Americans learned leadership skills and cultivated important national

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networks. This chapter spotlights the range of black voluntary organizations in civil society, examining their origins, purposes, and characteristics regarding education in knowledge, skills, sensibilities, and values.

Keywords

Black civic organizations · Curriculum development · Racial advancement

Introduction

True liberation can be acquired and maintained only when the Negro people possess power; and power is the product and flower of organization. . . of the masses. (A. Philip Randolph, 1937, as quoted in Franklin 1984, p. 1)

A. Philip Randolph, elected president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925, acknowledged the central role of civic organizations for black citizens in the early decades of the twentieth century. For the purposes of this chapter, I define civic voluntary organizations as “nonprofit, non-governmental associations enrolling individuals on a voluntary basis” (Skocpol et al. 2006, p. 22). Americans have always been known for their proclivity to organize. In the early nineteenth century, Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville commented on the widespread growth of civic associations on behalf of a variety of causes, including abolitionism, temperance, self-help, and education in the form of literary and study clubs. He observed:

Americans of all ages, all conditions, all minds constantly unite. Not only do they have commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but they also have a thousand other kinds. . . . Everywhere that, at the head of a new undertaking, you see the government in France and a great lord in England, count on it that you will perceive an association in the United States. (Mansfield and Winthrop 2000, p. 489)

As Americans continued to organize over the course of the nineteenth century, the number of civic associations increased greatly after the Civil War (1861–1865), and citizens made use of them to achieve political and social goals. Black Americans were especially active in forming voluntary civic organizations to meet their needs; these voluntary organizations were only second in number and influence of the church, which was the most central institution in African American life (Higginbotham 1993).

In the early twentieth century, sociologist Gunnar Myrdal observed that African Americans were more likely than whites to participate in voluntary organizations, due to the fact that they were largely prevented from membership in political parties, barred from the franchise, and kept from other kinds of formal democratic participation. However, black citizens also preferred their own institutions, which allowed them to control their affairs. In his monumental work, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, Myrdal posited that African Americans were “exaggerated Americans,” because they were members of more

churches and voluntary organizations per capita than whites in both the rural South and urban North (Myrdal 1944, p. 952; see also Schlesinger 1944). Indeed, black associations – out of necessity – played a central role in the political life of African Americans to fight for equality and social justice (Mjagkij 2001). Moreover, because of the lack of availability of schools, these same voluntary organizations served as educational institutions for African Americans, and they allowed for leadership among black communities in the education of children and adults and in the shaping of the school curriculum.

After the Civil War and into the mid-twentieth century, dozens of African American civic voluntary organizations were founded and flourished. The associations resided between government institutions and the individual citizen, forming the backbone of civil society, and citizens organized around common interests and collective activity. Membership was voluntary, and the regular meetings of groups allowed for participants to meet face-to-face and attend to issues of import in local communities as well as matters of national consequence. Many organizations adopted a federated structure, which means they were modeled on the US government, with local, state, and national levels of leadership. These translocal associations helped citizens to meet one another around the country and to unite around common interests and causes.

Although black civic organizations engaged in cultural rituals and civic activities (Skocpol et al. 2006), their primary focus was education and schooling. Forty years ago, historian V.P. Franklin (1978) discussed the educational work of black social organizations in the early twentieth century, and little work has been done on this topic since then. In the African American struggle for education, civic voluntary organizations played a central role, as the distinctions between formal and informal education are not as evident (Danns et al. 2015). However, the fact remains that they were educational institutions; civic organizations placed learning and educational initiatives at the heart of their agendas and considered these initiatives closely linked with their efforts regarding social justice, racial uplift, and economic sustenance. As historian Ronald Butchart argues, “Ultimately, education and the franchise cannot be disentangled, for effective use of the franchise was linked to literacy and, for many in the nineteenth century, the point of literacy was the intelligent use of the franchise” (2010, pp. 172–173). Similarly, V.P. Franklin argued several decades earlier that a major theme in black life and literature which originated in the nineteenth century was freedom through education (1978, 1984). The emphasis on education and schooling was reflected in black civic organizations’ programs and initiatives, and at the heart was education for citizenship in a democracy.

Types of Organizations

No fewer than 500 black civic organizations existed from the end of the Civil War to the late twentieth century (Mjagkij 2001). These associations were founded for a variety of purposes, and their efforts as well as their membership overlapped

as African Americans joined a variety of organizations. Black civic organizations were founded for social, protest, improvement, business, professional, fraternal, civic, trade, and religious reasons. Like white organizations, they brought together members of different socioeconomic classes; unlike white associations, they were inclusive of women. Being a member of a civic organization afforded members networking opportunities; fellowship, literary, and artistic inspiration; and educational advancement (Mjagkij 2001). As one scholar explains, “the associations created a racially autonomous world that shielded African Americans from racial abuse and humiliation, while enabling them to serve the needs of the black community with honor, dignity, and respect” (Mjagkij 2001, p. vii).

In addition to purposes, black civic organizations can be categorized in a variety of ways. They generally were one of two types, either independent or parallel orders. Parallel orders were founded as separate black counterparts to white associations, such as the National PTA, YMCA, and YWCA, and fraternal groups such as the Elks, Prince Hall Masons, and Odd Fellows. Independent, or distinctive, orders existed on their own as black associations, such as the Independent Order of St. Luke and Universal Negro Improvement Association. Some organizations were coeducational or included both men and women in the regular membership. This was the case for the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, or black PTA, and others had separate women’s auxiliaries, such as the International Order of Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor. In some instances, racially inclusive organizations existed, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons (NAACP), the National Urban League, and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The numbers of racially inclusive associations increased after World War II, when interracial committees were established by local and state governments to bridge racial divides (Mjagkij 2001), and some organizations merged or integrated. However, in many instances, the integration of civic associations resulted in the loss of black members (Woyschner 2009).

Some organizations forged transnational alliances. In the instance of black parallel fraternal orders, a few had to enlist assistance in becoming established from lodges outside of the United States, because white fraternal groups would not sponsor them. For example, the (black) Grand United Order of Odd Fellows relied upon its ties to England to organize its first unit. In 1843, when white lodges in the United States refused to help establish a separate black unit, the order’s founder, Peter Ogden – who was black – enlisted the help of his former lodge in Liverpool. When he arrived in the United States in 1843, he was unable to join the white association, which was called the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. His former lodge in England, Victoria Lodge #448, helped him found the Philomathian Lodge in New York City as Lodge #646 (numbers 1–645 were in England at the time, with a total membership of approximately 60,000 members). Thus, the first black American lodge was under white British supervision but had authority to open new ones in the United States (Brooks 1902).

By the 1910s, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows had grown to become one of the largest black fraternal organizations in the country, boasting a membership of 300,000 members across three dozen states, which enlisted more than 11% of all black men in the country (Skocpol et al. 2006). The organization focused on providing insurance benefits and coordinating social occasions for its members; it paid relief to its sick members, covered the cost of funerals, and increased the value of its investments – real estate and cash holdings – as reported at its regular meetings. However, leaders construed the Odd Fellows as an educational organization first and foremost. In its “Official Manual and History,” it reads:

When we speak of education, let it never be forgotten that the Odd Fellow’s Lodge is a real educational institution; when we recommend forethought and providence, let it be remembered that the working man’s bank and his insurance society is his lodge, and that this educational institution was established long, very long before governments had found it worth while [sic] to provide means for the instruction of the people. (Brooks 1902, p. 228)

In addition to providing an economic education to its members, the Odd Fellows leaders acknowledged that it also offered a moral and patriotic education by writing these objectives into the objects of their association. These efforts reflected common themes across African American civic organizations, which are further discussed below.

Commonalities Across Black Civic Organizations

VP Franklin’s investigation of the educational activities of black social organizations in Philadelphia from 1900 to 1930 parsed their activities into three categories: education in the black heritage, education for individual and community development, and education for black social and political advancement (Franklin 1978). His assertion holds true for black associations across the United States, in part because many of those he examined were the local units of major national organizations, such as the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, the NAACP, and the YMCA and YWCA. However, even local, independent groups embodied the same ethos and educational activities.

Black civic organizations, as discussed above, were founded to serve the needs of black communities, as black citizens were largely kept out of mainstream political parties and activities. The original impetus for such organizations in the early nineteenth century was mutual aid, in the form of life insurance and death and burial benefits. Also, members were able to socialize and spend time with others like them. In addition to companionship, professional networking was a benefit of civic association membership, as African American professionals and blue collar workers mingled within the same associations. Beyond this, educational activities were supported by civic associations, both in the form of lectures and literary circles for members and outreach to local schools and the students in the community.

Educational Activities and Accomplishments

Some black civic organizations were explicitly founded to benefit teachers, schools, and the education of black youth, such as the National Association for Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS) and the black PTA. The NATCS was founded in 1906 to organize and provide leadership to teachers in the segregated schools of the American South. Its goals included improving teaching methods, promoting higher rates of pay for black teachers, cooperating with local white school boards, and fundraising to build schools and supply them with needed materials. In 1926 it forged a working relationship with the National Education Association, which that year had initiated an effort to study the conditions of segregated schools. In 1937, its name was changed to the American Teachers Association (ATA), and it continued to collaborate with the NEA until the two merged in 1966 (Karpinski 2008). During the years the ATA was independent, members were able to maintain decision-making control over their careers and segregated schools, to attain a level of occupational status, and engaged in professional development activities at local, state, and national meetings.

The black PTA was also founded by African American teachers to support the segregated schools in the South. The association grew from the ground up; local units started meeting at the same time the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) was founded, in 1896. Black women's clubs formed the foundation of the NCCPT; in the 1890s, the NACW focused a significant amount of energy on educational initiatives, such as forming local mothers' clubs, establishing kindergartens and day nurseries, and opening homes for orphans. Over the next three decades, local units created state organizations, which led to the founding of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, or black PTA, in 1926. It was a parallel order to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, or National PTA, which maintained it would not discriminate based on race but aided in the establishment of the segregated association, rather than admit black women as members. The founding principles of the white National PTA appealed to black educators: child welfare and parent education (Woyschner 2009).

The black PTA differed from its white counterpart in several respects. First, it was founded and led by professional educators in the early years, unlike the white PTA, which had been organized by club women and, in later years, middle-class women volunteers. Next, it emphasized fundraising out of necessity and at a greater degree than that of the white association. In the 1930s, when the white PTA called for its local units to focus less on fundraising and more on educational activities, the black PTA local units continued to aggressively raise money for segregated schools. Finally, the black PTA added an emphasis on race work to its program and agenda that was absent from the white associations. This Racial advancement work took the form of promoting black history in segregated schools, working for interracial understanding, and uplifting black communities through social and educational

activities (Woyshner 2009). Focusing on racial uplift can be found in other black organizations, such as the black Elks.

Through both black educational civic associations, the PTA and ATA, African American educators and volunteers – men and women – were able to build schools in the American South in the early twentieth century, to support them with fundraisers to buy books and materials, and to promote the teaching of black culture and history. The federated structure allowed for members to meet others like them at the local, state, and national levels and supported the development of leaders within each organization. The black PTA emphasized leadership development through workshops and mentoring. Past officers of the NCCPT remained active, assisting new leaders in cultivating particular skills related to organizing, money management, and administration. The organization played an integral role in helping establish local schools in the first three decades of the twentieth century and then continued to provide leadership and direction for those schools as the century wore on (Walker 1996).

The Educational Work of Black Civic Organizations: A Case History of the Black Elks

A civic organization did not have to be explicitly linked to education and schooling to undertake a considerable number of educational activities. As discussed above, the members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows – like many black civic associations – viewed their organization as an educational one, although it was perceived as a social club since it was a fraternal group. Whether the reasons for organizing were social, political, or economic, virtually all black associations had a strong commitment to the education of members and of the youth in the community. Among black fraternal groups, which number in the dozens, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World (IBPOEW) is an apt example of a fraternal organization which placed education central to its mission (Skocpol et al. 2006). The educational activities and philosophy of the Elks are reflective of other fraternal orders and civic associations. A look at their activities serves to illustrate the ways that education was defined and supported and educational initiatives enacted.

The IBPOEW was a black parallel order that followed the same program, bylaws, and guidelines of the white Elks, although it did not always have the imprimatur of white members. In contrast, the National PTA is an example of an association whose black counterpart was sanctioned, or approved, by the white leadership. The relationship between the two branches of the PTA was a tenuous one, as the white PTA tended to provide oversight to the black while maintaining separate local, state, and national bodies. Frequently, white fraternal groups did not approve of the black associations and took measures to prevent them from forming. In the case of the black Elks, it made for expensive and protracted legal matters from its founding in 1898 into the early twentieth century.

Origins

The white Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (BPOE) was founded as the Jolly Corks by Charles Vivian in 1867 in New York City (Wesley 1955). Vivian was an English immigrant who worked as a comic singer. The following year, the Jolly Corks decided to become a fraternal order of theatrical men by combining the ritual of the Masons with the goals of an English organization called the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes. Thus, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (BPOE) was created as a federated organization, and its local units were called lodges. The Elks grew to become one of the largest fraternal orders in the United States, reaching approximately 750,000 members by 1920. It was a national organization that was nonsectarian and, while it enlisted white men across the socioeconomic spectrum, it embodied middle-class values in its attitudes regarding politics, race, and values (Dickerson 1981).

In 1898 Arthur Riggs, a Pullman car porter in Cincinnati, Ohio, found a BPOE ritual booklet left on a train seat and obtained a copyright for it, thus founding the black Elks (Dickerson 1981). Riggs was not unlike other black fraternal members, in that he was active in other associations as well. He was a member of the Knights of Pythias, having been one of that order's founders in 1896. The act of obtaining the rights to the manual in order to create a black lodge frustrated white Elks who, because they never copyrighted their ritual manual, had no say over the creation of the black organization. As a result, Riggs was targeted by white Elks and threatened with lynching, which forced him to flee Cincinnati with his family. He did not return to the Elks for 20 years. The Elks' constitution explains the organization's purposes: "Its objects shall be and are benevolent, social and altruistic—to promote and encourage manly friendship and kindly intercourse, to aid, protect and assist its members and their families" (Wesley 1955, p. 55).

Because of the racial tension with the white association, the black Elks did not grow rapidly at first. However, it did grow steadily, enlisting black men of the middle and professional classes in the South and border states. By 1899, the organization spread to 12 lodges in 8 states: Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Washington, DC, Maryland, and Pennsylvania (Dickerson 1981). In the 1920s, the black Elks could boast a membership of over 40,000 in 900 lodges representing every state except South Dakota, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and by the mid-twentieth century, its membership was over a half million men, women, and youth. This membership put them in the top four of black fraternal groups in the country: the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Prince Hall Masons, and Elks. The black Elks, unlike its white counterpart, was transnational, establishing lodges in Cuba, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Panama, Spanish Honduras, England, and Liberia. In addition to adopting the principles of the white Elks, the black Elks also focused on civil rights, racial uplift, and nationalism (Dickerson 1981). Thus, the black Elks reinterpreted the white Elks' emphasis on patriotism as a commitment to civil liberties, charity, and self-help.

The Elks' Educational Programming: A Public Curriculum

The black Elks' educational programming was at first informal, or not labeled explicitly as educational, and later made official through a series of initiatives which were implemented by the Elks' Education Department, which was created in 1925. The informal curriculum at its founding in 1899 included patriotic activities and parades, as well as a scholarship program. Once the Education Department was created, it administered a range of educational programming, which included the scholarship program, and added a "Schools Week" and oratory contest. Over time, the Education Department and its curriculum became more radicalized and committed to desegregation and social justice.

If one views curriculum as a set of discursive practices in educational settings (Popkewitz 2001), the white Elks developed, taught, and promoted a curriculum of patriotism and personal virtue. The organization was nondenominational, although it was broadly Christian, and allowed into its membership only able-bodied men, thereby excluding members with handicaps (Wesley 1955). The white Elks had focused on patriotism, charity, and virtues since its founding in 1867, and in 1928 the Elks National Foundation was created to oversee its charitable, educational, and benevolent programs (Dickerson 1981). The emphasis on patriotism remained central to its activities, as the white Elks viewed its mission, in part, to educate the public about patriotism through its pageantry and programs. White Elks' patriotic activities included the vocational training of veterans after wars' end and running food conservation programs during wartime. The white Elks also focused on initiatives that were both commemorative and educational, such as its Flag Day program. In 1924, Flag Day programs for schoolchildren started in which junior and senior high school students competed in essay contests.

Also, white Elks' Flag Day activities included lecturing immigrants on the importance of patriotism and the meaning of citizenship in America. White Elks' programs for immigrants stressed assimilation as members prepared them for learning the language and historical requirements in order to pass the citizenship exams (Dickerson 1981). As one member wrote, "We owe them an education in our glorious history. We must teach them our language, our habits, our customs, we must open their minds to a proper appreciation of what a privilege it is to be a citizen of our country" (as quoted in Dickerson 1981, p. 134). Despite this earnestness, the white Elks did believe that some immigrants were criminals or came from undesirable regions. Moreover, they held stereotypical beliefs about Asians, American Indians, and African Americans. In particular, Elks' attitudes toward black Americans had its roots in the order's origins as a theatrical organization. The Elks' tradition of minstrelsy perpetuated stereotypes about blacks as shiftless, lazy, and amoral.

The black Elks embraced the same civic and patriotic curriculum as the white Elks but added emphases on civil rights, racial uplift, and black history. While the black Elks were committed to racial uplift and social justice, they also valued the educational philosophy of Booker T. Washington. (Both leading black intellectuals

of this era, W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, were active with and supportive of the Elks.) The Elks' educational philosophy was summarized in a 1902 report, which was written shortly after the organization's founding:

...as we can see the great necessity of education, especially for our boys, be it resolved that we send our children to school and not only send them to school, but let us give them a home training and teach their hands to work as much so as to teach their mental faculties to study. (Wesley 1955, p. 66)

Few formalized activities were implemented in the first two decades of the organization's existence, however. Some work with youth did begin, however, during those decades. In 1907, Emma Kelley, founder of the Daughter Elks in 1902, created a juvenile department to enlist the children of members. In 1927 the Junior Elks, the juvenile division of the association, was organized. Lodges in Philadelphia and Baltimore took the lead in organizing young black men into "herds" of 30 members each. They were taught the IBPOEW principles of justice, brotherly love, charity, and fidelity, as well as "the Negro's history in African and America" (Wesley 1955, p. 237). Within 3 years, the Junior Elks had grown to 52 herds in 29 states, as well as in Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto (Wesley 1955).

As a result of World War I, the black Elks' leadership stressed charitable and patriotic programs, since approximately 1,500 black Elks served in the war. In 1920 the order initiated a college scholarship program. The scholarships were intended also to "cultivate stronger racial consciousness" by urging community members to commemorate the birthdays of black leaders such as Crispus Attucks, Frederick Douglass, and Paul Laurence Dunbar (as quoted in Dickerson 1981, p. 305).

Education, health, and civil liberties were the three major programs of the IBPEOW, although educational initiatives and activities cut across these three emphases. The Education Department was founded in 1925 by Grand Exalted Ruler J. Finley Wilson. Its purposes were to increase school attendance and length of time in school for black youth and to further support and develop the scholarship program. In creating a separate department dedicated to education and schooling, the Elks resolved "to see to it that every boy and girl who desires an education should receive it" (Dickerson 1981, p. 283). The Elks' Department of Education served under a Board of Education composed of the key leaders of the organization: the Grand Exalted Ruler, the Grand Secretary, the Grand Trustees, and a Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner was elected each year at the annual Grand Lodge Convention and served as the Secretary to the Board of Education (Dickerson 1981). The first Commissioner of Education for the black Elks was Judge William C. Hueston of Gary, Indiana. Hueston had attended the Universities of Chicago and Kansas and had served as president of the National Negro Baseball League. As Charles Dickerson explains, "his election as first Commissioner convinced many that the black Elks were serious about their program" (Dickerson 1981, p. 285). Hueston remained in the position for at least the next 20 years, and his educational philosophy was to "train thinkers" (Wesley 1955, p. 217).

At its creation in 1925, the Education Department immediately set to work on various initiatives. It established an Elk Educational Week to be held the second Sunday of every April. During that time, Elks provided information on higher education and assigned each day of Educational Week a particular focus to encourage and support education. On Sunday members spoke at their churches about the importance of education. On Monday, members visited and inspected private and public schools. Tuesdays saw the Elks' committee members sharing the information they had gathered and concerns with school officials. Wednesday and Thursday were set aside for making home visits and contacting parents. On Friday, the lodges provided entertainment in their communities to raise money for the scholarship fund (Dickerson 1981). During Education Week, the oratorical contest was held, and the Daughter Elks would host a luncheon for the contestants (Wesley 1955). This pattern continued until mid-century and gave structure to the annual meetings in terms of the Elks' educational endeavors. After 1950, even though Education Week was discontinued, members carried on educational activities.

The Education Department was given additional responsibilities that included supervising the Elks' Athletic Department, which held various contests and tournaments in an effort to combat juvenile delinquency. Also, the Department of Economics was put under the auspices and oversight of the Education Department, given the need for economic education among members. Nonetheless, the leadership team of the Education Department viewed the oratorical contests and scholarship program as the black Elks' most important educational initiative. Each year, students who entered the oratorical contest spoke on the same topic: "The Negro and the Constitution," with a focus on the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. Students who won scholarships attended both predominantly white and historically black colleges and universities, and the scholarships were funded by a tax levied at the subordinate, or local, lodge level. The amounts local lodges collected grew precipitously in the 1920s, as members gave their enthusiastic support to the initiatives of the Department of Education. In 1925–1926, the first year of the scholarship, \$14,818 was raised by subordinate lodges. That figure more than doubled the next year to \$32,125, when 23 men and women out of 66 were awarded scholarships (Wilson 1996, p. 27). By 1928–1929, the amount was nearly \$50,000 (Dickerson 1981, p. 285). The scholarship efforts were also supported by other groups and organizations, such as the Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the NAACP, and the National Urban League. At its annual convention in 1940, the IBPEOW boasted that its Education Department had raised \$350,000 for education (Wesley 1955).

The Education Department continued its activities over the next several decades and at mid-century "expanded its efforts to eliminate illiteracy" (Wilson 1996, p. 39). The organization did this by creating Elks' Study Clubs, which met once a month from January to June. The Education Department circulated lessons to the study clubs, which included such topics as the status of the Negro in education, voting in the United States, and how to read a newspaper (Wilson 1996, p. 39). After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, the Elks' educational programming became increasingly tied to an explicit Civil Rights

Agenda. At local lodge meetings and at the national convention, the black Elks discussed inequality in educational funding among other topics. In 1955, the organization adopted legislation which made the oratorical contests open to “all races, regardless of color or creed” (Wilson 1996, p. 54), mirroring the efforts of other black civic organizations in displaying racial equity as many white associations continued to bar black members. By 1956, the Elks educational programming focused on civil liberties and racism in education under the Grand Commissioner of Education, George Washington Lee. Lee saw the inevitability of integration happening through the oratorical contests, as white students started to be awarded college scholarships for their participation (Wilson 1996, p. 59). As recently as 1994, there were 95 students on Elks’ scholarships, as the Education Department turned its focus to the education of African American men and boys (Wilson 1996).

Education in Political, Social Justice, and Economic Initiatives

While practically all black civic association embraced social justice and racial uplift as central tenets, some were more explicitly political than others. In the early twentieth century, Myrdal (1944) named the NAACP and the National Urban League as two of the most committed organizations to protest and racial betterment. As stated above, while many organizations embraced social justice, such as the black PTA and IBPOEW, these three were the most explicit and aggressive in working for civil rights and justice. However, that focus also merited attention to education. A brief discussion of a sampling of organizations follows, because space does not permit a fuller treatment.

The NAACP, which was founded in 1909 by black and white liberal leaders, focused on the long-term objective of full political, social, and economic equality for African Americans. These goals included equitable funding for segregated schools and an end to segregation. The organization was originally based in New York City and had local branches around the United States: 481 of them by 1940 (Myrdal 1944). Today it is based in Baltimore, Maryland, with regional offices around the United States. In the early to mid-twentieth century, NAACP local units were expected to combat racism and discrimination by bringing cases before the courts to fight school segregation and work for the equalization of teachers’ salaries in southern schools. Also, they were instructed to help increase school attendance among black students and to encourage them to complete high school and attend college. Technical, practical training was also promoted for youth by the NAACP leadership. The organization was the force responsible for ending legal segregation in public schools, which occurred with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954.

The National Urban League was created in 1911 by the merger of the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes and the National League for the

Protection of Colored Women. It remains based in New York City, and since its founding it has focused on social work in local communities, much of which has encompassed educational initiatives. The League has focused on youth, recreation, and vocational guidance. In the early twentieth century, local units oversaw day nurseries, schools for pregnant teens, and parent-teacher associations. They also organized training schools for janitors and domestic workers. While the National Urban League focused on helping African Americans get employment, its local leagues also worked as pressure groups to get playgrounds, housing, and schools (Myrdal 1944). Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier pointed out the challenges in the work of the National Urban League in the 1940s, claiming that more needed to be done to enlist the cooperation of black workers. He claimed that leaders focused only on enlisting the upper segment of the black working class and instead focused on middle-class educated citizens (Myrdal 1944, p. 841).

Economic sustenance and education were not far from the missions of black civic associations. Financial viability was linked closely with social justice, as it shored up political strength, liberty, and the ability to direct one's future. An organization that emphasized economic independence was the Independent Order of St. Luke. The Independent Order of St. Luke was a fraternal order and cooperative insurance society. The first local St. Luke association was founded in Baltimore in 1867 to provide sickness and disability benefits and to pay death claims to members. In 1869, after several iterations it became the Virginia St. Luke Society, and in 1899 its best-known leader, Maggie Lena Walker, was named as Right Worthy Grand Secretary of the association. Walker had been with the society for two decades and had held many different roles, including national deputy, during which she organized juvenile councils starting in 1895.

Much of the work of the Independent Order of St. Luke focused on economic education and enlisting youth in various endeavors. When Walker assumed the leadership of the organization, her plan was to use resources to create businesses for employment, especially for women and youth. She emphasized manufacturing as well as the notion that African Americans should be producers as well as consumers (Marlowe 2003). Walker supported and promoted the teaching of black history, and the Order started an education loan fund under her leadership. She also was proactive in starting a bank for African Americans. In 1903, she started the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, which grew from \$8,000 to \$500,000 by the mid-1920s. Her leadership of the Independent Order of St. Luke ended in 1934, with her death.

These and many other black civic organizations diffused knowledge, provided members and leaders with experience in new roles, and facilitated adaptation to rapidly changing circumstances (Little 1965). They did this to further the work of social justice and the economic viability of members and the wider black community. Further research is warranted to uncover the many ways that black voluntary organizations played a role in education and in shaping schools and the curriculum.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In the history of education, much work remains to be done to excavate the educational work of black civic voluntary organizations. Without a glimpse at the ways voluntary associations contributed to the education of African Americans, the historical record is incomplete, since much work around schooling, educational leadership, and curriculum development happened in and through the efforts of civic groups. In black organizations, African American men and women of different classes came together to determine the aims and means of education for adults and youth. They fought discrimination and, in the twentieth century, promoted desegregation even though they knew that it would forever change the landscape of black community and educator ownership of separate schools.

This chapter introduced some future avenues of exploration, among the many that exist. One could examine the activities and accomplishments of various types of organizations to ascertain their differences and effectiveness in reaching African American community members. For instance, did fraternal lodges work in different ways than more social justice-oriented associations, such as the Black Panther Party or NAACP? What role did the social aspects of civic organizations play in shaping black education? Scholars could examine black civic associations through the lens of gender or socioeconomic class. How were black women's civic organization participation and leadership different than that of their white counterparts? Did black women play more leadership roles in black organizations, and if so, what were they? How were cross-class alliances forged through civic group membership, and how did these alliances support the education of poor and working-class black youth?

There is much to be mined regarding the intersection of black formal and informal education through voluntary organizations, because the two were not separate and distinct. How did civic organizations shape schools and the curriculum? What sort of curriculum did they promote? Other lines of inquiry exist, such as whether there are differences pre- and post-1960s activity, given that that decade is a time of declining civic participation in organizations on a massive scale (Putnam 2000).

Interracial alliances could be investigated, because many groups had white members or were originally formed as interracial organizations. How was the educational work of the interracial organizations different from all-black associations? How did interracial organizations work in education change over time? Viewing civic associations as sites of teaching and learning brings an important dimension to the study of black history and will round out the historical record more fully to include the role of civil society in public education.

Youth divisions and youth councils formed the backbone of black civic organizations, as they were seen as a way to perpetuate the organizations. Transnational alliances existed, and an investigation of the ways they supported and shaped the

educational endeavors of African American civic groups is warranted. These and many other avenues of research to pursue will continue to inform the history of black education.

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International Women's Organizations and Education

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Joyce Goodman

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Abstract

The chapter uses spatial analysis to discuss the engagement of international women's organizations in educational policy-making and educational policy-networks around the League of Nations and the United Nations (UN). It considers power relations of gender and East/West framings in historiography that have resulted in absences in literature on international women's organizations and educational policy-making. The chapter uses three examples to explore policy-formulation, policy-diffusion, and policy-impact. It deploys a schema derived from scholarly literature on epistemic communities, which it brings together with a multilayered approach to policy-making that accommodates the activities of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the policy-making landscapes around the League of Nations and the UN. The first example unpacks the engagement of international women's organizations with policy-formulation for girls' secondary education. The second example focuses on policy-diffusion and policy-impact around the standardization of academic qualifications and explores

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the contradictory potential of multi-directional policy-flows. The third example explores styles of reason that underpin conceptions of truth that can result in knowledge in policy-contexts being deemed to be authoritative or labelled as propaganda. The conclusion draws together the threads of analysis to consider the efficacy of epistemic communities as an approach to make visible the policy-making activities of international women's organizations, and it suggests avenues for future research.

Keywords

International · Women's organizations · Gender · Epistemic communities · Styles of reason

Introduction

When charting four phases of its work to promote and protect the equal rights of women between 1945 and 1966, the UN notes that “although the international women's movement began at the grass-roots level many years before the founding of the United Nations, the Organisation moved quickly to affirm the advancement of women was central to its work” (UN 1996, p. 3). The UN portrays the first phase of its activities for women (1945–1962) as a struggle for legal equality, education, employment, and political participation in which, “stirred by determined efforts of Member States' female delegates and by the collective energy of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)” the UN moved to address “symptoms of discrimination” (UN 1996, pp. 3–4). It describes phase two (1963–1975) as a time when policy-formulation, attitude change, political commitment, and institution-building came to the fore, particularly as it pertained to women in “developing countries” (UN 1996, pp. 4–5). It notes that in phase three (1976–1985), previous thinking around “women's development needs” was updated when it was recognized that women were “essential contributors to the entire development process” and central to the well-being of societies everywhere (UN 1996, p. 5), while in phase four (1986–1996) the UN “redouble[d] its mechanisms” as support for women was “woven into the mainstream efforts of all the Organization's agencies and bodies” (UN 1996, p. 6).

The chapter does not aim to evaluate the UN's claims about the place of women's education in UN activities, women's place in the development process, nor the periodization that is attributed by the UN to its activities on behalf of women. Instead the focus moves from what is said about shifting policy to the suggestion in the UN narrative that the international women's movement (subsumed in “the collective energy” of NGOs) engaged as part of UN “mechanisms” in the shifting policy-landscape, along with “Member States' female delegates.” Moving the focus from *what* are described as outcomes in the UN document to the question of *how* international women's organizations engaged in the policy-making process requires a comparable shift in analytic focus to a spatial model that resonates with what Weiss et al. (2009) term a “third United Nations.” For Weiss et al. (2009), the “first UN” comprises the organization of member states, the “second UN” is composed of

international civil servants, while the “third UN” encompasses NGOs, external experts, scholars, consultants, and “the committed citizens who work closely with the UN’s intergovernmental machinery and secretariats.” Weiss et al. (2009) attribute a number of roles to “third UN” members – “advocacy, research, policy analysis, and idea mongering” – which they claim “combine forces to put forward new information and ideas, push for new policies, and mobilise public opinion around UN deliberations and operations” (Weiss et al. 2009, p. 123). The chapter deploys Weiss et al.’s (2009) notion of the “third UN” as an analytical tool to consider the engagement of international women’s organizations with educational policy-networks around the League of Nations as well as around the UN. Analysis in the chapter is underpinned by Herren’s (2014, p. 2) spatial view of international organizations as “a self-declared form of interaction across borders that produces footprints and patterns characteristic of the time frame concerned.” Herren’s (2014) definition casts international women’s organizations as spaces of encounter (Dussel and Ydesen 2017) and accommodates the multilayered analytical device of the “third UN” as well as the interactions of international women’s organizations at supra-international, international, national, and regional levels. It also provides for the emergence of the diversities of internationalisms that Sluga and Clavin (2016) highlight and which Featherstone (2012) argues are fashioned as solidarities (though not without struggle) through specific translocal articulations and connections in and between different sites.

The chapter builds on these spatial framings to inform the analytic steps that Haas (1992) develops to unpack the role of “epistemic communities” in policy-making processes. Haas (1992) defines an “epistemic community” as a “network of professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area” (Haas 1992, p. 3). Haas outlines a three-stage process of policy-formulation, policy-diffusion, and policy-impact. But the notion of “epistemic communities” is not straightforward where international women’s organizations are concerned. Not least because who is considered “expert” and a “professional” and whose knowledge has been considered “authoritative” are all suffused with power relations of gender that result in absences in the scholarly literature on educational policy-making where women and women’s national and international organizations are concerned (Goodman and Harrop 2000). As Herren (2013) notes, taking the epistemic community as an ordering concept can provide valuable insights into the networks of people active in expert-related fields beyond the nation. But whoever does not fit into expert networks can be “literally nonexistent,” and those who belong to various expert groups or switch between them can drop out of investigation.

To explore Haas’ (1992) framework as a means to make women’s international organizations visible in the educational policy-making landscape, the chapter unpacks three examples of the engagement of international women’s organizations with the policy-making process. The first two examples, taken largely from the period prior to the Second World War, focus on international women’s organizations deemed to be liberally progressive. The first example deals with policy-formulation

and discusses how the International Council of Women (ICW) and the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) provided a platform at the international level where the issue of girls' education was problematized for action. The second example focuses on policy-diffusion and policy-impact around the standardization of academic qualifications at the IFUW. It looks at the contradictory potential of multi-directional policy-flows as they played out in spaces of encounter between the IFUW, the League of Nations, and the American Association of University Women (AAUW). The third example, located in the post 1945 era, moves to the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), which included women with communist links. It considers what labelling international women's organizations as communist suggests for the politics of knowledge in the policy-making process. The conclusion draws together threads of analysis to consider the usefulness of epistemic communities as an approach for researching international women's organizations and provides pointers to future avenues for research.

International Women's Organizations and Policy-Formulation

In the first decade of the twentieth century, internationalist literature recorded 300 professional associations or "cause groups" with international links. But by the mid-twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of people were supporting multifarious causes in a dense web of international organizations that came to be perceived through terms like the "international system," the "international community," and "international society" (Navari 2013). But as Rupp (2001) illustrates, even before the 1840s, women travellers, migrants, missionaries, and writers had made contacts that paved the way for the emergence of international women's organizations as the stirrings of organized feminism linked women who came together in mixed-gender meetings around causes like abolition, socialism, peace, temperance, and moral reform. In a situation where women lacked political power at a national level, there was a strong belief that international connections and contacts were vital to the success of particular local struggles and to peace (Rupp 1997), and this view was strengthened by the devastation of war.

The first international congresses of women placed women's education at the heart of feminist demands. In 1871 in Geneva, the *Association Internationale des Femmes* (International Association of Women) proclaimed that it aimed "to work for the moral and intellectual advancement of women," along with "the gradual amelioration of her position in society by calling for her human, civil, economic, social and political rights" (Albisetti et al. 2010, p. 4). Education was a matter of concern for the major international women's organizations that grew from the 1880s onward. The ICW (founded 1888), the International Alliance of Women (IWSA, founded 1904), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILP, which grew from the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915), and the IFUW (founded at a meeting in July 1919) (Hunyadi 2018) all included educational reform in their remit which they integrated with work for peace and equality (Storr 2009). De Haan et al. (2006) locate these organizations along a liberal-leftist

progressive continuum, from the moderate/conservative ICW, across the liberal-oriented IWSA [and IFUW] to the leftish/progressive feminism of the WILPF. The cessations from the ICW to found IWSA and WILP illustrate that tensions between international women's organizations could and did exist; but these organizations also developed overarching coordinating structures to share information and to cooperate in areas of joint concern (Rupp 1997).

The ICW established its education committee at its general assembly in Toronto in 1909 at a point when there were 19 ICW-affiliated national councils. The committee aimed to seek equality for boys and girls in the education system and to increase women's influence in education and school administration in order to "civilize" children and to teach them social responsibility and democracy (Kersting 2008). As Kersting (2008) argues, women attending ICW conferences considered education a key means to strive for emancipation and equal rights. But the addition of an education committee to the ICW's existing committee structure of law, morality, and welfare came only after discussion at ICW conferences in 1893 (Chicago), 1899 (London), and 1904 (Berlin) and preparation at meetings in Paris (1906) and Geneva (1908). Kersting (2008) traces how the programs and topics of the Chicago, London, and Berlin congresses, along with invited speakers and the policies adopted at congresses, worked to make educational topics "understandable" for an international audience in the face of the political and cultural differences that informed national educational systems and which led to various approaches on education in and between members from different countries. The ICW's official history suggests that its education committee also worked to bridge a range of views on the position of women and its amelioration through education. It describes the education committee as "never narrowly feminist" but working to further "the opening of every opportunity for women to study and to enter the learned professions" while also "recognis[ing] women's vital interest in educational progress in every field" (ICW 1966, p. 168). Kersting argues that a multilevel communication at the three early conferences contributed to the achievement of national and international competence on the question of education with regard to delegates' national contexts which enabled educational questions to be "translated" into national debates and reform processes.

Initially the flow of information on education between the ICW and its national-level councils was patchy, not least because of the lack of existing national-level education committees to respond to requests for information and to engage in a two-way flow of information. In Germany, as Kersting (2008) discusses, the national council founded an education committee in 1896, which it dissolved in 1902, the English education committee met only during the ICW's 1899 London congress, and a North American education committee affiliated to the ICW was established only in 1911. When the ICW established its education committee, its first chair, Dr Maria Ogilvie Gordon, operationalized data collection through detailed research questions which she thought would enable women to be in a better position to consider the measures in different countries through which women's position in the educational world might best be maintained and advanced. The form of enquiry that Ogilvie Gordon devised to organize data from national councils surveyed elementary or

primary schools for boys and girls; continuation day and evening classes, trade schools, business training, technical teaching, arts and crafts, and agricultural courses; educational information and employment bureaux; and secondary or high schools for boys and girls (including how they were financed). It also asked how far the teaching in the different kinds of schools was geared to public examinations and about leaving certificates and the competitive examinations open to pupils attending or leaving school. For universities and polytechnics, it enquired about the degrees open to men and women students, how far women graduates were permitted to serve on the teaching staffs of universities, and whether women of university rank were permitted to join literary, professional, and scientific societies upon the same terms as men of university rank. In addition, it sought general information on the cost of education to students, about special and private teaching in schools (of dancing, drill, music, singing, painting, etc.), and on the opportunities for study of foreign languages. The final section asked whether the national council had formed a committee of education and, if so, about the activities in which the committee engaged. When the ICW published its summary of the "progress" of education in 1911 as *National Systems of Education*, the publication included information on girls' education through discrete national studies of 21 countries represented within the ICW in Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Despite Ogilvie Gordon's more systematic approach to data collection, the information published in *National Systems of Education* remained preliminary and patchy. The small amount of numerical data focused mainly on gains made for women in higher education. "Progress" was seen as the "ideal," and some countries were seen as "more advanced," but Ogilvie Gordon highlighted that what constituted "true progress" depended on values and political positions that had local and individual bases.

The move by the ICW education committee to a more systematic yet nonetheless patchy collection of data to aid "progress" in education for women and girls was replicated in the interwar period at the IFUW. When the IFUW began to investigate girls' secondary education in 1925, it was faced with challenges around the non-comparability of data that its national federations returned. The chair of the IFUW's Committee on the Exchange of Information on Secondary Education, the biological scientist Dr Germaine Hannevert, issued a detailed questionnaire to national federations of university women asking about national systems of secondary schooling for girls, the position of women teachers, and the extent of the curriculum. By the 1925 IFUW council meeting in Brussels Hannevert had received 20 replies from national organizations. Summarizing the responses to the questionnaire and additional material on examinations and curricula that had been submitted, Hannevert told the IFUW council meeting that the replies demonstrated different meanings of secondary education held by different countries. She identified a number of broad headlines from the data that suggested that the IFUW should recommend to the administrative authorities in all countries the appointment of women as principals of girls' schools, inspectors, and members of secondary school boards, that timetables were too full, and that school subjects and homework were increasing, leaving pupils worn out and bereft of initiative and critical reasoning. But

she also pointed out that the nature of responses were not systematic (Goodman 2007). In response, the IFUW commissioned the Hungarian Amélie Arató to undertake a 2-year comprehensive survey of European and American schooling for girls. Arató's study included quantitative data and data visualizations of educational systems in a move towards a more standardized approach to data collection and analysis (Goodman 2013).

Kersing's analysis of how education became "understandable" at the ICW and the moves by the ICW and the IFUW to collect more systematic data and to present it in more standardized forms to inform debate on women and girls' education aligns with aspects of policy-formulation through which Haas (1992) argues epistemic communities shape problems to be addressed. Haas (1992) precludes organizations as a whole from consideration as epistemic communities, and Gough and Shackley (2001) illustrate that epistemic communities involve members from differing types of groups. But the ICW's and IFUW's surveys of provision of schooling demonstrate what Haas (1992) refers to as "epistemic-like characteristics." Haas (1992, p. 18) notes that epistemic communities operate through "the combination of . . . a shared set of causal and principled (analytic and normative) beliefs, a consensual knowledge base and a common policy enterprise (common interests) that distinguishes [them] from various other groups." When they worked to construct policy-relevant knowledge to aid reform of girls' education, both the ICW and IFUW moved to systematize information through international-level committees chaired by women with doctorates in scientific subjects. The move to generate systematic knowledge demonstrates a shared faith in scientific method as a style of reason (Popkewitz 2013) and as a method to generate "truth" to be used in policy-making contexts. Irrespective of the different positioning of the two organizations along a conservative/liberal continuum and despite both organizations containing members with varied political positions on women's education with local and individual roots, this shared belief in the criteria of validity to generate "truth" about women's education rested on a constellation of values and techniques that worked to highlight the current state of women's education as problematic and to shape a common policy-enterprise around the need for reform. At both the ICW and the IFUW, a normative commitment to equality (again variously defined by members), coupled with the liberal assumptions through which the education committees operated, resulted in policy-agendas for women's education framed initially in terms of access.

This shared conceptual belief and broad common policy-enterprise provided the framework in which issues could be discussed, agendas set, and policy-alternatives formulated at international and local levels. Gough and Shackley (2001) argue that epistemic communities do not require agreement on details of what should be done in response to consensually defined problems. Rather, the ability to disagree on the detail of appropriate responses is important to the possibility of epistemic communities because an internationally articulated consensus has to be translatable nationally in ways that make sense. No single doctrine about what constituted the "ideal" for girls' or women's education emerged from international women's organizations within this liberal frame of "progress." Albisetti et al. (2010) demonstrate that most countries debated girls' secondary education, including its content

(identical or not with boys), location (coeducational or single-sex schools), and goals (to train mothers, citizens, or professionals). Beyond the democratization of the educational system and the widespread extension of coeducation, girls' secondary education developed differently in different national contexts. In this diverse policy-landscape, international women's organizations provided a platform for debate about educational policy for women and girls; and they generated knowledge and enhanced expertise that could be deployed in national contexts. More national studies are required, however, of the detailed routes and flows of knowledge (Christensen and Ydesen 2015) and about the mechanics of internationalism (Geyer and Paulmann 2001) that enabled policy-information about education for girls and women to travel in the crisscrossing relation (Sobe 2018) through which policy-making contexts at international and national levels were assembled and through which educational policy for women and girls was formulated and disseminated.

The following section turns to questions of diffusion and spaces of exchange, routes, and "mechanics" through which the IFUW engaged in the policy-landscape around the equivalence of degrees. Degree equivalence formed a "problem" when it came to the interchange of scholars between universities and was an area that the League of Nations was keen to progress as part of an agenda for interwar intellectual cooperation.

The International Federation of University Women: Policy-Diffusion, Policy-Impact, and the Mechanics of Internationalism

For the League of Nations, the exchange of students, teachers, and scholars formed an important element in agendas to promote collaboration between nations and to foster an intellectual outlook conducive to preserving peace and fostering peacebuilding activities (Goodman 2012, 2019). The IFUW, too, positioned the exchange of students and scholars within an agenda of intellectual cooperation around peace. But it also established its fellowship program to enable women to conduct research abroad in order to illustrate that women could produce high-quality scholarly research in which questions of "distinction of sex" no longer pertained (Cabanel 2018).

In a situation where academic credentials carried considerable authority but where, as numerous studies show, some countries and some higher education institutions debarred women from certification, despite the women having followed university-level study, the IFUW developed a membership policy to assure IFUW members' expertise and to shape the IFUW as a community of experts. In seeking to clarify who counted as a "university woman," the IFUW resolved the question of certification by defining a graduate as "a woman holding a university degree or its equivalent" in either the arts or the sciences (Cabanel 2018, p. 91). But this necessitated a mechanism through which equivalence could be ascertained. The IFUW's Committee on Standards was charged with "establishing an equivalent

standard for admission to the Federation in every country” (Cabanel 2018, p. 91). Chaired by Norwegian teacher Lilli Skonhoft, the IFUW Committee on Standards advised its council on the admission of national federations by investigating the qualifications held by their members (Hunyadi 2016).

Demonstrating women's expertise was also important to the lobbying about women's inclusion in the League of Nations secretariat, commissions, committees, and expert advisory bodies (Miller 1994) in which the IFUW engaged with other international women's organizations. The IFUW viewed the League of Nations as one of its most important channels for external pressure and was a member of the League's Major Committee of International Organizations, which coordinated organizations with an educational remit. The IFUW's committee of international cooperation linked with committees of intellectual cooperation established by its national federations. This replicated the structure of international cooperation at the League, where national committees of intellectual cooperation linked to the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC). ICIC member, Kristine Bonnevie, was a founder member of the IFUW and president of the Norwegian Federation of University Women, while ICIC member Marie Curie-Sklodowska was a member of l'Association des Femmes Diplômées des Universités (the French Federation of University Women), and the AAUW supported her financial quest for the radium needed to continue her work. The Finnish Amni Hallsten-Kallia, a member of the intellectual cooperation section of the League secretariat, went on to chair the IFUW Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. The IFUW was also networked into the supra-international coalitions of international women's organizations which progressed issues of concern to women. The IFUW's network of university educated women stretched from the League across the supranational coalitions that linked the international women's organizations and across regional organizations like the All India Women's Conference and the Pan Pacific Women's Conferences (Goodman 2012, 2014). IFUW secretary Theodore Bosanquet's reference to this web-like structure of linkages as the “machinery” of intellectual co-operation” captures elements of Geyer and Paulmann's (2001) notion of the “mechanics of internationalism” as well as Weiss et al.'s (2009) analytic of the “third UN.”

Alfred Zimmern, deputy director of the League's International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC), was keen to tap into the expertise that the IFUW's Committee on Standards had developed on the equivalence of degrees. This interested the League because of the importance of assuring students that the foreign universities where they proposed to study granted degrees equivalent in value to the degrees of their own universities. Theodora Bosanquet's attendance at the ICIC's University's Sub-Committee positioned her as a “transnational connector” (Deacon et al. 2010) between the IFUW and the League. The Universities Sub-Committee noted in 1926:

As regards the equivalent recognition of university entrance studies and degrees ... the International Federation of University Women has made special efforts to collect information and hopes that the Federation will arrange with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to co-ordinate the work done in this direction and to place the information collected on this point at the disposal of the students' associations. (Goodman 2012)

Bosanquet's agreement that the IFUW would share its findings about degree equivalence laid the ground for the League's work in this area. While agreeing to share information, Bosanquet nonetheless rejected the idea that a private organization like the IFUW should be responsible for determining the equivalence of degrees for the League. Instead, she argued, this should be undertaken by the IICC, assisted by the IFUW (Goodman 2012). As chair of the IFUW Committee of Standards, Lilli Skonhofs continued to facilitate the flow of comparative and quantitative information on degree equivalence between the IFUW and its national federations; and her 1934 study covering the educational systems of 36 countries was used by the League (Cabanel 2018).

Analysis of spaces of encounter, routes of knowledge, and women who acted as transnational connectors demonstrates the IFUW's potential to impact in the policy-making arena. But standardization was both a mechanism through which processes of internationalization operated via transnational cooperation to inform society and politics (Geyer and Paulmann 2001) and a mechanism through which inclusions and exclusions operated for entry to particular universities and colleges and to the IFUW. As interactions between the IFUW and the AAUW over issues of race illustrate, processes of standardization based on comparison produced an illusion of neutrality and egalitarianism that masked abjections and exclusions within comparison as process and as style of reason (Popkewitz 2013).

When the IFUW was established in 1919, the AAUW was a founder member. Processes through which the IFUW came to determine membership shared underlying assumptions about academic standards with the accreditation of educational institutions through which AAUW membership operated. Eisenmann (2010) outlines how in the early twentieth century when accreditation for colleges and universities was new, the AAUW created a template for assessing higher education programs for women, particularly in the liberal arts. This informed the accreditation process through which the AAUW pressured coeducational institutions to devote attention to women students and staff. But as Eisenmann (2010) notes, when the AAUW was established in the 1880s, not only was liberal arts education rare for women but educational opportunities for African-American women lagged far behind. Only a few African-American women attended single-sex institutions like Oberlin, the Seven Sisters college, and state coeducational universities, while many black colleges offered a curriculum that equated to high school level study. Even in the 1950s, as Eisenmann maintains, African-American women were much less likely than white women to hold degrees from 4-year liberal arts institutions. Eisenmann concludes that the AAUW's insistence on approving educational institutions as a criteria for AAUW membership, coupled with its focus on liberal arts graduates, eliminated the possibility of membership for graduates from most black colleges, which were struggling to upgrade curricula, programs and facilities.

The AAUW's accreditation process resulted in AAUW membership remaining racially and socioeconomically uniform throughout the 1930s (a situation, notes Eisenmann (2010), that was not dissimilar to many other American women's groups). As fascism became more prominent in Europe during the 1930s, the IFUW updated its membership criteria to "university women of the world,

irrespective of their race, religion, or political opinions” (Levine 1995, p. 111). The AAUW lobbied unsuccessfully against this addition, but its adoption by the IFUW led to the expulsion of IFUW federations in Germany and Austria on account of their racial policies. From the post-WW2 perspective of the IFUW, how AAUW accreditation process played out tacitly around race was comparable with the racial policies that had led the IFUW to expel the German and Austrian federations (Eisenmann 2010). IFUW pronouncements to this effect threatened AAUW’s practices that Levine (1995) terms “elite egalitarianism.” Eisenmann (2010) charts how the AAUW’s Washington chapter was sharply divided when Mary Church Terrell, cofounder of the National Association of Colored Women (Bacher 2018), agreed in 1946 to let her AAUW affiliation lapse so that a member of the Washington branch could put her forward for local membership. When the AAUW national board affirmed educational criteria as the sole basis for membership, their directive was overturned in the courts (5 years before the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision) on the grounds that AAUW’s membership eligibility clauses meant only that “members *could* be admitted if they met requirements”, not “that they *should* be admitted” (Eisenmann 2010).

As the IFUW’s engagement with the League and the AAUW illustrate, practices around degree equivalence constituted a process of standardization that flowed in multiple directions through a dense network of suprainternational, international, regional, national, and local organizations with differential outcomes. These entangled flows suggest that the notion of policy-impact should not be viewed through cause and effect chains of “fixed, stable entities that influence each other unilaterally” (Dussel and Ydesen 2017, p. 146). Rather, as Dussel and Ydesen (2017) suggest, policy-impact should be viewed as a way to understand the interactions, negotiations, and flows of knowledge and people; and it should be allied with a notion of context as an assemblage that is ever changing (Sobe and Kowalczyk 2012).

The following section turns to preliminary thoughts on how the positioning of the WIDF was entangled with a politics of knowledge related to assumptions about styles of reason (Popkewitz 2013) that has skewed understandings of how WIDF related to policy-making networks and has led to silences in current scholarship.

The Women’s International Democratic Federation: Expertise and Policy-Making Contexts

The WIDF was established in Paris in late November 1945 as a “left feminist” international umbrella organization with an anticolonial and anti-racist agenda (de Haan 2012). Its founding principles related anti-fascism, peace, women’s rights, and better conditions for children (particularly their physical and mental health). While leading members of the WIDF were communists, de Haan (2012) notes that a considerable number of progressive but noncommunist women were also involved in the organization and its national branches. Some WIDF member organizations were women’s organizations of communist parties, but others were

independent women's organizations, and the WIDF permitted several organizations from one country to send delegates to WIDF conferences, which attracted women from a wide geographical range (Mackie 2016). This broad membership comprised what its founding president, French scientist Eugénie Cotton, described as "the most unassuming women and also the most distinguished women" (Goodman 2019).

The WIDF's establishment in the wake of the Second World War was shaped by members' shared personal experience of violence and loss in war, which cast the "most unassuming women" along with the "most distinguished women" as the experts on the impact of war on individuals. Because the WIDF argued that women and children were the first to suffer from militarism and warfare, it placed issues related to children prominently within its agenda (Mackie 2016). At the third WIDF world congress at Copenhagen in 1953, a small boy was adopted as the "child of the congress" to "symbolise all the children of the world for whom the women wanted to build a future of happiness and peace" (Mackie 2016, p. 673). The WIDF also hosted conferences on children's issues, and its magazine *Women of the Whole World* regularly included reports on the condition of children in various countries. From 1950 the WIDF proposed an annual International Children's Day (Mackie 2016). Further research is needed on WIDF's literature and its conferences on children, which Mackie (2016) argues implicitly positioned the delegates to WIDF conferences as literal or metaphorical mothers.

While the WIDF generally supported the Soviet Union, de Haan (2012) argues that it was not the case, as the US House Un-American Hearings (HUAC) committee argued that the WIDF was a "Soviet front" with goals other than those it professed. Nonetheless, Cold War assumptions shaped the view that the WIDF was "suspect" and "deeply politicised" (2010, p. 547). This rhetoric of suspicion hinged around a distinction between propaganda and "disinterested" knowledge that mapped onto views about East-West organizational locations. At the League of Nations, the ability of the expert to create the spirit of internationalism through the provision of "scientized" "disinterested" knowledge formed a cornerstone of cosmopolitan forms of address that aimed to demonstrate distance from national programs and agendas (Herren 2013). A comparable view of the expert who operated through a scientific community on the basis of "objective" knowledge ran through the IFUW from its inception into the post 1945 era (Goodman 2011). When reviewing its goals in 1977, the IFUW portrayed itself as a neutral ground where people could meet in "an atmosphere where members need not be suspicious that they will be used for alien purposes or exploited for unwelcome goals" (Goodman 2019). But portraying the IFUW as a "neutral" organization obfuscated how basing the affiliation of its national federations on territorial notions of sovereignty worked to uphold existing relations of colonialism and to damp down aspirations for self-determination from groups of ethnic minority graduates residing across newly constituted borders in the wake of the Versailles settlement (Goodman 2011); and "neutrality" did not spare some prominent American IFUW members being tested in HUAC's post-war hearings as the AAUW tried to balance individual rights with national security concerns during the McCarthy era (Levine 1995).

At the WIDF, in contrast, “neutrality” was embedded, embodied, and overtly political. According to Mali delegate Aloua Keita in 1963, “neutralism” would not be “neutral in the face of anti-colonialist struggle” but “would be unambiguous” about helping “all the peoples struggling to recover their freedom . . . for the respect of democratic liberties . . . for equality between all peoples . . . and for the happiness of . . . children in a world of peace and prosperity” (Goodman 2019). This overt political stance played out in the politics of knowledge at the UN, which the WIDF, like other international women’s organizations, considered an important policy-making forum in which to engage. In February 1947, the WIDF gained category B consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council and its commissions. But Laville (2002, p. 114) argues that in UN circles, women linked to the WIDF or to the USSR tended to be viewed with suspicion as “acting under instruction” from their governments or from the WIDF. The WIDF was deprived of consultative status from 1954 to 1967 after it published the findings of an investigation of American and South Korean military crimes in North Korea during the 1950–1953 Korean War. This was despite the commitment of the WIDF women’s commission to Korea to report “conscientiously and truthfully to all the peace-loving people of the world” and despite the strategies of verification that commissioners deployed to authenticate their claims (Goodman 2019). De Haan (2012) argues that a stance of suspicion has continued to resonate in how the WIDF is portrayed in historiography as located ideologically in the “East” and behind a metaphorical iron curtain. It has been cast as an organization that is communist but not feminist (de Haan 2012) and as an organization that deployed propaganda rather than “objective” knowledge (Goodman 2019).

Dichotomous rhetoric based on assumptions of non/neutrality used to position the WIDF and the IFUW resonate with how Ydesen (2017) and Kulnazarova (2017) analyze “East/West” configurations of international relations at UNESCO, which the USSR joined only in 1954 after the death of Stalin, despite being a founder permanent member of the UN Security Council. Kulnazarova (2017) cites the differing explanations of the initial reticence of the USSR to join UNESCO provided by a Soviet diplomat and an American advisor. While the Soviet diplomat stressed the ambiguity of UNESCO’s purposes, pointed to UNESCO’s services predominantly serving the interests of Western countries, and maintained that UNESCO had been configured to ensure that a Western worldview would prevail, the American advisor saw the reticence of the USSR as a clash between idealism and materialism. The American’s appeal to idealism suggests a recourse to a Western construction of civil society in which voluntarism formed a key element as Knupfer and Woysner (2008) highlight in their study of the educational work of American women’s organizations. In contrast the USSR was organized on Marxist-Leninist principles that shaped how its education system was built. Kulnazarova (2017) argues that educational policy-making at UNESCO became one of the most confrontational venues where communist and capitalist values regularly clashed. But the multiple memberships of international women’s organizations through which some women spanned an East/West divide suggest that engagement in international women’s organizations was not always so sharply polarized.

For example, WIDF founding president, Eugénie Cotton served as a member of the IFUW Committee of Standards, while Germaine Hannevaart, chair of the IFUW's Committee on the Exchange of Information on Secondary Education, joined the WIDF's commission to Korea (Goodman 2019).

From the inception of UNESCO, its publications reported the work of organizations like Save the Children, where women played an important role. But research deploying the analytic of the "third UN" is needed on spaces of exchange between UNESCO and international women's organizations. This research needs to consider how notions of organizational non/neutrality and rhetoric around East/West play into analysis. UNESCO's first director, Julian Huxley, described members of UNESCO's first council as men of distinction. In 2009 Bulgarian Irina Bokova became the first woman and first Eastern European to lead UNESCO (from 2009–2017). But we currently know little about how women came to play a role in policy-making at UNESCO headquarters. More generally gaps in the historiography on international women's organizations resulting from assumptions about non/neutrality and "East/West" locations need to be addressed. This is particularly the case for the "Cold War" era, where as de Haan (2010) notes no "balanced" account of organizations like the WIDF exists.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Haas (1992) highlights that research on policy-formulation, policy-diffusion, and policy-impact need to be considered alongside the "roots" from which educational policy-making emerges. Haas provides useful starting points for researching the engagement of international women's organizations in the policy-making process. But researchers need to attend to power relations of gender within a wider analysis of intersectionality when considering who is deemed an "expert" and the processes through which expertise emerges and through which knowledge comes to be seen as "authoritative" rather than "propaganda." Care is needed, too, in avoiding framing policy-impact through cause and effect chains of fixed, stable entities influencing each other unilaterally. Rather policy-impact should be viewed as a way to understand the interactions, negotiations, and multi-directional flows of knowledge (Dussel and Ydesen 2017), allied with a notion of context as an ever-changing assemblage (Sobe and Kowalczyk 2012).

Reconfiguring the notion of epistemic communities within a spatial view of international organizations compatible with the analytic of the "third UN" enables the activities of international women's organizations to become visible in the educational policy-making landscape. But much work remains to be done. While research on international women's organizations and education is increasing for the interwar period, the post-World War II educational policy-landscape requires attention, particularly when it comes to international women's organizations and key educational organizations like UNESCO. A range of UNESCO publications illustrate the plethora of statistical material and reviews of evidence about women's education that UNESCO generated from its foundation. These publications also

chart UNESCO's efforts for women in the educational field. But research is needed on the space of exchange between UNESCO and international women's organizations and their webs of national and regional organizations. Research is also needed on women's engagement with educational policy-making at the UNESCO organization itself.

The notion of epistemic communities is being increasingly deployed in research on policy-making, particularly where organizations like UNESCO are concerned (Duedahl 2011; Kulnazarova and Ydesen 2017). Yet explanations of the reticence of the USSR to join UNESCO suggest that an epistemic communities analytic may mirror a Western construction of civil society in which voluntary societies are seen to play an important part. In the light of Cold War rhetoric that polarized views on Western and Eastern forms of civil society and the state, consideration is needed about whether an epistemic communities analytic tacitly attenuates a policy-making model in which Western-centric assumptions predominate. Shifting contemporary policy-landscapes, with their denigration of experts and augmentation of the role of media, also raise questions for consideration about the demise of the "expert" in relation to educational policy-making, as well as about the time-space generation of the analytic of epistemic communities at a particular historical juncture.

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Part VI

Higher and Further Education



Judith Harford

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Abstract

Both higher education (H.E.) and further education (F.E.) are relatively recent concepts in the history of education, broad umbrella terms which capture the complex and ever-widening role and function of post-secondary education. While historically, H.E. and F.E. have operated quite independently, with little if any convergence, increasingly, the boundaries between the two fields are being tested, and their remits fused. This part of the *Handbook* examines the broad themes of H.E and F.E through the following lenses: Transformations to Higher Education, Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space, Empire and Exchange in Higher Education, Students in Higher and Further Education, Women Professors and Deans, and Women Workers' Education. Tracing the expansion of H.E. and F.E. over time, each chapter captures the historical trajectory, contextualizing key developments, and offering a historiographical and comparative analysis of the major theoretical and methodological issues and ideas.

Keywords

Higher education · Further education · Historical perspectives

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Introduction

Both higher education (H.E.) and further education (F.E.) are relatively recent concepts in the history of education, broad umbrella terms which capture the complex and ever-widening role and function of post-secondary education. The analytical quality glossary *Harvey* (2004–2009) defines higher education as “usually viewed as education leading to at least a bachelor’s degree or equivalent” and defines further education as “post-compulsory education at pre-degree level, which may include (the opportunity to take) qualifications also available at the level of compulsory schooling” (<http://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/glossary/index.htm#f>). The OECD’s (2002, p. 68) definition of H.E. captures its sweeping reach as well as its overlap with F.E: “The higher education sector (HES) is composed of all universities, colleges of technology, and other institutions of post-secondary education, whatever their source of finance or legal status.” While historically, H. E. and F.E. have operated quite independently, with little if any convergence, increasingly, the boundaries between the two fields are being tested, and their remit fused. Noting the way in which the history of H.E. has been largely synonymous with a history of universities, Ellis underscores in ► [Chap. 45, “Beyond the University: Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space,”](#) how a history of H.E. invites a more nuanced reading of the boundaries between secondary and tertiary education in the past. While the university as a product of medieval Europe is often considered as an institution fixed in space and time, the broader category of H.E. is a transhistorical and transnational phenomenon (*ibid.*). This part of the *International Handbook* examines the broad themes of H.E and F.E through the following lenses: Transformations to Higher Education; Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space; Empire and Exchange in Higher Education; Students in Higher and Further Education; Women Professors and Deans; Women Workers’ Education; and Adult Education and Informal Education. Tracing the expansion of H.E. and F.E. over time, each chapter captures the historical trajectory, contextualizing key developments, and offering a historiographical and comparative analysis of the major theoretical and methodological issues and ideas. Case studies are employed across a number of chapters to illustrate the broader ideological, economic, and political issues that have shaped this history.

The Emergence of the University

A behemoth of European society since the Middle Ages, the university evolved over time as the anchor institution of modern and developing societies globally. Perkin (2007, p. 161) identifies five key phases in the history of the university as follows: the rise of the cosmopolitan European university (twelfth century–1530s); the nationalization of the university by the emerging nation states of the religious wars and its decline during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment (1530s–1789); the revival of the university after the French Revolution and its role in the development of Industrial Society (1789–1939); the migration of the university to the non-

European world (1538–1960s); and the transition from élite to mass higher education (1945–present). Second only to the Roman Catholic Church as the institution with the longest continuous history in the Western world (Rothblatt and Wittrock 1993), the place and identity of the university within the H.E. landscape is a complex one, reflecting a tension between its philosophical roots grounded often in national traditions and its broader societal brief in an increasingly international, corporate space. As Pietsch argues in the chapter on *Transformation in Higher Education*, universities are dynamic institutions, which have repeatedly had to reinvent themselves in order to maintain currency and position in a postindustrial global knowledge economy.

Derived from the Latin *universitas* meaning “the totality” or “the whole,” the modern university system has its roots in the Middle Ages, appearing for the first time between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Verger 1992). Initially referred to as *studium generale*, meaning institution of higher education, the actual date of the establishment of the first university is ambiguous both because of a dearth of sources and because the concept of a university was not at this time explicit (Pedersen 1997). However, what is clear is that by the beginning of the twelfth century, dedicated students traveling on foot or by horseback began to congregate in large numbers in key towns which had a reputation for instruction in medicine, law, philosophy, or theology (Boyd and King 1975; Lowe and Yasuhara 2016). The notion of a community was central to the definition of the medieval university, implying a degree of autonomy and internal cohesion (Verger 1992). Paris and Bologna were the two “great parent universities” (Rashdall 2010, p. 2), both emerging during the last 30 years of the twelfth century. Each enjoyed a “unique and transcendent prestige” (ibid., p. 9), Paris in theology and arts and Bologna in law, and became prototypes for a network of universities which developed across Europe over the proceeding centuries. Northern European universities typically followed the Paris model, which had a system of faculty governance, whereas Southern European universities followed the Bologna model, which was student-directed (Scott 2006). Student-led corporate governance models subsequently became quite common across Europe, and it was only after the rise of modern nation states that the faculty-led model dominated (Dmitrishin 2013). Salerno and Oxford joined Paris and Bologna as paragons of excellence in the twelfth century, and by 1300, there were 16 universities in existence, organized institutions with a rector or chancellor, a common seal, and a corporate identity, boasting formal faculties in arts, theology, law, and medicine (Perkin 2007). By the close of the Middle Ages, the leading universities including Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, Oxford, Padua, Salamanca, and Cambridge were each playing a significant role in the training of ecclesiastical and civil élites. European expansion through both conquest and colonization resulted in the spread of the university from the sixteenth century across the Spanish empire to the English and French colonies in North America throughout the seventeenth century and later to India, Australia and New Zealand, Africa, China, the Middle East, and Japan (ibid.).

By the eighteenth century, universities everywhere were experiencing a period of decline, a significant majority confined to the training of priests or pastors, civil

servants, and those gentry too poor to educate their sons by private tutors. Abolished in France and conquered territories during the French Revolution, they soon re-emerged as specialist institutions teaching single disciplines such as law, medicine, science, letters, or theology (Anderson 2004; Perkin 2007). The Industrial Revolution which spread across Europe and America from Britain in the latter half of the eighteenth century began outside of the university sphere and was initially largely ignored by it. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most universities were involved in the education of clergy, lawyers, and administrators, advancing a curriculum centered around the arts, theology, law, and medicine, privileging Aristotle and Plato over Newton or Kant (Perkin 2007, p. 174). However, the evolving needs of a more industrialized society led to the development of new forms of higher education, located outside universities in more specialized, applied settings. These included the establishment of mechanics' institutes in Britain, *technische hochschulen* in Germany, and *grandes écoles* in France. A suite of new subjects including natural sciences (chemistry, biology, and geology), applied sciences (engineering, mineralogy, electricity, and practical medicine), and new humanities subjects (archive-based history, modern languages, and vernacular literature) also emerged to cater for a more heterogeneous student body (*ibid.*, pp. 174–175). The nineteenth century also witnessed the development of a research function within the university, and this model soon spread across Europe and North America (Wolhuter 2007).

The Expansion of Higher Education

The mid-nineteenth century saw the expansion of H.E. in most Western countries which continued up until World War II, with most growth occurring in the 1870s and 1880s as well as the 1920s (Anderson 1985). Jarausch (1983, p. 10) contends that this transformation resulted from the fact that “a small, homogeneous, élite and pre-professional university turned into a large, diversified, middle-class and professional system of higher learning.” In the transition from élite to mass higher education, the university again reimagined itself into what Perkin (p. 160) refers to as “the pivotal institution of a new kind of society.” Reform also led to the admission of women, following a sustained and protracted campaign, university access one of a series of measures gained over the course of this century which improved women's social, economic, and political status (Evans 1977; Harford 2008). The newly founded coeducational universities typically permitted women entry on equal grounds as men, whereas the older, conservative universities, who had campaigned ardently to block women's admission, allowed concessionary access, often in the form of coordinate colleges (Harford 2007). In the United States, women were gradually accepted into coeducational colleges by the mid-1830s, the earliest coeducational institutions being founded by abolitionists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, and others committed to equality (Goldin and Katz 2011). These institutions were disproportionately founded in the West, with élite private institutions such as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton

remaining closed to women, instead issuing a series of compromise measures (Albisetti 1992; Harford 2018a). Nonetheless, coeducation was the dominant model of both public and private universities from the 1870s (Solomon 1985), and this was replicated across the Western world (Dyhouse 1995). Despite the global admission of women to universities throughout the nineteenth century, gender equality in H.E. remains a contested issue, and this is particularly evident in the low proportion of women professors in certain contexts (Fitzgerald 2009; Fuller and Harford 2016; Harford 2018b). Commenting on the minority of female students in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) subjects, in the low number of female academics in these fields and in the increase in the casualization of H.E. which impacts more acutely on females, Spencer and Smith note in ► [Chap. 48, “Women Professors and Deans”](#) that “the narrative of women’s success in achieving gender equality in academia is by no means complete” (p. 3).

While still very much the preserve of the middle classes, access to H.E. broadened significantly during this period. Numbers in all tertiary institutions in Europe grew from 0.46% of the student age group in 1860 to nearly 0.88% in 1900 and 2.07% in 1940. (Tertiary, from the Latin *tertiaries*, which means of or pertaining to the third, typically relates to the third tier of education, the post-secondary tier, hence, comprises both H.E. and F.E.) The greatest increase was experienced in the United States, where numbers rose from 1.1% in 1860 to 2.3% in 1900 and to 9.1% in 1940 (Perkin 2007, p. 175). Universal access to secondary education, although still predominantly the preserve of the middle classes, mushroomed in industrialized countries in the mid-twentieth century, and this expansion had a direct impact on participation rates at tertiary level (Harford 2018c). Tertiary in this context now included the emergence of F.E. models, which developed in response to questions about the nature of knowledge and the need for post-secondary education to address the needs of a more diverse society. Curricular reform was central to this metamorphosis, with an increased emphasis on vocational subjects and the acquisition of key skills (Wolhuter 2007). A range of new institutions with a mandate to deal with the diverse needs of a more heterogeneous student body emerged (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) 1974). These included polytechnics in Britain, *Instituts universitaires de technologie* (IUT) in France, *Fachhochschulen* in Germany, and regional colleges in Norway. Teichler (2008, p. 4) notes “as a consequence of the establishment of non-university institutions of higher education, an inter-institutional diversity of higher education emerged.” F.E. was now a central strand of the diversity mandate and thus of the new higher education landscape.

The Emergence of Further Education

The history and remit of F.E. is more nebulous than that of H.E., a landmark UK report noting in 1997 “defining further education exhaustively would be God’s own challenge because it is such a large and fertile section of the education world”

(Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) 1997, p. 1). Its “ambiguous positioning” (Bates et al. 1999, p. 420) as part of the post-compulsory sector is exacerbated by the fact that it is subject to different terminologies across different contexts. Bailey (1983, p. 55) observes “the traditional state system of education (the compulsory period of schooling for the majority, the secondary schools, the training colleges and the universities) has claimed a longer past than further education and has long been established and protected, by political and administrative decisions, and by educational and vested interests.”

F.E. colleges in the United Kingdom trace their roots to the Mechanics Institutes of the mid-nineteenth century. Huddleston and Unwin (2002, p. 2) observe: “originally intended to provide technical education on a part-time basis for the growing numbers of technicians and craftspeople required by the industrialization process, they grew and developed during the twentieth century to provide vocational education and training mainly on a day-release basis.” Huddersfield Technical College (1896) began as the Huddersfield Mechanics Institution in the 1840s, and Lowestoft College traces its origins to evening art classes conducted in 1874 and to courses in navigation for fishermen which began in 1923 (*ibid.*). Green and Lucas (1999, p. 11) note that the growth of the F.E. sector was “part of the formation of the modern state, in the late nineteenth century, reflecting one of the many aspects of a voluntarist relationship between education, training and the state.” The term came into common usage in the mid-late twentieth century, driven by the policy imperative to provide for a more skill-based economy and was often concentrated in the area of apprenticeship training.

F.E. has a “second-chance” dimension, particularly across US and UK contexts where investment in F.E. was often linked to a commitment to social reform and to addressing the needs of those in society whom traditional secondary and post-secondary education had failed (Evans 1982; Fieldhouse 1994). In philosophical terms, F.E. is also rooted in the view that education should empower individuals to contribute in a meaningful way to society, dovetailing with the broader policy context of lifelong learning. In some contexts, notably Australia, the mission of F.E. colleges remains largely in meeting employers’ or national needs for a skilled workforce, and such colleges offer Technical and Further Education (TAFE), often at a very high level (Cunningham 2008). Cunningham (2008, p. 264) notes that where an F.E. sector exists in a national setting, the following groups are likely to be in evidence:

- School leavers with few existing qualifications, who have chosen to continue their studies (whether academic or vocational)
- Adults returning to study, some of whom may choose to use the F.E. access route as a pathway into university programs
- Learners who are disadvantaged by low basic skill levels, especially in the area of literacy and/or numeracy and/or because of the fact that they are non-native speakers of English
- Young learners who may have been excluded from school or for whom the F.E. curriculum is deemed more appropriate to their particular needs

In relation to the UK context, Felstead and Unwin (2001, p. 107) suggest that F.E. providers have four principal aims:

- To respond to the government's economic agenda to improve basic and intermediate skill levels, increasing the participation of young people and adults in education and training
- To fulfill their role as the main provider of sub-degree post-compulsory education and training at local level
- To provide a wide-ranging curriculum which bridges the vocational/non-vocational divide
- To provide a "second-chance saloon" for young people and adults who wish to return to education

Arguing that the F.E. sector requires a fundamental realignment, Green and Lucas (1999) suggest that the following are the key issues facing the sector in the twenty-first century: funding, adult learning, the FE/HE interface, the implication of learning technology, inclusive learning, qualification reform, and professional development.

Looking to the Future

Looking to the future, Trow (2007), drawing on Weber, argues that some trends in H. E. can be predicted with a certain degree of confidence, rooted in the dominant secular trends of democratization and rationalization. While Trow confines this analysis to H.E., it is also pertinent to F.E. These trends include:

- An increase in the quantity and type of institutions and in the quantity of teachers and students and an increase in diversity among institutions and participants
- An increase in the demand for a labor force which has participated in H.E and hence has the skillset to adapt to the demands of a rapidly changing world
- Industry-led demand for the continuing education of the labour force including the development of "learning centres" inside and outside of industry
- Further reductions in the ability of governments to fund H.E. which will require H.E. institutions to source funding through private means

In relation to the US context, (however the findings have broader implications), the Boston Consulting Group (2013) identified five long-term trends which will impact H.E., and again this analysis is applicable to the F.E. sector:

- The continuing drop in revenue to the H.E. sector
- Demands for a greater return on investment in H.E.
- Greater transparency in relation to student outcomes
- The proliferation of new business and delivery models
- The accelerated pace of globalization

Education as a service has become more highly distributed, assuming a multitude of forms and locations, leading to a variety of certificates and degrees in a learning society which presupposes participation in some kind of continual, formal education. The increasingly widespread use of online and blended learning across institutions has democratized education and blurred even further the distinction between H.E. and F.E. Trow (2007, p. 276) observes “distinctions that we make today between ‘higher’ or ‘continuing’ or ‘adult’ or ‘remedial’ or ‘further’ education will be increasingly difficult to make as these activities are carried on—without being so identified or distinguished—as part of the ordinary activities of economic, political, military, and leisure institutions.”

More recently, H.E. and F.E. have been grappling with and responding to both the challenges and opportunities of globalization, widely viewed as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, some view globalization as an opportunity to democratize H.E. and F.E. through technological advances, internationalization, market forces, and harmonization initiatives (e.g., Bologna). On the other, critics argue that globalization deepens inequality and fosters corporatization, the civic discourse of the university being gradually replaced by the language of commercialization, privatization, and deregulation (Giroux 2002; Berg and Seeber 2017). Since 2000, East Asia and the Pacific regions are the major contributors to tertiary students worldwide, overtaking North America and Europe (Chan 2017).

Chapter Overviews

What follows is an analysis of the key themes in the history of H.E. and F.E. examined through the lenses of Transformations to Higher Education; Higher Education Institutions across Time and Space; Empire and Exchange in Higher Education; Students in Higher and Further Education; Women Professors and Deans; and Women Workers’ Education. Collectively the various chapters in this part consider the major developments, provide a historiographical and comparative analysis of the principal theoretical and methodological issues and ideas, underscoring the deeper ideological, economic, and political issues that have shaped this history. The part begins with an analysis of “Transformations to Higher Education” in which Tamson Pietsch highlights three distinct periods of transformation in the function and foundation of universities across the last 200 years. She commences with an examination of the closing decades of the nineteenth century in which the modern university came into existence. This is followed by an analysis of the period immediately following the Second World War during which states began to regard universities as significant to the mission of nation-building, through their impact on social, technological, and economic development as well as their role in influencing democratic citizenship. This chapter concludes with an interrogation of the more recent period from the 1990s in which deregulation and internationalization have reshaped higher education systems. In ► [Chap. 45, “Beyond the University: Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space,”](#) Heather Ellis argues that the history of H.E. must not be limited to the history of the university, an institution which is both fixed in space and time, but must instead adopt a transnational and

transhistorical approach. As such, she advocates for a broader interpretation of the term institution, to include concepts, ideas, and practices. Commencing with an examination of H.E. and learning in the ancient world, this chapter then moves to an analysis of the key developments in H.E. over the course of the medieval, Renaissance, Enlightenment, and modern periods. In particular, this chapter foregrounds the role of learned societies and academies as sites of research development and training in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ellis concludes the chapter with a consideration of the manner in which the status of the research university since the Second World War has shaped the writing of the history of higher education in recent years, and in particular the dominance of the university as an institution.

In ► [Chap. 46, “Empire and Exchange in Higher Education”](#) Jenny Collins explores the relationship between education, society, and social change, presenting key historiographical debates relating to higher education and empire. She then introduces two case studies to illustrate the origins, debates, and tensions in the field of higher education and overview new trends, directions, and developments in scholarship in relation to the theme of empire and exchange. The first case study examines the way tensions between imperial connections and local influences played out in the foundation of the first five universities in Australia and New Zealand in the years 1850 to 1874. This examination includes an analysis of the role of biographical research as a mechanism through which to observe the exchange of ideas and the nature of social and educational change in higher education. The second part of this chapter considers how ideas about knowledge, gender, class, and race played out in the context of higher education in the years after the First World War when Britain as an imperial nation was in decline and the United States was expanding its engagement with the Anglophile world. Drawing on a range of scholarship, it examines the role of Carnegie travel grants and the extent to which key men and women facilitated the exchange of progressive educational ideas across national and cultural boundaries during the presidency of Frederick Paul Keppel (1923–1942).

In ► [Chap. 47, “Students in Higher and Further Education,”](#) Ruth Watts illustrates how the profile of those allowed access to higher and further education has varied over time and place according to different societal assumptions. Drawing from an extensive range of sources and focusing on the period circa 1850 to 2014, this chapter examines the interface between class, gender/sexuality, ethnicity, (dis)ability, and access to H.E. and F.E. Two case studies are presented to illustrate the complexity of this interface: the first explores the history of women in science and the gender issues underlying this history; the second focuses on histories of students’ wider experience of H.E. and F.E. Issues of diversity such as class, ethnicity, and religion underpin the analyses throughout this chapter. In ► [Chap. 48, “Women Professors and Deans,”](#) Stephanie Spencer and Sharon Smith argue that the key tension in the historiography of women’s progress as academics lies in its position within women’s and feminist history and the history of education. The themes of institutions, networking, money, and religion provide four hubs from which to reflect on existing work and recognize potential new directions for those seeking either to improve our understanding of the past or the problems of the present. Spencer and Smith add a further section, on “border crossings” as an additional lens through

which to examine the field. Two case studies are employed over the course of the chapter. The first focuses on the role of the British and International Federations of University Women, identifying how women worked together to expand career opportunities. The second considers how campaigns for academic equality today draw on historical explanations for the origins of the problem.

In ► **Chap. 49, “Women Workers’ Education,”** Maria Tamboukou follows genealogical lines in the history of the movement for women workers’ education drawing on a wide range of sources and in the process deconstructing the contours of this cultural labor movement. This chapter suggests that women workers’ presence as students, educators, activists, as well as creators and writers precipitated a wider sociopolitical and cultural movement for social change. Ultimately, the chapter demonstrates the relevance of this movement’s radical pedagogical practices to contemporary analyses of education.

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Abstract

This chapter highlights three distinct periods of transformation in the function and foundation of universities across the last 200 years. First, it focuses on the last decades of the nineteenth century when the modern university came into existence; second, on the years after the Second World War when a new relationship with the state was fashioned; and, third, on the 1990s when deregulation and internationalization reshaped higher education systems. It pays particular attention to universities in the English-speaking world and especially to the United Kingdom, United States, and Australia. Although there are many other periods of change and many other geographic and linguistic contexts worthy of attention, thinking about these three moments in the context of the English-speaking world casts into relief the contours of the early twenty-first century when the so-called “American model” of a teaching and research institution is both hugely influential across the globe and also in the process of being challenged and refashioned.

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Universities · History · Higher education · Policy · Universities · Public · National · International

Introduction

Universities are dynamic institutions. Ivied cloisters and gothic exteriors may feature heavily in the images they use to promote themselves, but the history of universities shows them to be entities that have repeatedly adapted to meet their changing circumstances. The “uniqueness of the university,” argues historian Harold Perkin, “lies in its protean capacity to change its shape and function to suit its temporal and sociopolitical environment while retaining enough continuity to deserve its unchanging name” (Perkin 1984, p. 18). Far from ivory towers, universities are very much in the world. They are accountable to publics, they are subject to the regulatory constraints of their host states, and they are influenced by the exposure of their endowments to fluctuating markets. But more than this, universities and the graduates they produce also function as political and economic agents, influencing government, culture, and commerce in what is increasingly an international political economy of higher education that includes roles in cultural diplomacy and global business as well as education (Chou et al. 2016).

At the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, it is clear that universities are in a period of change. Reflecting the broader forces that have reshaped national economies since the 1990s, they are increasingly positioning themselves as key engines of a postindustrial global “knowledge economy.” Forced to adjust to the withdrawal of state funding, deregulation and new governance structures, and adapting to seismic shifts in information technology, they compete with each other for students, staff, and research dollars as well as in global rankings. But at the same time, the authority of universities and the expertise they trade in is being challenged by a host of social and economic groups, from politicians to tech companies, who no longer see these institutions as the ultimate arbiters of knowledge. Countering these contentions, universities and their supporters point to the role of higher education as a key export industry (Agtmael and Bakker 2016). In cities reeling from the closure of manufacturing, they cite the public benefit universities provide, highlighting the critical role they play in fostering not only “innovation” but also civic functions ranging from public interest journalism to urban renewal. Meanwhile in regions like China and the Middle East, universities are actively supported by the state as engines of economic and social development.

In the context of these dramatic changes, a fresh wave of literature on the idea and purpose of the university has emerged. One strand of this genre celebrates the opportunities to universities and the “enormous positive consequences for individuals, for universities, and for nations” that a writer such as Ben Wildavsky sees as flowing from “global academic competition” and the “free movement of people and ideas, on the basis of merit” (Wildavsky 2010, p. 7). But another strand – often

originating in Anglo-American contexts – points to the casualization of the academic workforce, rising student fees and mounting debt, the proliferation of managers and measurement, an emphasis upon outputs and external impact, as well as an at times exploitative international student industry that many see as a radical departure from universities’ historic mission (Newfield 2008; Readings 1996). There is now a large literature that is critical of the “globalization” of higher education and the way it has iterated in various contexts (Bousquet 2008; Côté and Allahar 2007; McGettigan 2013).

Historians of education argue that it is crucial to see the changes universities are currently undergoing in the context of their long history. Reaching back to the nineteenth century, this chapter highlights three distinct periods of transformation in the function and foundation of universities across the last 200 years. First, it focuses on the last decades of the nineteenth century when the modern university came into existence; second, on the years after the Second World War when a new relationship with the state was fashioned; and, third, on the 1990s when deregulation and internationalization reshaped higher education systems. It pays particular attention to universities in the Anglo-American world. Although there are many other periods of change and many other geographic and linguistic contexts worthy of attention, thinking about these three moments in the context of the English-speaking world casts into relief the contours of the early twenty-first century when the so-called “American model” of a teaching and research institution is both hugely influential and in the process of being challenged and refashioned.

The Confessional University

What is a university? In 2014 there were more than 18,500 educational providers across the world trading under the name of “university,” evidencing wide variance in governance models, funding arrangements, size, and educational mission such that it is unclear that any meaningful concept unites them (Schreuder 2013). Yet in claiming the title “university,” they all look back to a history rooted in the educational institutions of medieval Europe. Initially emerging in the decentralized politics of the eleventh-century Holy Roman Empire, and sharing a common curriculum (grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music – and at postgraduate level, theology, law, and medicine) and a common language (Latin), in the centuries following the cataclysmic events of the Reformation and Wars of Religion that divided Europe into Protestant and Catholic, universities came to function as confessional institutions closely associated with particular states and loyal to their respective creeds. Religious learning, law, and classical humanism were now at the heart of their curricula (De Ridder-Symoens 2004). Although they continued to train the clergy, they also took on the function of providing moral education to the lay ruling class and to those who served in state and religious bureaucracies. It was this version of the university that was mostly exported to the Americas by colonizing European powers and peoples.

Although the confessional university offered an education that was directed at confessing laymen as well as clerics, for the most part, it was one that did not embrace the intellectual dynamism that began to reshape knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Traditionally referred to as the “Scientific Revolution,” this “diverse array of cultural practices [which] aimed at understanding, explaining, and controlling the natural world” developed within a complex context of university competition and reform (Shapin 1996, p. 3). Although some existing universities rejected the new approaches, others accommodated them by hosting offshoots such as botanical gardens and observatories, while newer universities provided a more welcoming home (Porter 1996). But it was outside the universities, in the new Academies of the eighteenth century and in the learned societies and salons, that the emphasis upon systematic reason that historians now see as characteristic of the Enlightenment was first fostered. Some universities such as Gottingen and Leiden accepted it and consequently rose to prominence, but many others, such as Oxford, did not, leading to stagnation and even closure.

The global networks of conquest and trade forged by European empires in this period were essential to this transformation of knowledge, and knowledge was also part of the way these empires were governed. The first universities founded in the Americas were modeled after those in Catholic Spain to train colonial administrators, both religious and secular. Meanwhile in the colonies of North America, colleges such as Harvard and Yale were established to provide a general as well as religious education to leaders of protestant communities. Empire was crucial to the funding of the confessional university in these (as well as other) contexts. Craig Steven Wilder shows that it was the Atlantic economy based on the African slave trade that allowed for the rapid expansion of American universities in the eighteenth century as leaders of universities competed for the tuition dollars and patronage of slave-owning West Indian planter families (Wilder 2013). Wilder points out that early American university presidents were virtually always the sons or sons-in-law of merchant traders who supplied the slave plantations. The legacies of European empire and trade continued to shape the development of higher education well into the twentieth century.

Key Moments of Transformation

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, these universities (or colleges as they were called in the United States) generally taught a uniform and static curriculum focused on classics, the liberal arts and often also religious instruction, to a small male elite. Although some universities – most notably in Scotland, as well as some in Germany – embraced the new scientific disciplines and methods early in the nineteenth century, most did not (Anderson 1983). But in the two centuries that followed, dramatic economic and political shifts repeatedly remade the university, forcing it to respond to meet the challenges of changing circumstances and the demands of new patrons.

The Modern University (1870s–1919)

The growth of industrial technology and the physical and chemical sciences, the expansion of long distance trade and communication, and the emergence of professions in the nineteenth century forced dramatic changes to the confessional university (Reuben 1996). Four big shifts took place in this period. First the universities changed their curricula, embracing science and most especially the professions; second they secularized, removing their religious entry criteria and opening (albeit slowly) up to women; third they looked towards research; and fourth they developed a close relationships with a new patron: the nation-state. Importantly too, their numbers expanded, with new institutions offering combinations of these characteristics, while the older institutions moved at a slower pace. Although in different places these shifts began earlier and continued later, they crystallized in the half-century between 1870 and 1914, as universities strove to adapt to a new set of economic, political, and social circumstances that had dramatic implications for the way knowledge was taught and governed (Jarausch 1983).

The expansion of industrial and urban society and the enlargement of the middle classes fueled a demand for learning that was relevant to economic and social advancement. New civic institutions were founded in the United Kingdom and its empire, and in the United States the land grant universities – often supported by state or civic funds – taught pure and applied science, modern languages, history and English, as well as the older humanist subjects. They forged new relationships with professions such as medicine, law, and, later, engineering, dentistry, agriculture, and architecture, bringing professional training and credentialization into the university in a way that would have wide ramifications in the twentieth century. In the process they also widened entry, opening up to women and the middle classes and proving themselves newly useful to communities ever more reliant on specialized knowledge (Anderson 2004, 2006).

Under the pressure of these circumstances, religion became much less central to the purpose of universities, and in the context of industrial society, the clergy's role as authoritative knowledge producers diminished. Although new institutions continued to be founded by religious groups, particularly in the United States, the general trend was in the other direction, with many confessional foundations relaxing or abandoning their restrictions, some forcibly so under pressure from nation-states. The University of Oxford provides a case in point. In 1870 it removed the 39 Articles of the Church of England as a condition of fellowship, and from then on, the number of students studying theology steadily declined (Burke 2012, p. 251).

The idea of the university as a place for research and the free pursuit of pure knowledge also proved very attractive in the dawning era of national industrial, military, and economic competition. Its origins are often traced to Wilhelm von Humboldt and the University in Berlin, but the emergence of this idea was in fact part of a much wider process of reform in German universities that drew especially on earlier developments at Göttingen and Halle (Josephson et al. 2014). The idea of the “research university” was selectively borrowed and adapted in different contexts with, for example, the United States seizing on the notion of professionalized

“scientific” research but for the most part avoiding the state-controlled aspects of the German system. In Japan, exactly the opposite lesson was taken by the Meiji rulers, who sought to establish a centralized higher education system designed to produce experts for state-led political, military, and economic development. Yet the teaching function of the university did not disappear, and in many parts of the world, research was an activity pursued more by individual scholars than as a systematic feature of higher education.

With these changes, a new relationship between universities and the nation-state developed and the patronage of the church receded. Disciplines such as history and geography, literature, and languages came into existence. Accompanied by state investment in libraries, archives, geological surveys, and cultural institutions, they served as symbols of prestige, as instruments of national identities, and as enhancements of the state’s capacity to know and to rule. These developments worked to remake relations within states, as diverse knowledge communities were absorbed or displaced by academic disciplines, which increasingly asserted their new authority. The teaching function of the university was seen as central to its national purpose. Its role in fashioning citizens and training a professional labor force was combined with its task of leading useful research. In Anglo-American contexts, this national purpose went hand in hand with the notion of university autonomy and intellectual freedom in research and teaching.

The First World War consolidated these changes such that by 1919 in most parts of the world, the German ideal of the university as a national research generator with students as apprentices, and the English ideal of the college as a teaching institution incubating the nation’s elite, had been combined with the notion that universities must be useful, fostering independent citizens and national culture as well as the middle-class professions.

Universities and Public Benefit (1945–1970s)

The percentage of young people participating in higher education, however, remained relatively low, and university education continued to be a privilege enjoyed by an elite few. The outbreak of war in 1939 drove many changes. Not only did it lead governments to expand their investment in scientific and technological research, but it simultaneously gave them the power to intervene in universities’ internal workings. It was in the wake of the war that many new features, now seen as characteristic of higher education systems, were introduced.

The GI Bill in the United States is only the most famous of the government-supported schemes that across the Anglo-American world funded returned services personnel to attend university in the period after 1945. While in 1940 about 15% of the age cohort were enrolled in college in the United States, by 1960 it had risen to 37% (Trow 2010). These schemes were undoubtedly about keeping returned servicemen off the labor market, but they were also seen as recognition of national service and a pathway to widening participation in higher education. Such programs were influential in bringing about a societal shift in public thinking about who could

go to college, stimulating a broader expansion of higher education enrolments that continued into subsequent decades – a process often referred to as “massification.” In many cases new state-supported student grants also furthered these objectives (Trow 1975). The commonwealth scholarship scheme was instituted in Australia in 1951, US Federal Financial Aid was made available to students in the 1960s, and by 1963 in the United Kingdom, nearly 70% of students attending university were supported by public grants (Dyhouse 2007). This postwar transformation was a critical moment for universities as it established tertiary education as a social and economic good.

Across the world, states came to see universities as crucial instruments for nation-building, both in terms of social, technological, and economic development and also (in the capitalist west) democratic citizenship, while the new wave of students increasingly saw higher education as training for a career in “white-collar” professional or technical employment. Entrance criteria were relaxed and the applied, social scientific, and vocational curricula expanded. In the context of the Cold War, state-funded research grew considerably (Trow 2010). Building on wartime scientific research funding, a host of new national funding bodies were created to meet the demand for military as well as social, medical, and scientific research. In the United States, the National Science Foundation was established (1950) and in Australia the Commonwealth Research Grants Committee (1946), while in the United Kingdom, the University Grants Committee widened its remit, and scientific research was expanded and reorganized through the introduction of three new national research councils (1965). This development of state funding for research, and the notion of nation-building that sat behind it, fueled a growth in the number of doctoral students, not just in the physical sciences but also in foreign languages, anthropology, and political science, with the number of PhD programs in the United States increasing more than fivefold in the years between 1950 and 1973 (Gumpert et al. 1997).

These newly minted PhDs found employment not only in a host of new expertise industries (from defense to medicine and agriculture) but also in a higher education sector growing to meet the demand from students. Established institutions grew in size, and a wave of new institutions – many with an explicit technical or applied or research focus – were founded. In the United Kingdom, for example, the 1960s witnessed the doubling of the number of universities, from 22 to 45, with many of these dependent on state funding from their beginnings. Consequently, there was a large expansion of the academic workforce as well. And with these new foundations, the contours of a differentiated higher education sector began to be evident, with (especially in the United Kingdom and in the United States) the older and established universities continuing as elite institutions, while the newer civic and state institutions turned to training the growing middle class for work in the professions. Yet despite this variation and increasing complexity, a new consensus had emerged on the purpose and nature of higher education. In the wake of the Second World War, and in the context of economic growth and geopolitical competition, higher education had come to be seen as a public good that should be widely accessible, with a legitimate claim on public finances.

Although its effects were long lasting, the period of postwar transformation came to an end in the 1970s, as the winds of social and cultural change began to sweep through universities. With the protest movements of the late 1960s (white, male), professors' claims to authority over knowledge began to be challenged by a much more diverse cohort of student baby boomers pushing for significant changes to student and faculty composition as well as a more representative curriculum. Although in some contexts (like Australia) the 1970s was a period in which state support of higher education increased, universities were also affected by economic recession and (especially in the United States) contracting enrollments, as both tuition and academic research became more expensive. By the 1970s not only had the postwar period of expansion come to an end, but with the rise of student protest and advent of post-structuralism, the university's ability to claim independence and authority based on an objective and discoverable notion of truth had also been destroyed.

University Marketization and Globalization (1990s)

Towards the end of the 1980s, the effects of another wave of economic and technological change began to be evident in universities, as deindustrialization, market liberalization, and the impact of digital technologies reshaped economies and societies. Looking for ways to meet these challenges, states began to champion the coming "knowledge economy" in which intellectual labor and information would drive productivity and growth. They sought to expand the skilled workforce through widening access to higher education and stimulating research while simultaneously reducing its cost to the state. In Europe, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East, public funding (including through free tuition) remained key to this process, but for the most part, governments in the Anglo-American world saw deregulation as the mechanism by which these transformations could be achieved. Although the ramifications of these reforms are still playing out, four significant and interlinked shifts are evident.

First, new higher education institutions have been created, and the number of students gaining higher education has increased dramatically. In Australia and the United Kingdom, this was achieved through the forced amalgamation and conversion of former polytechnic, teaching and advanced education colleges, as well as the establishment of new institutions. The aim was – in the words of the 1988 Australian Higher Education Funding Act – to "enhance the quality, diversity and equity of access" to higher education whilst improving its "competitiveness." As a result the numbers of undergraduate students attending universities in these countries increased significantly, opening tertiary study up many who previously had no access to it. And this expansion was mirrored by a dramatic growth in the number of universities globally, as economic growth in Southeast Asia, China, India, and the Middle East fueled the foundation of new institutions, established – some privately, some and the behest of state governments – to meet the exploding number of students seeking higher education in these countries. According to the World

Bank EdStats, between 1990 and 2010, the numbers of enrolled tertiary students increased in all regions – rising from 72% to 90% in North America, 35% to 58% in Europe and Central Asia, 16% to 39% in Latin America and the Caribbean, 12% to 30% in Middle East and North Africa, and 5% to 24% in East Asia and the Pacific (Roser and Ortiz-Ospina 2018).

Second, in Anglo-American contexts, this expansion in student numbers has gone hand in hand with the introduction of new funding and governance arrangements reflecting the marketizing push of 1990s globalization. From a protected and (with some exceptions in the United States) largely state-funded sector, reliant on large block grants from governments and offering subsidized if not free tuition, higher education became an “industry” governed by market mechanisms that forced competition within as well as between institutions. Competition for external and internal research grants; partnerships with military, medical, creative, and scientific industries; income from foreign student fees; and private philanthropy were turned to as ways to fill the funding shortfall. The uncapping of domestic student numbers and the raising of tuition fees were part of this shift. In Australia (and later in the United Kingdom), a scheme of income contingent loans for tuition costs was introduced, and in the United States, the Federal Credit Reform Act ushered in changes to the policy around student loans that has seen a dramatic increase in student debt (Rhoads and Torres 2006). While academic salaries stagnated and opportunities for permanent employment contracted (and the number of teaching staff on casual contracts expanded), universities became much larger and more complex organizations, with centralized governance practices and layers of senior management.

Third, these shifts have dovetailed with a new era of international student mobility. Responding to the new global demand for higher education, universities in Europe, the United States, and Australasia have sought to supplement reduced state funding with income generated from the fees of international students. On the one hand, regional harmonization strategies such as the European Bologna Process were instituted to facilitate and accommodate movement between institutions, while on the other hand, countries like Qatar, Singapore, and the United Arab Emirates began to create academic hubs, by forging partnerships with foreign (often English-speaking) universities to establish local campuses, study years abroad (such as the Erasmus scheme), or joint degree programs. “Internationalization” emerged as the catchword to describe these changes, but for emerging economies, “internationalization” has gone hand in hand with expansion of national higher education sectors. States simultaneously invested heavily in universities, seeing them as key to national development, while also admitting large numbers of new private providers (Altbach et al. 2009).

Fourth, within this context of increased global as well as national competition for student and research dollars, new measures have emerged to apportion value and standards. Reflecting the market philosophy of the period, global rankings and research metrics became the favored tool. From bibliographic and citation metrics which attempt to quantify the influence of academic publications, to journal rankings which attempt to quantify the impact and quality of a particular publication and university rankings which use various methodologies to classify the prestige of

institutions, policy makers, governments, funding bodies, and universities have increasingly incorporated these measures into their decision-making. For example, at a national level, the UK Higher Education Funding Council introduced a research assessment exercise (called the Research Excellence Framework, or REF) that distributed public money on the basis of institutional performance, while at an individual level, journal rankings progressively began to be used to determine an academic's career progression. Students seeking to make choices about which university to attend rely heavily not only on indexes such as the Times Higher and QS World Rankings but also on student assessments collated in measures such as the (UK based) National Student Survey (NSS). The introduction of these metrics changed the policy levers available to Research Councils and nationally instituted bodies in determining the allocation of state funds while also creating new administrative departments within universities with responsibility for data gathering and research strategy.

By the early years of the new century, universities looked very different to their postwar forebears. A 2009 report for the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) summarized these dramatic changes succinctly when it stated that the developments which commenced in the 1990s were arguably "at least as dramatic as those of the 19th century when the first research university emerged in Germany and then elsewhere, and fundamentally redesigned the nature of the university worldwide" (Altbach et al. 2009, p. xiv).

Conclusion and Future Directions

Many of the shifts begun in the 1990s look set to continue, with globally enrolled student numbers predicted to reach 262 million by 2025, doubling the 2010 figure (Goddard 2012). But there are also signs that the ground of higher education policy is shifting once again. The massive expansion of digital technology in the 2010s has radically altered the sites and nature of intellectual endeavor. The rise and spread of digital technology has made information much more accessible, and a host of organizations – from technology giants to consulting firms – are now among those that are knowledge-, or at least data-rich. Reflecting a much wider diminution of trust in institutions and experts, many people are instead turning to social networks and distributive platforms to assess and determine value. What this means for universities and the academic journals and publishing companies that have long controlled knowledge credentialization and dissemination is not yet clear, but it seems likely that these technological shifts will drive a new wave of transformation in higher education.

Cognizant of these challenges, universities are looking for ways to demonstrate their continuing importance to publics, to prospective students, and to philanthropic donors and industry partners. Three approaches are evident. First, universities have sought to emphasize the importance of higher education to national economies, highlighting the link between education, innovation, and economic productivity and pointing to the export value of international students (Valero and Van Reenen

2016). Second, universities have adapted to the world of online delivery, initially through partnerships with massive open online course (MOOC) providers such as Coursera, Udacity, and EdX, but more importantly through integrating digital and online methods into the delivery of their degree programs. In doing so universities have sought both to scale their educational offerings and offer them to larger numbers of people (at lower cost) and provide them in a format that meets the needs of a new generation. Third, universities – often at the behest of governments, funding councils, and regulators – have begun to demonstrate the “impact” of their research. The 2014 UK REF defined “impact” as “an effect on, change, or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia,” and in both the United Kingdom and Australia, “impact” has been instituted as a new metric used to apportion funding and status, intended to encourage universities to build partnerships with industry and other end-users of knowledge (HEFCE 2016).

Meanwhile universities have turned much more explicitly to non-state sources of funding – a move that has gone hand in hand with the emergence of private for-profit institutions, not only in Anglo-American contexts but in wide global contexts also. The growth of robust university sectors in China, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East will reshape the global political economy of higher education. As they seek to adapt to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century, universities across the world will need to remain attentive both to the communities in which they are located and to the changing international currents of knowledge production. The ways they do so will have a direct bearing upon their survival.

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Beyond the University: Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space

45

Heather Ellis

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Abstract

This chapter makes the case for a history of higher education institutions which looks beyond the university. Building on recent historiographical developments, it argues that the history of higher education must not be limited to the history of the university, an institution fixed in space and time, but must rather adopt a transnational and transhistorical approach. It also argues for a broader definition of “institution” which includes concepts, ideas, and practices which have become “institutionalized” alongside traditional understandings of institutions as sites with fixed locations and physical forms. Beginning with an exploration of higher education and learning across the globe in the ancient world, it goes on to study significant developments in higher education during the medieval, Renaissance, Enlightenment, and modern periods. While considerable attention is paid to the development of the university in Europe and around the world, the role and significance of other higher education institutions are stressed throughout. Particular weight is placed on the importance of learned societies and academies as sites of research development and training in the late eighteenth and nineteenth

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centuries. The chapter concludes with reflections on the ways in which the prominence of the research university since the Second World War has shaped the writing of the history of higher education in recent years, most notably, the dominant position given to the university as institution. Potentially fruitful directions for future research are also discussed, in particular, the need to focus on alternative higher education institutions.

Keywords

Higher education · Universities · Higher education institutions

Introduction

The history of higher education does not really exist as a field of inquiry in its own right. What people normally read about is the history of universities. There are several academic journals with this title as well as a number of national and international learned societies (Journals include *History of Universities* (founded 1981), *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* (founded 1998), and *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades* (founded 1998). Learned societies include the International Commission for the History of Universities (founded 1960) and the Gesellschaft für Universitäts – und Wissenschaftsgeschichte (founded 1995). More recently (in 2014) a Research Group on University History was founded at the University of Manchester.). This is largely due to the fact that in the later twentieth century, when these societies were founded, the history of higher education was widely viewed as synonymous and coextensive with the history of the university. There is no doubt that in today's world, the university, as institution, has achieved an unprecedented dominance in the field of higher education and research, particularly in STEM fields (Powell et al. 2017; Wellmon 2015). As John Caputo and Mark Yount (2010) have argued, in the world of knowledge-making, the voice of the university has become uniquely powerful. Drawing on Foucault, they urge acts of “resistance” which can challenge “the university’s claims to truth, its regulation of what can count as true and of who can do the reckoning” (p. 16). The dominance of the university would appear to make a chapter focused on “institutions” in the history of higher education easy to write. All that is needed, it would seem, is an account of the emergence of the university and its rise to global supremacy.

Such an account has already been written, many times over. There already exists a well-developed history of universities – in individual countries, in geographical regions, and at a global scale (For a helpful recent overview of European scholarship in the history of universities, see *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades* (2017).). As this chapter will argue, however, the history of higher education is much larger than the history of the university and embraces a wider range of institutions, some of which were of short duration and others which have exercised a lasting influence up to the present day. A history of higher education (rather than simply of universities) invites researchers, for example, to look more closely at the (frequently blurred) boundaries between secondary and tertiary education in the past

(Anderson 2017a). Two examples may suffice here. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Scottish universities recruited students who were on average between 14 and 16 years old, an age more usually associated with secondary education. Likewise, in France under Napoleon, the new examination taken at the end of secondary school was called the baccalauréat (or bachelor degree) and had been deliberately removed from the purview of the traditional universities (Anderson 2004).

The university, as a distinctive institution, is also fixed in space and time, being a peculiar product of medieval Europe (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016; Rashdall 1936). The broader category of higher education, by contrast, is a transhistorical and transnational phenomenon that allows us to explore both earlier periods of human history and a wider geographical range. It also encourages a focus on the specific activities and practices which constitute higher education – teaching, research, and the training of future researchers – rather than on a particular institutional context. In so doing, alternative, frequently neglected, institutions carrying out specific aspects or functions of higher education, alongside or sometimes in opposition to universities, are thrown into greater relief.

In light of work in recent decades, particularly by Michel Foucault and those influenced by his approach, it is sensible to broaden our definition of “institution” to include any idea, concept, practice, or discourse which has become “institutionalized” in particular sociocultural contexts (Caputo and Yount 2010: pp. 4–7). With this in mind, a chapter looking at institutions in higher education should pay attention to “schools of thought” as well as physical institutions. The two are intimately connected with the former frequently leading to the latter. It is also important to recognize that higher education institutions with a fixed location and physical form also exert a powerful, if intangible, normalizing force over academic and intellectual practices (Caputo and Yount 2010, p. 14).

In its structure this chapter adopts a broadly chronological and transnational approach. It begins with a consideration of higher education and learning across the globe in the ancient world, before moving on to examine key developments in higher education during the medieval, Renaissance, Enlightenment, and modern eras. It is inevitable that the choice of these time periods to some extent reinscribes a Eurocentric approach. The chosen chronology reflects the prominence of the European university in the analysis presented here. Yet, while considerable attention is paid to the development of the university in Europe and around the world, the role and significance of other higher education institutions will be stressed throughout.

Higher Education in the Ancient World

There are some general preconditions which are crucial to the successful development of higher education institutions across space and time. Historically, large empires with relatively stable political situations have provided a steady supply of students willing to travel considerable distances to learn. As Roy Lowe and Yoshihito Yasuhara (2016) argue, such empires are also more likely to have

“widespread literacy, an administrative class, and a fairly advanced writing technology” which are crucial preconditions for the successful dissemination of information and development of educational institutions (p. 170).

Religious beliefs and practices were crucial to the emergence of higher education institutions in different parts of the ancient world. With many religions containing a strong element of enquiry, it is frequently impossible to distinguish between religious and intellectual activity. Some of the most famous seats of learning in the ancient world including the “university” of Taxila or Takshashila in modern-day Pakistan had their origins in sites of religious activity. Originally famed for Brahmanical learning, Taxila came to embrace many different branches of knowledge over time with a particular focus on medicine. It achieved prominence again in the mid-second century CE as an important seat of Buddhist scholarship under the rule of Kanishka (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016).

The Buddhist monastery at Nalanda in what is now India developed a similar reputation for scholarship and higher learning. Yet it is important to note that both Taxila and Nalanda only became large-scale teaching and learning institutions due to the reputations of the eminent scholars who first settled there with their disciples. Institutionalization is a complicated process, combining the benefits and advantages of particular locations with the attractive power of a succession of notable scholars who have decided to base themselves there. Over time, sites like Taxila and Nalanda became hubs of scholarship and higher learning, acquiring a reputation and an ability to attract students in their own right. At the same time, semipermanent features developed including student fees, scholarship programs, and buildings for the common residence of students and teachers. “The monastery at Nalanda was, for all intents and purposes, an Institute of Higher Learning or postgraduate studies,” Lowe and Yasuhara (2016) have concluded. “Some of the larger Buddhist monasteries became, effectively, the world’s first proto-universities” (p. 54). While applying modern terms like this can obscure significant differences between ancient sites of learning and modern HEIs, it does serve to highlight common features that reveal higher education as a human activity with a much longer history than is sometimes acknowledged.

The patronage of kings, emperors, and other leaders was another crucial factor in the development of higher education in the ancient world. “Many rulers,” Peter Meusberger (2015) writes, “have endeavoured to consolidate or widen their power and their epistemological advantage by setting up centers of knowledge” (p. 19). He argues that scholars have always been called to the courts of kings and other rulers, to what Bruno Latour has termed “centres of calculation,” because “the power of authority has always tended to take advantage of the power of knowledge” (p. 21).

In ancient China, for example, individual scholars, sometimes with their disciples, would frequently migrate between regional rulers. It is telling that the “Hundred Schools of Thought” which flourished in China from the sixth to the third century BCE referred not to physical schools in fixed locations (institutions in the familiar sense of the word) but to the various philosophical approaches of individual itinerant scholars. The most famous of these was Confucius who left no known physical school or permanent institutional establishment. His legacy was rather his 3500

disciples who spread his ideas all over China and beyond. Over time, fixed seats of learning did emerge in China but only (as in India and other parts of the ancient world) after the settlement of significant numbers of previously mobile individual scholars and their disciples (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016).

There were comparable centers of higher learning in the ancient Greek and Roman world (Clarke 1971). Plato's Academy was founded in Athens around 387 BCE and endured in one form or another for over 900 years. Around the year 335 BCE, Aristotle, a former student of Plato, established the Peripatetic school. Aristotle's students are thought to have met at the Lyceum – a gymnasium in Athens dedicated to Apollo Lyceus. The Peripatetic school is believed to have closed permanently following Sulla's siege and subsequent sacking of Athens in 86 BCE. The Musaeum in Alexandria (which included the famous library) became the leading research institute in the ancient Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic period and was particularly prolific in natural philosophy and engineering. In the course of the second and third centuries CE, the Musaeum declined, following repeated purges and periods of repression by a succession of Roman emperors. In early Christian Europe, the center of higher learning was arguably the Pandidakterion of Constantinople which was established around 425 CE and was primarily designed to train students for positions in the imperial civil service and in the church.

Early Medieval Developments

There was, therefore, a rich and complicated history of higher education long before the period when historians of universities traditionally begin their own analysis in the early medieval period. It is important to stress that there was no definitive break between the higher education arrangements of the ancient world and those of the early medieval period. Many features of the earliest European universities were, to a large extent, derivative of earlier forms of higher learning which have been briefly examined in the previous section.

The period identified as “early medieval” in a European context also witnessed the central phase of what has been termed the Islamic Golden Age – the flowering of education and culture across the lands captured in the Arab conquests of the early- to mid-seventh century CE. It was during this period that the famous House of Wisdom in Baghdad flourished, a center of learning associated with the patronage of Caliph al-Mamun, and that has often been described as a “proto-university” (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016, p. 105). While its scholars may have had access to the Caliph's personal library, the House itself lacked any formal premises. Meeting in private dwellings or at the court of the Caliph, it comprised a collection of individuals working together to translate and interpret thousands of texts covering many different subject areas. A significant number of these texts included the works of ancient Greek thinkers and scholars including Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, and Euclid. In the case of Ptolemy, whose *Almagest* they translated into Arabic, it was scholars associated with the House of Wisdom who preserved his work when it had been forgotten in early medieval Europe (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016).

The transnational world of higher education and learning explored in the first section of this chapter continued into what is now thought of as the early medieval period. The life of the itinerant scholar, moving between the courts of different rulers, monasteries, and other religious sites, remained the norm. Gerbert d’Aurillac, who ultimately became Pope Sylvester II in 999 CE, spent time among monks in Catalonia and witnessed the large-scale translation of Arabic texts into Latin. In the monasteries of Catalonia, he learned Arabic, Maths, and Astronomy as well as the works of Aristotle whose logic became a crucial part of his own teaching. His experience was in no way unique. It is in large part to this growing acquaintance with Arabic scholarship that the gradual rise of Aristotelianism among European scholars over subsequent centuries can be traced. Closely associated with this was a growing “readiness to broaden the field of human intellectual inquiry as well as a new rigour in the development of argument” (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016).

Thus, the twelfth-century English scholar, Adelard of Bath, undertook journeys to destinations as distant as Sicily, Greece, and Palestine, where he came into contact with ancient Greek and Arabic learning. Through studying Arabic, he came to know *Euclid’s Elements*, making three separate translations of them from Arabic into Latin. Adelard’s travels were mirrored by those of hundreds of other scholars in what has come to be known as the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Gerard of Cremona was an Italian scholar who traveled to Toledo in the Kingdom of Castile. In the city’s libraries, he accessed many texts which had been originally written in Greek but which were unavailable in either Greek or Latin in Europe at that time. He was responsible for more than eighty translations including one of Ptolemy’s *Almagest* in 1175 from the Arabic (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016).

Just as was the case in the ancient world, when significant numbers of renowned scholars and their disciples settled in particular locations, then buildings and other more permanent structures came into being. Driven by the intense activity associated with the discovery of ancient Greek, Latin, and Arabic scholarship, sites in Italy, Spain, and the Middle East came to function as semi-institutionalized centers of higher education (Leff 1992). As well as itinerant scholars traveling abroad to imbibe scholarship preserved in Arabic and Greek, the spread of Catholic monasticism across Europe in the early medieval period did much to preserve extant Latin versions of Greek and Roman texts. As early as the sixth century CE, Cassiodorus’s best-known work – *De Institutione* – had encouraged monks to collect manuscripts with a view to preserving and passing on known classical culture. This call was answered with particular enthusiasm in the case of the Benedictine order. Scholarly practices such as reading, writing, and translation were institutionalized in the monastic life long before universities and other institutions of higher education emerged (Lowe and Yasuhara 2016).

Once again, as in the ancient world, the support of secular rulers was crucial to the development of higher education in the medieval period. Charlemagne provided crucial support for Christian scholarship during his reign, and Alfred of Wessex promoted the translation of Latin works into English. It was likewise under the aegis of secular rulers that the expansion of cathedral schools in Europe between 1000 and 1200 took place and the associated rise in the number of lay students receiving an

education. This development was, however, as much a product of the general increase in the size of Europe's population and the growth of trade and urbanization which was seen in the same period.

Some cathedral schools developed into centers of higher learning in their own right, and a new type of institution – the *studium generale* – emerged. This has traditionally been the starting point for the history of universities. Hastings Rashdall (1936) was right to caution against applying “the name [of university] to the Schools of ancient Athens or Alexandria.” “The university is a distinctly Medieval institution,” he declared, “- as much so as constitutional kingship, or parliaments, or trial by jury” (p. 3). Yet there were important similarities which the first universities shared with earlier higher education institutions. A number of European universities had started life as groups of scholars – independent and self-governing – who had come together to teach and to learn. In their early years, they did not possess land or buildings of their own. As a number of historians have written, one of the earliest universities – in Paris – grew rather than was founded (e.g., Novikoff 2013, p. 139). Scholars still moved freely between Oxford and Paris in the thirteenth century.

There was similar continuity when it came to what was taught within the new universities. As Lowe and Yasuhara (2016) argue, “the rise of the universities was a direct result of [the] rich intercourse and transfer of knowledge between the Islamic-Arabic world and Europe” (p. 175). Scholars working in Europe's medieval universities “were able to feed off the knowledge and, in a range of disciplines, develop curricula which drew on or were derived from Arab, Indian, or even indirectly, Chinese scholarship” (p. 169).

The Renaissance

The development of higher education in Europe continued to be driven by a complex dialogue with the knowledge and practices of the ancient past. The scholastic system with its curriculum of the trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) drew heavily on the ancient Greek and Arab learning which came to dominate the universities of medieval Europe.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw renewed interest in the ancient world. Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other humanist scholars identified the period between the fall of their own time Rome and as the dark ages. To bring back the light of knowledge, they argued, one had to carefully study and imitate classical authors – Cicero in particular. *Umanista* came to refer to a range of subjects influenced by ancient Greek and Roman authors including grammar, rhetoric, poetry, moral philosophy, and history (Klein and Frodeman 2017).

In origin, however, humanist scholarship developed largely outside the walls of the university. Humanist scholars criticized the “barbarous” Latin of the universities and challenged the legitimacy of those subjects which had come to dominate university teaching in the later Middle Ages – jurisprudence, theology, and medicine (Kristeller 1990, pp. 113–114). While Petrarch, for example, had attended university at Montpellier and Bologna, he denounced the legal training offered there and went

on to focus on Latin literature (especially Cicero, whose letters he rediscovered) while holding a series of clerical positions outside academia. Boccaccio similarly rejected the traditional legal course of the university and pursued his humanistic studies through a mixture of royal and noble patronage. Indeed, Eugenio Garin has gone as far as to argue that Renaissance humanism developed chiefly “in cloisters and the chancelleries, in princely courts and academies, that is, the free assemblies of learned men” (Grendler 2003, p. 78). In Paul Grendler’s words, Garin has framed it as something of “a pitched battle” between scholastic Aristotelian professors in the universities and an “iconoclastic humanistic philosophy of life held by innovative Renaissance intellectuals” (Grendler 2003, p. 78).

Yet it must be acknowledged that while humanism in its earliest stages developed outside the universities (and, indeed, in opposition to its scholasticism), within one or two generations, especially in Italy, humanist scholars began to gain entry and develop influence within academia. Several of Garin’s examples of humanist scholars were well-known university professors including Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) and Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576). Prominent humanists born in the 1370s had little to do with universities – scholars such as Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444) and Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446). But this had changed by the early to middle years of the fifteenth century. Humanists like Lorenzo Valla (c. 1407–1457) began to hold professorships in Italian universities in small but significant numbers. In the second half of the fifteenth century, university employment became an important aim of Italian humanist scholars. In the 1420s, the University of Bologna established a professorship of Greek with Florence following in the 1430s. Most other Italian universities had followed suit by the 1460s (Grendler 2003).

In the first years of the sixteenth century, humanist scholars from northern Europe were becoming professors in northern universities. This did not occur without opposition – especially from theology professors; and law and medicine remained the dominant subjects at the Italian universities. “Nevertheless,” as Grendler (2003) concludes, “humanism had a major impact on universities because it changed the approach and content of research and teaching in the other disciplines” (p. 79). By the end of the fifteenth century, it had transformed scholarship in Aristotelian natural philosophy and medicine by imbuing it with a new, critical outlook which tended to find fault with medieval authors and approaches. Medical humanists, who were almost all based at universities, applied humanistic philological techniques to critique both medieval and ancient medical texts. Humanism’s impact upon the teaching of law (especially in Italy) and theology was much less significant, however.

The story is similarly complicated when it comes to advances in natural knowledge associated with the Scientific Revolution. In Italy and Germany, universities and university professors were central to the development of scientific teaching and research. This was also the case in Scotland where the Scottish universities developed an international reputation in various branches of natural philosophy and medicine. The situation in England, however, was very different. While dissenting academies offered a limited scientific curriculum, the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge played little part in the development of scientific knowledge and

research. Rather, it was to be in the metropolitan circles of London, in the Royal Society and at the royal court that science and scientific training were to flourish (Anderson 2004).

Enlightenment and the Emergence of the Modern Research University

While, in continental Europe at least, the universities had played a central role in the growth and development of scientific knowledge in the seventeenth century, “decline,” according to Robert Anderson (2004), “was the predominant note in the eighteenth century” (p. 5). Other institutions such as Jesuit schools and scientific academies increasingly replaced universities as the preferred educational institutions for the sons of Europe’s elite. “[A]s the nineteenth century dawned,” Laurence Brockliss (1997) has written, “the university looked like a doomed species” (p. 99). Given that the eighteenth century witnessed one of the most significant periods of development and transformation in the history of human knowledge, it is necessary to ask how central the traditional university was to the changes associated with the Enlightenment.

Although sharing a common origin and basic framework, Europe’s universities had diverged considerably from each other over the intervening centuries. Most significant, perhaps, in this process of differentiation, was the impact of the Reformation. In Protestant states, universities were frequently under the direct control of secular rulers; in Catholic lands, by contrast, considerable influence was exercised by the supranational Jesuit order (Anderson 2004). In England, the eighteenth century is generally viewed as a period of retrenchment. Student participation rates did not return to the pre-Civil War highpoint reached in the 1630s until after the First World War. The international mobility of students also decreased in eighteenth-century Europe. Rulers made it increasingly difficult for young men to go abroad to study at the same time as a growth in religious tolerance meant fewer students had to travel outside their own country to access higher education. The sons of the aristocracy with the wealth to travel also became less interested in a university education (Anderson 2004; de Ridder-Symoens 1996).

As Robert Anderson (2004) has written, Enlightenment intellectuals in France generally came from outside the universities. In England and France, the Enlightenment passed by what he terms “the moribund universities”; but in Scotland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, it was “university professors who developed and taught enlightened ideas” (p. 20). In states which were ruled through a system of enlightened absolutism, a common pattern was emerging. In the Habsburg lands, for instance, a centralized system developed in which the universities were subordinated to a common institutional pattern and linked to a unified system of secondary schools. In this context, the training of civil servants came to be viewed as the university’s chief function; reforming law faculties was another important aim as this helped to facilitate one of the great projects of enlightened absolutism – the codification of existing law.

Surviving features of scholasticism in the universities were targeted and new subjects introduced into the curriculum. In many cases, the traditional faculties were split into two – philosophical, on the one hand, and mathematical or physical, on the other. This reflected a new appreciation of science as a distinct realm of intellectual inquiry. Colleges of engineering, both civil and military, flourished outside the universities in many countries and “survived to become the basis of an alternative higher education sector in the nineteenth century” (Anderson 2004, pp. 22–23). In France, the state came to play a much more interventionist role in higher education after 1789. Under Napoleon, advanced training and research were separated from undergraduate teaching. Institutions offering courses of general learning were classified as schools and were restricted to undergraduates.

The modern research university – the institution now viewed as the norm – is a comparably recent addition to the rich and complex landscape of higher education examined so far in this chapter. While most scholars associate its beginnings with the foundation of the University of Berlin by Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1810, essential parts of the research university were already in place in Prussia and Hanover before 1789 (Anderson 2004). Particularly important at Göttingen was the development of philology which promoted the critical study of language and classical texts. Göttingen has a good case to be seen as the birthplace of *Wissenschaft*, the system of knowledge underlying the modern research university. From the beginning, there was a close relationship with the state. Prussia was the first state in Europe to systematize the introduction of examinations for entry to the civil service. Key to the development of a modern bureaucracy in Prussia was the standardization of the relationship between schools and university entry. In general, reform of universities in the nineteenth century was furthest reaching in those countries which were more effectively under the control of a centralized state authority (Anderson 2004).

It is easy to forget how comparably recent it is that universities came to be viewed as the prime sites of research and intellectual innovation. As Peter Burke (2016) reminds us, “creating new knowledge” has been one of their chief functions only “since the rise of the research university in the nineteenth century” (Burke 2016, p. 20). This development can certainly be traced back to fundamental changes in the way knowledge was understood which took place during the Enlightenment. As William Clark (2006) argues, it was during this period that universities finally gave up their theological, transcendental mission, replacing it with an ideal of rational scientific authority and state service. Clark examines the origins of the modern research university in the everyday practices of the Prussian state – the setting of office hours, the collection of information about the activities of academics, and the application of measures to manage universities more efficiently.

Foucault saw a similar shift taking place in the eighteenth century, which he identified as the period when a new type of power – disciplinary power – evolved as the personal control and influence of individual sovereigns began to wane. With the reduction in famine and epidemics in Western Europe, he argues that “power turned from a defensive formation protecting against death to the production, maintenance, and control of life” (Caputo and Yount 2010, p. 13). New techniques of power began to be exercised through state institutions, including schools and universities.

Educational institutions were designed to shape the young into adaptable, happy subjects through the power of the norm, while those who strayed beyond the bounds would be reformed. For Foucault, institutions were places where power “becomes embedded in techniques, and equips itself with instruments and eventually even violent means of material intervention” (Caputo and Yount 2010, p. 10). The modern research university deserves to be considered as part of this process and as an example of a disciplinary institution.

In the Prussian context, concepts such as academic freedom were encouraged in an atmosphere of close state supervision. The model of the research university spread throughout the Protestant German states before traveling to the German Catholic lands. Over the course of the nineteenth century, it gained influence in Northern, Eastern, and Southern parts of Europe – in Scandinavia, Russia, and Greece. Later still, it traveled to the USA, Britain, and eventually France. As William Clark (2006) argues, the German research university became “[t]he vehicle for spreading European science and academics globally” (p. 29). The close links existing between the spread of particular academic practices and institutional forms and the prosecution of imperialist projects by many European countries, most prominently, Britain and France, have been well studied (e.g., Newton 1924; Pietsch 2013). Clark (2006) goes as far as to describe the exporting of the German research university around the world as “the final and the most insidious phase of European colonialism” (p. 29).

Alternative Higher Education Institutions

While the emergence and global spread of the research university are the central story in the development of modern higher education, it is important to stress that it is not the only one. As William Whyte (2015) has written, “[t]he development of higher education in the early nineteenth century cannot be reduced to a simple story in which the forces of progress...inevitably and irresistibly created a new and modern sort of university.” There were rather, he continues, “a multitude of competing visions” which could provide the basis for “an alternative history of higher education” (p. 28).

In Western Europe, the bourgeoisie was large and growing but did not call on their governments to reform universities as they tended to view them as old-fashioned and marginal institutions. In England and France, universities like Oxford and Cambridge were widely condemned as intellectually stagnant and “monkish.” Intellectual innovation and reform in higher education took place elsewhere. According to the Irish playwright, Oliver Goldsmith (1759), British and French intellectuals thought that “the true intellectual forum was the city, where the members of this larger university, if I may so call it, catch manners as they rise, study life, not logic, and have the world for correspondents.” The best universities, Goldsmith argued, were those that interacted with urban life most intensely, “where the pupils are under few restrictions; where all scholastic jargon is banished; where they...live not in the college but city. Such are Edinburgh, Leyden, Göttingen,

Geneva” (p. 186). In line with Goldsmith’s assessment, proposals for new types of university in England generally were made in the context of the capital city, London. When University College London (called initially London University) was first established in 1826, it was very different from what had gone before. It had no royal charter and instead was founded as a joint stock company by private individuals (Whyte 2015, p. 67).

In one key respect, however, University College London was indeed similar to the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There was no expectation for its teachers to carry out a program of original research (Jones 2007). As has been seen, the combination of research and teaching is a relatively recent phenomenon, and it appeared much later in Britain compared with other countries such as Germany (Schalenberg 1998, 2002).

In order to chart the history of research and the training of future researchers in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, it is necessary to look outside the universities. “[W]hat counted,” Robert Anderson (2004) writes, “was the intellectual life of London, the world of literature, the press, the Inns of Court, coffee-houses, scientific societies, and salons” (p. 36). And this holds true outside of London also. The years between 1780 and 1840 saw the establishment of hundreds of smaller learned societies, assuming a variety of names (the most common being “literary and philosophical society”), in towns and cities across the country (Lyell 1826; Hilton 2006). The same period saw the spread of very similar institutions in the United States and around the British Empire. Some, like the literary and philosophical society of Manchester, were international in significance, attracting members of considerable fame such as the chemist John Dalton. Many others acted as intellectual centers for local professional and industrial elites. Sometimes dismissed as merely convivial groups, learned societies carried out serious intellectual work, above all, in research, the pursuit of original knowledge. According to William C. Lubenow (2015), they functioned as Britain’s chief “sites for intellectual innovation” throughout the nineteenth century (p. 27).

Those who have acknowledged the role of these societies in promoting research have generally been historians of science. Scholars like Richard S. Westfall have argued that the overt traditionalism of universities in Western Europe inhibited attempts to conceptualize nature and natural knowledge in new ways and led to a profound rift between universities and scientists (Feingold 1991; Westfall 1971). In these circumstances, men of science developed alternative institutions and spaces in which to advance scientific knowledge, pursue research, and train future researchers. As Jack Morrell (1976) observed, higher-level science teaching in England, in so far as it existed, took place at “a host of Literary and Scientific Institutions” which “supplemented the teaching given by private lecturers” (p. 135). This is in sharp contrast, of course, to continental Europe where there was a significant, persistent, and close relationship between universities and science. It is important to note that, while the majority of these “Literary and Scientific Institutions” were learned societies, Morrell (1976) also included Kings College and University College, London, which, in contrast to Oxford and Cambridge, did offer teaching in the natural sciences (For a more positive assessment of the role played by Oxford and

Cambridge, see Gascoigne 1990, pp. 207–260.). In this respect, they were much more akin to the Scottish universities.

Recent work on literary and philosophical societies, however, suggests that they did in fact undertake original research in the full range of academic disciplines, from literature, history, and archaeology to the natural sciences (Mee and Wilkes 2015). Moreover, in many instances, they helped to provide theoretical and practical training for future researchers, more so, arguably, than any other contemporary institution. In this sense, they deserve to be thought of as institutions of higher education. Nor did this end with the “triumph” of the German research university which is usually seen as reaching Britain in the 1870s and 1880s as part of the movement for the endowment of research (Jones 2007). As Lubenow (2015) has shown, learned societies in nineteenth-century Britain continued to fulfill many of the discursive, research and training functions of higher education up to the end of the century and beyond.

In a British context, many dissenting academies continued to provide a high-quality education in a wide range of literary and scientific subjects long before England’s ancient universities could claim this. They enjoyed close ties with research-active learned societies and the Scottish universities where a similar spectrum of subjects was taught. They were open to all men regardless of religious affiliation and formed a significant feature of Britain’s educational landscape from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth centuries (Smith 1954). Throughout much of the nineteenth century, France too remained aloof from the model of the German research university, continuing to separate research and teaching into distinct institutes.

Peter Burke (2016) has argued that the history of higher education cannot be separated from the wider history of knowledge of which it forms “a long-established part” (p. 78). In line with this, he suggests that higher education institutions cannot be separated conceptually, materially, or spatially from the wider systems and cultures of knowledge-making in which they exist. If, then, the complex history of higher education institutions is to be properly appreciated, universities, which have traditionally formed the focus of historical analysis, need to be examined in relation to many other knowledge-making institutions with which they interacted and overlapped. In Burke’s words, “[t]he main forms and institutions of knowledge to be found in a particular culture, together with the values associated with them, form a system: schools, universities, archives, laboratories, museums, newsrooms” and must be considered together (p. 26).

This approach is complemented by an emphasis in more recent literature on the need to focus not on particular institutions but rather on the material culture and practices of higher education itself which often cut across disciplinary boundaries and institutional forms. This is what William Clark (2006; Clark and Becker 2001) advocates when he urges historians to pay more attention to the “little tools of knowledge.” Simon Schaffer and Adriana Craciun (2016) make a similar point in their edited volume, *The Material Cultures of Enlightenment Arts and Sciences*. A focus on material objects and common practices, they argue, can help avoid reinscribing “the anachronistic divisions of knowledge of our twenty-first-century

academies. . . [I]t becomes possible to discern the predisciplinary ‘disorder of things’” (p. 13).

Approaches like these reveal an alternative, messier history of higher education and knowledge-making which does not fit the traditional narrative of the “triumph” of the research university and the progressive specialization of knowledge into disciplines. In his work on learned societies, Lubenow (2015) highlights just how different the conditions were under which knowledge was made in nineteenth-century Britain. He describes connections between individual scholars as being “differently and loosely tethered,” not tied rigidly to groups representing particular disciplines (as might be expected today) but rather defined by flexible, temporary, and overlapping memberships (p. 15).

Conclusion and Future Directions

This state of affairs continued for much longer than many writers on contemporary higher education appear to believe. With university-trained scientists proving their worth in the First and Second World Wars, governments around the world came to recognize universities as the primary sites of research in science and technology as well as in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., Ellis 2017; Powell et al. 2017). At the same time, countries across the globe came increasingly to view universities as the best training ground for future leaders. This confidence in the central role of universities has remained largely unshaken since the end of the Second World War (At times, there have been predictions that the university’s dominance would fade, particularly when faced with the challenge of freely available information on the internet (see Anderson 2017a).). It is reinforced in much contemporary literature on higher education, in edited volumes such as *The Century of Science: The Global Triumph of the Research University*. “Expanding worldwide with public and private funding,” the book’s editors write, “research universities” have become “the most legitimate sites devoted to knowledge production.” They describe the “isomorphism that has seen the university replicate itself around the world, effectively superseding alternative organizations for research and advanced education” (Powell et al. 2017, p. xiii).

It is certainly true that the postwar era has witnessed the expansion and massification of European and North American university sectors as well as unprecedented growth in China, Russia, Australasia, Latin America, and parts of Africa. As Justin J.W. Powell et al. (2017) have written, “increasingly the world’s new science is rooted in the exceptional expansion of higher education and the on-going development of research universities” (p. 3). Figures for the early twenty-first century show that (in the fields of STEM+ at least), while the United States remains the single most significant producer of research articles, scholars in Europe and China are increasing their share of global knowledge production. Embracing Germany, France, the UK, Italy, and Spain, Europe, as a region, contains no less than five of the top ten countries globally for the production of scientific research papers. Moreover,

in general, these papers are produced by scientists working in large-scale, high-capacity, publicly funded higher education systems (Powell et al. 2017).

It is important to recognize the massive impact which these developments have had on how the history of higher education has been framed. As Paul Grendler (2003) has written, “Since universities were very important to society in the second half of the twentieth century it was natural to conclude that universities of the past must also have been important and worth studying” (p. 19). Robert Anderson (2009) has been similarly critical of “the current emphasis on research as the primordial purpose of universities” (p. 39). His own work has shown that the involvement of universities in active research is a relatively recent development.

The neglect of alternative institutions of higher education and knowledge-making is also connected with the historically close relationship between universities and the state and the important role of universities in the construction and maintenance of national and regional identities (Soffer 1994; Wallace 2006). This is clearly seen in Walter Rüegg’s discussion of the history of the university in Europe, “The university is a European institution,” he declares, “it is the European institution *par excellence* and the only European institution which has preserved its fundamental patterns and its basic social role and functions over the course of history.” Since the eighteenth century, he argues, it has been “the intellectual institution which cultivates and transmits the entire corpus of methodically studied intellectual disciplines” (Rüegg 1992, p. xix).

While the university has played a central role in the history of higher education, it is vital that historians look beyond it if they are to obtain a fuller picture. This means going further back in time, well before the emergence of the medieval universities; it also means traveling further afield, exploring developments beyond Europe and North America. Yet there is also work to be done in the traditional heartlands of university history – in the history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. Attention needs to be paid to alternative sites of higher education and knowledge-making which are too frequently left out of the narrative. These include (but are not limited to) private higher education institutions, learned societies and academies, research institutes, medical schools, further education colleges, museums and galleries. However, while calls for an “alternative history” of higher education focused on these sites are welcome and needed, scholars should heed Peter Burke’s call for an integrated history of knowledge which considers how all institutions of knowledge relate to, overlap with, and influence each other as part of a wider, overarching system.

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Empire and Exchange in Higher Education

46

Cross Currents and Interconnections

Jenny Collins

I think that historical studies in education need to pay a greater attention to colonial education; in fact, more than three-quarters of the people living in the world today have had their lives shaped by the experience of colonialism. (Novoa 1995, 26)

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Abstract

Early scholarship on empire and exchange in higher education focused on the age of British empire, exploring tensions between imperial connections and local influences and the relations between the imperial center and colonies. Later work highlighted interactions among people, goods, and ideas, a process that brings the local and global together. While early accounts analyzed the significance of imperial connections, recent scholarship highlights the importance of transnational networks and the exchange of ideas. Scholars are beginning to use

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biographical methods to explore the roles women played in higher education and their significance for social and educational change.

In the years after the First World War, Britain as an imperial nation was in decline and the United States became an increasingly influential player in the field of higher education. While early scholarship considered the spread of progressive educational ideas within the United States, recent work demonstrates the way ideas are exchanged across national and conceptual boundaries focusing on the context of Carnegie travel grants in the former British colonies of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand during the presidency of Frederick Paul Keppel (1923–1942). New scholarship explores the value of biography for exploring the role key women and men played exchanging “a new American empire” of educational theories and practices across the field of higher education.

Keywords

Early Australian and New Zealand universities · Imperial and local influences · American educational theories and Carnegie philanthropy · Transnational networks · Biographical methods

Introduction

Since the 1990s, historians of education have been revisiting the topic of the nineteenth century expansion of higher education and the extent of imperial connections. While early accounts considered the tensions between imperial influences and local influences, contemporary scholarship tends to highlight the global forces that drive the practices of international education today. It is only relatively recently that historians of education have begun to move away from an emphasis on the nation-state and the politics of metropole and periphery to examine the role of transnational networks, the exchange of knowledge, and the significance of gender, class, and race in a phenomenon that has its origins in the nineteenth century (Dolby and Rahman 2008).

Keeping in mind that the brief for this chapter is to explore the relationship between education, society, and social change, the discussion will begin by presenting an overview of key historiographical debates relating to higher education and empire in the period known to many as the age of the British Empire. It will then utilize two case studies to illustrate the origins, debates, and tensions in the field of higher education and overview new trends, directions, and developments in scholarship in relation to the theme of empire and exchange. The first case study draws on key scholarship to explore the way tensions between imperial connections and local influences played out in the foundation of the first five universities in Australia and New Zealand in the years 1850 to 1874. It will examine contemporary debates about the education of women, the influence of British practices, and the changing social and political factors that resulted in the admission of women to the University

of Otago. It will explore the value of biographical research as a window through which to observe the exchange of ideas and the nature of social and educational change in higher education.

The second part of the chapter will consider how ideas about knowledge, gender, class, and race played out in the context of higher education in the years after the First World War when Britain as an imperial nation was in decline and the United States was expanding its engagement with the Anglophile world, particularly the former British colonies of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Drawing on a range of scholarship, it will examine the role of Carnegie travel grants and the extent to which key men and women facilitated the exchange of progressive educational ideas across national and cultural boundaries during the presidency of Frederick Paul Keppel (1923–1942). The second part of the case study will highlight the value of a biographical approach for examining how key women and men acted to spread American educational theories in the field of higher education. Transnational approaches now include a focus on the role of the individual in the exchange of people, goods, and their impact on social change within the field of higher education, as the following will detail.

Historiographical Debates

Concerns surrounding the complexity of relations among the players in the field of empire and education have engaged historians of education in a series of debates about the best approach to take to understand this multifaceted issue. In the 2003, special issue of *History of Education* McCulloch and Lowe encouraged education historians to consider new ways of looking at the relationship between metropole and colony by bringing together a selection of papers on the theme of “Centre and Periphery – networks, space and geography in the history of education.” In this special issue, authors explored the spatial distribution of knowledge, the significance of personal interactions, the role of cities as crossroads and meeting places, and the emergence of a global traffic of knowledge (McCulloch and Lowe 2003).

In response to scholarly concerns about the limitations of a metropole and colony approach that minimized the politics of imperialism and failed to take sufficient account of flows of knowledge that moved from the periphery to the center, Fuchs (2007) assembled a collection of essays around the theme of “Networks and the History of Education” in a 2007 issue of *Paedagogica Historica*. In his Introduction, he sought to address some of the challenges implicit in a “nation-centered historiography” by seeking ways to apply network theories, especially those from a transnational perspective. He argued that networks on the one hand cover spaces that go beyond the nation state and on the other they focus on agents and ideas that have greatly influenced educational developments on the local, national, and international level. Such an approach also has the potential for interdisciplinary “borrowing” and offers insights into the patterns of relations and connections that have made

globalization possible. Some of the debates in contemporary scholarship using this approach will be considered in relation to *Universities and empire – The antipodean experiment*, the first case study in this chapter.

In response both to the challenges of the center-periphery approach and to debates about the role of networks, the 2009 special issue of *Paedagogica Historica* edited by Goodman, McCulloch and Richardson employed the twin themes of “empires at home” and “empires abroad” as a technique for expanding the historiography of “empire” beyond the one way flows from “center” to “periphery” that had framed so much colonial and imperial history especially studies of education and empire (Goodman et al. 2009) In this approach “metropole” and “colony” could be considered within a framework that stressed interconnections and interdependence and examined the ways that knowledge, identity and social change have shaped both colonizer and colonized. For example by using “empire” as a theme, scholars could investigate some of the ambivalent relationships between the local and global, illustrate the importance of transnational, global and world histories, and present ways in which the experience of empire shaped nation states and the actions of colonized peoples. Historians of education working in the area of higher education were encouraged to examine themes of empire and exchange as part a complex web of transnational flows which bring the local and global together and result in wider relationships within and across the Anglophone world (Pietsch 2013). This framework has particular relevance to *a new empire of educational ideas – Carnegie grants 1923–1942* the case study considered in the second part of this chapter. This discussion will form the backdrop to the conclusion of this chapter which will provide a synthesis of the trends, directions and developments in current scholarly work on empire and exchange in the context of higher education and some implications for future research.

Case Study One: Universities and Empire – The Antipodean Experiment 1850–1874

In considering the relationship between empire and exchange in Anglophile countries that were once part of the British Empire, one can draw on Silver’s argument (1983) that the historical connections in education between Britain and the rest of the world can be categorized according to those it had with Europe, those with the United States and those with the countries which became part of the British Commonwealth. Despite the lack of policy coordination across the British educational world, ideas about “being British,” or “being part of the British Empire” were a significant factor in educational policymaking in Britain and the colonies (Whitehead 2005, 2007). The following discussion will focus on a case study of the establishment of the first five universities in Australia and New Zealand. It exemplifies key scholarly debates about the way imperial connections and ideas about being British competed with local influences. The second part of the case study will examine the response of the foundation universities to pressure to enroll women students, the influence of contemporary British practices and the extent to which the

use of biography can provide insights into the changing social and political factors that resulted in the admission of women to the University of Otago.

Scholarly debates on the foundation of the first five universities have tended to focus on the role of imperial influences (usually based on a European/British model) and on the extent and significance of other influences (local, social, cultural and political). These themes are evident in the brief but useful exposition of the origins of mid-Victorian universities of Australasia in which the New Zealand historian Gardner (1979) argued that the first five universities (Sydney 1850; Melbourne 1853; Otago 1869; Canterbury 1873; and Adelaide 1874) were “autochthonous institutions,” of local formation founded to serve local needs. At the same time he saw them as “fragments” of old Europe, backward looking, drawing on the strong elements of conservatism in colonial life and largely “derivative” of British practice.

By the 1960s, historical accounts of the establishment of settler universities had assumed a national focus – emphasizing their distinctive qualities and their links to the emerging and independent nation of which they were a part. Later historians of British universities echoed this trend (Halsey 1992; Lowe 1982). But as Pietsch (2013) put it, settler universities and the individuals who worked in them were both local and global actors rooted in specific social and political communities and also connected internationally by their scholarship. An historiographical approach that privileged national identity thus fragmented the histories of British and settler universities and locked scholars whose careers spanned continents within national frames of reference.

The first universities and colleges in the Antipodes were established in the wake of a movement to reform and reinvent the idea of the British university and in this context scholars have argued for the importance of their imperial connections (Gardner 1979; Halsey 1992; Pietsch 2013). But the imperial and local also overlapped. While the growth of empire in Britain was associated with a new hierarchy in which a reformed Oxbridge and London dominated the new civic universities, in the Antipodes local differences were increasingly seen as important. Sue North’s (2016) contention in relation to Sydney and Melbourne universities holds true for Otago, Canterbury, and Adelaide; that their establishment resulted from pressure from the wealthy ruling class for public secular higher education but that diverse social, cultural, and political influences operated in their foundation and development.

In their study of the role of empire, state and public purpose in the founding of higher education in the Antipodes, Geoffrey Sherington and Julia Horne (2010) examine changing ideas of higher education at the heart of empire and within the settler societies in the Antipodes. They argue that models of center and periphery are not a sufficient framework for understanding the founding and early histories of antipodean universities and colleges. While imperial influences could be seen as significant, there was continuous engagement between imperial and local factors in the establishment of universities and colleges in the Antipodes.

As Horne and Sherington (2012) explain in *Sydney: The making of a public university*, the view that a “public” education involved a social contract between the citizens and the state was an underlying principle of the universities founded by the settler societies in Australasia from 1850.

Based on ideas of empire, state, self-government and public purpose, they were located in the capital cities of the new colonies and arose out of a concern to serve the public by being secular and free of sectarian influence and providing state and private endowments in an attempt to address questions of access. The University of Sydney, founded in 1850, was the first to adopt these principles. 1840s Sydney was built around communities of convicts and free colonists, large landholders and recent arrivals, and was influenced by Anglican, Catholic and Protestant religious groups – all of whom had competing and overlapping interests. With its history as a convict settlement still fresh in political memory, the city was determined to prevent the continuation of old British values associated with the Anglican Church. Concerned to produce a select “leading class” of good moral character, it initially utilized a reformed Oxbridge model for its university, one that concentrated on a liberal education based on classical studies. The new university was modeled on the University of London and the Queen’s Colleges, with the appointment of professors from Britain and aimed to create a reformed Oxford in the Antipodes. Despite pressure from the Anglican Bishops, Sydney was secular in instruction and form and open to all faiths.

In 1850s Melbourne, the “gold rush” middle-class and the new colonial élites created an institution catering to their interests and a model of higher education that provided for the traditional professions of law and medicine. Unlike Sydney, religious tests were never considered and churches were offered no financial support from either the state or the university. As a result, the University emerged as a “secular” amalgam of influences from England, Scotland and Ireland but with local features including lay control and strongly centralized governance. As Richard Selleck suggests in *The shop: The University of Melbourne, 1850–1939*,

From Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin, the University took historical confidence in the task of educating society’s leaders, some rituals, customs and architectural conventions, a set of degrees, respect for the classics, an expectation that women would not attend university, and vast accumulations of learning: but not religious exclusiveness, nor a picturesque rural setting, nor commitment to self government and tutorial teaching, nor powerful colleges. From the University of London. . . it took courage in being a state university. . . it shared. . . a reliance on professorial lectures with Edinburgh but was more aggressively secular. (Selleck 2003, p. 27)

Scholars have highlighted tensions between local interests and imperial connections in the foundation of both Sydney and Melbourne. Despite their stated intention to move away from British models based on social exclusiveness to a more civic-based university based on local needs, both universities had imperial charters providing recognition for their degrees in the Empire and allowing their graduates to seek attachment to the University of London. From the beginning, imperial expertise was also sought when appointing professors and governing bodies appointed London-based selection committees – a practice which remained throughout the Antipodes until well into the twentieth century (Sherington and Horne 2010).

As Gardner (1979) notes, the first provincial moves towards a university in New Zealand were made in Otago, which was founded on Scottish Presbyterian

principles with a commitment to universal education and supported by land endowments. Like Melbourne, economic and population growth on the back of a gold rush allowed the province to develop local school districts and matriculating high schools such as Otago Boys High School (1863) and Otago Girls High School (1871). By 1869, the University of Otago (secular and with no religious entry tests) had been established in Dunedin under provincial ordinance. In contrast, the Canterbury settlement was initially English in approach. With Christchurch as the center of the new province and a Christchurch College (1873) established to help create a “local Cambridge or Oxford,” the intention was to attract students from across Australasia and India. While the proposal failed to develop, the end of provincial government in the mid-1870s together with an ongoing commitment to higher education by central government resulted in the establishment of the University of New Zealand. Intense debates between Otago and Canterbury over its location resulted in the establishment of the “homeless and houseless” University of New Zealand, founded in 1871 and re-established in 1874. With its Council and Senate meeting rooms in Wellington, it provided scholarships to affiliated institutions and acted as an examining and degree granting body along the lines of the University of London. As Beaglehole (1937) pointed out in his *History of the University of New Zealand*, imperial connections continued in a similar way to Sydney and Melbourne with the appointment of professors and the examination process for degrees, senior scholarships, and honors being conducted by examiners in Britain.

According to Sherington and Horne (2010), the University of Adelaide (1874) emerged as a “civic university” similar to Canterbury. As such, its origins and focus were more clearly “civic” in nature than in the case of Sydney and Melbourne. Its civic origins lay in three overlapping domains. First was the strength of Congregationalism and the influence of London-born pastor and graduate of the Congregational New College affiliated to the University of London, James Jefferis. Inspired by educational ideals based on a social gospel, Jefferis managed to convince the Congregationalists in South Australia to come together with the Baptists and the Presbyterians to form a Union College for both secular higher education and theological training. Second was the initial offer of £20,000 from the sheep farmer and copper magnate Sir Walter Hughes, to assist with the foundation of a university – even though this offer was later withdrawn. Third was a civic movement that resulted in the formation of a University Association with the aim of furthering “liberal education” by conferring degrees in the arts and sciences; of allowing for “affiliation of collegiate institutions, irrespective of religious belief” and providing for “a fair representation” of all classes in the province. Perhaps influenced by developments in Otago, Adelaide sought to offer degrees to women and to introduce science.

Despite the importance of long-standing imperial connections, scholars such as North (2016) have argued that the five founding universities of Australasia (Sydney, Melbourne, Otago, Canterbury, and Adelaide) with their accompanying councils, professors, and programs of study were eventually instrumental in shaping an education that was different from that of the old British academic world. By expanding their “educational franchise,” these early Antipodean universities

laid the foundations for opening higher education to all those who could meet matriculation requirements, regardless of gender, class or creed.

However, in the early years of foundation, the admission of women to higher education was the subject of controversy and paradox. The first two universities – Sydney and Melbourne – followed the last three – Otago, Canterbury, and Adelaide – in admitting women. Few scholars have considered the issue of the admission to women to the first five Australasian universities and it remains an area for much needed research. What follows draws on the small number of publications in this area. Gardner (1979), who includes a chapter on the admission of women in his book *Colonial cap and gown: Studies in the mid-Victorian universities of Australasia*, accounts for their initial absence partly in terms of colonial relationship, partly because of timing and partly as a result of the composition of the societies concerned. The strength of colonial connections in the early years meant universities based their policies on British practice. In Gardiner's view, practices in 1850s Sydney and Melbourne represented "the deep twilight" of unreformed Oxbridge when it was assumed that university life was for men. When the second round of university foundations began in the 1870s (Otago and Adelaide), advocates of women's access to higher education enjoyed the benefit of changing social and political attitudes in Australasia and some established English precedents from which to work. The close connection between the establishment of London University classes for women in 1868 and the opening of New Zealand's first university, Otago, in 1871 was fortuitous for those advocating for women's admission to the university. The available scholarship illustrates some of the tensions between imperial influences and local conditions and the role played by changing social and political factors and it is to this campaign that this chapter will now turn.

Women's Admission to Higher Education – Using Biography to Explore Social Change

In recent years, writing in the history of education has reflected a growing interest in the insights biographical research can offer when analyzing the origins of ideas and changing social practices (Page 1990). The work of Morris Matthews (2008), Fitzgerald and Collins (2011) and Page (1990) in exploring the lives of women in higher education has particular relevance here. Morris Matthews (2008) in her study of women in higher education in New Zealand has highlighted the importance of social and economic factors in the participation of girls and women in higher education. In nineteenth century New Zealand, these included the expectations of settler parents for their daughters, the decline in fertility rates, and the opening up of a range of employment and professional opportunities for women within the new colony. Collins (2009a) in her study of the early years of home science education at Otago University has noted the influence of contemporary expectations about the role of women with opponents of higher education for women fearing the rise of the blue-stocking and the breakdown of women's traditional role as moral guardian of

the family and the nation. Contemporary assumptions that a university's main function was to prepare middle-class boys for the professions also played a role. The 1850s foundation of universities in Sydney and Melbourne were firmly based on an Oxbridge premise that a university's main function was to prepare middle-class males for the professions. In the case of the University of Otago, these assumptions influenced the development of the curriculum and the first professional appointments, which primarily focused on the higher education of the men of the colony. However, the call to establish a university in Otago can also be considered against a backdrop of 1860s debates about the role of a university in a young colony and changing ideas about the rights of women to access higher education. As Fitzgerald and Collins (2011) note in their *Historical portraits of women home scientists at The University of New Zealand, 1911–1947*, contemporary debates about the role of women and changing social and political factors were crucial factors in the admission of women to the University of Otago.

Page (1990), in her biography of Scots born Learmonth Whyte Dalrymple, illustrates the potential of biography as a window through which to observe the nature of social and educational change. She points to the importance of Dalrymple's extensive political and social networks for the success of the eight-year campaign for better access to education for women in the colony. With the support of a group of key women she began an extensive letter-writing campaign to British educationalists and a petition to local politicians to establish a girl's high school in Dunedin. Aware of the difficulties she would face should a woman front the campaign, she recruited a number of key male politicians to be the public face of the crusade including her neighbor and friend Major J. L. C. Richardson, an Otago provincial councilor, well known for his liberal views on education, provincial treasurer and future New Zealand premier Julius Vogel and Superintendent James Macandrew who helped set up an education commission in 1869. When Otago Girls High School opened in February 1871, Dalrymple campaigned for the admission of women to the planned University of Otago (Page 1990). With the support of Richardson, who was by then Chancellor of the University, Dalrymple organized another petition, this time to the university council for the "admittance of ladies". As many of the 149 signatories were wives of prominent men, their names lent weight to the appeal. On 8 August 1871 the council voted unanimously to admit women, the first university in Australasia to do so. In order to avoid public controversy Dalrymple accepted an initial compromise that women would be offered certificates for the ordinary degree courses along the lines of the London model rather than a degree. It took until 1877 for Kate Edger to become the first woman in New Zealand and one of the first in the Empire to be awarded a BA. By using a biographical approach, Page has presented one woman's life as a window through which to observe the role of social and political networks, the power of ideas and the nature of social and educational change in higher education.

In the years after the First World War, the informal ties that linked British and settler scholars created expanded avenues for exchange. It was during these years that the growing influence of American philanthropy began to erode the networks on which the British academic world depended. Philanthropic institutions such as

Carnegie and Rockefeller began funding numerous educational projects in the Dominions and creating new empires for the exchange of knowledge and ideas in higher education— as the following section of this chapter will consider.

Case Study Two: A New Empire of Educational Ideas – Carnegie Grants 1923–1942

Historians of education face important questions about the exchange of educational ideas across geographical and conceptual borders and the way that higher education has been shaped in particular historical contexts. While the first case study focused on the age of British Empire and the extent of its influence on the foundation of the settler universities of Australasia, the second will focus on the twentieth century, an era sometimes known as the American Century. During a period when American educational practices were in their ascendancy, major changes were occurring in the way knowledge, values, skills, and sensibilities were transmitted in education in general and in higher education in particular. The following discussion will draw on Pietsch's (2013) definition of empire as a circulating world of people, goods, and ideas to consider the influence of American philanthropic organizations such as the Carnegie Corporation and the way they worked to internationalize American educational theories and practices in the field of higher education. The discussion is framed by scholarly work that considers spaces that go beyond the nation-state and explores ways that exchanges of people, goods, and ideas have influenced educational developments at the local, national and international level (Fuchs 2007). The final part of this case study will examine some of the new scholarship that has utilized a biographical approach to illuminate the influence of American educational theories and the impact of political, social, and generational changes in the educational work of individuals (Finklestein 1998).

The Carnegie Corporation (1911) was one of the last and the largest of the Carnegie philanthropies to be established by Andrew Carnegie, being endowed for \$480 million through the sale of Carnegie's steel interests to J.P. Morgan. As Lagemann (1989) notes in her study of the Carnegie Corporation in the US *The politics of knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, philanthropy and public policy*, the exchange of progressive ideas about education and society was, for the Corporation, a vehicle for influence at a time when economic, demographic, geographic and social trends in the United States combined to move knowledge to an increasingly critical place in public life.

During the presidency of Frederick Paul Keppel (1923–1942) corporation policy was framed by a desire to find ways to disseminate traditionally élite culture to a larger number of people. Keppel had a particular interest in spreading these ideas into higher education both in the USA and internationally. To do so, he drew on the expertise of individuals in a wide range of social and political networks, turning to experts from Columbia University (CU) and Teachers College (TC) for advice on

both domestic and overseas projects. Key men such as Isaac Kandel (1881–1965), an authority on Comparative Education who was appointed as Professor of Education at TC in 1923, became important figures in the Corporation's international work. Others included James Earl Russell, who retired from TC to take up the position of Special Assistant at the Corporation, and his son John Russell who became secretary of the Dominion and Colonies Fund (DCF). Lagemann argues that Keppel's career is important to historians of education because interwar Carnegie initiatives, articulated through the Dominion and Colonies Fund and Teachers' College, helped to internationalize American educational theories and practices throughout the English-speaking world.

Critics of the general-purpose philanthropic foundations such as the Russell Sage Foundation (1907), the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1911) and the Rockefeller Foundation (1913) have historically viewed their actions as a form of cultural and imperial domination (Ealy and Ealy 2006). While acknowledging the benefits of grants to libraries, museums and adult education, and research to alleviate social conditions of the day, historians such as Lagemann have pointed to the naive nineteenth-century liberalism that motivated their largesse (Lagemann 1989). Michael White, in his study of the impact of Carnegie philanthropy in 1930s Australia, noted that once the philanthropic foundations became managed by professionals, their control passed to a wealthy, east coast, Ivy League elite sharing a culture far removed from that of the common people (White 1997). Given to an elite group of scholars, bureaucrats and politicians, the Carnegie grants could be seen to protect conservative-liberal political systems and perpetuate the capitalist organization of economic life. The application of these grants in former colonial nations such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa has been criticized as an imposition of dominant imperial/colonial ideologies of the wealthy Western nations under the guise of philanthropy, particularly as the grants themselves frequently fitted well with the foreign policy imperatives of the United States. In the case of the British colonies and dominions, the patrician backgrounds of the Carnegie bureaucrats facilitated an easy working relationship with existing social and political elites in domestic and imperial affairs. The grants also were framed by contemporary expectations regarding class, race and gender, the recipients being largely white and male with only small numbers of (mostly white) women "experts" being located in highly gendered fields such as home science, nutrition and child development (Collins 2009b; Lagemann 1989).

While Lagemann's study examined the exchange of knowledge in relation to domestic grants in the USA, since the late 1990s a more transnational approach has been adopted by a new generation of historians of education. Scholars such as Glotzer, White, and Collins have highlighted the importance of networks and the exchange of ideas and individuals across conceptual and geographical boundaries. The following discussion will examine debates about the extent of American influence, the impact of networks and the exchange of ideas in the context of Carnegie Corporation grants to key contacts in former British colonies of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

Scholarly Networks and Key Contacts: The Dominion and Colonies Fund

An important aspect of the Corporation's overseas ventures during Keppel's term of office was his concept of key contacts – highly qualified individuals with the capacity to mobilize their respective educational communities, public and governmental opinion in favor of educational innovation and reform. In his study of the relationship between Frederick Keppel, the Carnegie Corporation and the Dominion and Colonies Fund, Glotzer (2009) identified men such as Fred Clarke (1880–1952), Professor of Education at the University of Capetown in South Africa, Frank Tate (1863–1932), Director of Education for the State of Victoria in Australia, and C.E. Beeby (1902–1998), the foundation Director of the Carnegie-supported New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER), and later Director of Education (1939–1959) as key Corporation contacts outside the United States. These individuals frequently acted as conduits to government and universities, served as gatekeepers for Carnegie grant and travel programs, trained students and conducted research. A small number of 'key women' were important influences on Carnegie sponsored work through their teaching, research and writing including Professor Mabel Carney, who undertook cross-cultural research in South Africa and the USA. In her study of women academics and their Carnegie connections, Collins (2009b) has identified others including Professors Ann Gilchrist Strong and Elizabeth Gregory who pioneered the expansion of Household Science in higher education in the United States and New Zealand. These women were to become key contacts in Carnegie work in the USA and internationally.

With the creation of the Dominion and Colonies Fund in 1926, the Corporation expanded its programs in the southern hemisphere. In 1927, following a visit to South Africa and a report by Keppel and James Bertram, \$500,000 was set aside for scientific research, public and academic library development, adult education, the study of music and the arts, and for the improvement of education for Africans. Grants included technical education opportunities for "colored and Asian students" and the financing of visits to and from Africa by leaders in the educational field (Stackpole 1963). The grants were ultimately extended to \$1.5 million over 12 years. After launching its program in Africa, the Corporation turned its attention to the Antipodes. In 1927 the trustees voted grants totaling \$50,000 for endowment of the Australian Research Council and for the development of adult education work at several universities (Stackpole 1963).

The importance of transnational networks as a means of the exchange of new educational ideas across geographical and conceptual borders has been underscored in the work of Collins (2010). In her study of the expansion of women's work in the university, she highlighted the significance of personal, social, and educational networks in the award of Carnegie grants. The first major Carnegie grant to fund a university extension course in home science to New Zealand followed the 1928 visit of Dean James Russell. Initiated by Professor Strong, then Dean of the School of Home Science at Otago University, this project stemmed in part from Russell's background in rural adult education, in part from his association with Strong, who was a former student of

his at Columbia University, and in part from the advocacy of John Studholme who had helped to found the Chair of Home Science at Otago. Strong, as the result of her dealings with the Corporation in these years, became one of Keppel's key contacts in New Zealand. She maintained a regular correspondence with the Russells and with Keppel, personally hosting Corporation visitors to Otago and visiting Corporation headquarters in New York in 1933. She made recommendations concerning future projects and suggested potential candidates for travel awards. Strong's personal and professional networks and her enthusiastic advocacy for women as agents of social reform were the basis of her influence as a Corporation key contact.

Corporation Grant Files in the 1930s and 1940s indicate the highly gendered nature of the Carnegie Travel Grants. Most grantees were men with the small numbers of women being located in highly feminized fields such as home science, early childhood, library work, adult education, and child health. An examination of the lists of travel awards to New Zealand women in the 1930s and specifies six: Ann Gilchrist Strong, Professor of Home Science (1933), Alice Minchin, librarian (1932–1933), Gwendolen Somerset, adult educator (1935), Dorothy Neal, librarian (1936), Dr. Elizabeth Gregory who succeeded Strong as Professor of Home Science at Otago (1940), and Dr. Helen Deem, Director of the Plunket Society (1947) (Collins 2009b).

Although existing scholarship acknowledges the highly gendered nature of grant making and some research has considered the role of middle-class women professionals as social reformers, only a small amount of scholarship points to the role of race and culture in the philanthropic enterprise in relation to women in higher education. Collins considers the way these factors intersect in the context of women's role as social reform agents facilitating the exchange of progressive educational ideas. Using a biographical approach, she examines some of the factors at play in Carnegie's provision of a 1935 scholarship for a Miss Emere Kaa (a Maori nurse) to undertake a yearlong course in Home Science at Otago University. Cast as "Maori apostle of Home Science" chosen to carry the "principles of modern house-keeping to her race," Kaa undertook a 3-month tour under the auspices of the Education Department, visiting 16 native schools, meeting parents, and giving lectures at the schools and on the marae (sacred open meeting area). Kaa's reports on her work in remote rural communities drew on progressive discourses of social reform, assumptions about the superiority of the white race "Dr Smith . . . has the Maori question at heart" and middle-class values, "the children at the school are clean – free from scabies and lice and on the whole, considering the homes they come from, very tidy" (Collins 2009b, 804).

However, the long-term survival of the program depended on a political commitment from the newly elected Labor Government and ongoing funding from the Carnegie Corporation, both of whom seem to have lost interest in supporting social reform in remote rural Maori communities. By mid-1936, it had fallen off the radar. Keppel's comment in 1935 that the "great interest in the Maoris in New Zealand" was "more sentimental than realistic" seems, with hindsight, to have been prophetic.

It is difficult to assess the extent and effectiveness of the "new empire" of educational ideas embodied in the Carnegie grants. As in the case of Kaa, many

of the grants had a limited lifespan or were not continued after their initial period of funding. While recent work has emphasized the importance of the transnational networks that were established for the purposes of social reform, historians remain divided in their assessment of the value of the Carnegie grants. Some have criticized Carnegie's model of reform as a form of social control underpinned by class and race based assumptions that impose the values of the white middle class on the working-class poor, on Maori and on other ethnic groups (Harris 1997). Others note that many of the "new ideas" about education and social reform represented attitudes that were already prevalent in contemporary society (Collins 2009a). Women reformers such as Kaa and Strong drew on these ideas as they worked to alleviate poverty of Maori living in remote rural communities at a time when many education and health programs in the United States and New Zealand were still premised on Social Darwinist attitudes of 'survival of the fittest' and eugenics. Any historical analysis has to acknowledge these complexities.

Conclusion and Future Directions

As the first case study in this chapter has illustrated, recent scholarship on empire and exchange in the context of the higher education has pointed to the importance of imperial connections for understanding the settler academic world in the years after 1850. Key studies of the foundation of Antipodean universities by scholars such as Pietsch, Sherington, and Horne are part of a vibrant body of scholarship that since the 1990s has sought to re-examine the role of imperial connections and relations between empire, the exchange of knowledge, and the institutional and social practices of universities and academics across the British settler world. By defining empire as a circulating world of people, goods, and ideas, scholars such as Pietsch have gone beyond a focus on the nation state to highlight the importance of social and personal networks, inter-colonial influences, and the complex web of intermeshing connections that brought global and local together. While imperial influences were significant, a continuous engagement between imperial and local factors was evident in the founding ideas of each institution and involved not just ideas but also scholars, disciplines, and students. In addition, new ideas that "public" education involved a social contract between the citizens and the state and the idea of the public purpose of higher education were an underlying principle of the first Australasian universities.

Recent scholars have challenged simple models of "center and periphery" by investigating the ways in which the experiences of travel and social connection shaped the lives and careers of scholars and academics in universities and how broader integrative processes reshaped both the empire and the world at the end of the nineteenth century. Under pressure to demonstrate their relevance to the socially diverse and rapidly expanding communities in which they were located, settler universities asserted their position as institutions that straddled both the local and the global. They did this in two ways – by expanding their educational franchise to include science, law, medicine and engineering and by admitting women – as well as by

investing in libraries, travelling scholarships, and leave of absences programs that facilitated the exchange of ideas and connections between institutions (Pietsch 2013).

These developments took place in the context of a British university sector that was only slowly adapting to the demands of a changing world. As Fitzgerald and Collins (2011), and Morris Matthews (2008) have highlighted, the social and institutional practices that connected settler scholars to those in Britain also sidelined those identified as “other” in the empire. Until the 1870s, when key political and social changes and their own advocacy resulted in increased access, women were systematically excluded from enrolment in the university. Privileged constructions of the primacy of the white race framed the experiences of Africans, Indians, Aboriginal Australians, and Maori academics and students who were only rarely admitted to British academic networks. Little scholarship is available in this area and is more urgently needed.

The focus of the second case study moved to the twentieth century, a period during which major changes occurred in the transmission of knowledge, values, skills and sensibilities in higher education. Earlier scholars such as Lagemann considered ways in which the Carnegie Corporation worked to internationalize progressive educational theories and practices highlighting the international effects of US policies. Recent scholarship has moved beyond the nation state to consider the workings of empire and exchange at the level of ideas, people and goods. Adopting a transnational approach, it has examined the way interactions between peoples influenced the spread of American educational theories across geographical and conceptual borders and helped to shape the nature of educational work, particularly women’s academic work. By detailing the way key women utilized their own professional networks to expand their involvement in social change it has added new perspectives to scholarship that had limited its analysis to the role of “key men.” Scholarship on the relationship between gender, race, and the exchange of people and ideas in the field of higher education highlights the potential of biography for providing insights into the way Corporation grants helped to spread new educational theories into home science, adult education, and child health while expanding opportunities for women’s work as social reform agents.

Exploring the issue of empire and exchange in the field of higher education has its pitfalls. Dangers include superficiality, lack of depth and the failure to understand the significance of national histories and culture. By adopting transnational and biographical approaches, historians of education have added fresh insights into the work of educators and policymakers and the way educational ideas have been shaped in particular historical contexts. However, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of key issues of empire and exchange in higher education. For example little research is available on the social and institutional practices that led to exclusion on the basis of race and gender. More is urgently needed. Another challenge for historians seeking to provide new insights into the relationship between education, society, and social change is to expand the toolbox. In the same way that transnational approaches have highlighted the significance of the movement of peoples, ideas and goods across national and conceptual boundaries, biography is beginning to bridge some of the complex layers of culture, politics, and

society through an examination of an individual's character, motivation, behavior, and intention (Martin 2002). It is a valuable methodological tool with the potential to provide insights into key issues that remain understudied.

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Abstract

Historians have shown that within the changing nature of higher and further education, who was allowed entrance has varied over time and place according to different societies' assumptions about who could or should benefit from them. Drawing from literature written in English, this chapter investigates the changing nature of the student body roughly between 1850 and 2014. It shows that key historical and methodological issues concerning students have covered social reproduction theory and equality issues covering class, gender/sexuality, ethnicity, (dis)ability, religion, and culture; diverse patterns of teaching, learning, and examination; the growth of research, mobile, and transnational students; and the changes for students as mass higher education ever increases. In the last two decades, growing attempts to explore the actual student experience have highlighted student concerns and the reality that, as well as their participation

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in academic studies, extracurricular activities have always been significant in student life. At the same time, they have underlined the importance of issues of location, accommodation, and both the cost and attraction of higher learning. To give greater depth to these points, two case studies have been included: one explores the history of women studying science and the gender issues underlying this, the other focuses on histories of students' wider experience of higher education and how student voices can be heard. Both investigate issues of diversity such as class, ethnicity, and religion and the different types of students affected by these issues. The conclusion will give some reflections on future directions.

Keywords

Social reproduction · Gender · Science · Equality · Extracurricular activities

Introduction

This chapter examines students in higher and further education over the period from roughly 1850 to 2010. It will do so mainly with reference to those countries written about in English, thus omitting some very significant history but, hopefully, raising key issues relevant to many histories differing, higher academic levels and further education have been fluid concepts, varying in time and place but their students have usually been considered to be those beyond schooling age as then recognized, studying at differing but higher academic levels in universities and colleges (Rothblatt and Wittrock 1993). Who was allowed to enter the institutions of higher and further education has depended on society's often deeply held, yet varying, assumptions of both who can and who should benefit from them. Class, ethnic origin and religious affiliation have often and long been contentious factors in access, as has disability. Underlying these issues, just being female has kept women out of institutions, certain subjects within them and different levels of qualifications. Struggles by all less privileged people to gain access to higher education have, in turn, helped change conventions and institutions, the latter constantly developing and expanding anyway with the changing intellectual, economic, cultural, and social needs and desires of society. This chapter, therefore, can point to a rich history in the relations of education, society, and social change.

This chapter will give firstly a general overview of the history of students in higher and further education, which students were allowed access at any time, why and where, followed by an identification and exemplification of emerging themes, debates, and relevant methodologies. To give some greater depth, there will also be two case studies, one on the history of women studying science and one focusing on students' wider experience of higher education and how their voices can be heard. Both will explore issues of diversity such as class, ethnicity and religion, and the different types of students affected by these issues. The conclusion will give some reflections on future directions.

Overview of Current Knowledge

Historians show that in 1850 the only students in the few small universities that existed in western countries were those few men who had received a classical education. Generally, these scholars sought to qualify for office in church or state or in law or medicine, although France and Germany especially were developing higher education in polytechnics and other scientific and technical institutions. Germany's reputation for intellectual, cultural, and scientific academic scholarship drew students from across Europe and America, especially as a growth of knowledge led to an expanding differentiation of disciplines and thus of numbers and types of students, a prime example being Frederick William III University in Berlin (FWU; now Humboldt University) (McClelland 2017). Such expansion was to be replicated elsewhere as reactions to wars, political change, growing urbanization, industrialization, demographic changes, and the explosion of knowledge, together with schooling reforms, led to not uncontested changes in universities, their curricula, and the type of student who was admitted. Just in Great Britain (as it was then), for example, a new range of institutions across the countries of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, diverse in support, religion, curriculum, and location, allowed entry to different types of students, including a wider class base and some women. Yet all were male dominated, relatively small, largely middle-class, and still dominated by the old, elite English universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Oxbridge), representing "scholars united by class, privilege and a good cellar" (Anderson 1992; Silver 2007; Silver and Silver 1997, p. 158; Stewart 1989). Ostensibly, meritocratic higher education spread in the settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa of the British Empire yet might not include women at first and certainly not Indigenous populations (Pietsch 2013; Horne and Sherington 2012; ► Chap. 46, "Empire and Exchange in Higher Education").

In the USA, the first universities were private colleges like Harvard, serving sons of the elite, but a myriad of academies and small liberal arts colleges, founded by private and local initiatives, allowed more men, different religious groups, and some women access to higher education. A range of technological and agricultural institutions and, from 1862, state-based land grant universities took in a wider population. The issue of black, Indigenous, and minority education, however, was a major challenge to the proclaimed opportunities of American higher education. Private colleges for black students were established, but they were long disadvantaged by prejudice, impoverishment, and lack of relevant schooling (e.g., Fisk; Howard; Lincoln, Pennsylvania websites; Du Bois 2014; Horne and Sherington 2012).

By 1914 the growth of postgraduate students in the USA, requiring another whole range of student facilities, provision, and opportunities, was inspired by the successful German example. Britain and France followed suit after World War I (WWI) (Irish 2015). Significant scientific and technological higher education developed in Europe and the USA, making the early twentieth century a period of intense modernization, although the numbers of university students remained relatively small (Anderson 1992; McClelland 2017; Rothblatt and Wittrock 1993). Women

at last were beginning to overcome their long exclusion from higher education in Europe, especially once helped by school reform (Bonner 1995; Weber 2008), as they did in the settler colonies and had for longer in the United States (Horne and Sherington 2012; Solomon 1985). Entry did not always mean full equality, however, a prime example being Oxbridge where women were allowed entry but debarred from degrees until 1920 in Oxford and 1948 in Cambridge (Dyhouse 1995).

Two world wars and others, which claimed many student victims and affected the flow of international students in several ways, including the exodus of Jews and others from Nazi Europe to the USA and other countries, scarred the twentieth century. Wars, as well as the Cold War, stimulated further growth in university science and technology, while, increasingly, American research universities, with their competitive facilities and developments, helped by American philanthropy, heightened their draw for international graduates. The majority of higher education students everywhere, however, were undergraduates, in a range of expanding and changing institutions, subject disciplines, and methods of teaching and learning and thus an accelerating increase of students in both number and type. Altbach, however, argues that elite enrolment was gradually replaced only in the 1930s in USA and Canada and later elsewhere (Altbach 2016; Anderson 1992; Irish 2015; Pietsch 2013). The British experiment in 1969 of The Open University provided an innovative, popular, cheaper, home-based, part-time educational option, open to all without specific entry requirements, which became a model for other countries in North America and Australasia and, indeed, South America and Africa, although technological and cost problems were sometimes prohibitive (Silver 2007; Stewart 1989).

From the late twentieth century onward, a massive worldwide expansion of institutions, curricula, and students occurred, albeit with huge differences in size, student numbers, and facilities and despite strains in public finance and, correspondingly, increasingly heavier student debts. The lives of students were revolutionized by technological developments, especially the computer and internet, while increasing attention was given to their welfare, health, and fitness. A swelling movement of all students between countries was encouraged, for example, from the 1980s in Europe by the ERASMUS and SOCRATES programs and the Bologna Declaration of 1999, a model stimulating developments elsewhere, notably in Latin America and Africa. There was an expansion of students from less-developed countries or institutions moving internationally to more developed ones, for instance, from Asia to English-speaking countries, or attending student programs or even campuses in their own country run by a more prosperous and prestigious foreign university (Altbach 2016; Beckett 2016). By 2014 there were 200,000,000 students in post-secondary education worldwide, with numbers rapidly growing in Asia, Latin America, and Africa (especially Brazil, Russia, India, and China), and the numbers of women were increasing as, to a lesser degree, were international, mature, and part-time students (Altbach 2016). Yet women, poorer sections of society, ethnic, religious and cultural minorities, and Indigenous communities endured a varying, often tortuous access to both higher education and different sections of it (Dyhouse 1995;

Horne and Sherington 2012). In the USA, for instance, deep, persisting racial inequalities in higher education were only partially improved through the historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and positive legislation from 1965 to 1980 (Eisenmann 1997; websites Howard, Lincoln, Pennsylvania and Fisk Universities).

Once students entered higher education, not only academic life but also opportunities to take part in the social and cultural sides of student life, including sport, cultural, political, and religious and community societies and organizations, were extremely important. Protests on an international scale and local issues of cost, access, accommodation, health, and welfare (including sexual health and sexism) have been significant, as have the exigencies of home and, sometimes, working, life, location, and type of course (see, e.g., Aldrich 2002; Beckett 2016; Brewis 2014; Horne and Sherington 2012; McClelland 2017; Silver 2007).

Identification of Emerging Themes

A key issue arising from this brief survey is that of access, which, in turn, much depended on differing concepts of both “university” and “higher education” and thus what and who should be included in it (Horne and Sherington 2012; Rothblatt and Wittrock 1993). In Britain, for example, technological, applied, and vocational learning was much resisted by more traditional academics yet as Harold Silver (2007) pointed out, even their preferred “liberal” education had always been vocational since skills gained at Oxbridge were for service in state or church (or just being gentlemen). Even in Germany, the Humboldtian ideal of the disinterested pursuit of knowledge was, in reality, tempered by the students seeking a university education for a future high status and a well-remunerated career (McClelland 2017). The most highly regarded universities were thus perpetuating elites. To understand this, the ideas of the French sociologist and public intellectual, Pierre Bourdieu, on the different forms of capital – economic, cultural, intellectual, and social – and social reproduction can be carefully applied, as Fritz Ringer pointed out when writing with Detlef Müller and Brian Simon (Ringer 1987) on education in western Europe between 1870 and 1920. In Müller, Ringer, and Simon’s volume, Roy Lowe portrayed a hierarchy of British universities in this period, drawing largely from a matching hierarchy of schools and classes to ensure future equilibrium in the social hierarchy. Thomas Weber (2008) compared elite students at German universities and those at Oxbridge, arguing that in both, the social elite’s influence came from their membership of voluntary associations, especially the Officer Training Corps in England and student corporations in Germany. Ethan Ris similarly saw bureaucratic hierarchy in the structure of American colleges between 1880 and 1920, implicitly taught to undergraduates through their fraternities (and later sororities), athletic, and social clubs (Ris 2016).

Anderson (1992) supported the views of Lowe and Ringer on social reproduction, largely seeing British higher education from 1900 to the 1950s as aiming at only a few professions and having limited student mobility. He believed that even the more meritocratic reforms and expansion from the 1940s onward largely kept the old

social and gender disparities in higher education, the numbers applying being representative of inequalities in schools, and the hidden biases in selection and local variations. The development of polytechnics and other institutions helped the working classes more than the universities since they were cheaper, local, and had a wide range of applied and vocational subjects, although lower social status.

Social reproduction theory has been applied by numerous historians, for example, it can be applied to gender when considering both what type of man has been welcome in higher education and why women have so often been excluded. The eventual partial successes of women in entering higher education in Britain and Australia have been shown by Joyce Pedersen (1987) and Marjorie Theobald (1996) to follow largely the same social background as male students and thus to reinforce class hierarchies. Gender itself has become a prime category of analysis in history of education (Goodman 2012). Carol Dyhouse (1995, 2006), for example, brilliantly portrayed the gendered assumptions underpinning the many struggles women underwent to enter the bastions of higher learning in Britain, together with the behavioral norms expected of them in academia and non-curricular activities, even in those institutions which proclaimed they had “no distinction of sex.” Christine Myers (2010) in her examination of university coeducation in both the USA and the UK in Victorian times also explored both the academic and the extracurricular lives of the students, realizing how much idiosyncratic restrictions in both prevented true equality of provision or the free interaction of the sexes even where women appear to have succeeded. Linda Eisenmann (1997) updated and critiqued Barbara Solomon’s (1985) comprehensive history of women in American higher education, following this in 2006 with an expert analysis of the difficulties for women students in the USA in the period 1945–1965 (including African–American women) of generally overcoming persistent gendered attitudes and negative familial, social, and cultural assumptions. All these scholars have used biographical illustrations – a method much used by feminist and gender historians (► [Chap. 55, “Biography and Autobiography”](#)) – to telling effect to restore often ignored and lesser known people to history.

Case Study 1 Women in Science

The subject of women in science highlights gender issues in higher education since of all the subjects that women might want to study, science (including medicine, mathematics, and engineering) has been the most fraught, especially at its highest levels – a serious matter in a scientific age. There has been a long-standing historical problem of general assumptions of girls’ lesser ability in sciences. From the 1980s, a number of scientists, historians, and philosophers – mainly women – questioned the androcentric nature and language of most scientists’ thinking, the gendered assumptions they reinforced, and the resulting sexual divisions of education and employment. Sandra Harding, Hilary Rose, and others urged challenges to the traditional white, western male standpoint, acknowledgment of the cultural bias of traditional

ideas, and understanding reality through those historical, geographic, politically located, and embodied subjects which underpinned it (Watts 2007).

The numbers of women entering science and technological subjects have generally, particularly in the physical sciences and engineering, been low, although this has varied according to context and time. For example, in the nineteenth-century America, girls took sciences at school when elite boys took classics, while in Spain until the 1960s, most of the few women at university took sciences – specifically medicine and then pharmacy – since thus they could access the male baccalaureate curriculum and gain access to pharmacy, the most open profession for women (Canales 2018; Watts 2007). Generally, however, women had to struggle for admittance, especially indeed in medicine, seen as improper for “pure” women despite their care of the sick at home and the call for trained nurses. European universities, principally in Switzerland and Paris, were the first to make concessions, attracting many foreign students, although there were difficulties of cost, language, and customs. In Britain and the USA, there were bitter struggles, particularly over gynecology and obstetrics where male doctors feared competition, but some universities such as Birmingham, UK, were more welcoming than others. Medical men themselves in the USA and Britain argued “scientifically” that women’s reproductive role would be harmed if women wasted their energy on higher education or professional and scholastic emulation of men. Not all men agreed, and, as women began to graduate as doctors, they were able to dispute the science on equal terms. On the other hand, developments in science itself such as Social Darwinism, eugenics, and to some extent Freudianism reinforced traditional ideas (Watts 2007).

Margaret Rossiter’s superb trilogy (1982, 1995, 2012), based on extensive archival and oral research, uncovered the previously ignored or little understood history of American women’s battles to gain parity with men in science and in so doing made significant points about their higher education. She showed that women were largely allowed into higher education as future mothers but faced many barriers against further progress or academic employment outside of the women’s colleges, low paid and low status jobs, or in the “feminine” scientific fields they forged in home economics, botany, and child psychology. These factors could deter future students, as might women’s continuation on the margins of science, even as science expanded, diversified and, at its higher levels, gained significant prestige and lucrative rewards. Rossiter described a complex history exposing wide differences in different scientific disciplines and institutions; significant political, economic, and social factors; and the importance of having women in power, as mentors, and in activating networks and pressure groups. Greater success after 1972, she argued, was less due to the Equal Opportunity Act than to universities’ eagerness to attract more women when males began to prefer coeducation and/or student enrolments were dropping. The numbers of women successfully graduating in the sciences much increased, with breakthroughs in some areas including new health disciplines. Psychology and biology remained easily the most popular, however, and female presence in computing collapsed markedly once computing gained in prestige and, correspondingly, more men took it. As numbers rose, women students’ negative experiences stimulated both the gradual easing of discriminatory practices and

“institutional sexism” and positive programs to overcome traditional stereotypes. Struggling women’s colleges energized their scientific programs, increasingly accepting older and part-time women in so doing. The number of women completing doctoral degrees in science and engineering at American graduate schools correspondingly increased. Varied experiences still continued, but there grew a new determination to relieve them, for example, the National Science Foundation’s created a large federal program to transform university culture (*ibid.*; Watts 2007).

In other countries programs were also devised to counteract familiar images of scientists as white-coated men in laboratories or dirty engineering jobs (or, nowadays, as “geeky/nerdy” people) and to encourage females at school and higher education applicants into science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, and these remain a continuing necessity (Watts 2007). Location and culture proved to be crucial differences, however, as illustrated by how computer science has become very much a masculine domain in much of the western world, but not so in places such as Mauritius, Kenya, Taiwan, and some former Soviet republics (Michell et al. 2017).

In her analysis, Rossiter used much biographical material to make her points, as have many accounts of women in science, thus illustrating the actual lives, experiences, and struggles of female students, especially the deep longing for higher intellectual education which motivated so many. A good example is Claire Jones’s perceptive investigation of the lives of Hertha Ayrton, daughter of an immigrant Jewish shopkeeper, and Grace Chisolm, from an affluent, middle-class family, who both were mathematical students at Girton College, Cambridge, in the 1870s and 1880–1890s, respectively (Jones 2009). Similarly, the many anthologies of women in science that have emerged in the last few decades, many of which can be found on the web, can reveal the paths women have historically taken to gain sufficient intellectual capital to study sciences at university. The Hungarian chemist Magdolna Hargittai, for example, did this in her study, using much substantial oral evidence from many countries (with special sections on Russia, Turkey, and India) and many different fields of science, although the majority were in physics, chemistry, and biomedical sciences. She demonstrated that many of these women travelled abroad for their doctoral studies, principally to America and then Switzerland, Germany, Britain, and later Japan, although, before WWII particularly, in all of these, some universities (notably Columbia and Cornell in the USA) were far more welcoming than others (Hargittai 2015).

No Africans appeared in this study, but a significant number of the women were Jews fighting further prejudice. This was demonstrated too in a brief study of higher education of the nine women in the twentieth century who won the Nobel Prize in science (physics, chemistry, medicine, or physiology), plus two commonly accepted as having been worthy of one. Of these, six came from Jewish families who, whether wealthy or not, clearly valued education highly and so could pass on cultural capital. Only four winners, however, could have achieved university admission straight from school – a comment on the general lack in the earlier twentieth century particularly of preparing girls with the right subjects for university admission. Three of these four

were educated in New York and testified to the strong, equal public school system there rather than across America as a whole. The importance of some family support and social capital were significant for most students (Watts 2007).

Further Questions of Equality in Higher Education

Fraught histories can also be seen for those disadvantaged because of their ethnicity, religion, class, political status, and physical and mental disability. The significant effect of racial and religious differences on student access and experience has been analyzed, for instance, in South Africa, Australia, Ireland, and the USA by Chaya Herman (2017), Horne and Sherington (2012), Harford and Rush (2010), and Thai-Huy Nguyen and Marybeth Gasman (2015), respectively. Factors of inequality are often interrelated as McClelland (2017) indicated when he linked the growing anti-Semitism among students of the very Protestant University of Berlin from the 1880s onward to class-bound resentment, many Jewish students (like Catholics – also a despised minority), being from modest backgrounds. Many were also born outside Germany. Prejudices against Jews were probed specifically with respect to students from 1919 to 1945 in Geoffrey Giles's (1985) study of what became the National Socialist German Students' Association which he showed gained control of the student body yet was unable to turn the whole student body into Nazi ideologues and ambassadors.

Class and lack of economic capital has always been a prohibitive factor either in accessing or in continuing in higher education, especially if students live away from home, as students from rural areas especially have to do. Scholarships were a necessity for wider access, as seen in Britain, Australia, and the USA, but widespread cuts since the 1990s led to cutbacks and students having to pay tuition fees and rely on loans and part-time work in many countries (Horne and Sherington 2012; Silver 1997). Different countries and institutions have varying policies on tuition fees and ways of helping less-advantaged students, but as Altbach (2016) has argued, even where tuition is free, the indirect costs of higher education, accommodation, and living expenses can be prohibitive, and if the basic structures of inequality remain, so generally, social, economic and geographical inequalities persist.

In measuring these inequalities in higher education, quantitative sources are often used. Vincent Carpentier (2008) has given useful critical reflections on how to do this with historical integrity. Anderson (1992) and Dyhouse (2006) in Britain and Herman in South Africa (2017) have all used statistics effectively to explain national, class, gender, and racial factors in higher education.

Teaching, Learning, Examinations, and Curricula

Even where in much of Europe and elsewhere higher education was guaranteed by law or tradition to students successfully completing their secondary school

examinations; few females and by no means all males received the requisite enabling education (Altbach 2016). As this was gradually improved across the world in the twentieth century, so increasing numbers sought higher education. The British response, for example, in a hierarchy of institutions offering liberal, professional, scientific, technological, industrial, and commercial education, also brought a new rigorous process of scrutiny and accountability (Silver 2007). The emergent elaborate system of examinations and records everywhere was characterized by Michel Foucault as hierarchical, normalizing, and controlling (Foucault 1975). For most students, certainly, how they were taught and assessed governed their academic experience, whether these were traditional lectures, formal assignments, and final exams or the twentieth-century experiments in alternative ways of evaluation. The latter stimulated pedagogic changes expected to encourage critical and independent thinking among students – ostensibly an aim of higher education yet possibly problematic. In Britain, for instance, innovative curricula, flexible methods, and greater possibilities for active student participation, stimulated by popular new institutions, suited the growing diversity of students such as part-time, work-based, and distance students but could prove baffling to those unused to them, especially students from different cultures or countries (Silver 2007).

The use of distance learning has had a massive positive impact on student accessibility to higher education in countries such as Britain and South Africa, but Hilary Perraton (2012) has shown that its explosion in developing countries since the 1980s has had variable success, students being much affected by high costs, access to ever-developing appropriate technology, and local educational and economic circumstances. Generally, such developments favor young men and exclude many of the poor. Altbach (2016) also worried about the northern, especially American, neocolonialism in this and the corresponding growth of English as the major international and scientific language. This has been exemplified in the huge, primarily distance learning University of South Africa (Unisa) where even Afrikaans-speaking students are now opting to use English (Borman and Potgieter 2017).

Student needs and preferences have helped gain wider curricula. A prime example of this was the admission and growth of applied and vocational subjects – non-elite subjects such as education, nursing, health sciences, music, arts, fashion, visual communication and media, agricultural, and technical. These enabled to enter a university many who otherwise could not have done so because of class, gender, minority status, and the nature of their qualifications. With ever-widening specialisms and qualifications, they enabled increasing types of students to take both diverse and higher levels of qualifications (Aldrich 2002; Horne and Sherington 2012; Herman 2017; university websites worldwide).

Research, Mobile, and Transnational Students

The traditional mobility of students was much enhanced by the increase of research students, this occurring on a large scale in the later twentieth century, although adversely affected by changing immigration policies and high fees (Altbach 2016).

One response to the possible isolationism of research students has been the histories of education summer school conferences for postgraduate students, supported by European associations in helping doctoral students to meet in different cities in Europe, network, and build up community experience (Spieker and Van Gorp 2016). Such collaborative work is truly transnational, a concept increasingly seen as significant (Goodman 2012; Brewis 2013). Modern student mobility has helped multiculturalism and students forging their own international links despite possible political, cultural, linguistic, and ethical challenges (Altbach 2016; Beckett 2016). With present-day ranking of institutions and courses, students at all levels increasingly choose if they have the opportunity, those ranked highly, especially in their chosen disciplines (Horne and Sherington 2012; e.g., University of New South Wales website). Altbach (2016) noted that the increasing mobility of international undergraduates seeking better quality higher education, better employment prospects, and, sometimes, freedom from political repression or other discriminations could result in brain drains, intensifying inequalities. He saw the growth of private higher education, sometimes of doubtful quality, to satisfy huge student demand for higher education as a worrying development.

Case Study 2 The Student Experience

Few books have focused on the experience of the students themselves. One *which has* was that of Harold and Pamela Silver (1997) whose detailed research into undergraduate students from the 1960s to the 1990s, across England, Wales, and Scotland and from Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania state universities in the USA, was based on extensive interviews with students, ex-students, and staff, together with a wealth of primary literature. The Silvers warned that they could only sketch “the changing landscape of student activity, culture and attitudes” (p. 93), for even the most common and publicly shared experiences such as athletics, the bar, discos, and fashion were disaggregated by race, gender, social class, disability, and the many personal characteristics and allegiances of an increasingly less homogeneous student body. Nevertheless, they highlighted the reality that student life has always been about interrelated academic and nonacademic categories in which allocation of time, relationships with their peers, and social and recreational activities are crucial aspects. How students juggled the multidimensional obligations and attractions of student life, how they paid their way, how they were prepared for future employment, and what that might be were shown as supremely influential in their lives as were the size, structure, and type of their institution and where they lived – whether in student halls, hostels, flats run by either the institution or privately, or at home. Although, for all students, entering this very different world could be a life-changing, even shattering, experience, different needs, expectations, experiences, problems, and perceptions repeatedly emerged. While recognizing the pitfalls of generalization, the Silvers made comparisons between Britain and the USA, demonstrating both differences and similarities in these experiences.

Ever aware of how changing social and political contexts affected students, the Silvers sought to know and understand them as “an active, influential, participative force within the campus and wider community” (p. 2). From the mid-1960s, for example, students in both the USA and Britain debated coeducation, accommodation, and general rules on behavior and sexual morality. All of these were undergoing transformation as were the age when young people were legally defined as adults and youth culture. Involvement in national issues such as the Vietnam War and civil rights struggles of the 1960s and 1970s in the USA – then feminism, sexism, and racism in both countries – disturbed them in different ways, with students such as women, black, and other minority students, for instance, becoming active combatants. Student unions were shown to have been much engaged with political, campus, and student-oriented causes as they were with the increasing variety of college activities, societies, and community action, but the Silvers questioned how far all students did or could participate.

Stephanie Spencer et al. (2015) used extensive, carefully constructed interviews and questionnaires with alumni and staff, to capture the changing experiences of students from the 1950s at King Alfred’s College as it metamorphosed from a small church of England male teacher training college into the coeducational, multi-discipline University of Winchester. Their analysis illustrated in turn how a sense of community was kept even when many students were not resident and/or went outside the university for their entertainment; how the spiritual well-being of students could be cared for in a multi-faith community; what gender issues ensued from a conversion into a coeducational community; and how important were the campus, the siting of departments and the city location, and student links with the latter. Their qualitative live history was supplemented by what could be discovered in letters, reports, photographs, student newspapers, and magazines. Others, such as Anderson (1988) writing on students at Aberdeen University, Scotland, and Dyhouse (1995, 2006) on women students in Britain, have also used such material (► Chap. 53, “Memories, Memory, and Memorial”) and also effectively used autobiographical and biographical material – a source which can illuminate individual pathways through higher education and the joys as well as struggles of academic life as Solomon (1985), Theobald (1996), Hargittai (2015), Horne and Sherington (2012), and Beckett (2016) exemplify. The latter two are particularly good on using visual images to telling effect. So are some institutions, which use them to attract future students, increasingly aware that students choose them for their academic reputation, facilities for learning and studying and recreational activities, field and research work; the architecture and landscape, and, increasingly, mental and physical welfare services, care of the disabled and security (see, e.g., Horne and Sherington 2012; McClelland 2017). Nottingham, UK, for instance, boasts of its green and sustainable campuses and its excellent arts and sports facilities as well as its research and employment reputation (Beckett 2016).

Extracurricular facilities and opportunities, not least just socializing, have often been a most significant aspect of higher education for many students. Publications on colleges, universities, and other institutions give many images and anecdotes of student rags, dances, magazines, dramatics, art, music, and fashion over the many

social and cultural changes of the last 170 years (Beckett 2016; Dyhouse 2006; Horne and Sherington 2012). Increasingly campuses have provided their own theatre, music halls and venues, and, importantly for many in the west, bars, although in cities these could be accessed outside. The drinking culture, long associated with students, has often caused social and political anxiety, as has the use of drugs. Atkins (2015), for instance, has analyzed the changing use and research on drugs in American higher education from 1960. Yet, from the Settlements of late Victorian England onward, many students have found community engagement to be important. Georgina Brewis (2014) examined British involvement, necessarily tracing European and then international links around the world and wryly depicting women students' extensive involvement yet, before late 1970s feminism, marginalization at the top. She also (Brewis 2013) delineated the transnational developments in student social service culture in India and Britain in the first decades of the twentieth century which grew from a set of shared values and influences yet, drawing on differing religious and cultural traditions, developed differently though with reciprocal influence.

All these activities provided opportunities for socializing with diverse students, especially for full-time students who had easy access to the facilities yet could also be ways of strengthening elites. In Britain, for example, sport, at first, was a prime aspect of Victorian masculinity, public schools, and Oxbridge, and though gradually newer, poorer institutions developed facilities for sport and athletics, gendered thinking about sport and virility remained as Dyhouse (2006), for example, has tellingly shown. In American and Australian universities, sport especially was supposed to be a great leveler, yet often women and those who lacked time (e.g., evening students) or the necessary means did not have equal access, although some students might gain admission because of their sporting prowess (Horne and Sherington 2012).

The focal point of student sporting, cultural, religious, and political student associations has often been, since the late nineteenth century, the student union. Betül Batır (2016) indicated how the idea of student unions spread and its international connotations, through exploring how the Turkish National Student Union was established in the 1920s. As with many student associations, however, it took some decades for all students to be admitted on equal terms in them as, for example, Dyhouse (1995), Aldrich (2002), McClelland (2017), Giles (1985), and Horne and Sherington (2012) showed with regard to women and ethnic minorities in some universities in Britain, Germany, and Australia. Student unions have often become pivotal centers of student protest about local, national, and international problems and events as Brian Simon (1998), a leading voice in the British National Union of Students (NUS) in the late 1930s, has detailed. Giles (1985) showed in his study on Germany that student unions could be considered vital elements in war and politics, although their effectiveness depended on both leadership and on the real commitment of most students. Students and their institutions have sometimes been integral to nationalist political and/or cultural movements, for instance, in Ireland, Wales, and Germany, and many anti-colonial and independence movements (Altbach 2016; Anderson 1992; Harford 2007). The political engagement of students, at times

much discussed by the media, has flared sporadically in the western world in response to both disappointment in university conditions and to exterior social and political problems and conflicts. The widespread, sometimes violent, protests in the late 1960s, across the Americas, Europe, and Australia, are a prime example of this (Horne and Sherington 2012; Silver and Silver 1997). Students gained some greater representation in university affairs and had some effect on key political or social movements, yet Altbach (2016) doubts that, generally, much lasting change on campus was gained. His interesting analysis of student political activism included its significant moments in German and Italian nationalism and fascism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its successful reforming impact on Argentinian and Latin America universities in the early twentieth century, and its substantial role in colonial, developing, or less secure countries. He saw these protests as mostly led by a minority of middle-class students, often from affluent families from significant minorities, but understood that this might be quite different in Muslim countries or India. Beckett (2016), however, indicated the difficulties of students speaking out on political issues under dictatorships such as China.

Conclusion and Future Directions

This brief overview of developments for students in higher education over 150 years and the related themes, debates, and methodologies in which historians have engaged shows that, while there has been an ever-increasing growth in numbers and types of students and the courses open to them, inequalities, based on social, religious, ethnic, cultural, and gender differences and assumptions, have underpinned this throughout. Historians have used theories such as social reproduction theory and gender theory to understand and explain these issues. They have shown that expansion of higher education, albeit within hierarchical structures of esteem, allowed access to students with different aptitudes and interests; that emergent types of teaching and learning and assessment have had problems as well as advantages; and that the growth of research, mobile, and transnational students introduces a wealth of diverse experiences but also new challenges in higher education.

The first case study, exploring the history of women in science, highlighted how historians in one crucial, multifaceted area of study have teased out the concept of gender to understand the assumptions and practices which disadvantaged women and how, in practice, female students had to negotiate their way through them. The study also indicated how varying factors of inequality are interrelated, factors which recurred in the second case study which focused on student experience. In particular, by examining a few studies that have used student interviews and sources to explore student culture, attitudes, and activities, it highlighted the significance of students' living and working environment, of their non-curricular undertakings, and of the issues which both affected them and those which they sought to affect.

Generally, there has been a paucity of literature on students themselves in higher education, as R.D. Anderson (1992), for example, said about modern histories of

British universities. Nevertheless, it is possible to discover various aspects about students from many historical and contemporary books, articles, and records on higher education and related issues as it is from auto/biographical and visual material as other literatures referred to in the case study illustrated. Such history in giving greater voice to students highlights vital aspects of their lives which have often been ignored or undervalued, including all that motivates and demotivates them as students. More is needed in this vein: greater use of biography and of visual material such as photographs, cartoons, and student magazines; more on the architecture and landscape of institutions and campuses; and more on student accommodation and how students live.

Future historians also need to rectify the lack of scholarship on the effect of physical and mental disability on both student intake and experience, the dearth of scholarship the Silvers (1997, p. 102) alluded to on part-time and distance students and those following nontraditional routes. The voices of all those marginalized, excluded, and, indeed, disaffected need to be explored and related to societal context. In this, there is a need for truly comparative work as there is on all the aspects covered, as Altbach (2016) commented with respect to his own work on global perspectives. For this, however, there is a greater need than has been met here to include history from non-English sources.

Greater depth to any of these aspects can be gleaned from contemporary social science and educational research which can often alert historians to ignore issues or illuminate some under-researched in the past as exemplified by Michell et al. (2017) on female undergraduates in computing at the University of Adelaide in 2014, which found that the different types of oppression that such students might face – exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence – were inextricably interrelated. Online websites of universities show how some universities, for instance, in the USA, are reaching/have reached out to the disadvantaged (including illegal immigrants), the non-English speakers, women, poorer students, and those of diverse cultural and religious origins (e.g., California, Chicago, and Rutgers University-Newark/RU-N websites). Contemporary issues much portrayed in newspapers and other media, such as sexuality; free speech and “platforming”; students not being taught by the “great minds” who attracted them; the impact of growing costs and a consumer culture on student attitudes; and demands for greater support, including on disabilities and health, are similarly useful.

Perhaps, above all, the intellectual joy and excitement many of the students in higher education experience should be remembered. How far they can do this depends on the relationships of education, society, and social change indicted here.

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Women Professors and Deans

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Access, Opportunity, and Networks

Stephanie Spencer and Sharon Smith

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Abstract

This chapter argues that the key tension in the historiography of women’s progress as academics lies in its position within women’s and feminist history and the history of education. The themes of institutions, networking, money, and religion provide four hubs from which to reflect on existing work and recognize potential new directions for those seeking to improve either our understanding of the past or the problems of the present. A fifth section discusses the possibility of “border crossings” as an additional lens through which to view the field. The scope of the chapter is restricted to material published in English, and existing lacunae in terms of race, disability, and sexuality are recognized but inevitably repeated. Most examples are taken from the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, and Britain, and it is hoped that the themes identified may generate research with a wider geographical scope. Researching women as

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academics is more complex than simply charting their access and presence; it is also about recognizing their impact on university life and curricula. Two case studies highlight themes of history for the past or present. The first focuses on the role of the British and International Federation of University Women, identifying how women worked together to expand career opportunities. The second considers how campaigns for academic equality today draw on historical explanations for the origins of the problem.

Keywords

Women professors · Networks, Religion, Equality · Higher education · Gender

Introduction

Edith Morley (1875–1964) was the first woman professor in England appointed by the University of Reading in 1908. Mary Beard highlights themes in Morley’s *Reminiscences of a Working Life* that occur throughout studies of women’s entry into academic professions. Morley was “awkward,” “difficult,” and “determined,” and “Quite simply, she took on the establishment, as feminists have done ever since” (Morley 2016, p. 1). The key tension in the historiography of women’s progress as academics lies in its position within women’s and feminist history and the history of education. Research either extends our knowledge of the past for its own sake or seeks answers to ongoing inequality today. While these two aspirations may result in similar approaches and interpretations, in the attempt to find an overarching interpretation of chronological developments, the details, subtleties, and individuals who do not fit that pattern are overlooked. Linda Eisenmann recognized that early work by Barbara Solomon (1985), focusing mainly on women’s access to institutions provided building blocks for future research, overlooked nuances of time periods and racial and ethnic experiences. Eisenmann’s *Historical Dictionary* (1998) identified a number of diverse women whose experience could contribute to research into minorities. She identified themes that form the structure of the following chapter, drawing together some international perspectives on the development of women as academics and deans (Eisenmann 2001). Themes of institutions, networking, money, and religion provide four hubs from which to reflect on existing work and recognize potential new directions for improving either our understanding of the past or the problems of the present. A fifth section discusses the possibility of “border crossings” as an additional lens through which to view the field. As new research builds on the detailed work of early scholars such as Geraldine Joncich Clifford (1989), new directions develop ways of thinking about the role of women in academia. They also respond to the public call that historical research has to matter, to make a difference to how we understand the world’s past and present (Spencer 2017a). The scope of the chapter is restricted to material published in English and existing lacunae in terms of race, disability, and sexuality are recognized but inevitably repeated. Most examples are taken from the USA, Australia, New

Zealand, Canada, Ireland, and Britain, and it is hoped that the themes identified will generate research with a wider geographical scope.

The narrative of women's success in achieving gender equality in academia is by no means complete. Female students are still in the minority in STEM subjects, reflected by the number of women academics in these fields (Eggins 2017; May 2008). Recent rises in the number of hourly paid or adjunct faculty, due largely to economic factors, have impacted heavily on women's representation in the academic hierarchy. Women professors remain in the minority especially in large research universities although, as Alice Kessler-Harris has observed, the glass reflecting women's participation in the workforce may be half empty, *but* we should measure it against "the one that had almost no liquid in it at all less than a generation ago" (Kessler-Harris in May 2008, p. xvi). Research into the history of women academics, unsurprisingly, attempts to locate the origins of inequality as well as celebrating pioneers and progress. This is not just about numbers; it is about who controls the interpretation of new knowledge. Exploring the development of women's employment within universities "helps us understand the near universal difficulties that women and other marginalised groups encounter as they seek to participate fully in the process of knowledge production" (May 2008, p. 3). Researching women as academics is more complex than simply charting their access and presence; it is also about recognizing their impact on university life and curricula (Harford and Rush 2009). Two case studies highlight themes of history for the past or present. The first focuses on the role of the British and International Federation of University Women, identifying how women worked together to expand career opportunities. The second considers how campaigns for academic equality draw on historical explanations for the origins of the problem.

Institutions

Research on institutions can focus on the role individual women played in establishing new institutions and their negotiation of space in existing institutions. Tanya Fitzgerald suggests that the Department of Home Science at Otago, University of New Zealand, provided a safe marginalized space where women could develop their professional expertise. However, at the same time as it enabled women to take up positions of authority, it also created a competitive environment between women who remained outsiders to other departments and colleges in the university (Fitzgerald 2009).

As university education for women in the USA and England expanded, graduates could aspire to work within all-female colleges of, for example, the Seven Sisters in the USA: Mount Holyoke, 1837; Vassar, 1865; Wellesley, 1875; Smith, 1875; Radcliffe, 1879; Bryn Mawr, 1885; and Barnard, 1889. In England women's higher education (most colleges / universities were men single sex) was offered at the Cambridge colleges of Girton, 1869; Newnham, 1871; and Oxford, Lady Margaret Hall in 1878 and Somerville Hall in 1879, alongside London University Colleges of Bedford in

1849, Royal Holloway in 1879 and Westfield in 1882. Contemporary medical discourses on the detrimental effect of education on young women's health by Herbert Spencer and Edward H. Clarke undermined women's potential professional development. Women undergraduates were gradually accepted, but there was less enthusiasm for career progression, expectations of marriage, and motherhood outweighed "selfish" aspirations to an academic life (Lefkowitz Horowitz 2008). Katharina Rowold suggests that the health and motherhood debates provided stumbling blocks to women's access to higher education in Britain, Germany, and Spain although the very different nature of the university in these countries means that other factors should be considered. While concerns that higher education would compromise women's femininity (and fecundity), in Germany, the institution itself was the epitome of masculinity and *Bildung* for academic citizenship in which women students could not participate. Rowold's research demonstrates the necessity of understanding common themes (such as health discourses) against different social/cultural backgrounds that created different trajectories for change (Rowold 2010).

As the nature of "the university" evolves, the use of an institutional framework incorporates flexibility for analyzing change over time. Susan Rumsey Strong's history of Alfred University highlights the significance of the antebellum academies in supporting women's rights and equal roles. Her institutional history "explains a remarkably liberal environment by focusing on the individuals who created it and socio-cultural factors contributing to it" (Rumsey Strong 2008, p. 9). Starting in 1836 as a school based in the rural Seventh Day Baptist village of Alfred, New York, by the 1840s, it trained teachers and was recognized as a university in 1857 "for the purpose of promoting education by cultivating art, literature and science" (Rumsey Strong 2008, p. 73). Rumsey Strong argues that the assumptions of gender equality in the surrounding district were built into the institution from its inception, enabling women such as Abigail Maxson to drive change as insiders. Maxson was an early suffragist, setting the tone for the institution's reputation for women speaking in public (Rumsey Strong 2008, p. 123). In the twentieth century in England, the changing status of teacher education also affected the number of women designated as holding "university" positions. Women might find a lecturing position in the training colleges offering 2-year certificates situated firmly *outside* the university. Following legislation for teaching as a degree level qualification from the 1960s, more women lecturers were recorded within the academy, yet this did not affect their progress within the hard sciences (Dyhouse 1995a).

Feminist historians have employed a range of sources to explore the uneven progress of women's academic employment. In doing so they have responded to both Gary McCulloch and Harold Silver's criticism of institutional histories as "top down" or "parochial" (McCulloch 2008; Silver 2006). Oral histories, either as part of a project or increasingly as part of an established archive, offer insights into the experience of women's marginalization or acceptance onto university faculties and senior management (Horne 2014; Spencer et al. 2015). This changes the parameters of methodological and theoretical possibilities, recognizing the significance of individuals behind rather gloomy comparative statistics. Julia Horne challenges critics of oral history in her discussion of rethinking university history in Australia.

She explores the university as a social institution using oral histories and surveys of women academics. Universities and their attitudes to women's professional employment both reflect and act upon their surroundings. Horne argues that, in terms of productivity of research outputs and career progression, external responsibilities still result in gendered career patterns which affect long-term gender equity.

Money

Money acts as "a lever which has been used at times to keep women out of educational opportunities," but it has also provided opportunities (Eisenmann 2001, p. 457). When additional finance was needed by institutions, female students increased student numbers. Philanthropy by big organizations, such as Carnegie, funded research that, although rarely awarded to women as principal investigators, did increase the number of research posts available to women (Dzuback 2008, p. 54).

Early women academics needed family backgrounds with sufficient wealth to support their studies. Tanya Fitzgerald expands this requirement for economic capital into a framework that utilizes Pierre Bourdieu's theories of social and cultural capital, highlighting the strategies employed by professors at Otago Department of Home Science. She argues that "professional biographies of these four women expose the inextricable connection between gender, status, reward, power and prestige in the Academy" (Fitzgerald 2009, p. 8). Combined with the use of a metaphor of outsiders and insiders, Fitzgerald examines how Winifred Boys-Smith (1865–1939), Helen Rawson (1886–1964), and Ann Gilchrist Strong (1875–1957) negotiated their way into acceptance into the institution of higher education in New Zealand. As young women succeeded in gaining degrees or equivalent qualifications, so professional opportunities for a life in academia widened. Societal and legislative expectations that women graduates would give up employment on marriage, together with a powerful male hold on academic tenure, slowed down women's academic careers. The coeducation debates came to a head in the 1960s against a political background of change that included the women's liberation movement. Nancy Weiss Malkiel argues that in addition to demands for equality in the 1960s, the issues of falling enrolments stimulated the move to coeducation at the Ivy League and Seven Sisters colleges in the USA and Oxford and Cambridge in the UK (Malkiel 2016). She concludes that these decisions toward coeducation were made by men, with the exception of Mary Ingraham Bunting at Radcliffe. Malkiel's detailed research including quotes from contemporary interviews, letters, and surveys highlights the ambiguity of this change as a positive move for women faculty. The description of the appointment of Halcy Bohen as first Dean of Women Students at Princeton is telling; the job description demanded "a very capable woman to coordinate the integration of women undergraduates in the whole range of activities, services, etc. at Princeton." Bohen was a graduate of Smith with an MA in teaching from Radcliffe but seems to have been employed principally because she was married with three small daughters and "conventional enough not to rock the boat" (Malkiel 2016, p. 215). The merger of Harvard and Radcliffe did not reflect

Harvard's willingness to employ women professors. In the first semester of 1964, and the advent of women students to Harvard, only 1 of the 400 tenured faculty was female. In the end although all the men's Ivy League colleges went coed, only Vassar and Radcliffe women's colleges did so. In Britain the situation was similar. Carol Dyhouse notes little change in the proportion of women academics between 1930 and 1970, remaining at around 13%. There was also little change in the number who reached any level of seniority. Dyhouse highlights the problems that Edith Morley faced at Reading being accepted as a professor in the light of male competition, with similar observations on the effect that the demise of single-sex colleges had on the advancement of women faculty (Dyhouse 1995a, p. 139).

Networks

Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Smyth emphasize how networks of professional women become visible through individual biographies of educators who individually and collectively challenged the status quo. They observe that "framing these women as agents emphasises their individual consciousness and ability to act in and shape the historical context in which they lived through the positions they occupied" (Fitzgerald and Smyth 2014, p. 3). Additionally, Fitzgerald and Smyth draw attention to our own role and positioning as historians. They argue that our scholarly networks "are deeply embedded in histories of women educators and their efforts to ensure that women academics voice is heard and valued by the outside world" (Fitzgerald and Smyth 2014, p. 14). Deirdre Raftery discusses the nature of the increasing complexity that marks research into women educators' lives and networks. By increasing knowledge of women educators and placing women into the narrative, implications of gender as a signifier of power (acknowledging Scott 1985) emerge. This partly explains why women have found it so difficult to access academia as professors and deans. The process of quantifying numbers, and identifying how networks functioned across institutions, gives added weight to women's role as change makers and activists in a range of geographical locations (Raftery 2014).

One approach to researching women's academic lives is to focus on a range of "pioneers." However, these women were often the "lone woman" in a department and were fully occupied maintaining their own status in a predominantly male environment (Fitzgerald and Collins 2011, p. 126). Finding allies with whom to build networks was in itself problematic and was one of the reasons for the founding of the British Federation of University Women in 1907. In New Zealand in addition to the Home Science Department at Otago discussed above, women were appointed in subjects ranging from maths to modern languages, English literature, and biology; although, as Kay Morris Matthews points out, it took until 1965 for a woman, Professor Janaki, to be appointed in New Zealand outside the Otago Department of Home Science (Morris Matthews 2008, p. 171). A quantitative analysis reveals that women academics were distributed across science and humanities faculties. This can be read in two ways; one as a positive example that women were accepted within traditional "male" subjects. Conversely, Fitzgerald and Collins (2011) and Morris Matthews (2008) note that they

were usually employed well down the academic hierarchy, underlining, rather than challenging, male tutors' supremacy. Institutional networks of women's colleges were significant in the campaigns for women's entry into academic professions, for example, the networks of women's colleges that emerged in Ireland offered women access to an academic curriculum and its accompanying prestige (Harford 2007, 2015).

The role of dean is one that adds a further dimension to our understanding of women as active agents for change and is linked to the coeducation debate in the USA. It provides an insight into the way that university women contributed to wider changes in women's campaign for equal citizenship. As young women were accepted into higher education institutions, concerns over their welfare resulted in the employment of deans of women, initially acting as tutors and then increasingly in counselling and student welfare. Eisenmann highlights the significance of the networks that connected deans of women giving them a louder voice within changes in higher education. However, the histories of the predominantly white American Association of University Women (AAUW) and National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) also reflect the racial tensions within the growing women's movement itself. The existence of a separate network from 1935 of the Association of Deans of Women and Advisers to Girls in Negro Schools can be read as indicative of the effectiveness of wider networking among women and as a warning against overlooking differences among the networks themselves. After the war more institutions employed deans of students without specifying gender and "when jobs shrank or disappeared the women holding them – usually experienced, trained, and older professionals – were often dismissed" (Eisenmann 2006, p. 132).

In her biography of Dean Emily Taylor of Kansas University, Ruth Sartorius also cites the role that networking played in women's organizations outside the academy including the Women's Bureau at the US Department of Labor, the Women's Equity Action League, the National Association of Commissions for Women, and the National Organization for Women. These networks indicate how deans of women, with their interest in promoting women's equal citizenship, educated young women into expectations of career and family in the postwar world. Sartorius argues that Taylor's life history "provides a window into the trajectory of feminism within American twentieth century higher education... and even women's entry into the presidencies of co-educational institutions" (Sartorius 2014, p. 14). Sartorius also sounds a useful caveat; in a series of oral history interviews, Taylor admitted that she left little in the way of documentary records to protect some of her students. She only disclosed some of her more radical activities toward the end of her life, undermining the stereotypical image of the rather conservative, disciplinarian dean of women students.

Religion

Eisenmann notes that women's role as teachers developed from a religious perspective that perceived woman as natural moral guardians, offering an opportunity to examine women's motivation for leadership. Judith Harford and Elizabeth Smyth

explored the role that Catholicism played in opening higher education as a vocation for women. This dimension reflects the blurred boundaries and relationship noted earlier between “universities” and “higher education.” Harford (2008) argues that a detailed and systematic examination of the early colleges of education in Ireland for women provides one of the building blocks identified by Eisenmann from which to build new directions in understanding the significance of the history of women as academics. Harford emphasizes the “extraordinary control over the political and social trajectory of Irish Society” that has been held by the Catholic Church (Harford 2015, p. 58). The strength of assumptions that woman’s role was domestic excluded women from Irish universities, but it enabled the establishment of the protestant women’s colleges such as Alexandra College (Dublin, 1866). By the 1880s, Dominican, Loreto, and Ursuline orders promoted education for middle-class catholic women (Harford 2008, p. 5). Harford concludes that these colleges “were established with the purpose of targeting the more prestigious and valued domains of knowledge, which resulted in participating women students having access to a range of high prestige cultural and social capital” (Harford 2008, p. 5).

In the same way that Fitzgerald uses a biographical study at Otago to illustrate individuals’ agency and significance in promoting wider change, Harford concludes that women’s access to higher education “was down to the courage, vision and commitment of a number of key women, both lay and religious who recognised the importance of education to the social, political and economic advancement of women in Irish society” (Harford 2015, p. 74). She offers the example of Margaret Byers in the debate over the accession of women in Ireland to coeducational universities, “Byers strongly believed in the importance of women taught by women. . .and [this] was one of her key motivations in arguing for single-sex education and the work of Victoria College.” Byers feared that women would be “crushed out of the higher appointments as teachers” should the single-sex colleges be dismantled. Harford concludes that the demise of the women’s colleges following the admission of women students to university in the Universities Act of 1908 may have had unintended consequences, “The irony in all of this was that while co-education was regarded as a victory in feminist circles, women students and academics would experience marginalisation and disempowerment within the male dominated university power structure” (Harford 2008, p. 161). Harford’s research demonstrates the complex negotiations that Catholic women religious had to navigate; “They worked cleverly, often invisibly behind the scenes, cultivating the support of an ambivalent hierarchy, entering into ‘patriarchal bargains’ in order to safeguard the entitlement of Catholic women to university provision and secure for themselves greater status and influence within the emerging higher education framework” (Harford 2015, p. 64). The hostile environment of the male-dominated university led one of the early Junior Fellows of English, Mary Hayden, in 1895 at the Royal University of Ireland to focus on teaching in the women’s colleges that incorporated secondary schools. Hayden was finally appointed onto the Senate of the National University of Ireland, on the Governing body of University College Dublin, and to the Chair of Modern Irish History in 1911.

New Directions: Border Crossings

An additional category of analysis that is emerging might be termed “border crossings.” As noted earlier, this chapter has focused mainly on the Anglophone world. Even using limited examples demonstrates how crossing borders, whether physically or intellectually, strengthened women’s demand for access to the academy and also brought unexpected difficulties. There is a danger that in focusing on aspirations of equality for women employed at different levels in terms of numbers, in the past and the present, we may miss the contribution that women made to the changing nature of the academic institution itself. Giroux’s observations on schooling in America are useful here. In 1993 he observed “Harvard. . .appeals to the life of the mind, the good life, and so forth. . .But if we look at higher education in general I argue that the instrumentalist ideology prevails” (Giroux 1992, p. 11). Reading women’s entry into the academic profession through Giroux’s critique raises some awkward contradictions. Women’s entry into academia in many ways profited from an instrumentalist approach. Arguments for middle-class women’s education rested on the recognition of their need for employment in the absence of successful marriage (Harford 2008, p. 133). The elevation of Home Science and Teaching into degree level courses allowed more women into the profession without crossing the borders into established (male) disciplinary areas. Signing the “pledge” to teach after graduation enabled many women to access grants in England after 1910 for a 3-year degree course, with a further year in an education department (Dyhouse 1995a, p. 20). The introduction of education departments into universities is a further example of border crossing whereby the changing nature of the institution itself opened up lecturing possibilities for women.

The work of Zuleika Arashiro and Malba Barahona (2015) resonates with Giroux’s analysis of power and pedagogy, reflecting the relevance of race and ethnicity and also how women professors can change the nature of what is taught. Ashiro and Barahona’s collection brings together academic migrant women from Latin America working in Australia, Latin America, and Europe. They acknowledge the difficulty of the process of making visible unseen assumptions and the risks involved in challenging the existing model. Although their reflections offer a significant insight into the role that women play in universities today, their critique “found a historically grounded framework, which captured not only the past but also helped us to understand the present modern/colonial forms of domination” (Arashiro and Barahona 2015, p. viii).

Methodologies from different disciplines help to untangle some of the anomalies that equal access should have solved. Martina McKnight and Myrtle Hill suggest that discourses of managerialism can “be instrumental in both sustaining and strengthening gender inequalities” (2009, p. 189). Using a case study of Queen’s University Belfast, they suggest that wider changes in academic jobs have effectively moved the goalposts for what constitutes a successful academic in terms of the career ladder, “the discourse of managerialism that pervades the contemporary academy (re) creates a workplace culture underpinned by hegemonic discourses of ‘peak’ or ‘hyper’ masculinity. . .not only sustaining but encouraging gendered

inequalities” (McKnight and Hill 2009, p. 192). In interviews women recognize that there can be tensions between how they see themselves and how they perceive others seeing them, either in terms of race (Arashiro and Barahona) or in terms of age and gender (McKnight and Hill).

Examining the role of women in higher education raises a future direction for research that of the boundary of the university itself. At the end of the nineteenth century, a university as the institution of higher education was easily recognizable. Today, with changes in degree structures and the inclusion of more vocational programs, the institution is more varied. Kay Whitehead’s work on the heads of training colleges and their production and dissemination of new knowledge demonstrate that current definitions of higher education and the university are themselves gendered and that examining women’s trajectories within traditional universities is missing half the story of women’s growing professionalism in higher education (Whitehead 2016). Whitehead’s theoretical frame of transnational history highlights the mobility and professional standing of, for example, Mary Gutteridge and Lillian de Lissa. In omitting the early training colleges from definitions of higher education, we miss a significant recognition of the contribution made by women academics in the early part of the twentieth century. This is especially pertinent as many of the training colleges and day training colleges became part of university structures or universities in their own right. As such they contribute to the gendered histories of women academics in higher education today (Spencer et al. 2015).

Case Studies

The case studies focus on two motives that generate research into the history of women as academics. The first is the attention to the detail of the past, recognizing how the addition of women significantly changes the existing narrative. The second is the contemporary search for the origins of inequality in academia today.

The Federations of University Women: Understanding the Past

Research into the development of women’s role in higher education highlights the strength of the networks that women both drew on and contributed to in their quest to establish themselves on an equal footing as scholars and faculty. This short case study foregrounds the role of the National and International Federation of University Women in this endeavor. These organizations are still active which underlines both the links between academic women and campaigns for social justice; this is a narrative that has yet come to a successful conclusion. The British Federation of University Women (BFUW) was inaugurated in 1907 after an initiative by Ida Smedley who as chemistry lecturer had difficulty in accessing research money or promotion at the University of Manchester. One of the Federation’s central aims was to support the promotion and employment of women in academia (Dyhouse 1995b, p. 472). Manchester High School for Girls provided the venue for the first meeting,

demonstrating the close links between girls' secondary education, higher education, and the changing employment aspirations of women graduates. Archival evidence also exists for federations in other countries that could be mined for future research of women's academic networks, for example, the archives of the New Zealand Federation in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington.

The demand by college women for group solidarity can be seen in the American Association of College Alumnae (ACA), inaugurated in 1881. It grew rapidly providing the networking needed for strength in numbers, money for scholarships, and fellowships. The significance of the reputation of the institutions at which women worked and studied was central to the aims of the ACA. By 1891 the secretary noted that their aim was to work to hold "the standard of collegiate education for women so high that the influence of the Association may be felt. . . by all collegiate interests in the country" (Levine 1995, p. 10). In commissioning the history of its organization, the American Association of University Women sought to challenge assumptions that the women's movement declined in the 1920s and virtually disappeared in the 1950s before second-wave feminism in the 1960s. Their history suggests that "women's organisations pressed for equal rights and confronted discrimination throughout the twentieth century, expanding their base of support and their influence in academic and legislative circles" (Levine 1995, p. 3).

The archives of the BFUW have contributed evidence for the debates above on the roles of women tutors required to engage in disciplinary or counselling activities with women students. This inevitably impacted on both their status and promotion prospects as academics. The BFUW were clear that women academics should not be required to take on such duties and disliked the idea of separate treatment for women students (Dyhouse 1995a, p. 69). The BFUW survey in 1931 has proved a rich data source; it demonstrated both the problems faced by early women academics and the effect of their networking through the BFUW to face key challenges. Dyhouse highlights how women isolated within individual institutions could come together for support through the networking provided by the BFUW. This continued at its international halls of residence, Crosby Hall in London and Reid Hall in Paris (Spencer 2017b). Dyhouse highlights the significance of the financial support for women academics provided by BFUW fellowships. National Federations also enabled the border crossing that association with the International Federation provided, facilitating the exchange of ideas through the international conferences. Additionally, the International Federation provided members with a voice in the League of Nations through the committee on intellectual cooperation and the subcommittee on universities (Dyhouse 1995a). The BFUW also provided support for German Jewish academic refugees during and after the Second World War when their religion prevented academic employment. Eventually this work extended to helping women from Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, Susan Cohen's research stresses that most refugees were unable to find work commensurate with their professional qualifications, but BFUW membership did provide an intellectual home where academics could meet like-minded women (Cohen 2010).

The British Federation was one of the founders of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) with Canada and the USA. Dean Virginia Gildersleeve

from Barnard and Professor Caroline Spurgeon (Professor of English Literature at University of London) brought together national federations after First World War to extend women's role in promoting peace. They argued that "their members had a unique contribution to make to international co-operation and world peace based on their expertise" (Goodman 2011, p. 706). Despite the struggles that they faced in their professional lives, the academic qualifications and positions enabled members to participate in League of Nations committees. The notion of world citizenship brought academic women together on an international stage. Joyce Goodman argues that a feature of the IFUW was "to progress university women's careers in the context that few research opportunities were open to women" (Goodman 2011, p. 703). Through funding international fellowships, the IFUW could raise the profile and status of women academics in the interwar period, also creating a "complex and entangled network of contacts" (Goodman 2011, p. 704). Border crossings physically, intellectually, and professionally are exemplified in Goodman's discussion of Una Mary Ellis-Fermor. Fermor attended Bedford and Somerville Colleges before acting as Assistant Warden at Ashbourne Hall, University of Manchester. She then managed the professional crossing to lecturing at Bedford before physically crossing borders to take up a fellowship at Yale in 1922 (Goodman 2011, p. 711).

The Historical Legacy Today

Concern has been voiced internationally around equality of access, promotion, and remuneration for women in academia. As a short study, this chapter can only highlight aspects of the historical legacy as a starting point for further reading and research. The evidence from across the world seems to indicate that similar challenges occur across borders, both academically in terms of disciplinary areas and socioculturally in expectations of wider gender roles, that combine to create structures that continue to disadvantage women in their academic careers.

Collections of articles such as those in *Storming the Tower* will in time become historical documents themselves in understanding the long progress toward equality (Stiver Lie and O'Leary 1990). The metaphor of "breaking into" a hitherto inaccessible institution underlines the problems that women have had, with few exceptions, in becoming academics; getting in was one thing, and achieving equality of status and recognition of their right to be there is another. Stiver Lie and O'Leary included contributions from India, Israel, Jordan, Norway, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, the USA, and Turkey in their examination of women in academia in a sociohistorical context. As a comparative study, the authors explicitly drew on the past to explain women academics' isolation in the 1990s. They argued that "academic women have the potential to play a critical role in shaping tomorrow's woman today. It is, therefore, important to understand their 'herstory' and their ideological commitment to improving the status of women in the academy" (Stiver Lie and O'Leary 1990, p. 17). They concluded that, except for Turkey, historical arguments about the suitability of women for academic work kept the status of

women academics at entry level (Stiver Lie and O'Leary 1990, p. 21). Their research utilized the historical as a warning of global structural inequality.

Sara Delamont reviewed the status of women academics following the publication of the ESRC commissioned Winfield report into completion rates in Social Science PhDs in 1987. She argued that the report was gender blind in that "an all male committee consulted male experts to produce a report focused on male graduate students" and that policy recommendations arising from it severely impacted on the entry of young women into academic careers. After an overview of women's entry into universities, she commented that "we have not left the nineteenth century with its prejudices and myths far enough behind" (Delamont 1996, p. 111).

Twenty years later, Robert Rhoads and Diane Yu Gu reviewed the progress of women academics in China and found similar inequalities in the representation of women at the higher level (25%). This is particularly salient given the very different geographical and cultural contexts of their work. As Chinese universities "catch up" with the West in focusing on research productivity and internationalization, it seems the position of women academics gets ever more problematic (Rhoads and Yu Gu 2012, p. 741).

Rhoads and Yu Gu emphasized that their intention was not to offer a case study of a situation unique to China but to contribute to the cross border global debate over the situation of women in academia. To the three frequently cited barriers, working double time (home and work commitments), the glass ceiling, and social exclusion of the boys' club, they added a fourth, "comrades in arms" (Rhoads and Yu Gu 2012). This notion is presented as unique to Chinese culture whereby workers are treated the same regardless of gender differences; close knit groups of workers look after each other. However, it appears that the predominance of men, historically at the top of the hierarchy while paying lip service to "comrades in arms," still results in a marginalized position for women, "no matter how thoughtful and understanding they may be. . . men control key organizational decisions and the related outcomes" (Rhoads and Yu Gu 2012, p. 746).

The approach discussed in the main body of this chapter notes the significance of the biographical in understanding women's initial entry into the profession, more recent research utilizes oral history to offer insight into the ongoing challenges faced by later generations of academics. Rhoads and Yu Gu employed feminist standpoint theory to offer an in-depth understanding of how the historical context of Chinese society impacted on academics' perceptions of their working lives. This approach foregrounds their research as "a political project in that it targets networks of power that have limited and undermined the opportunities for women and women's lives to shape reality, and more specifically, to influence the production of what constitutes meaningful knowledge" (Rhoads and Yu Gu 2012, p. 737). Their research highlighted the importance of the historical dimension, as one male professor commented "from a traditional perspective, the women or the rights of women, during our long history have not always been so highly respected" (Rhoads and Yu Gu 2012, p. 742). The weight of historical inequality seems almost insuperable.

The strength of patriarchal traditions and gendered expectations as an explanation for women's continued underrepresentation in the academy on the Asian continent was

also cited by Louise Morley and Barbara Crossouard in research into women's leadership in the expanding higher education system in South Asia (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka). Drawing on interviews and statistical data, they concluded that those women who did achieve leadership roles had to "negotiate and navigate a range of ugly feelings and toxicities that depleted aspirations, well-being and opportunities" (Morley and Crossouard 2016). They drew on surveys from the 1990s, but implications of a much longer historical relevance to the future professional development of women's role were glaringly apparent.

As previously noted, a focus on gender inequality in higher education obscures complex intersections with inequalities of race. In South Africa, a historical dimension that foregrounds race is essential to understanding women's unequal representation as academic leaders (Mabokela and Mawila 2004). Mabokela and Mawila situate their research into women and academic leadership in South Africa within the wider global context, utilizing a border crossing theoretical framework that draws on Newman and Williams' research on life experiences of Black women in Britain (Newman and Williams 1995). Mabokela and Mawila draw on the historical origins of racial and gender inequality within the profession to make suggestions for improving women's future access to academic employment.

Silences in research into the historical dimension of women's inequality in academia include disability (Chouinard and Crooks 2003; Taylor 2015; Wilson-Kovacs et al. 2008) and sexuality (Renn 2010), perhaps because in these areas, the historical underrepresentation of men *and* women is still under-researched. Additionally, the binary nature of the gender divide that underpins the discussion is increasingly unstable, although outside the remit of this chapter should be recognized as a future significant direction for researching gender differences within the academic profession. Current research tends to focus discussion on how transgender issues affect students, but not faculty (Bilodeau 2005; Rankin and Beemyn 2012).

Heather Eggins introduces a range of articles that report on women's experience of academics work across six continents all of which discuss current progress in relation to their historical background. Eggins observes that cultural shifts in attitudes to women "are shared at some level by every nation" (Eggins 2017, p. xxii). Borders have not so much been crossed as subsumed into a global view from the global village that highlights both women's progress in the academic hierarchy and the nature of the academic role itself; a careful use of the historical dimension is in evidence throughout. The universal change in expectations of women's role in paid employment is highlighted, but inevitably individual women campaigners, pioneers, and leaders take second place to statistics and official reports. This type of "historical wallpaper" maybe problematic as a quantitative analysis of change over recent time does not offer insight into how that change occurred.

Conclusion and Future Directions

This chapter began by setting out debates over the use of history to increase our knowledge of the past. The history of women in the academic profession is also found in articles and books campaigning for improvements in women's promotion,

pay, and participation “today.” Older articles on the topic such as Acker (1980) and Bagilhole (1993) are frequently cited when authors seek to explore why little has changed. Yet in this use of the past, carefully researched though it is, the overarching trends obscure the individual women who made a difference or who simply got on with the business of being a lone woman in a department. The two case studies should be read together to appreciate the uneasy but complementary relationship between history for the past and history for the present.

Linda Eisenmann’s framework offered categories of institutions, money, networking, and religion for perspectives on the gendered nature of women’s academic employment. A further category, that of border crossing, considers both the increasing globalization of academic work and highlights the extensive movement of women and their ideas in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When we explore the experience of women academics on the world stage, a somewhat irregular pattern emerges where the similarities in the warp of women’s experience, and attitudes to their role in the academy, must be set against different colors within the weft of individual women’s biographies and national difference. Each of the books or articles cited draws on a wide range of theoretical, methodological, and archival material. Some archives in the form of oral histories have yet to be created. The depth of existing research opens up further possibilities for future research that both enriches our knowledge and highlights the debt that we owe to the past.

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Abstract

This chapter follows genealogical lines in the history of the movement for women workers' education drawing on archival research with personal and political writings in France, the UK, and the USA. In doing so, it unravels material and discursive entanglements of this important cultural labor movement, mapping its contested notions, porous boundaries, and diverse practices. What is argued is that women workers' presence as students, educators, activists, as well as creators and writers was catalytic in this sociopolitical and cultural movement for social change, while its radical pedagogical practices are still relevant in reimagining what education is and what it can do.

Keywords

Creativity · Genealogies · Labor histories · Material entanglements · Women workers

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Introduction: Charting Theoretical and Geographical Trails in Women Workers' Education

“Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it,” Hannah Arendt wrote in her essay “The Crisis in Education” (2006, p. 193). A core argument that she advanced throughout her work is that we live in a world that does not feel any more as a home to us, since our involvement in the web of human relations and therefore in action is the only way we can feel again “at home in this world” (1998, p. 135). It is in this process of “feeling at home in the world” that education becomes so crucial in Arendt’s notion of *amor mundi*, love for the world. After all, human existence for Arendt is an “everlasting Becoming” (1996, p. 63), and education is instrumental in its multiple formations, particularly as it becomes the motor for acting and thinking. Given Arendt’s thesis on existence as “everlasting Becoming” (1996, p. 63), as well as her interest in the never-ending process of understanding as a prerequisite for action, it is not surprising that early on in her work, she reflected and drew upon the ideas of Alfred North Whitehead, the philosopher of process (see Arendt 1998, p. 296). Drawing on the utilitarian philosophical tradition, Whitehead made the link between the usefulness of understanding and the usefulness of education. But hand in hand with utilitarianism went a concept of education as a process of joy and discovery, inherently entangled in the process of life itself. “Education is discipline for the adventure of life,” he wrote (1929, p. 98). Whitehead’s thought was formative in John Dewey’s educational philosophy highlighting the importance of experience in engaging with the world and its problems (see Dewey 1937). Dewey’s ideas of education as an open platform cultivating the ability to think as a condition for democratic and participatory action underpinned the overall movement for workers’ education. Political action was indeed at the heart of the movement for workers’ education in France, the UK, the USA, and elsewhere in Europe and across the globe, although there were different manifestations of the political within different national borders and traditions.

Although education has always been a project, as well as a dream at the heart of many workers’ lives, both men and women from the beginning of industrialization, it has also become a contested field since, “national histories, social systems, trade union developments, political attitudes, general educational policies and economic pressures have all intersected to produce around the world many different concepts [...] and many different practical expressions” (Hopkins 1985, p. 2). It is the contested notions, porous boundaries, diverse practices, as well as the material and discursive entanglements of women workers’ education that are mapped out in this chapter, by looking at three national contexts, France, the UK, and the USA, in the first half of the twentieth century. In so doing, a line of philosophical thinking that sees education as adventure, *amor mundi*, as well as an agonistic field for social change, is examined.

The “Philosophes” and the Movement for Public Education in France

There was a strong movement for public education in France in the first half of the nineteenth century, which was inherited from the 1789 revolution, and it included both the education of the children of the people, as well the education and training of adults. Although it was initially dominated by philanthropic discourses that aimed to moralize, instruct, and discipline “the working poor,” it soon took on a life of its own, particularly under the influence of the romantic socialist movements. It thus developed as a sociopolitical and cultural movement, which aimed to educate the people in general and the workers in particular, about their right to work, their right to enjoy life both materially and intellectually, as well as their right to participate in the political formations and processes of their time (see Jacquet-Francillon 1995).

The movement for people’s education in France had its heyday during the February 1848 revolution and the early years of the Second Republic. During this period many eminent academics delivered lectures at highly esteemed educational institutions, such as the *Sorbonne* and the *Collège de France*. The historian Jules Michelet was among them; during his *Collège de France* lectures between December 1847 and February 1848, he had highlighted the role of theatre in people’s education, arguing that “a truly popular theatre where the people played the people [...] is the most efficient form of national education” (Michelet 1899, p. 241). Although Michelet’s lectures were interrupted by the intervention of the French ministry of education, his ideas were expanded and advanced after the February 1848 revolution, this time including women in the project of universal education. Ernest Legouvé introduced and taught a course on *Women’s History* at the Collège de France, which became very popular among women in general and women workers in particular (see Tamboukou 2015, p. 2017). The role of intellectuals throughout the second half of the nineteenth century was further instrumental in a wider movement which sprang in Paris at the turn of the century, the *Universitaires Populaires*, the people’s universities. Most arrondissements in Paris had their own university, with often more than one in working-class areas. Moreover, political parties and movements had direct links with such educational institutions (see Poole 1997, p. 233).

It was in the context of political interventions in people’s education that the composer Gustave Charpentier founded the *Conservatoire Populaire de Mimi Pinson* in 1902. Its purpose was to teach the Parisian working women voice, piano, harp, dance, and choral singing without any fees. Charpentier had actually persuaded some very famous professors to come and teach to his conservatoire, thus contributing to a wider philanthropic project comprising a series of concerts and performances that the young Parisian seamstresses would take part in, once they had completed their musical education. What the popularity of the *Mimi Pinson* movement revealed was a wider interest in the importance of opening up cultural and educational opportunities to for working-class women. The movement for people’s education in France was thus embedded in the overall project for a national system of

education realizing the dreams of the *philosophes*. The state and its duties as educator of the citizens was central to this system, a feature that made it very different from the British movement for workers' education, which was very much embedded in the voluntary sector, which will be discussed next.

Adventures in Working-Class Education in the UK

There were two major institutional movements in the UK, the *Mechanics Institutes* and what came to be known as the *Workers' Educational Association*. The *London Mechanics Institute* was founded in 1823, and its purpose was to provide vocational scientific instruction that would help workers to adapt to the demands of the industrial revolution. This movement was mostly attended by aspiring members of the lower middle classes, however, since the British proletarians "were practically illiterate and quite unable to benefit from the courses offered" (Jefferson 1964, p. 346).

It was in the context of grappling with such problems that the London Working Men's Association (LWMA) published its "Address on Education, issued to the Working Classes" in 1837. Their project included a national system of public education for both sexes on four levels: (a) infant schools, (b) preparatory schools, (c) high schools, and finally (d) finishing schools or colleges (Lovett 1876, p. 145). These colleges "should be gratuitously opened for all who choose to cultivate the highest branches of knowledge" (*ibid.*, p. 148), and they should therefore offer evening classes. The LWMA was a mass movement with radical ideas about social change and social justice: "poverty, inequality and political injustice are involved in giving to one portion of society the blessings of education and leaving the other in ignorance" (*ibid.*, p. 139), they highlighted in their address. Their overall project for equal opportunities in education prepared the grounds for a wider project with concrete institutional structures, activities, and literature to emerge in 1903 when the *Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men* was founded in the parlor of a clerical worker, Albert Mansbridge, in Battersea, London. Its title disturbed its women members from the very beginning, and in 1905 it was renamed *Workers' Educational Association* (WEA). It was according to Roberts (2003, p. 1) "the largest and most successful provider of educational courses for adults in the voluntary sector of the United Kingdom" to our own days. The movement soon developed and expanded as a national and international network of educational activities: its Australian branch was founded in 1914, while in 1918 the Commonwealth WEA was set up. By 1923 associations had been formed in India, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and Tasmania.

The workers' educational movement in the UK was initially driven by the ambition for preparing workers for university studies. It was thus organized along a 3-year tutorial class of around 30 students taught by a professor and monitored and examined by a system of regular essay writing. However tutorial classes were just one of many methods and practices that the different local and international WEA branches adopted over the years. Lectures and shorter courses were added, and the topics ranged from a wide range in the social sciences and humanities, including

economics, government, and literature. There have been many historical studies about the WEA's constitution and activities, covering its foundation and early years of its development, as well as looking at the specificities of its different local and international branches and collaborations (see Fieldhouse 1996; Jennings 1979; Mansbridge 1920; Roberts 2003; Stocks 1953). What has remained a gray area in this vibrant body of literature however is women's involvement in the WEA educational activities and programs.

As Munby notes "we know surprisingly little about the numbers of women who attended WEA classes" (2003, p. 216). Women's engagement was not statistically interesting, since the short courses or occasional lectures they would usually take up did not attract funding in the same way that as the 3-year tutorial classes did. As such, the latter were meticulously recorded. Within the tutorial classes, there were nevertheless 9% women students between 1910 and 1911, while the percentage rose to 32% in the period 1919–1920 but dropped again in the 1930s (Munby 2003, p. 216). It is not difficult to see why: tutorial classes demanded a long-term commitment, which was simply impossible for women workers with family duties and double and triple domestic and emotional labor shifts. Such classes could only be accessed by young women who were trying to imagine a different life and shape a new form of self, irrespective of whether or not this actually occurred.

Trade union classes on the other hand were both boring and irrelevant for many women workers. They were clever enough to understand that even if they took such classes, they would never survive the sexist hierarchies and structures of the trade union movement. There were very few women who had made it in the men's world of labor unions, and they were only able to do that by sacrificing personal desires or family plans. As Margaret Bondfield wrote in her 1949 autobiography: "I just lived for the Trade Union Movement. I concentrated on my job. This concentration was undisturbed by love affairs. I had seen too much – too early – to have the least desire to join the pitiful scramble of my workmates" (Bondfield 1949, pp. 36–37). Through her early experiences as a textile worker in Yorkshire and well before she became the first female cabinet minister in British politics, Bondfield had understood that being in love and having a family were not compatible with being involved in agonistic politics.

Few as they were, women tutorial students were passionately engaged in their study; this is how Maude Royden, an Oxford lecturer, remembers women mill workers at Oldham studying Shakespeare in the class of 1908–1909:

They not only stayed the course but, at the close of each class, accompanied me down the street to the railway station still arguing and discussing, stood on the platform while I, my head out of the carriage window, continued the class, and made their last contribution to the discussion in shouts above the roar of the train as it pulled out of the station. Can you beat it? (cited in Munby 2003, p. 217)

Despite the lack of figures, a careful study of the WEA annual reports, as well as articles in its influential monthly magazine, *The Highway*, demonstrates that apart from the tutorial classes as well as the trade union courses, women workers overtook

men in all other short courses, lectures, and outreach activities (Munby 2003, p. 217). As well as engaging as students on these courses, women workers were also involved in teaching courses they were passionate about. Although the names of women who organized and taught in women's education courses have largely been lost, the case of Sophie Green stands out as exceptional. Green was a garment worker at the Kettering Co-op clothing factory, and despite her lack of formal educational qualifications – apart from her tutorial classes – she was appointed as tutor organizer in Kettering in 1919. For 20 years she organized and taught a rich program of studies that included tutorial classes, shorter courses, as well as community and outreach work with young people. As outlined in the WEA Eastern District's Annual Report, for 1928–1929:

Throughout the past winter Miss Green has run a Social on alternate Saturday evenings, to which the young people have come [...] it has done a good deal for young women working in Kettering, but living away from home, who have been brought in touch with a new group of people. Though it may be difficult to express it on paper, there is considerable evidence that Miss Green is a source of power and strength in and around Kettering. (cited in Munby 2003, p. 225)

Not only was “Miss Green” a source of power but also an exemplary case of how women workers' education went far beyond strictly learning outcomes and objectives. It was the force of education to encourage workers to imagine a different world and to develop a sense of collective belonging that made it so attractive to women who were oppressed by capitalist and patriarchal intersections. What Green's case also powerfully demonstrates is the idea that workers' education should be concerned solely with the workers themselves. Green must have been influenced by the ideas of the workers' education movement in the USA, as she had won a scholarship for the famous Bryn Mawr summer school for women workers in Philadelphia.

International connections and exchange programs became possible in the interwar period since the WEA activities soon expanded not only to the Commonwealth countries, as illustrated above, but also to other European countries and to the USA. The organic relations of the workers' education movement with national and international trade unions and consequently with the International Labour Organization (ILO) played a crucial role in the project of internationalism. As Arthur Greenwood, member of the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee (WETUC), noted in 1919, “it is probable that direct association with educational labour movements in other countries would increase our prestige and strengthen our position with the labour movement in this country” (*The Highway* xi, no.10, July 1919, p. 104).

It was in the context of internationalization that WEA delegates attended the first Conference on Labour Education that was held in Brussels on 16 and 17 August 1922. It was organized by the *Belgian Committee on Labour Education (Centrale d'Education Ouvrière)*, and it was an excellent opportunity for participants from all over the world to exchange experiences and views on workers' education. Three important resolutions were adopted at this conference: (a) an exchange scheme for

students between labor colleges across countries and continents, (b) the idea of an “independent working-class education” in the struggle against national and international capital, and (c) a request addressed to the Belgian *Centrale d' Education Ouvrière* to maintain and coordinate relations between the organization during the period leading to the second conference, which was eventually held at Ruskin College Oxford, 15–17 August 1924. It was then that the *International Federation of Labour Organizations* concerned with workers' education was established. Its aim was to make preparatory work for an *International Workers' Education Federation*, but it was only in 1945 that this project was eventually realized with the creation of the *International Federation of Workers' Education Associations* (IFWEA).

Looking at WEA's history in the period 1918–1939, John Atkins has critically observed that despite some efforts promoting internationalization, as well as its members' involvement in the international conferences on workers' education, there is overall “a glaring absence of internationalism and international perspectives” in WEA's documentation concerning its educational and organizational policy (2003, p. 125). And yet the WEA's overall vision, its democratic principles of education and most importantly its unique tutorial system profoundly influenced the workers' education movement in the USA in the first half of the twentieth century.

Women workers' education in the UK was largely shaped by the WEA educational programs and projects but was not solely restricted within them. The history of Hillcroft College is a different paradigm. The idea for a Residential College for working women emerged after the Great War and the changes it brought regarding women's role in society. The YWCA National Education Committee made the initial proposal for such a scheme, but it was through voluntary subscriptions, students' contributions, as well as bursaries provided by individuals, companies, as well as universities and schools that the “National Residential College for Women,” as it was initially called, was founded in 1920. According to its 1920 Annual Report, the aim of the college was “to enlarge the vision of its students, to develop their latent capacities for leadership and service and to stimulate their mental and spiritual growth” (First Annual Report, p. 13, Hillcroft College Archives). The report highlighted the fact that vocational training was not among its objectives. The college was initially housed in “the Holt,” a rented building in Beckenham Kent, but in 1925 it moved to Surbiton, South London, in its own premises, “the Gables.” This was a red brick listed building, which was surrounded by 6 acres of land and could offer accommodation for 28 students. It was then that its name changed to “Hillcroft College.”

The college adopted the motto “Through Rough Ways to the Stars,” and its curriculum included the following subjects: Bible Study, English Composition, the English Novel, English Constitution, Industrial History, Psychology, Biology, Mathematics, Economics, Physiology, French, Music, and Handwork. Visiting lecturers from various London colleges and schools did most of the teaching. The college also organized a lecture series with invited speakers from prestigious university departments in London and beyond. Finally, the students were taken on several field trips, visited other colleges and schools, and even attended concerts, operas, and theatres in London.

When it first opened in February 1920, the college admitted 11 students aged between 18 and 35 years old. Among this first cohort, there were six women workers in full bursaries from their employers, and the rest of the group were students who were partly funded by organizations but also contributed to their fees. Apart from the Principal, Fanny Street, there were two members of staff: Ruth Hinder who was a resident tutor and Mabel Birtles, the bursar. They were both responsible for the internal management of the college, which was cooperative in nature. According to the 1920 Annual Report, all domestic issues were discussed by the House Committee, composed of all members of the college, while the Students' Council was a forum for students to express their opinions on general policies of the college. The college's first annual report also highlighted the importance of visitors from all over the world, who contributed to the creation of strong international sympathies and understanding. Over the years the college developed and strengthened such international relations particularly with the summer residential schools for women workers in the USA. Despite its many influences on the WEA tradition and policy, as well as its connections with educational programs and institutions outside the WEA, there were two distinctive features of the workers' education movement in the USA: strong ties with the American trade unions and women labor organizers' active involvement. The next section of this chapter will examine the movement for women workers' education in the USA.

The Politics of Workers' Education in the USA

The first signs of workers' education on the other side of the Atlantic emerged in 1845 when the Lowell Female Reform Association was founded in the context of women workers' industrial actions and organization in New England (see Dublin 1994). The association launched a wide range of educational and cultural activities including evening courses and public lectures on a variety of topics including science, literature, and art, as announced and advertised in their journal, *The Voice of Industry*. Given the richness and vitality of New England's working class intellectual culture, it is no surprise that a vibrant literary movement and a rich body of fiction developed around women workers' in the second half of the nineteenth century in the USA, which Sylvia Cook has meticulously studied (Cook 2008). Despite the "Mill Girls" pioneering industrial, educational, and cultural activities, the first school for workers, *The Working Men's Institute*, was established at John's Hopkins University in 1879. But when in 1901, Walter Vrooman, one of the founders of Ruskin College in the UK, proposed the establishment of a similar institution in the USA to the American Federation of Labor (AFoL), its leadership did not show any interest. However, the Socialist Party took up the challenge, and in 1906 the Rand School of Social Science was founded in New York City. It is no surprise that socialism was at the heart of the school's vision and objectives, while politics deeply colored the directions of the workers' education movement in the USA from the very beginning. The Rand School of Social Sciences offered educational programs for two major trade unions in the US garment industry in the

beginning of the twentieth century: the *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* (ILGWU) and the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Association* (ACWA). Both unions soon established their own educational structures, and in 1917 ILGWU's educational department became the first recognized institution of workers' education in the USA, followed by ACWA 2 years later. What also emerged in the first decade of the century was the *Women's Trade Union League* (WTUL) whose activities were very much directed to the education of working-class women with particular emphasis on their civil and labor rights. Women active in the US labor movement would move in between the ranks and leading positions of these unions; their involvement was crucial not only in how the movement for workers' education developed but also to how connections were forged with the UK, France, and other countries around the globe.

Thus, unlike France and the UK, where universities had a formative role – through university lectures in France and extramural departments and tutorial classes in the UK – it was the trade unions that took the lead in the USA. Their educational programs included workers' universities, labor colleges, evening and weekend classes, summer schools, as well as more informal educational activities such as reading groups and writing workshops. This is not to deny that universities as institutions or through the involvement of their academics did not play a crucial role in the USA, rather that all such activities were organized, funded, and administered by the trade unions, although the federal government eventually came to support workers' education. In the words of Arthur Gleason, a radical intellectual and journalist who supported workers' education from its very beginning: “The heart of workers' education [. . .] the class, financed on trade union money, the teacher a comrade, the method discussion, the subject the social sciences, the aim an understanding of life and the remoulding of the scheme of things” (Gleason 1927, p. 5). This “dream of a better world” was for Gleason a condition sine qua non of the movement for worker's education, which otherwise “would fade away in the loneliness and rigor of the effort” (Ibid.).

Gleason's ideas were largely influential in the 1920s' boom time for workers' education in the USA when more than 300 labor colleges emerged. In this context, 1921 was a particularly outstanding year: the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry opened its doors to its first students; the Brookwood Labor College started a 2-year residence program in Katonah, New York, and the Workers' Education Bureau of America (WEB) was formed in New York City. In addition, the University of California started a program specifically designed for workers, an initiative followed by a number of schools for workers at Barnard College, the University of Wisconsin, as well as the *Southern Summer School*, which organized courses at various university campuses throughout the South.

These summer schools and courses went through a range of organizational changes to survive financial, ideological, and political pressures that unavoidably erupted through the radical programs and subversive organizational structures that they adopted. In 1927, the summer schools of Bryn Mawr, Barnard, and Wisconsin formed the *Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers*. They joined forces to coordinate recruitment and fund-raising from the trade unions and the government and to stop competing with one another. However, they all suffered from the

Depression years, as well as from political antagonisms. Such conflicts emerged from the fact that social change was central to the vision, programs, and directions of workers' education in the USA, its ultimate aim being to inspire workers "to change economic and social conditions so that those who produce shall own the product of their labor," as Fannia Mary Cohn wrote in the socialist newspaper *Justice* on 5 January 1923 (FMC Papers). As an ILGWU labor organizer, Cohn was a central figure in the development of the workers' education in the USA; her ideas and practices shaped the curricula, literature, and overall activities of ILGWU's educational department, the first recognized institution of workers' education in the USA.

The movement for workers' education followed different trends that reflect geographical, national, historical, political, and cultural differences. Women workers' presence was however catalytic in all of them: they took up and moved around a wide range of subject positions as students, teachers, activists, and creators, as the next section illustrates.

Women Workers as Students

Women workers' educational encounters were catalytic in the course of their life trajectories. For the majority of them, the idea of having an education was the result of their political involvement specifically wider political and social movements in France and the UK and more specifically focused trade union politics in the USA. Women workers' education was permeated by elements of what Jonathan Rose (2010) has described as "the autodidact culture," which was nevertheless underpinned by different sociopolitical, cultural, and economic conditions. In France and the UK, it was the romantic socialist movements of the nineteenth century that created strong educational and cultural movements among the workers of the early industrialization period. These movements were also spread on the other side of the Atlantic through the ephemeral utopian colonies and communes that were established in the second half of the nineteenth century.

It was thus from the romantic socialist circles that the first autonomous feminist movement emerged in France, led by young proletarian women, who fiercely campaigned for women workers' education. As already outlined above, the majority of these young women were self-taught, and it was through their engagement with politics that they were able to advance their education and those of their contemporaries. Education or rather the lack of it emerges a strong theme in their autobiographical writings. Suzanne Voilquin, one of the editors of the first French feminist newspaper, wrote powerfully about the sorrows, anxiety, and anguish of searching for knowledge while working as a needle worker: "Many times in public concerts and in museums, I would feel my tears flow. In those tears there was a mingling of the happiness of aspiring to the unknown with the despair of never being able to attain it" (1866, p. 20). Tears flowing in the young girl's face create a visceral image of women's desire for education and would become a constant theme of their future campaigns. As a Saint-Simonian writer, Voilquin felt no restriction whatsoever in exposing the force of her emotions, powerfully interrelating the intellectual and the

material in the assemblage of the social and cultural conditions from which she had emerged. Happiness and despair were entangled in her experiences of seeking knowledge, and reading opened up heterotopic spaces in the constraints of her environment: "I passionately loved reading; I could indulge in this penchant in the evening next to my mother on condition that I read to her, while she worked" (1866, p. 20). Passion, joy, happiness, and indulgence fill up and indeed overflow from the writer's discourse alongside her tears. Moreover, reading to her mother in the evening while she was engaged with most probably needlework created a different pedagogical context for working-class girls than for those of their brothers.

Such gender differences were equally strong on the other side of the channel and the overall movement for workers' education in the UK. Elizabeth Andrews has written about how much she loved school, but being a miner's daughter, she was not allowed to continue with her studies: "I had to leave school at twelve owing to our large family and the coming ninth baby" she wrote in her autobiography (2006 [1957], p. 10). Although she had a strong desire to become a teacher, this was not possible; instead she became a dressmaker. Alice Foley concludes her autobiography with the sweet memories of attending a WEA's summer school in Bangor, North Wales: "The various seminars were small but spirited; the tutors understanding and encouraging. On sunny days, in circles on the University terrace [. . .] we read and explored Browning's poems. It was a strange joy [. . .] a month of almost complete happiness" (1973, p. 92).

Foley's fond memories of her summer school echo the many summer schools for women workers in the industry that flourished on the other side of the Atlantic. In looking at the specificities of women workers' education in the USA, the cultural effects of migration have been highlighted as a particularly unique phenomenon of their experience. Education gave migrant women workers the opportunity to learn the language of their new country, but once they had mastered the language, they were able to unfold and deploy the rich cultural capital they were carrying with them from their countries of origin. Women workers' rich "migration capital" (Tamboukou 2017) was catalytic in the different dynamics that were developed not only in women workers' education in the USA but also more widely in the trade union politics and women's involvement within it. It is therefore no surprise that it was from the ranks of migrant women workers that some influential educators, emerged, as the next section will demonstrate.

Women Workers as Educators and Labor Organizers

Women workers emerged as educators through the channels of "the autodidact culture" (Rose 2010), the education they received as workers, as well as their political involvement in the European sociopolitical movements and in the American trade unions. Marie-Reine Guindorf left the editorial group of the first feminist newspaper in France to devote her free time to educating other young proletarian women, Jeanne Deroin worked hard and eventually became a teacher, while Désirée Véret-Gay experimented with Robert Owen's liberal educational ideas, founded and ran two

schools – albeit unsuccessfully – and even published a book about the importance of mothers’ involvement in the education of their children (Gay 1868). Proletarian women’s education was at the heart of the feminist clubs and newspapers that emerged after the February 1848 revolution in France. Deroin and her friend and comrade Pauline Roland founded the *Association of Socialist Teachers* in 1849 and became central figures of the Union of Workers’ Associations, before they were both arrested and imprisoned for their revolutionary ideas and actions between 1850 and 1851. “Your courageous declaration of Woman’s Rights has resounded even to our prison, and has filled our souls with inexpressible joy” (in Bell and Offen 1983, p. 287) they wrote to the *Convention of the Women of America* on 15 June 1851 from their cell in the Saint-Lazare prison in Paris. (see also Tamboukou 2015, p. 161.) But while joining their American sisters “in the vindication of the right of woman to civil and political equality” (in Bell and Offen 1983, p. 289), they concluded by highlighting the need for solidarity and union with the working classes: “only by the power of association based on solidarity – by the union of the working-classes of both sexes to organise labour – can be acquired, completely and pacifically, the civil and political equality of woman, and the social right for all” (Ibid.).

The French activists’ message was well received by the newly emerging feminist movement in the USA, but American working women had to grapple with a number of adversaries as educators. Sexism within their union, as well as the negligence and marginalization of workers’ education in the overall priorities of the labor movement, was among the greatest difficulties they had to overcome. Their role as educators was complex and multifaceted. First, they had to fight for resources and persuade their suspicious male comrades that spending money for workers’ education was not a luxury but a necessity. Once they had secured a meagre and precarious budget, they had to find, rent, and maintain buildings and put in place other material infrastructure for educational programs to become possible. They would further design educational programs and curricula, search for suitable labor tutors, and persuade famous professors to give lectures. Last but not least, they had to recruit students for their programs, something that was far from easy or straightforward given the many pressures looming upon workers’ lives, particularly during periods of prolonged unemployment as in the time of the Depression.

Cohn’s correspondence provides a vivid image of the multifaceted and exhausting experience of being a women worker educator and labor organizer: “I appreciate the fact that you realize how hard it is for us to “get across” health lectures for our members [...] those of us who are pioneers in this movement, must [...] suffer inconveniences,” she wrote to Dr. Ian Galdson in February 1923, in response to his letter about the difficulties of holding a lecture on occupational health for the ILGWU members (FMC Papers). Cohn knew only too well how difficult it was to educate workers, but she was convinced that such difficulties were part of the struggle; indeed her correspondence shows how hard she worked to coordinate, sustain, and support the educational and cultural activities of the union. Her letters to a range of ILGWU locals across the country offer detailed advice on what to do, including feedback about the level of the classes as well as the time slots chosen for the lectures. Apart from being a tireless organizer, Cohn was also a highly respected

mentor: "I think it is a well written, clear and exact statement" (FMC Papers) she wrote in April 1923 to Emma Yanisky, a young woman who had sent her statement for her application to Brookwood College and was asking for feedback. This letter is also one of many she wrote throughout her life in support of young people's educational aspirations within the union and beyond.

Cohn's tireless efforts on behalf of the American movement for workers' education were documented thanks to her decision to collect and bequeath her papers to the New York Public Library (NYPL). British women workers' participation in the WEA's educational programs in the first half of the twentieth century is unfortunately not very well documented. As already noted above, women were less involved in the WEA's university-led tutorial system. However, their autobiographical sources reveal the importance of education in changing their lives and improving the conditions of their community. In writing the biography of her father as a case study of a labor farmer in a Warwickshire village, Mabel K. Ashby noted how her mother never thought of intellectual pursuits or endeavors, "for it seemed her duty to be perpetually poised for swift service—to husband, child, animal, neighbour and the chapel" (1961, p. 243). But while her mother "naturally [passed] into the background of her husband's and children's lives, not often to emerge" (Ibid. p. 244), her daughter grew up to become Principal of the Hillcroft Residential College for Working Women between 1933 and 1946. This was perhaps because despite her indifference to cultural matters, Mabel's mother participated in "the rich autodidact culture" that Rose's (2010) important study has explored. Her husband taught her to read and enjoy Walter Scott and George Elliot, as he firmly believed in the importance of education according to his daughter (Ibid., p. 258).

But as already noted above, it was not only the development of cultural and intellectual interests that women workers pursued through education. It was also through the channels of formal and informal learning that many of them got involved in labor politics. "The spirit of the WEA was to sustain and accompany me through long years of humble toil" (1973, p. 92), Foley wrote in the concluding passage of her autobiography, which finishes at the point where her involvement in trade union politics and the WEA's educational programs begins. Despite their active involvement in the movement for workers' education, however, British women workers remained on the margins of the WEA's organizational structures, unlike their American sisters, who became the driving force of workers' education in the USA.

Women Workers as Creators and Writers

Women workers' intellectual and cultural life was rich and diverse on both sides of the Atlantic. Not only were they avid readers, theatre goers, and art fans, but they actively participated in the cultural production of their times and geographies. It was their formal and informal education that created conditions of possibility for such intellectual pursuits and it was through different channels that they unfolded their creative forces. Their creativity has made forceful connections between ethics, aesthetics, and politics, although they were differently shaped by the intellectual

and cultural trends and movements of their specific national and socioeconomic contexts.

Autobiographical writing was a crucial component of working women's literary creation, but poetry and drama were also high on the agenda of their cultural contribution. There were many women workers, who immersed themselves in historical, sociological, and economic research and became political analysts, journalists, historians, economists, and social scientists. Whether in the academy or in the wider public intellectual sphere, women workers brought material grounding in the abstractions of theoretical approaches to the question of women's labor and their overall social and economic condition. Writing about their experiences of work and action, women workers shed light on the blurring boundaries between the private and the public and exposed women's vulnerability in the interstices of waged, unwaged, and domestic labor, as well as their impossible position in the male-dominated hierarchies of the labor movement. What they wrote are the only tangible traces in the gendered memory of work (see Tamboukou 2016).

Here again it was the autonomous feminist movements that sprang up in the second half of the nineteenth century that created conditions of possibility for the figure of the woman worker/writer to emerge, very conscious of her uniqueness in the cultural histories of her time: "I believe I am the only worker who has become a writer. Marguerite Audoux, who is also a seamstress is a novelist, but I feel attracted by historical research," Jeanne Bouvier wrote in an article in *La Française* in 1928 (*La Française*, 17-11-1928, Fonds Jean Bouvier). It goes without saying that in all of the above, imagination played a crucial role: to begin with, women workers imagined that they could actually write. Indeed, such an imaginative leap was a condition of possibility of the project of writing itself. They all expressed their fear of writing; they revealed how humbled they felt in respect of the task as well as how uncertain they were of its outcomes.

When Georges Renard, Professor of Labour History at the Collège de France, asked Bouvier to write the history of the linen-goods industry and its workers, as a contribution to a series of 58 volumes comprising *La Bibliothèque sociale des métiers* [The Social library of trades] which he was editing, she confessed that she felt utterly out of her depth: "When alone, I was thinking: 'M. Georges Renard has been deluded about my value and my knowledges. No, it is not possible for me to accept to write a book, I have always suffered by my ignorance'" (Bouvier 1983 [1936], p. 214). But putting her fears aside, Bouvier threw herself in the pleasures of research and produced a rare study of the French linen goods industry in the twentieth century that has become an invaluable source in women's labor history (Bouvier 1928). "You have written a book and you will write others" (Bouvier 1983 [1936], p. 216), Renard told her when she delivered her manuscript and indeed research and writing became her lifelong passion.

"I had the material and the urge, but soon realized that I was not equal to the task before me" (1987, p. xxi) Pesotta wrote in the acknowledgements of her political memoirs *Bread Upon the Waters*. And yet she decided to write this book since she was convinced that it would be useful for the women workers she had unionized through her career as a labor organizer. As she wrote to a friend, her book was written for those women "who would never read such books as the Needle Trades by

Siedman, which are too technical for them.” (Pesotta to Sue Adams, 11 November 1943, RP Papers) Her book became very successful not only for the women workers who read their experiences in it but also for many college and university students who were studying labor economics at the time (see Tamboukou 2016).

Conclusion: Imagination and Creativity in Women Workers' Education

Imagination played a crucial role then not only in working women's creativity but also in opening up vistas of another world that was possible. How is then creativity to be understood in the context of the adventure of women workers' education? As already noted at the beginning of this chapter, the role of education for Whitehead is to support the adventure of ideas and facilitate “creativity” a notion that very few know that originates in Whitehead's work: “creativity is the actualisation of potentiality [. . .] viewed in abstraction objects are passive, but viewed in conjunction they carry the creativity which drives the world. The process of creation is the form of unity of the Universe” (1967 [1933], p. 179). Creativity for Whitehead then is an open and ever-changing process in which the universe is engaged. Being part of nature, human beings emerge in the world with cognitive capacities, while the ultimate aim of their actions is to seek change. It is thus in the realm of sustaining and supporting change that education takes up creative dimensions: it becomes an assemblage of ideas, practices, knowledges, discourses, and actions, a plane wherein women workers' creative forces can be charted.

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Part VII

Methods and Methodologies



On the Methods and Methodologies of Historical Studies in Education

50

Perennial Debates, Current Issues, and Future Directions Surrounding Inquires into Our Past

Jon N. Hale

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Abstract

This part of the *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education* addresses a perennial theme in the field of historical research in education. Since the development of historical studies of education in the early twentieth century, the place of historical studies, oftentimes grouped into “foundations of education” or “history of education” programs at colleges and universities across the globe, has been contested. In the wake of neoliberal and corporate-driven reform of the twenty-first century, the methodology of historical studies and the foundations of education are often marginalized. In some instances, historical studies of education have even been shut down or absorbed into more quantitative-orientated programs.

Keywords

History of education · Historical studies · Historical methodology · Revisionism · Objectivity

This section of the *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education* addresses a perennial theme in the field of historical research in the field of education. Since the development of historical studies of education in the early twentieth century, the place of historical

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studies, oftentimes grouped into “foundations of education” or “history of education” programs at colleges and universities across the globe, has been contested. In the wake of neoliberal and corporate-driven reform of the twenty-first century, the methodology of historical studies and the foundations of education are often marginalized. In some instances, historical studies of education have even been shut down or absorbed into more quantitative-orientated programs.

Since the origins of the field in the first decades of the twentieth century, historical studies in education have occupied a tenuous place in higher education. Researchers that utilized empirical methodology used in the sciences and social sciences often define the field or have established a standard of educational research in the field. Researchers who are influenced by the humanities such as history and philosophy are fewer in number. To compound the contentious positionality of the status of historical studies, historians of education are most often divided between departments of history and schools of education. Within professional schools of education, they are often housed in “foundations of education” programs that adopt a disciplinary approach to inculcate a deeper understanding of the institution and field of education.

The field gained institutional distinction and autonomy when the National Society of College Teachers of Education formed a History of Education Section in 1948. Education historians at the University of Illinois founded the History of Education Society in 1960, a professional organization that still exists today. This organization first published the *History of Education Journal* the following year and is currently published as the *History of Education Quarterly*. Today, the field enjoys a wide international standing with associations across the world including: The International Standing Conference for the History of Education; the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society; the l'Association canadienne d'histoire de l'éducation/Canadian History of Education Association; the Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación; the Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisas “História, Sociedade e Educação no Brasil”; the Service d'Histoire de l'Éducation del INRP; and the Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação. With annual meetings across the globe, history scholars in education regularly meet, marking an international presence and a common historical methodology practiced across the world.

This part focuses on methods and methodologies within historical studies in education to examine the methodological principles that define the field. It offers an in-depth historiographical and comparative analysis of prominent methodological considerations and debates within historical studies. To demonstrate the breadth and larger considerations of the field, this part draws on specific case studies to illustrate the origins, debates, and tensions within the professional inquiry of historical studies. The topics in this part include: reading archives; oral histories; memories, memory, and memorials; visual methodologies; biography and autobiography; and local and public history. Historical studies traditionally include the use of primary sources to explain change over time. The use of archival data, oral history, and documentary research – methods covered in this part – traditionally define the historical method. The methods and methodologies associated with historical studies have reflected the changes in the larger field of history. Basic building blocks of historical inquiry, these methods allow historians to reconstruct past events, to

corroborate their data, and to report key findings and historical analysis to define the field. Published histories include institutional histories and histories of prominent individuals through biography and autobiography, which are also examined in this part.

But the field has evolved and taken new directions. More contemporary considerations include memories and memory, visual methodologies, and local and public history. At the same time, this part offers an overview of new trends, directions and developments in historical studies. In doing so, this part promises to highlight the ways in which historical studies promise to sustain and grow the larger field of educational studies and improve the theory and practice within it.

The entries in this part offer researchers, postgraduate, and higher degree students, as well as those teaching in this field, a definitive overview that identifies salient methodological considerations and key historiographical insights. One of the first themes is the rationale and purpose of the use of the historical method in field of study that is largely professional in its aim to train teachers. Scholars engaged in historical studies of education must often defend their place in colleges of education as their work does not make obvious connections to the professional and technical training of future educators, which includes writing lesson plans, aligning curriculum with state standards, and developed behavioral plans, among other technical considerations outside the realm of historical studies. Moreover, as a subfield of the parent discipline of history, education historians must align their work with a discipline established in the humanities, often distant from professional colleges of education that mostly embrace the social sciences. This continuing divide focuses on epistemological questions about what our research is, justifying its validation, and defending its place in institutions of higher education. Scholars in historical studies address these issues through the use of methods outlined in this part.

Another perennial theme comes from the purpose of adopting subjective goals and recognizing the political orientation of historical methodology. After the social movements for greater rights and inclusion of communities defined by race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and other traditionally marginalized identities, education historians contend with the expectation to produce and publish objective or politically neutral research. Research traditions in the academy expect scholars to publish research that is not shaped by personal beliefs and ideology, or research that is to be used for political aims. This creates an ongoing tension as revisionist scholars seek to challenge political orthodoxies while critics charge such scholarship with “politicizing” the curriculum.

In graduate schools, students preparing to enter the field are often immersed in the debate to better position themselves in an increasingly competitive job market, particularly those in the humanities and humanities-related fields of study such as historical studies in education. Graduate students in degree conferring institutions in the twenty-first century encounter the same debates their predecessors did at the founding of the field over a century ago. At the same time, new insights gleaned from critical analysis grounded in race, class, gender, sexuality, and intersectional analysis posit new challenges to scholars entrapped by expectations for objective research. Methodology is central to this debate as is understanding the larger context in which

historical methodology changed and developed over time. This overview of the main philosophical and methodological debates proposes new directions for the field.

Contesting the Methodology and Place for Historical Studies in Higher Education

One of the perennial debates in the field of historical studies of education is the purpose of historical methodology in the broader field of education research, a wide and often divergent field that covers the training of teachers and administrators, psychology, policy and law, economics, and a host of other humanities and social scientific disciplines. Historical studies in education were typically housed in professional schools of education, postsecondary institutions, or normal schools committed exclusively to the training and credentialing of teachers. Such institutions were crucial to the professionalization of the field of education at the turn of the twentieth century (Tyack 1974; Tyack and Cuban 1997). Prevailing methodological ideas suggested that research should be used to inform practice and to a significant extent, predict or modify student's behavior. The rise of behavioral psychology, often within the fields of educational psychology, created tension with historians and other humanities scholars. The predominance of positivist paradigms and claims for empirical methodology prompted many colleges of education to drop or curtail requirements in the history of education (Cremin 1955, 1964). It also sought to examine the rationality of educational management through bureaucracy. The origins of educational studies, then, promised to train teachers, practitioners, and administrators in the burgeoning bureaucracy of education. Functionality and the premise of serving a professionally utilitarian role guided the field at the turn of the twentieth century.

The larger context of and the demand for the professional training of teachers shaped the position of education historians in the field. Though purporting objectivity and a neutral position when engaging in historical scholarship, historical methodology contrasted with the experimental or quasi-experimental methodology popularized in schools of education that often focused on observations and empirical data. Rationally and logically justifiable assertions that could be verified through empirical inquiry constituted the basis of positivist research and scholarship. More important, the positivist methods of psychology often aimed to predict future events or modify human behavior. This methodology was at odds with that of history, the explanation of change over time through the use of primary sources. A methodology that relied on an individual interpretation of written documents, themselves defined by subjectivity, did not fit into the empirical realm of education research. Educational history promised a different perspective, looking at the change of schools and concepts of education overtime. At the same time, the field could not completely disassociate itself from objective empiricism. Though historical studies gleaned insights that corroborated or added to the contributions of education research, historical studies were often marginalized.

Educational history often followed the work of Leopold von Ranke, one of the first regarded modern historians. Ranke sought for a common or universal theme among diverse variables and populations for the purposes of generalization. In his classic text, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1909), Ranke established a field of general history that covered wide swathes of time, multiple and perennial institutions, and Western civilization. It also captured a diplomatic or political history, where agency was often defined by powerful men who exerted significant control over a determinist political economic context. Research sought generalizations that fit large-scale data sets. Histories were often voluminous. At times they could be used for social scientific aims. Moreover, writing history from the traditional perspective often sought a linear narrative and progression. Global or sweeping national histories often followed a linear progression in which society continually progressed to contextualize our modern point of view. It was the traditional approach to historical methodology that contemporary educational historians sometimes write against, including those in this volume.

Following the trends of the parent discipline, historical studies in education moved from Ranke to embrace the classic articulation of the historical method by Marc Bloch (1953), the French historian who helped found the *Annales* School and popularized the “historians craft” in 1942. Bloch defined historical methodology as a careful study of the written records of archival sources, but he also recognized the importance of drawing upon other primary sources including surveys, maps, and cultural artifacts including songs and poems. Historians were expected to explain change over time through these sources and to avoid using present problems and ideologies from influencing the writing of history. The sources would speak for themselves and the historians craft was to collect, analyze, and report this material as objectively as possible.

Generally relying upon traditional historical methodology outlined by Ranke and Bloch, historians of education sought to stake a professional claim in a changing climate. Scholars never questioned the methods of history, but rather how they should be employed within a professional field devoted to training practitioners. Education historians often debated whether the function of the subfield was to be part of a liberal arts and humanities-based curriculum, to educate future and current teachers in the field, or to shape and influence social and education policy that plagued contemporary society, or some combination of these overarching aims (Cohen 1999). At the origins of educational studies, historians defended their craft by aligning the history of education with its parent discipline of history, broadening the experience of educators through history, and emphasizing the functional utility of the history of education as a liberal, yet functional discipline. For many historians of education, the value of the discipline rested with providing frames of reference, conceptual frameworks, or guiding principles to future practitioners in a way to foster critical thinking and problem solving within the practical world of education (Anderson 1956; Noble 1949; Woody 1950). For historians like Bernard Mehl (1957), historians of education offered a “New History,” one that was pragmatic, but historicized the social, cultural, and professional aspects of educational studies. Historian Maxinne Greene summarized the status of the field in the 1960s, noting that

historical studies of education were most effective when aligned with the parent discipline of history and the humanities. But she also suggested that historians of education borrow concepts from the social sciences or the behavioral sciences for “the sake of ordering [their] own field” (1967, p. 187). Historians of education utilized historical methodology to stake a claim in fields of education and the humanities, but interdisciplinary research also characterized aspects of some scholars’ work.

Historical studies in education were largely neglected or rather dismissed as a serious field after the Second World War. But scholars attempted to resuscitate the field by revisiting it and challenging some of the core assumptions held by scholars as well as demonstrating the methodological vitality of the field. Historian Lawrence Cremin put forth new trends of research in his canonical text, *The Transformation of the School* in 1964. It marked a point of departure for the revisionist scholars that influenced latter decades. In this text, Cremin challenged the prevailing interpretation of the Progressive Era of education, which traditionally defined the era through the work of John Dewey. Cremin, however, recognized the Progressivism was inherently a pluralistic, frequently contradictory movement, which could only be understood in a larger social, political, and economic context. Incorporating social conditions, intellectual traditions, and cultural factors and the larger tools of contextualization, the decades following the Second World War inspired deeper ideological and intellectual analysis.

The field evolved further in the tumultuous decades after the Second World War to embrace the rise of social history and critical theory, which sought to include the perspective of those from the “bottom up.” It challenged the previous notions of political and diplomatic history. Social history sought the sources that spoke for the lower class and the masses typically not credited with shaping history. Following in the wake of E.P. Thompson (1966) and the rise of social history, historians examined the long arc of history but from a different perspective, one overlooked by political economies or histories of the state. The shift in the larger field inspired a growing critique among historians of education that the functional or professional research of education scholars in higher education was increasingly narrow. Traditional research did not attend to the needs of an increasingly democratic and diverse society. As historian Michael Katz noted, “A simple narrative of the triumph of benevolence and democracy no longer can be offered by any scholar even marginally award of educational historiography” (Katz 1976, p. 381). In response, Katz called for the historical analysis of capitalism, wage labor, and class struggle.

This led to “revisionist” history that challenged the major assertions of traditional education research. Education was understood as serving a state in the maintenance of the status quo. The revisionist tradition in historical studies claimed a larger position within colleges of education and the parent discipline of history. Recognizing that research and inquiry was inherently subjective and shaped by personal and political factors; revisionist historians made claims to research that addressed pressing social, political, and economic issues. Moreover, they placed schooling and education at the center of social and ideological conflict, positing that understanding the field of education would be necessary to fully map the complexities of any social, political, or economic analysis. Schooling was a microcosm of society and education

should be viewed as the battleground for American cultural, ideological, social, and political conflict. The study of education through historical analysis and methodology was critical to the institutions of higher education. In short, the revisionist historians called for an honest if not “ruthless criticism” that should be used in the interrogation of the past (Karier 1967). It also called for new methodological conceptualizations that disrupted a traditional reliance upon a linear progression. History did not follow a neat narrative of progress where society continually experienced an upward growth throughout history. Historical studies disproved the myth that the system and provision of education increasingly benefited everyone in a democracy. Such key assumptions were vigorously challenged. This was tantamount to calling for the general reinterpretation of the history of education.

According to the revisionist critique, scholars of education typically viewed schools as institutions that politically, economically, and socially benefitted the individual and the larger democratic project. In their revisionist scholarship, however, schools did not benefit students but necessarily aided and abetted the exploitation of the State. They therefore challenged and fundamentally questioned the purported democratic structure and aims of schooling and education. Revisionist historians utilized the same methodology of previous historians, but they were writing social histories from a different perspective that addressed pressing social issues of the time.

Social movements challenged the field and historians responded to calls for new research. The American Civil Rights and Black Power Movement, the women’s liberation movement, the gay rights movement, student movements at institutional of higher education, and liberation and independence movements across the world inspired historians to embrace perspectives traditionally marginalized in educational studies. In the turn toward analysis that drew upon race, class, gender, and sexuality considerations, the methodology remained the same, but historians diversified the sources and voices they used to reconstruct history to glean new insights. Many studies noted that racism, sexism, misogyny, and class exploitation served the needs of the few in a “rational” though problematic State. Through these movements, historians addressed the past in new ways. Historian Jill Conway, for instance, participated in and helped shape a strand of revisionism that incorporated gender into the historical analysis of education. Conway (1974) noted the dearth of scholarship in regard to colonial institutions and its impact on women and women’s consciousness as political actors, as well as the division of labor based on gender in public and private spheres during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Barbara Solomon (1986) provided the first comprehensive history of women in higher education from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. Promising a critical lens, historical studies often yielded new insights and studies that helped reinterpret the field of education.

Of particular emphasis was the racial questions put forth by the American Civil Rights Movement. In some instances, historians called for new histories that answered directly the call for critical scholarship. Historian VP Franklin called for different and new histories that would provide a “usable past” for the historian and the community in “assisting the development of a viable black consciousness”

(1973, pp. 477–478). Historians wrote new comprehensive histories that built upon the critique of linear progress and noted with methodological precision how education was denied and shaped by white philanthropic interests that maintained the status quo. Historians began to reconstruct the history of black education in the South, painstakingly outlining the meager provisions of segregated black education and how this paltry allocation of education funding worked in the best interests of white philanthropists and business owners (Anderson 1988; Butchart 1980; Siddle Walker 1996). As James Anderson and Christopher Span noted, the African American experience, like the experience of other communities of color, “is a history that details the determination of a people to use schools and knowledge of liberation and inclusion in the American social order” (Span and Anderson 2005, p. 295). Not only did published histories after the racial and cultural turn present new histories of periods of time covered in previous generations, next texts inscribed agency to marginalized communities traditionally viewed as insignificant in historical analysis.

Education historians at the same time called for and expounded the complex racialization project of the United States in a colonial and postcolonial context. Historians examined the American Indian boarding schools and connected the education of Indigenous communities to the colonial and imperial expansion of the United States (Adams 1995; Lomawaima 1994). Scholars adopting historical studies also examined the history of Latinx communities, highlighting how the educational history of people of color in the American Southwest differed from and related to the education of African Americans in the South (Donato 1997; San Miguel 2001).

Historians after the revisionists started to redefine the field by focusing on the racial and multicultural factors that shaped our past. They completed the work of the first revisionists who interrogated the essence of history and connected to significant social movements. The historians of the next generation complemented this scholarship by providing histories from marginalized perspectives often overlooked by traditional top-down or institutional histories. In the move to understand history from the periphery, scholars also ascribed new forms of agency to communities of color and disenfranchised individuals. As new histories noted, local people and people of color possessed significant agency in building schools and providing an education that the State often refused to provide or neglected in doing so. While decentering the narrative from privileged and affluent decision makers, revisionist and post-revisionist historians reconstructed the agency of those disenfranchised throughout American history.

The critical turn in historical studies asked new questions of the same archival sources used in the past. Federal education policy collections and state superintendent collections, for instance, continued to inform the writing of new historians. However, by asking questions about race, class, and political ideologies, education historians reinterpreted the sources used by earlier generations of historians. They produced very different histories that challenged fundamental notions of linear progress proffered by the first generations of education scholars. Moreover, historians combed through the archives of major philanthropic organizations such as John

D. Rockefeller's General Education Board or the Southern Education Foundation to delineate ideologies of white supremacy that undergirded education policy in colonial and segregation contexts.

Moreover, new methodological considerations followed the move toward centering the voice and ascribing agency to those subjects marginalized in the traditional historiography. For instance, oral history gained unprecedented prominence after the 1960s. Collecting and gathering oral histories allowed those utilizing historical methodologies to capture the voice of those who were dismissed in the archival record. Oftentimes "official" archives only collected the papers, documents, and collections of wealthy and politically powerful members of society, typically privileged white men. Oral history allowed education historians after the critical turn to embrace the vantage point of marginalized subjects.

Revisionist history was not without its critics, particularly as the field refused to distance itself from ongoing social and political movements. Responding specifically to the revisionists, Diane Ravitch (1978) critiqued the "radical" revisionism of the field that led to an unfair if not unfounded attack on American schools and the field of education. Charging that revisionist scholars strayed from historic reality, Ravitch contended that ideology infused the field, biases colored historical analysis, and through these mechanisms the field had thus been politicized. Individual or collective ideology, Ravitch and other counter-revisionists argued, had come to define the field and led to a corpus of false and misleading scholarship. Although historical studies of education maintained a place in higher education in spite of a previous generations' tension over methodology, Ravitch's critique illustrated that the very place, methodology, and purpose of historical studies of education remained contested.

It is within this larger context that historians reconsidered, reinterpreted, and reexamined the methodology they employed. In response to revisionism and the multitude of new inquiries this precipitated, historians of education sought to not only revise or reinterpret methodological and source considerations, but they sought new methods. One of the more poignant critiques of the revisionist camp was that some histories had never been recorded or, worse, erased and excluded from the archive. This necessitated new ways to understand and record the past. Moreover, as history came into question and as an increasing number of scholars sought to use historical studies as a way to inform contemporary struggles, historians of education sought new directions in the field that could address pressing social, political, and economic issues. If education was political, so too must be the historians craft of the twenty-first century.

The new realities after the cultural and racial turn presented new debates in the field. These methodological considerations included reinterpreting how historians used traditional sources found in the archives as well as the memory they interrogated and reconstructed through oral history. In the case of public and local history, new methodological considerations expanded our understanding of the historian and pushed the boundaries further to include service for and with the communities and neighborhoods the field seeks to study.

Part Overview

Methodologies in historical studies of education carry forth the perennial tensions of the field. This part examines six methods that define primary methods in the field: reading archives; oral history; public history; biography and autobiography; memories, memory and memorials; and visual methodologies. Each of these methods illuminates traditional and modern lines of inquiry that define the field. These methods also proffer new directions in the field. The outline of the part is as follows:

1. ► [Chap. 51, “Archives and the American Historical Profession”](#) Kevin Zayed (Connecticut College)
2. ► [Chap. 52, “Lessons from the Past: Listening to Our Stories, Reading Our Lives – The Place of Oral Histories in Our Lives,”](#) Melli Velazquez (University of Oklahoma)
3. ► [Chap. 53, “Memories, Memory, and Memorial”](#) Angela Riotta (University of Akron)
4. ► [Chap. 54, “The Visual Turn in the History of Education,”](#) María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (University of Alcalá) and Sjaak Braster (Erasmus University, Rotterdam)
5. ► [Chap. 55, “Biography and Autobiography”](#) Wayne Urban (University of Alabama)
6. ► [Chap. 56, “The Development and Growth of Public History,”](#) Rachel Donaldson (College of Charleston).

The methodology of historical studies is built upon the archives and they constitute the basic building block of the profession. As Kevin Zayed explains, the archives are most commonly defined as repositories where primary sources are kept. Archives are often held in libraries, historical societies, universities, and even digital formats. But, as Zayed articulates, underlying tensions complicate any simple reading of the archives. Numerous scholars across the disciplines have complicated our understanding in recent decades by seeking to expand and challenge the traditional conception of the historical archive. Some question whether archives must be a physical space. Others wonder about the relationship between individuals, society, and the space itself.

Zayed provides keen insight on historical archives by elucidating their importance in shifting historical study in the United States from an “amateur” to a more “professional,” though certainly not fully objective, ideal. This methodological distinction illuminates the multifaceted approach scholars utilize in the archives to document change over time. In this entry, Zayed also provides a brief discussion of how to navigate historical archives and use primary sources to inform our interpretations about the past. Ongoing tension and evolving methods underpin the constant change and methodological of the field.

Oral history is another component of historical studies to consider. As Melli Velazquez demonstrates in her entry on oral history, “*How* we remember is just as important as *what* we remember, and even *why* we remember.” The method of

incorporating voices into the methodology is a political act, recapturing a silenced past. Oral history, as Velazquez discusses, assume the role of “historical recovery” efforts because there is a need to bring in the use of oral history to better frame the realities of those communities we hope to engage with and for, and to also understand how to move forward in our individualized work. Continuing the work of the revisionists, oral historians promise to recapture a lost past, a history that was often intentionally marginalized in order to justify a particular hegemony. Reclaiming the histories is an act of recovery, Velazquez notes. These marginalized that shaped a generation is critical to truly understanding the story of a country or society, or even American schools.

After the revisionist turn, historians and scholars in historical studies took seriously the fact that the lives of communities of color have been marked by a history of inequality and violence though their lives from schools, homes, and labor participation, yet these stories are often silenced in the writing of historical text. Scholars engaging with oral histories should allow interviewees the agency to create their own spaces and frame their own histories, under their own terms. As Velazquez contends, their stories will help unveil a part of history not always present in the pages of textbooks or in larger readings of American history, but understanding their positionality within that history will enrich these projects as well. This entry reminds us of the political work inherent to the new directions of the field.

The field of memory studies is an interdisciplinary and increasingly multi-disciplinary line of inquiry that examines memory as a tool for remembering the past and how the past and present converge as part of the larger processes of cultural negotiation, identity formation, and narrative construction. Angelo Riggio writes that memory studies developed in the wake of the “memory boom” or “memory industry.” As such, the use of memory demonstrates one of the most innovative methodologies since the revisionist era that necessarily requires a use of multitude and diverse set of data and methodological sources that center upon memory. As Riggio notes in her entry, memory studies comprise multiple expressions of memory, including but limited to, autobiographical memory, multidirectional memory, collective memory, traumatic memory, remembrance, commemoration, and memorialization. The field of memory studies is therefore an intersection of the present and the past. Not only interested in the processes of remembering and forgetting, memory studies also examines why and for what purpose some past happenings are remembered instead of others.

Memory studies also points to new directions. Scholars interested in memory studies no longer limit their examinations to how individuals or groups remember or forget. Scholars who draw on memory have extended their analysis to memorialization and commemoration, most popularly expressed in museums but it has also been expanded to include the investigation of landscapes, social networks, and tourism. With an increasing amount of scholarly attention, memory scholars emphasize the need to explore the influence of culture and society, and how narratives affect memory construction and distribution, thereby providing a nuanced, expansive layer to the contextualization provided by historians.

A growing field of visual methodology indicates that historical studies are ever evolving, responding to the both subtle and transformational shifts in our culture. As María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster discuss in their entry on visual methodologies in historical studies, a proliferation of images and visuals in the contemporary era has generated a profound impact on our society in a multitude of ways. This growing visual culture directly affects the work of the historian and the historical method as the “visual turn” has precipitated a small explosion of books, themed issues of journals about visual research, and different methodologies regarding the way in which images may be analyzed.

In delineating the contextual and practical contours of visual methodology, Andrés and Braster examine how historians in past centuries have dealt with images as compared to scholars from other scientific disciplines. They also explore the visual turn and the new research it has inspired and the serious methodological questions it poses for contemporary scholars. In so doing, the authors present the ways in which historians of education have dealt with images before and after the visual turn as a point of reference in a rapidly changing field. Finally, this entry also discusses some future challenges for historical studies in education that will deal with the analysis of visual images. Ultimately, Braster and Andrés contend, scholars should consider refining the interdisciplinary aspect of research in the field of the history of education. However, achieving such a goal is only possible if historians of education are willing to learn the same methodological language as practitioners of the social sciences or of semioticians.

Wayne Urban highlights the uses of autobiography and biography in historical studies. He reminds us that biographical and autobiographical methodological inquiries are not exceptionally popular as approaches to historical research in education. These lines of inquiry do not address the predominant paradigms of in education research, which largely put forth social scientific concerns such as generalization, hypothesis testing, and larger data sets that support these priorities is dominant in historical study in education as well as the larger field of educational research. Autobiography and biography, Urban contends, involve a much more individualized, personal, and avowedly perspectival approach to educational scholarship. This permits historians to contextualize education as practiced in educational institutions in larger policy and political contexts that in turn can be analyzed critically in terms of their own impact on schools, schooling, and other institutional education. After the revisionist turn in historical studies, in other words, biographical inquiry permits historians to address the issues presented through race, class, gender, sexuality, and the myriad perspectival lenses that define a much more critical field.

As Urban notes, the biographical and autobiographical approach can be fraught with conflict and, as such, underlines a significant debate in the field. The positionality and subjectivity of the scholar can invite criticism and skepticism that more quantitative methodologies typically do not warrant. Utilizing an autobiographical approach to illustrate the blurred lines of writing biography, Urban demonstrates how his personal experience in researching and writing the biographies on Horace Mann Bond and James Conant are replete with potential as well as conflict.

Public history as a subfield and methodology has gained prominence since the revisionist interpretation of history. As Rachel Donaldson examines in her entry, public history is based upon an interdisciplinarity of the field that reflects the professionalization of it. Public history draws upon traditional history, oral history, historical sociology, anthropology, archeology, folklore, cultural theory, material culture studies, digital humanities, and regional and ethnic studies in its professional inquiry. The field of public history has also grown in the past 50 years to include a myriad of practices that have expanded beyond archival work to also include museum curating and historic preservation, to name just a couple of the innovations of the field.

Donaldson also defines public history as “an approach of engaging in historical inquiry that is directed to the public, and that directly involves the public in acts of historical interpretation.” Incorporating the public or the community into the process of reconstructing and representing history for the public good demonstrates the evolution of historical studies, representing a rupture from the individualistic scholarly pursuits of the past, often confined to archives and primary source analysis. Donaldson exemplifies the methodological nuances of public history that yield different forms of knowledge production and historic preservation by examining the “Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities,” an inaugural exhibit at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). For this exhibit, lead curator Cynthia Chavez Lamar adopted an approach that referred to as “community co-curating.” As Donaldson notes, rather than simply generating content that represent the lives of American Indians from the perspectives of museum curators, the museum partnered with American Indian groups so that community members could have a say in how they were represented – so that they could “engage in self-representation as curatorial partners.” Her entry delineates the promises and tensions inherent to the field, which insightfully points toward the larger context of historical studies.

Future Directions in the Field of Historical Studies

This part illustrates the continuing divide predicated upon epistemological questions about what research in historical studies is, how scholars have validated its methods, and how historians have defended its place in institutions of higher education. As the entries in this part make clear, scholars in historical studies address these issues through the use of methods that represent a methodological and epistemological continuum that embraces both traditional and modern methods. These entries also lay bare the perennial tensions historical studies in education faces. But the historians in this part also point toward the promises historical methodology holds for an ever-changing society. While much is contested in the field, a consensus emerges that historical studies in education is a critical component of publication and research that can effectively address the myriad issues present in the numerous fields of education today.

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Archives and the American Historical Profession

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Kevin S. Zayed

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Abstract

In historical studies, archives are most commonly defined as repositories where primary sources are kept. Archives are often held in libraries, historical societies, universities, and even in digital formats. Yet, numerous scholars across the disciplines have complicated our understanding in recent decades by seeking to expand and challenge the traditional conception of the historical archive. Some question whether archives must be a physical space. Others wonder about the relationship between individuals, society, and the space itself. While unable to engage every debate, this chapter seeks to provide insight on historical archives by elucidating their importance in shifting historical study in the United States from an “amateur” to a more “professional,” though certainly not fully objective, ideal. The entry begins by exploring the “amateur” ideal of historical scholarship in the United States prior to the advent of archives, before turning to the move toward professionalization. It then examines the role of archives once the concept

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of objectivity was complicated and ultimately debunked. Finally, it discusses a paradox regarding the future of archives.

Keywords

Archives · Primary sources · Amateur historian · Professional historian · Objectivity

Introduction

In 1976, historian O.L. Davis, Jr., invited all interested parties to the task of producing nuanced history about the American curriculum. Key to his invitation was the implication that nuanced history could not be constructed in the absence of primary sources, or firsthand accounts of events. “The field needs to collect the abundant sources available for study,” he proclaimed; “What kind of sources are needed? Everything. A few examples. We need the artifacts of curriculum . . . We need the photographs of curriculum making and curriculum confronted . . . We need the personal accounts of the actors in curriculum. We need the tales of progress and the anecdotes of frustration . . . We need the accounts, in writing or recorded, of and by teachers, consultants, experts, everyone who has participated” (pp. 257–258). This proclamation raises further questions about primary sources. Who would decide what artifacts were worthy of preservation? Who would organize those photographs? And where would those personal accounts be held while waiting for historians to come and make meaning of them?

The simple answer is historical archives and their curators, better known as archivists. Historical archives may be defined as repositories where primary sources are kept. They are often held in libraries, historical societies, universities, and even in digital formats. This somewhat reductive definition has been complicated in recent decades by numerous scholars across the disciplines who have sought to expand and challenge the traditional conception of what a historical archive is (Friedrich 2018; Manoff 2004; Yale 2015). Some question whether archives must be a physical space or what may constitute a primary source. Others wonder about the relationship between individuals, society, and the space itself. Still others have written on the relationship of archives to historical objectivity, or the concept that historians can remove their own values and simply present the past without biased interpretation (Novick 1988).

While unable to engage every debate, this chapter seeks to provide insight on historical archives by elucidating their importance in shifting historical study in the United States from an “amateur” to a more “professional,” though certainly not fully objective, ideal. To develop this argument, I explore the “amateur” ideal of historical scholarship in the United States prior to the advent of archives before turning my attention to the proliferation of archives and the move toward professionalization. I then examine the role of archives once the concept of objectivity was complicated and ultimately debunked. Finally, I discuss a paradox regarding the future of archives.

Historical Scholarship in the United States Prior to the Advent of Archives: The “Amateur” Ideal, c. 1700 to the 1870s

The history of American historical scholarship is intertwined with the global history of knowledge, social relations, universities, and the many other cultural ideals and institutions that facilitate historical research and its dissemination. Significant intellectual debates connected to the Enlightenment, technologies that facilitated mass printing and travel, and early (American) nationalism were instrumental in increasing the sheer numbers of archives and normalizing their use (Black 2014). To understand archives and their importance to the American historical profession, it is necessary to provide an overview of the social context and state of knowledge production that not only shaped the historical profession but also served to promote the creation and importance of historical archives.

Historian Robert H. Wiebe (1967) has argued that the United States was, until the 1870s, “a society of island communities.” “Weak communication,” he contended, “severely restricted the interaction among these islands and dispersed the power to form opinion and enact public policy. Education, both formal and informal, inhibited specialization and discouraged the accumulation of knowledge” (p. xiii; see also Brown 1989; Tyrrell 2018). This type of landscape proved inhospitable to the formation of historical archives. Knowledge relies on dissemination to foster its proliferation and evolution. With rudimentary communication, it was not likely that the primary sources so crucial to specialized historical knowledge would be collected and archived.

Beyond the issue of communication, there were few institutions that could provide adequate financial and moral support of archives. “In 1860,” historian John Higham (1979) explains, “there was no American university fully worthy of the name. The United States had no libraries of national or international renown, no industrial laboratories or great private foundations, no widely based learned societies devoted exclusively to the advancement of knowledge within a single limited field” (p. 3). This led to a reality where “the learned world in the United States was rather inchoate” and was marked by “an amorphous agglomeration of institutions and activities that were scant in number and widely dispersed territorially . . . [and] the connections between them were infrequent and of marginal importance” (Shils 1979, p. 21).

Despite the difficulties of communication and the absence of fully developed and, in some sense, standardized institutions, Americans were still eager to tell stories about their past. However, they would be telling these stories largely without the benefit of archival sources. There can be no doubt that scholars from various fields were interested in using primary sources and sought the creation of historical archives. However, this proved to be more of an exception than a general rule for the broader public who engaged in what we might today recognize as historical scholarship (Cheng 2008; Geiger 2015).

Until the late 1870s, American historians, particularly those who worked outside of institutions of higher learning, were largely *amateurs*. We may define this term as people with a love of the topic, working often without monetary compensation,

a professional identity, or broadly accepted protocols. However, there are limitations to this definition that should be acknowledged. Historian Nathan Reingold (1976) points to the term amateur as having “pejorative connotations” but argues that the “etymological implication of the word, that is, ‘lover of,’ . . . says something important.” Ultimately, he suggests that “amateurs” should be split into groups of “cultivators,” “practitioners,” and “researchers,” to introduce nuance and accuracy (pp. 38–39). However, much of his evidence draws from those with “scientific” interests and not historical ones. Therefore, we may employ the term amateurs in the case of American scholars focused on telling stories about the past. These amateurs included “men of letters,” women seeking to perform their national duty and to satisfy the principles of “Republican Motherhood,” African Americans and Native Americans expressing “oral, vernacular, and commemorative” forms of historical knowledge, in addition to early scholars who contributed to the writing and telling of history in the colonial period and early republic (Baym 1995; Conn 2004; Hall 2009, p. 3).

Although amateur historians inhabited a world with limited historical methodology, they also inhabited a world in which the very foundations and purposes of knowledge were being challenged. Ultimately, this would shape not only the content of what amateur historians wrote but also the methods by which they wrote. Ideological concerns seemed to take precedence over more methodological ones. One result was that archives were not used in abundance. Two events of particular importance to early American historians were the Enlightenment and the founding of the Republic (Calcott 1970). In a simple sense, the Enlightenment had disrupted the old order and introduced a new form of “reason” to combat what were seen as dogmatic conceptions of the world. The battle between the ancient and the modern world was, in some sense, a battle between religion and science as the dominant ways of understanding how the world operated and would change over time (Proctor 1991). The United States seemed to many to be a key battlefield, due particularly to the “widespread belief that the New World was a place where a corrupt Old World might be reborn” (Messer 2005, p. 30). Amateur historians saw history as a crucial weapon, as it allowed its practitioners the ability to define the world’s genesis, evolution, and shifting perception(s) of culture(s).

For amateur American historians, it was particularly crucial to imbue their writing with clear conceptions about religion and science. The ways in which Americans defined the relationship between these concepts, and particularly how they defined the terms “providence” and “progress,” would have key ramifications for the definition of the relatively new nation’s identity (Messer 2005). This process involved working out the perceived tension between providence – or the concept that God’s plan is being executed according to His wishes and timetables – and progress, or the more scientific concept that the world is evolving and can be steered by humankind. And although providence and progress were often seen as dichotomous, it is clear that there is a more symbiotic relationship between the two. Any author defining providence was, in turn, defining progress, and vice versa (Himmelfarb 2004; Kelley 1991).

Indeed, the ways in which progress and providence were understood would determine the very identity of the republic and social relations among its inhabitants. “What links Americans together is not the ethnic, religious, or cultural origins of it citizenry,” historian Ian Tyrrell (2005) argues, “but a shared civic culture. Those ideas require a particular reading of history—a collective memory” (p. 11). Therefore, American history would also be written on assumptions related to *American* progress and *American* providence. Amateur historians were seeking to create not simply a history or a national memory but rather a *sense of history* that, according to historian David Glassberg (2001), tends to produce a “sense of locatedness and belonging” (p. 7). American history was meant to make *Americans* belong to *America*.

It might have been more logical for the young nation to establish state archives for its historians to gain an understanding of the state’s formation and growth as some European nations had done early in their histories (Berger 2013; Walsham 2016). However, this did not happen on a widespread scale. While the Library of Congress was founded in 1800, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) would not be founded until 1934 (Thomas 2015). The founding of the latter would end more than a century in which numerous public records were held in disarray and occasionally destroyed by fires (Schellenberg 2003). The NARA would standardize presidential libraries, records from federal offices, and various archives across the nation. Therefore, there was a tangible reason for not using archives on a large scale: Few archives existed.

In addition to writing from an ideological sense, amateur historians saw their writing more as a “highly literary form of composition” rather than a scientific endeavor (Burrow 2008, p. 414). The methodology of history had more in common with other fields in which instructive forms of composition were produced (e.g., political theory, philosophy, and even fiction) than with scientific enterprises. Historian Donald Kelley (1991) suggests that history did not even achieve “methodological independence” from literature and other related fields until the latter portion of the nineteenth century (p. 497). Historians and other literary authors used similar tools of inspiration, including lived experiences, imagination, and oral traditions. Primary sources were merely one of many kinds of sources available. And of those primary sources, few were housed in archives.

The ideology and methodology of doing history trickled down to the various subfields of the historical enterprise (one might hesitate to call it a “discipline” at this point). One example is the history of American education. Though some would later claim that the history of American education grew in “isolation” from history writ large, others have found much more evidence that the history of American education was almost always written in a manner similar to histories of other topics (Gaither 2003). Indeed, historian J.J. Chambliss (1979) studied available American histories of education from 1842 to the publication of Thomas Davidson’s *A History of Education* in 1901 and concluded that “exploration of the histories written before Davidson, while finding a diversity of emphases among their authors, has determined two main tendencies. One is expressed in the belief that history reveals the working of Providence, or of Progress; systematic and rationalistic accounts of

educational history showing the triumph of Providence or progress are characteristic of this tendency. The second is more cautious about interpreting history as the working out of any kind of universal purpose” (pp. 99–100; also see Brickman 1979). Regardless of interpretation, few of these works, especially prior to the 1870s, seemed to be built on a strong base of archival documents (Gaither 2003).

Historical Scholarship in the United States After the Advent of Archives: The “Professional” Ideal, c. 1870 to 1920

By the 1870s, major shifts in urbanization, immigration, and industrialization, as well as advances in the dissemination of information, would indirectly set off a chain of events that would cause the creation of professions, the modern research university, and the methods by which historical research would operate (Cortada 2016). Each would support the widespread creation of historical archives and encourage, if not require, the use of such archives by American historians. During the progressive era – defined broadly as occurring between the late 1870s and 1940 – the “island communities” that Wiebe (1967) described grew connected, and cities flourished. These growing cities teemed with low-skill, labor-intensive jobs. This pull factor (along with other push factors) attracted immigrants and continued the exponential growth of cities. Along with factories, other trappings necessary to sustain cities grew. Growth caused political, economic, social, intellectual, and physical problems. To solve these problems, a new breed of denizens for and of the cities were called into existence. Indeed, one might say that the progressive era created a new American worker and birthed a new form of manager: a bureaucrat or technocrat (Nelson 1996).

Within this context, the organization of knowledge also experienced some shifts. The number of those who would run the city would grow exponentially, and their knowledge became specialized. Those who worked in the factories saw their work become less specialized due to Taylorization (scientific management, or researching the most cost-effective and efficient ways of utilizing a labor force) and the adoption of the assembly line. Yet it was believed that the destinies of the “low-skilled” workers were tied to the decisions made by those with expertise.

This growth required a recalibration of American politics, society, and, above all, knowledge and its uses. How would the city be managed? How would wealth be distributed? How could social ills be ameliorated? These problems and questions of the city necessitated nothing short of a “revolution in both social organization and attitudes toward specialization” (Sullivan 2005, p. 85). This is precisely what occurred in the progressive period, and it helped to create a new approach to knowledge, expertise, and their applications that forever changed the landscape of American culture. The influence of amateurs waned, and more emphasis was placed on *professionals*. Broadly speaking, a “professional” is marked by expert knowledge and related credentials, a “scientific” approach to problems, and cooperative work with colleagues to uphold the ideal of objectivity. This definition of a “professional” is admittedly broad, yet others who have attempted to define

this and other associated terms (e.g., professions, professionalism) have noted that precision is elusive. Reingold (1976), for instance, states that “Defining professionalization is a thankless task” (p. 34). Hatch (1988) observes that “Definitions of a profession multiply without end” (pp. 1–2). Finally, Veysey (1988) claimed, “I propose . . . that it is simply best to give up the effort to abstractly define the term *professional*” (p. 17).

Professionals were associated with numerous fields (or professions with accepted protocols), of which history was but one. Although the standards, methods, and substance of each profession varied, the professions themselves still comprised “an interacting system, an ecology” (Abbott 1988, p. 33). There might well be two major common threads among the professions that tie them together and maintain the integrity of this system. The first is that the professions concerned themselves with “human problems amenable to expert service.” These “may be problems for individuals, like sickness and salvation, or for groups, like fundraising and auditing.” Sociologist Andrew Abbott (1988) explains, “They may be disturbing problems to be cured, like vandalism or neurosis, or they may be creative problems to be solved, like a building design or a legislative program. The degree of resort to experts varies from problem to problem, from society to society, and from time to time” (p. 35). The second is that professionals relied heavily on science. “In an age that honored science above other sources of wisdom,” historian Mary O. Furner (2011) contends, “it became clear that people who established their ability to study society scientifically would command attention and influence the course of events” (pp. 1–2).

When these two threads are connected, the method of how professions operate becomes clear. Science is employed to diagnose and treat social ills and to restore democratic praxis and efficiency (Abbott 1988, pp. 52, 184). In the minds of many, the presence of these two variables was a sign of stable progress. As such, science was employed, really, to restore progress (Fink 1997; Recchiuti 2007). But how was science created, defined, and engaged? Furthermore, what relationship did science have to authority? Scientific practice was strongly associated with professional authority. It also governed who could be a professional. Whereas any one could be an amateur, specialized training and the following of protocols were required to be a professional. “The new organizational professions, by making their own the prestige of expert knowledge,” sociologist William Sullivan (2005) suggests, “solved the previously daunting problem of professional authority. The institutional basis which made this possible was the new research university” (p. 90). The prestige of expert knowledge was based upon an unrelenting belief in science to promote progress, and universities “became the institutional locus for the cultural ideal of science” (Kimball 1992, p. 212). Indeed, historian Bruce A. Kimball (1992) even goes so far as to argue that “the university assumed leadership of the crusade for science” (p. 216; Jewett 2012). It is important to note here that this belief in science, as well as much of the organization of the modern research university, came from Germany (Röhrs 1995; Axtell 2016). “In countries influenced by German philosophy,” Rothblatt (1997) suggests, “universities were regarded as the home of the highest and best form of scholarship and science, so rare and even spiritual that

they required vigilant protection from the commercial and vulgar tendencies of modern culture” (p. 22). Though this largely held true, the following caveats come from specialists of German-American university informational and cultural transfers. The first is that “The influence of the German university on American higher education has more often been posited than proven” (Jarausch 1995, p. 195). The second is that the “The ‘German model’ of higher education has actually referred to multiple models” (Spillman 2012, p. 197).

The relationship between universities, science, and the professions was mutualistic, resulting in the maturation and expansion of all. In this relationship, the “professional” was defined and redefined, as was the concept of the professor. It was professors who conducted research and produced the information necessary to the professions, as well as creating the standards and credentials necessary to gain employment. These processes also birthed many of the professional associations and institutions – especially archives – that we associate with American history. Rothblatt (1997) describes the process as follows: “Upon a research identity, extramural scholarly associations arise, requirements for disseminating knowledge are devised, opportunities for collaborative research and peer review are created and career entry qualifications such as higher degrees are created. Rules and regulations regarding the conduct of scholarship are an important part of the career apparatus since they modulate relationships within the profession and define its elements of success” (p. 51). This was evidenced by the growth in the sheer numbers of professors, which increased fourfold between 1870 and 1900 (Haber 1991). All in all, the transformation of the professions signaled the rise of the modern professor/researcher. This, in turn, became a profession in and of itself.

It was in this institution (the modern research university) and this profession (the professor/researcher), and in the context of their influence by German sources with a distinct appreciation of “science,” that those who “did” history operated. In addition, Germany was the area in which professional historical methods emerged (Kelley 2003). German methods and approaches to history made their way to American universities through several cultural transfers (Iggers 1983). In addition to pioneering scientific historical methods, the German philosophy about the purpose of history held widespread traction. “As German scholars saw it,” historian Fritz K. Ringer (1990) explains, “the historian’s greatest sin was to treat the past as a collection of examples to be used to glorify man, progress, and the present, to construct general maxims of statecraft, or to chart the advances of science” (p. 98). This sin, German historians believed, could be corrected by a more scientific approach to the craft. Key to this approach was the use of primary sources, especially ones that resided in archives (Smith 1998; Townsend 2013).

Leopold Von Ranke was considered to be the torchbearer of this movement. So influential was Ranke that one historian suggested that American “history in the 1880s became an academic discipline on purportedly Rankean principles” (Iggers 1983, p. 63). Perhaps nothing had a greater impact on the formation of Ranke’s principles than trips to historical archives (Eskildsen 2008). Historian Leonard Krieger (1977) has summarized these principles as “the objectivity of historical truth, the priority facts over concepts, the equivalent uniqueness of all historical

events, and the centrality of politics” (p. 4). In each of these principles, primary sources and historical archives were indispensable to the task at hand.

The first Rankean principle identified by Krieger (1977) is the “objectivity of historical truth.” But what is objectivity, as it was defined by historians of the progressive era? As a complex idea, an elusive ideal to many, and the field’s founding principle – or, as historian Peter Novick (1988) suggests, “founding myth” – objectivity is perhaps the key to understanding most professional historians. Novick (1988) provides the following summary of objectivity: “The assumptions on which it rests include a commitment to the reality of the past. . . a sharp separation between knower and known, between fact and value, and, above all, between history and fiction. Historical facts are seen as prior to and independent of interpretation: the value of an interpretation is judged by how well it accounts for the facts” (pp. 1–2). Novick brings into sharp relief the fact that the principle of objectivity was seen to govern historical methodology. Indeed, the three other Rankean assumptions described by Novick in the quote are implied to be necessary means to the end of objectivity. Further, to embrace objectivity is to deny oneself the personal, or subjective, reasons for doing history and provides for an idea to be faithfully loyal to.

The second Rankean principle identified by Krieger (1977) was “the priority of facts over concepts.” But what were facts, and how were they obtained and used? Loewenberg (1972) explains:

Documents, from which the facts of history were quarried, possessed a logical priority. The documents came first in time, preceded only by the event itself. Since the event could not be made to recur, the primary account was necessarily the beginning of knowledge concerning it. Hence the absorption of the scientific historian with the documentary facts; hence his preoccupation with method, the means by which the primary record as discovered, preserved, organized, and understood. (p. 383)

Perhaps the most famous dictum of Ranke was translated as understanding the past “as it really was.” Because historians were not at the event itself, the documents (recall the relative rarity of other mediums of information during the time period) surrounding the event were the closest the historian could be to the event. Scientific historians believed, much as the scientific method instructed them, that they should not tamper with the “data” or “evidence.” To avoid bias, they simply believed it necessary to take the facts from wherever they lay and present them. Once the facts were presented, interpretation could be applied, and not before. All interpretation presented prior to evidence was mere hypothesis, and history could only be accepted after it was proven.

Finally, the belief was that history should be synthetic. One would discover one set of facts, and another would discover further facts. As Tyrrell (2005) suggests, “Early professional historians saw history as like a jigsaw puzzle in which the pieces would be steadily recovered to produce a total picture of the past” (p. 27). These facts were much more likely to exist in historical documents than in personal memory, anecdote, or oral tradition. Put simply, historical archives would be a terrific source for finding the jigsaw pieces themselves.

As such, early professional historians were instrumental in calling for the creation of national, state, and local archives (Rothberg and Goggin 1993). The advent and proliferation of these accoutrements indicated that history had matured and become professional. As time went on, documents would be expanded. Indeed, historian Ellen Fitzpatrick (2002) points to “Imaginative interwar historians” who relied on “plantation and church records, vital statistics and census data, trial transcripts, and probate accounts to oral histories, tax lists, maps, and long-ignored government documents” (p. 99). Later, historians of material culture would look at archival repositories that featured furniture, billboards, and clothing, while others would take archives online (Popkin 2015).

These methods and values trickled down to the various subfields as well. To return to the example of the history of American education, we find both history and the study of education striving for a greater sense of scientific authority during the progressive era. History of education, as a liberal art, was under increased pressure to be as scientific as possible to compete with psychology as the dominant means of educational inquiry (Lagemann 2000). The earliest professional historians of education were acutely aware of this fact. One contemporary historian of education, William H. Burnham, went so far as to argue that “the prevalent low esteem” that the field was held in was “largely justified by the inferiority of the methods and content of the subject” (1908, p. 4). To gain esteem and to professionalize the field, historians of education began to produce works that were “perfectly attuned to the intellectual currents fashionable in their time” (Gaither 2003, p. 5; see also Chambliss 1984). Feigenbaum (1973) conducted a thorough review of the history of American education literature from 1900 to 1920 and found that a substantial amount of the work was directed to producing “educational history as part of a larger context of social-cultural history” (284). This included not only striving for objectivity as other historians with different focuses did but also using archival sources.

Questioning the Messy Reality of the Archives, the 1920s to the Present

Although the ascendancy of objectivity was instrumental in the proliferation of historical archives, it also put these archives in a precarious position as the concept of objectivity was challenged and, ultimately, debunked (Smith 1994). A particularly harsh critique came from historian Carl L. Becker, who began by suggesting that objectivity was impossible due to the individual nature of experience that each historian held. He then turned his attention to the “facts” in a 1926 lecture. “The simple historical fact turns out not to be a hard, cold something with clear outline, and measurable pressure, like a brick,” Becker (1955) contended; “It is, so far as we can know it, only a *symbol*, a simple statement which is a generalization of a thousand and one simpler facts which we do not for the moment care to use, and this generalization itself we cannot use apart from the wider facts and generalizations which it symbolizes” (p. 329).

Becker would not suggest that historians turn away from facts, particularly those contained in archival sources; rather, he urged them to be more cognizant of their relationship to such facts. Facts could not simply be presented as is; rather, it is the historian's job to interpret them. Others would carry Becker's critique beyond historians to the archives themselves. Historians and other social theorists have drawn further conclusions with far-reaching implications, including the idea that, first, the construction of archives is a symbolic exercise in power.

While these were simple cautions for the historian as she/he navigated the archives, the "postmodern" and "linguistic" turn that developed in the late 1960s would begin to question the importance of using archives altogether and would place other forms of knowing on par with, if not above, the primary sources that reposed in archives (Blouin and Rosenberg 2011; Burton 2005). Key to the linguistic turn was an effort to reexamine how historians should understand texts and to challenge the validity of empiricism – the notion that human beings learn through observation. Numerous historians, linguists, literary critics, and cultural theorists suggested that "To recover the author's intention the historian had to reconstruct the mental world in which the author wrote her book—the entire set of linguistic principles, symbolic conventions, and ideological assumptions by which she lived and thought" (Harlan 1997, p. 5). Indeed, the concept of hermeneutics, or the application of the aforementioned process of recovering the author's intention by linguistic study, was a valuable tool that many historians began to store in their conceptual toolboxes. Using theory from other disciplines or developing one's own theory of historical discourse became popular as well (Haskell 1997). However, the linguistic turn and the resulting movement toward merging the field of history with literary criticism appeared – and still appears – to be *somewhat* hostile to the preeminent importance of archives. Indeed, theory *can*, but does not always or does not even have to, have the effect of lowering the historian's reliance upon archives. Recall also that the professional historians of the progressive era sought to distinguish the major inspirations of literature (e.g., imagination) from the "facts" that often lay in archives and to excise the former. Historians and theorists who favor the linguistic turn, on the other hand, are more likely to see history as a form of fiction (Iggers 2012). However, to fully explain the relationship between history, theory, and the linguistic turn would require several volumes, as every subfield of history has a particular relationship with theory and the linguistic turn (Klein 2011).

The history of American education is no different. In 2011, the leading journal of the field, the *History of Education Quarterly*, devoted a special issue to the use of theory in writing the history of education. This issue featured a particularly damning article by Roland Sintos Coloma (2011), who, through the use of personal experience and quantitative measurement of some of the field's journals, noted that theory was sorely lacking in the American study of the history of education. He also suggested that historians of education were averse to such work. Of the several responses to Coloma and the others who had also authored pieces on the uses of theory in the history of education, the response by Ronald E. Butchart stood out as particularly forceful. Butchart suggested that theory was, in fact, embedded in

histories of education and those who embrace theory in the way that Coloma does merely obscure narrative and alienate potential audiences.

The contentious tenor and tone of their exchange shows that the debates between historians in all subfields who favor the linguistic turn and those who prefer a greater reliance on empiricism continue to be quite bitter. It is difficult to gauge what the proportions are in each camp, or how many have a foot in each. It is also difficult to say how much, if at all, theory and the linguistic turn has impacted the use of archives. In a piece reflecting on many of the issues that have been raised in this chapter, Mazlish (2003) argued that “Most historians simply bypass such refined questions and go about their daily work. . .relatively free of the canker of self-doubt as to method and explanation as they go about their research” (p. 13). Though both reductive and provocative, there is some truth to his statement. For most historians, that means continuing to engage in archival research. Ultimately, it would not offend very many contemporary historians to say that archives are incredibly useful to the field. Indeed, many historians consider them to be indispensable while being wary of their limitations.

The Paradoxical Future of Archival Research

What is the future of archival research? Historian Soraya de Chadarevian (2016) sees evidence for a likely shift from the more traditionally abundant “paper archives” used by historians to a more “digital medium,” in which cooperative effort between archivists will lead to more integration between archives. “Future historians,” she suspects, “will be saved a lot of work as multiple archives will be linked. . .and access will be possible from our own desks” (pp. 58–59). However, as de Chadarevian and others have explained, there are examples of archives committed to housing more than just documents to be studied by “historians” stretching back for millennia and across the globe. De Chadarevian and a recent volume edited by Daston (2017) encourage “scientists” to engage in both building and using archives. Implied in these works is something of an ironic conclusion. That is, the proliferation of archives (and the attempted standardization of archival method by professional historians) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has led many people to falsely believe that archives are document holding spaces that are the sole purview of “historians.” And this fact may, in the long run, keep archives from being as widespread and useful to as many people as they might be. Yet, professional historians alone cannot sustain or ensure the continued existence of archives.

This raises something of a paradox that brings the story full circle: The future of archives, (and, to a large extent, the historical profession), will always depend on “amateurs.” Bearing this paradox in mind and having witnessed firsthand the intellectual and emotional benefits of doing archival research, I encourage all to engage with archives. What might this engagement look like? It may be illustrated with the following anecdote. At a recent academic conference, I began my talk with the very same quote by O.L. Davis, Jr., that began this chapter. Shortly after the session concluded, an audience member came up to me. “I have my notebooks from

college,” she said. “I was just getting ready to throw them out. I mean, who would want my notes from thirty years ago? But now I think I might donate them to the college archive.” I expressed my hope that she would. Now, I wish that I had also expressed my hope that something in the archive would catch her eye and that she would stay for a while. And perhaps later, return, with a friend.

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Lessons from the Past: Listening to Our Stories, Reading Our Lives – The Place of Oral Histories in Our Lives

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Abstract

This chapter examines the role oral histories can and should play in moving marginalized populations and voices from the footnotes of history. By centering oral histories as an essential methodological tool in the writing of history, researcher and practitioners can challenge monolithic readings of lives and histories, especially from communities of color. Similarly, the chapter challenges the reader and practitioners to think of such methodology as sites of resistance, deconstructing power structures that relegated these voices to the margins. Further, this chapter highlights the role of educators/researchers in working alongside practitioners and students to bring in those voices, yes, but similarly to engage in ethical approaches in the collecting or engaging of those histories.

Keywords

Oral history · Memory · Corroboration · Voice · Silenced history

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How we remember is just as important as *what* we remember and even *why* we remember. But like any other institution or community in the United States, even memories are prescribed values. And like any nation, its collective memory is imagined, depended on a social hierarchy that further silences those living and *remembering* on the margins. For communities of color, our histories are often relegated to the margins, or existing within other community's memories, virtually forced to exist as footnotes in the writing of those histories. As communities often denied a sense of belonging, historically, even the archives work to exclude our contributions and realities. For scholars of color or even those working to reclaim the past for these very communities, piecing together what history has worked to exclude becomes a central and critical theme in our work. By contextualizing the role that historians and historians of education, particularly those from often silenced and marginalized communities' play in reclaiming the past, it becomes clear that oral history as a methodology in educational research has embraced the project of reconstructing a silenced past. For many, storytelling has been central to our community's survival and must now work to help those communities survive history. Further, the role of educators/researchers in working alongside practitioners and students to bring in those voices is a critical part of this method and necessarily engages scholars in the ethical approaches in collecting or reclaiming those histories. Part of oral history, as a methodology, is understanding how to reread history or understand the historical erasure that has negated certain communities a sense of belonging or inclusion in larger historical readings. Important questions of oral historians include asking for whose gain are these histories being collected, and how will researchers be mindful of their own privilege and positionality in conducting this work.

In educational research, there is a need to bring in the use of oral history to better frame the realities of those communities we hope to engage with and for and to also understand how to move forward in our individualized work. Leading texts on oral history methodologies and the history of American education fail to fully capture the histories of African American and Latina/Latinos, and when they are included, they are not central to the story. Richard Aldrich calls for educational historians to recognize their duty to the field, especially as we move to a broader inclusion in the collecting and writing of educational histories in the twenty-first century. Aldrich argues that as educational historians, we should function within three frameworks: duty to the people of the past, duty to our own generation, and duty to search after the truth (Aldrich 2003). As Aldrich further notes, the absence of particular groups (women, children, and those living in the margins) is further complicated in how we define formal education. Aldrich reminds us, "A very considerable amount of teaching and learning takes place outside formal educational institutions—via the media, through friendships, in the home, the family, the workplace, the club, the street" (2003, p. 135). Similarly, a considerable amount of storytelling occurs within those informal settings, and the stories risk being lost. What then shall we contend with in our work as researchers, to ensure that we don't further silence these stories, and instead center these experiences as critical tools to transform and inform education research? For as Thomas King warns us, "The truth about stories,

sometimes that's all we are" (King 2003). It is important to note that sometimes stories are all we have, especially when communities of color are absent from the physical archives.

Lessons from the Past

The rise and wide availability of technology such as tape recorders, particularly in the early to mid-twentieth century, allowed for the rapid increase in the collecting of community and individual voices and stories. It is not a coincidence that following local, national, and international tragedies, we see a trend in the collecting of oral histories. Survivors give us an important and much needed account of their past experiences that come to aid in our understanding how we even arrive at such tragedies. It's that objectivity, and detailed account of a life lived and past understood that distinguishes oral histories from other forms of qualitative research interviewing. The story is in the story itself, and oral historians work to offer the platform for stories to be shared and not necessarily offer a script for interviewees. These interviews, as the Oral History Association reminds us, are "grounded in reflections on the past as opposed to commentary on purely contemporary events." It is in the asking of historically driven questions that the interviewers work to create a space for interviewees to offer a detailed account of the past, where they serve as the narrator. But more than just the narrator, the interviewee is respected as a partner in the telling of history and is free to do so in their own language, tone, and time. We as interviewers are not free to do what we wish with their words, interpreting their telling of history through our lens and experiences, but instead to engage in the collecting of these stories and writing of history in such a way where their stories are the guide.

Reclaiming the histories that shaped a generation is critical to truly understanding the story of a country or society or even American schools. *Recording* these stories, especially as populations age, is even more imperative. In speaking to survivors of the Nazi regime in Italy, Valerie R. Yow urges us to capture the stories of survivors and witnesses, for "the words of the oral histories become a memorial perhaps more potent than stone" (2005, p. 14). Remembering in many ways is akin to honoring the lives of those who have laid the foundation for us, no matter how brutal or tragic those memories and stories may be. Oral histories allow us to paint a vivid picture and create a narrative of situations and occurrences that have long been forgotten and ignored, and whose documenting may force others to acknowledge their indirect or direct culpability in creating inhospitable spaces for those relegated to the margins. History is a burden, yes, but ignoring it is a bigger hindrance. The collection of oral histories from Holocaust survivors offers a great example on how these stories could extend globally. The Jewish diaspora that expanded across the world post-World War II, in many ways offers a reminder of how histories work across borders and how these communities could remain connected through stories and experiences. It is no coincidence that the rise in organizing and mobilization that occurred across the globe in the postwar years similarly marks a rise in the collecting of oral histories.

As communities find themselves influx, it becomes more apparent that there is a clear need to collect the stories of individuals and document the collective memories of pivotal historical moments. As social historians note, it is no longer the history of important men that should anchor the past, but it is in the lives of ordinary people that we can better contextualize how we think of and remember historical events. Oral histories provide us the tools to do just that.

In the United States, the lives of communities of color have been marked by a history of inequality and violence, in every aspect of their lives from schools, homes, and labor participation, yet these stories are often silenced in the writing of historical text. The shift in the collecting and writing of histories that occurred during the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s encapsulates the need to question the absence of specific populations from early waves of historical projects, and beyond their absence, to critique how these groups (communities of color, in particular) were presented in limited texts under the gaze of others. Oral histories, as seen in the writings of Ronald Grele, allowed for new historical writings by offering “historians the opportunity to create documents were none existed and therefore capture a hidden history, and to more sympathetically understand the viewpoint of the people they studied” (1996, p. 67). Further, family and community histories not only allow us a glimpse of that hidden history but also create the opportunity for scholars in the field to unpack the richness of including these ordinary lives in the writing of extraordinary histories. Families, after all, are the first institutions in which we engage in and come to influence and shape our lives (whether good or not) in immeasurable ways. And communities similarly play a role in the socialization of individuals, and those collective community histories could teach us a lot about who we were and who we hope to become.

Recent works on the history of community formation, labor struggles, and gendered readings of history by and about communities of color and other marginalized populations have been instrumental in reminding us of what has been missing from larger historical works because of the absence of these voices. For example, the recent work of Lori Flores highlights the collective memory of Mexican and Mexican American workers in California. Through the use of oral histories, Flores brings to light the often overlooked history of Latina/Latinos whose work in organizing and mobilizing to confront their status as exploited laborers influenced the larger organizing of Cesar Chavez and others (Flores 2016). Chavez was a leading community and labor rights activist, who worked to improve the working conditions of farmworkers during the mid- to late twentieth century. The collection of oral histories can also inform those working to combat social inequalities and working to protect their communities in the present day about the ways their communities engaged in and survived the past. Mark Naison and Bob Gumbs’ collection of oral histories of African Americans in the Bronx neighborhood of New York City during the first half of the twentieth century challenges monolithic readings of the community, oftentimes seen as troubled, as they capture the rich lives of community members who remember a different history (Naison and Gumbs 2016). As Naison writes, in beginning his interviews he “stumbled upon a large, passionate, and knowledgeable group of people who had been waiting for years to

tell stories of communities long forgotten, communities whose very histories challenge deeply entrenched stereotypes about black and Latino settlement of the Bronx” (2016, xvi). But for every “Bronx tale,” there are hundreds of others indeed forgotten. Stories of community battles around schooling, labor, and survival can inform us how to navigate our present lives and enrich our work as researchers. There needs to be a shift in how we study history and how we write history, especially in relationship to these communities, and understanding how the past exists in multiple versions; one we remember, and one we choose to or are forced to forget. David Glassberg (2001, p. 9) argues that there is a shift in studying and understanding the institutions that “produce history,” to “studying the minds of the individuals where all these versions of the past converge and are understood.” Oral histories allow us the tools to merge history and understand how people, at times forgotten, have worked to make sense of their own lives. And in doing so, it helps us understand the larger historical implications of lives not only as individual choices, but as lives that come to inform our own positions and readings of history.

In his beautiful account on storytelling and family history, historian Richard White reminds scholars that stories make a claim on the past (White 1998, p. 21). Stories then remind us of things otherwise forgotten, but stories can also serve to make a claim to the history we already knew. This means that stories, or oral histories more specifically, can serve to validate what the archives tell us or sometimes do not tell us. Archives are physical remnants of history, reminders of lives lived, and the numerous events that framed those lives. From newspaper accounts, family photographs, letters, and even school records, archives are narratives on their own. But at times, depending solely on archives can leave the researcher with more questions than answers, and may not allow for a thorough discussion on a life lived, or help to fully understand the direct ramifications of events, or even history, on the lives of people. This means remembering archives are everywhere, not merely existing within institutional spaces, or seen as *institutionalized* memories. Oral histories allow the researcher, whether in academia or for those working on community and family projects, to engage deeper with history and to work with archives to challenge monolithic readings of history of how we make meaning of lives and fully represent them. These oral histories can similarly serve as educational tools to fill in the gap for educators, especially K-12 educators, where the textbooks may fail them. Collecting these oral histories to highlight what the archives tell us about communities and events and then become part of the archive themselves; materials to serve either individual interests or future research.

The Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Collection at the University of Oklahoma is a wonderful example of how oral histories can both coexist with (or within) the archives and similarly how the oral histories become their own archives, serving as an opportunity to make larger connections regarding the past that can and should inform the present. The collection serves as a reminder of the history of American Indians in Oklahoma and the ways that various populations experienced and understood their lives through the larger narrative surrounding the history of the state (<https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/duke/>; Jordan 1972). Julia Jordan’s final report on the 5-year project (1967–1972) detailed the overall aims and long-term

goals of the project. But as Johnson herself recognized, the collection would of course serve various research interests, but more importantly, it would include the inquiries “Indian people themselves might have concerning their own history and culture” (Jordan 1972, p. 3). Further, although a few previous studies had already been conducted on Indigenous populations in Oklahoma since the late nineteenth century, Johnson understood the timeliness of the study and need to collect oral histories. Johnson maintained, “there is still valuable material to be collected, though much is already gone and much more will be lost forever when the [then] present generation has passed away” (Jordan 1972, p. 17). Aside from the critical importance of documenting tribal life *for* the benefit of subsequent Indigenous populations themselves, the oral histories part of the Doris Duke collection now are the archives of and for people relegated to the margins. Further, the oral histories that became the archives of populations of marginalized people will then serve as source material for future studies and accounts on life in Oklahoma (or the Oklahoma and Indian Territories before that). From Thomas Britten’s (1997) critical account of American Indians in World War II to Donald Lee Fixico’s (2017) beautiful account on reflections on Indigenous oral history traditions, the Doris Duke collection has served to both inform and challenge the work of existing scholarship. Those stories will continue to facilitate discussions on how the past can continue to inform our relationship as scholars and researchers today.

These testimonies of lives lived both complicate and enforce our understanding of history, becoming “living descendants of our memories” (White 1998, p. 21). The recent collection of family and community oral histories edited by Yoon Pak (2017) offer us a glimpse of how the stories of “ordinary people” can tell us more about who we are as a country, than the archives can sometimes do. In *Ordinary People, Extraordinary Lives: Oral Histories of (Mis)educational Opportunities in Challenging Notions of Achievement*, Pak reminds us “why capturing oral histories were vital to sustaining not only ourselves but of society as a whole” (2017, p. xix). These stories can exist side by side with the archives, not always in agreement, but working together to illuminate the past in order to survive history. We don’t always need to turn to the archives to invalidate people’s recollection of history and their position within and across history. And similarly, oral histories do not always have to work against what we see and read in the archives. William Schneider reminds us, “external tests of a story’s validity require that we compare the account with other sources” (2002, p. 127). Together, oral history and the archives work together, partners in the telling of history, learning to coexist in order to validate history while not silencing or harming populations. However, there is a with the need to validate stories at times, to ensure a clear and authentic representation of history, what of the community or the life for no physical evidence exist? For communities in constant flux, and who have faced displacement numerous times, how then will their truth be measured? Their stories *are* the archive.

It is important to note that history has many sides, and those sides, whether the oral histories we collect in our families or communities, or the archives we stumble across while conducting research can be true. We experience history differently, depending on our positions, and together oral histories and archives can work to tell

a broader story. This is not to say all stories and histories are valid, for many of us come from communities that have been silenced and erased from larger readings and accounts of history. But instead it is important to note how these methodological approaches can work together to reclaim a past, while simultaneously laying the foundation for the present and future.

Oral History as Methodological Interventions

Aside from enriching our lives as researchers and practitioners, oral histories can serve bigger purposes. For communities living, working, or fighting at the margins, they can both serve as placeholders for the past and work to capture the present. Oral histories serve as archives, living embodiments of histories at times erased or histories people wish to forget. The history of slavery in the United States and the stories of slaves themselves are an illustrative example. *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1938*, worked to capture the voices of former slaves, encapsulating not only the important histories but also the language and dialect of former slaves (<https://www.loc.gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writers-project-1936-to-1938/about-this-collection/>). This project was critical at several levels. First, oral traditions were the means a population violently denied a sense of community, family, and individuality used to capture their lives, as even a written history was denied to them. Similarly, it allowed the population to capture and highlight the language of former slaves, as an example of cultural practices created by and for the population. Because of the lack of physical evidence or limited remnants of their lives during the previous 200-plus years, for many the oral histories are their archives and served to position their lives and voices as critical or central to any reading of American history. For again, what we remember is just as important as to why we remember. In this case, the trauma, violence, and subsequent resilience of former slaves could not or should not be forgotten, and their voices anchor them as active participants in the writing of history. And this is what oral histories should do: provide not just a narrative of a lived experience, although that is important, but also provide a deeper and more nuanced account of the consequences of history.

But there is a misconception that oral histories only serve to contain or sustain the past. Oral histories can and should be utilized in order to better understand how people and communities contend with their present status. The collection of oral histories collected today can help frame or understand the complicated relationship marginalized populations have with current power structures, limiting their full participation. History informs the present in a myriad of ways, and as such, oral histories can link our experiences and inform the way we work to confront or challenge our current positions. With our ever-evolving spaces, for example, communities undergoing gentrification, we can no longer depend on places to ground us or tell our histories. This constant shift in our physical spaces inform our positionalities as we become less and less rooted or see our physical spaces (such as our communities) as inherently part of our collective identities, especially in the

United States. As David Glassberg critiques, “Americans lack a sense of place because they lack a sense of history and commitment to community” (Glassberg 2001, p. 120). Given this shifting nature of global politics, this insight could be applied in an international context. This lack of commitment to community is often seen in the physical erasure of places that tell the stories of communities of color who have been denied a sense of belonging and at times powerless to confront the racial and social hierarchies that have framed their histories and subsequent identities. There then lies a sense of urgency in collecting the oral histories of such communities, as they can serve as markers to ground the histories of these communities as they face displacement and erasure. Oral histories become the living archives of these people and places, and history, especially in the United States, is populated with people, places, and memories long forgotten, with little physical reminders of who we were and how we maneuvered history. Oral histories then can be used to map out the history of people and places and to remind us of how our positions in society (class, gender, race, etc.) inform how we remember and experience history. So even when we can utilize oral histories to reclaim the past, whose memories are deemed valid or valuable are also reminders of social hierarchies and can recreate those very inequalities informed by power. What then is our responsibility as educators and practitioners, in utilizing oral histories as a tool to dismantle power and structural inequalities, or at least reduce the effects of those structures in how we approach our work? That is a question that needs to be addressed, as we can then engage in utilizing oral histories as a methodological intervention that can be used to disrupt power and thus disrupting history.

Today we see both students of history and community members alike engaging in historical recovery efforts that aim to challenge the erasure of diverse voices who in fact were intimately involved with creating collective memories. In the United States especially, there is a need for such a disruption in the master narrative surrounding history and that collective memory that is then responsible for informing a national identity. For example, US history is framed around war and military action, at times utilized to reinforce racial hierarchies (such as the Civil War). Wars, according to David Glassberg, “seem to furnish stories that make popular history” (2001, p. 89). While at the same time the participation of Americans in international war efforts through their membership in the armed forces has been utilized to measure patriotism and individual loyalty to the United States, its relationship to history has similarly served to equate “whiteness” to patriotism. Then what of the thousands of individuals from communities of color and the military companies consisting of only communities of color that have similarly aided in US military interventions and a system that would then systematically work against them. For example, even before extending citizenship rights to the newly acquired islanders, the United States created a military regiment of all Puerto Rican service men, who went on to fight alongside American service men since World War I. Until the release of the 2012 documentary *The Borinqueneers*, very little had been written or known about the regiment, which went on to earn numerous federal recognitions for their service. Although proportionally no other ethnic group was as represented in World War II as were Mexican Americans, both their treatment when they returned back home (for

those who did indeed survive) and their erasure from larger narratives surrounding US involvement in supporting the allied troops are quite contradictory to the values America was supposed to promote. The collection of essays in Maggie Rivás-Rodríguez' *Mexican Americans and World War II* (2005) seeks to reinsert the voices of the over 700,000 Mexican American service men and women who are indeed part of the larger story. Similarly, since 1999, the US Latina and Latino World War II Oral History Project has worked to preserve the voices and contributions of those men and women who were integral to the war efforts, as a way to both preserve a community history and challenge the misconceptions surrounding the history of communities. Since 2010, and now part of the VOCES Oral History Project at the University of Texas Libraries, the project has expanded to include the stories of Latina/Latinos involved in both the Korean and Vietnam Wars, helping both preserve the actual voices of veterans and begin work on a physical archive that would include letters and other mementos from those once-silenced communities. Excited to see the contributions of family members and veterans in aiding in collecting these histories, Rivás-Rodríguez is reminded of the importance and urgency in this work, "But we have to wonder: How many more treasures are there in garages and attics that help to tell the story of how U.S. Americans lived through war periods?" (<https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/voces/>). And Rivás-Rodríguez is correct in asking what stands to be lost if we do not work to preserve history. These stories, just as national monuments and our collective memories around them, should "prompt us to rethink our assumptions about the memory of war and national identity, and the ways in which a living memory of war passes into the history of a community" (Glassberg 2001, p. 27). But further what lessons do we stand to not learn from if we fail to challenge the monolithic readings of history that have worked to exclude and at times further erase already marginalized communities? And that exclusion becomes a living monument on its own.

Engaging in recovery efforts has become the work of many researchers and of communities seeking to reconceptualize the role of history in their lives. Further, working to preserve the voices of communities through oral history projects could remind us of the future of communities that once flourished and the role of economic and politic shifts that have worked to erase or silence those lives and voices. As communities of color and poor communities further face displacement as their homes and schools are torn down to build housing for the very communities that "Othered" them, or the newest coffee shops, those recorded voices may be the only reminders of lives once lived.

Teaching Others to Remember

The use of oral histories by researchers and practitioners is a necessary methodological step to give voice to individuals who may not be seen as major players in the telling of history or creation of spaces, as well as those whose lives have been affected and informed by the everyday practices of those around them (whether within the family or communities). Further, collecting oral histories, whether family

or community stories, challenges us to weave together a narrative that elevates these communities as intricate to a deeper understanding of loss and (mis)education. Richard White reminds us, “beneath these personal stories simmers an ongoing contest over what America is and means and who gets to define it” (White 1998, p. 6). Similarly, these stories also aid in contextualizing how societies have played a role in continuing to silence the traumas and violence of the past (as was the case in collecting the stories of former slaves in the early twentieth century). There needs to be a shift in how we study history and how we write history, especially in relationship to these communities. For these silenced communities in particular, it is then imperative to begin to listen to these stories and hear lessons from the past. But more so, collecting these stories centers the voices of community members (or even families) as central to capturing or creating a sense of history. Or as Linda Shopes (2015, p. 98) challenges us, to work with “local people to cultivate a useable past, a past that recognizes past struggles for freedom, equality and justice.” It means that engaging with oral histories should serve a purpose that cannot and should not be only measured within academic spaces and texts but to play a critical role in facilitating a community’s or populations sense of ownership over the past and more importantly the future. But these are more than just stories of hardship and/or survival, but community oral histories that can change monolithic readings of history itself and highlight the ways people analyze and synthesize the structures that come to frame their lives and their positions in history.

But before the researcher, student, or community practitioner moves to utilize oral histories as a tool to reclaim the past or ground a community’s claim to the past, we need to interrogate our own understanding of history. What history are we aiming to claim? What history are we returning to? And can we move forward without dismantling the power hierarchies that have informed master narratives of histories? In order to engage in teaching on the importance of oral histories, we must understand how we are all situated within a larger history. For example, for those involved in collecting the oral histories of Latina/Latino service men and women, it is important for them to understand a deeper history of Latina/Latinos in the United States. What communities were these individuals coming from? How was their community’s history part of larger labor or political histories? How were they positioned within the complicated racial discourse of the era? And further, how did their understanding of service and loyalty come to play out in their lived realities when they returned home. Their oral histories can’t stand alone unless we interrogate history. Part of their stories will help unveil a part of history not always present in the pages of textbooks or in larger readings of American history, but understanding their positionality within that history will enrich these projects.

In teaching the importance of oral histories in educational research and also working to assist others to engage in community-based research projects, we must be careful to not recreate or reinforce some of the same structural inequalities that we hope our work will challenge. The voices of marginalized communities should not be limited to the stories we record and write about but also be part in the writing of histories. There is indeed a lack of diversity in academic spaces, where we imagine history to be recorded and supported. And although those structures may be beyond

our concern and although historians of color have increased in number, we could at least work to create more inclusive spaces and opportunities for community-based projects to be better representative of marginalized voices, thus allowing us to move away from ideas of doing research on people and communities and instead work alongside them to recover the histories and voices often forgotten or neglected. Working alongside communities in oral history projects allows for us to be mindful of the way we retell stories and represent the lives and histories of communities. William Schneider reminds us that “getting a story right is not just a matter of how we understand what was said. . . It is also a matter of how we communicate the story to multiple audiences” (2002, p. 147). We must be mindful of how we open up the lives of people to the gaze of others, as there are traditions and histories not easily interpreted for mass consumption. There is an ethics of care that must be present when working with communities in oral history projects, to ensure the story we share with outsiders is as close to a version of the truth communities have shared with us. Allowing them to be partners in the telling of stories to better engage history opens up the possibility for this to occur. We tell stories to share, but what we share must serve as authentic representations of the lives we have engaged with, and history must similarly absorb those stories in the same way. Collecting these stories can be informative, as the interviewee understands their present status as a reading of the past. Who they are today is very much influenced by the life they have lived, and much can be learned from making those connections.

Future Directions and Implications in Oral History

It is important for scholars to not merely recount how organizations and communities evolved and sometimes are dissolved, but to contextualize the ways in which these communities and groups both imagined their own history, and reshape how others remember them. The stories we collect and engage with can contextualize the lived *learned* realities of populations and communities and how these individuals view themselves within a larger political, economic, or social history. Not only do individuals construct their own narratives from memories and experiences, but they present and inform how they view the past and their positions in it. What these stories do, or more importantly what our work as researchers should do, is challenge what is deemed valuable and legitimate scholarship in educational research and in the writing of history and remind us that even in the most ordinary of lives, there is much to be learned from. Engaging with oral histories allows us to do just that. But it is important to remember that the collecting of oral histories is not just something that should occur within or to benefit academic spaces, although that is important in itself. However, it is even more useful to work alongside communities, especially those in which our institutions reside, to reclaim the past and use that knowledge to challenge our reading of the past and misconceptions regarding our lives in the present. Similarly, it allows communities to remind the larger society of the many contributions these lives have made in developing ideas and spaces, even if often erased from the writing of histories. More importantly, it deconstructs or

dismantles power relationships that have negated a sense of justice and belonging for so many, perpetuating the harmful effects of history.

Stories, especially for communities of color in the United States, are the center of life. As Richard White reminds us, “lives are not stories. . . We turn our lives into stories” under our own terms (White, p. 292). Scholars engaging with oral histories should allow interviewees the agency to create their own spaces and frame their own histories, under their own terms. As interviewers, we must work to negotiate the power relations that come into play when researching families and communities. Oral histories allow us to look at our own families and communities as part of major trends in history, not merely existing as subtopics or footnotes in the writing of history. But similarly they must be careful to not create stories where they seek history or validation of history, as their families were acting under their own terms, on their own agendas. This however does not mean that history or our own learned understanding of history, through textbooks and academic training, is not represented in the pages of these stories. What we as historians must be careful not to do is betray one for the benefit of the other.

More so, oral histories could serve as a critical point of departure for us to evaluate both our privileged positions and similarly the role we can play in re-shifting power relationships that place values on some lives while devaluing others. As Valerie Yow reminds us, research projects reinforce to the practitioner that “history is something that happens to them, that it is not just something written in a textbook” (Yow 2005, pp. 253–254). Lives may not be stories, but the critical nature and inclusion of these lives can help us to rewrite the stories that have been written about our communities for many years.

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Researching Remembering and the Methodology of Memory Studies

Angela M. Riotto

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Abstract

Memory studies is an interdisciplinary, and increasingly multidisciplinary, field of study that examines memory as a tool for remembering the past and how the past and present converge as part of the larger processes of cultural negotiation, identity formation, and narrative construction. Memory studies is not only interested in the processes of remembering, but also why certain events or people are remembered or forgotten and for what purpose. Memory studies is dually concerned with the present – as a reflection and consequence of the past – and the happenings of the past. Memory studies comprises multiple expressions of memory, including, but not limited to, autobiographical memory, multidirectional memory, collective memory, traumatic memory, remembrance, commemoration, and memorialization. Memory studies encourages and allows for research across disciplines and across methods to develop a more rounded

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understanding of how people, societies, cultures, and nations remember, misremember, and re-remember the past.

Keywords

Memory · Collective memory · Memorialization · Commemoration · Memory boom

Introduction

This section outlines the evolution of the field of memory studies from its sociological origins in the early twentieth century. It provides some context to the terms collective memory, cultural memory, historical memory, memorialization, commemoration, and traumatic memories, among others. This section also includes a discussion of the various methods utilized in memory studies research. It closes with recommendations for future research.

Memory studies is an interdisciplinary, and increasingly multidisciplinary, field that combines intellectual strands from anthropology, education, literature, history, philosophy, psychology, and sociology to examine memory as a tool of analysis (Roediger and Wertsch 2008). In the early 1950s, scholars, beyond that of the field of history, increasingly questioned how people conceptualize the past. Those interested in how and why individuals and groups remember the past have turned to the nascent field of memory studies. Memory studies is an interdisciplinary field that examines memory as a tool for remembering the past and how the past and present converge as part of larger processes of cultural negotiation, identity formation, and narrative construction. Scholarly interest in memory resurfaced in the late 1970s; and largely beginning in the late-twentieth century, scholars have employed this method of study to think about the past and how individuals, societies, and nations remember that past (Erl 2011).

Memory studies has become a prominent feature of scholarly discourse in recent decades as Western societies, in particular, have been experiencing a sort of “memory boom” (Olick et al. 2011). Since the late 1970s, scholars have sought to explain the rise of scholarly and public interest in the past, memory, and commemoration. Memory studies is not only interested in the processes of remembering and forgetting, but also why and for what purpose some past happenings are remembered instead of others (Ricoeur 2004). Memory studies is concerned both with the present – as a reflection and consequence of the past – and the happenings of the past. Memory, then, exists at the intersection of the present and the past.

With the advent of cultural studies, particularly cultural history, and growing interests in narrative construction, scholars from a variety of disciplines have increasingly turned their attention to memory as a construction as well. To understand memory and memorialization, scholars emphasize the need to explore the influence of culture and society and how narratives affect memory construction and distribution.

Another explanation for the “memory boom” of the 1970s is the growing attempts of Western nation states to underscore their legitimacy in a postwar world. The deterioration of grand visions of the nation state as a leader of progress and civilization, brought on by World War II, decolonization, and Cold War conflict, led many Westerners to analyze their collective pasts (Winter 2001). The past served as a repository for inspiration for repressed identities and unfulfilled claims. These emerging collective memories and identities, however, also brought questions of trauma, regret, and abuse to the fore, and “states are allegedly now judged on how well they atone for their past misdeeds.” This new kind of self-conscious memory and memorialization thus simultaneously helps to explain the so-called memory boom and contributes to it (Olick et al. 2011).

In considering narratives as an expression of memory, scholars have unearthed a complex association between memory and other disciplines. Along with sociology, scholars have illustrated the link between memory and history and the ways in which memory becomes history over generations. However, memory studies is not restricted to the humanities, as it also requires the sciences. For example, psychologists have detailed how memories are encoded, stored, and retrieved in the human brain, how they influence decisions and sense of self, and also how they are vulnerable to distortions and forgetting. Additionally, Library Science, Information Science, and Museum Studies, along with Digital Humanities, address how memories are archived, preserved, retrieved, and used in the present.

Although remembering is about the past, it takes place in the present, which establishes the meanings and significance of the past for those who may or may not have experienced it. By examining how memories are intentionally designed, created, silenced, updated, and even destroyed, scholars utilizing a memory studies approach attempt to ascertain how people understand the present through the past. Memory studies, as an interdisciplinary field, encourages work across disciplines and across methods to develop a more comprehensive understanding of how people, societies, cultures, and nations remember, misremember, and re-remember.

Memory Studies as a Field of Study

The question of teaching and utilizing memory studies as a methodology and field of study extends beyond those disciplines in which memory tends to be a discrete object of study, such as psychology, literature, sociology, and history. Memory studies is not limited to these disciplines and is often considered to be an interdisciplinary field of study without an institutional base. Because of its multidisciplinary nature and lack of disciplinary boundaries, memory studies can be challenging to learn, teach, and use as a research method. Key to understanding memory studies as a field of study and methodology are the different forms of memory and memories.

Different Forms of Memory and Memories

The human experience is deeply rooted in memory – it informs narratives, generates myths, justifies politics, and sustains cultures. Memory is selective and its meanings are subjective, and it forms as part of larger processes of cultural negotiation (Sturken 2008). Memory is, therefore, an active process and not just the description of a practice (Confino 2006). Memory not only provides autobiographical information in the form of individual memories, but also binds individuals to one another in the form of collective or cultural memory. Memory thus aids in the formation of individual, group, and national identities. Individuals and groups forge collective memories and disseminate them through stories (Bell 2003).

In the early twentieth century, sociologists began to inquire into the nature of semantic memory – general knowledge that individuals accumulate throughout their lives – within its social context, subject to social and cultural influences. The French philosopher Henri Bergson, in particular, prepared the way for memory studies as a field of study at the turn of the twentieth century by pointing out the difference between the memory of specific events and the memory of enduring ideas or attitudes, a distinction he correlated with that of the moment and duration (Bergson 1913).

Building on Bergson's research, other sociologists investigated memory in its various forms and argued that memory operates on the individual as well as the collective level (Bartlett 1932). The concept of "collective memory" differs from autobiographical and historical memory as it draws strength from a body of individuals who remember the event with similar enough detail to represent a collective recollection. Contemporary usage of the term "collective memory" is largely traceable to French sociologist Emile Durkheim, who wrote extensively in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* about commemorative rituals, and to his student Maurice Halbwachs (Olick and Robbins 1998).

Scholars interested in memory studies use the work of Halbwachs, in particular, as a primary theoretical reference point. In his landmark study *The Social Frameworks of Memory*, Halbwachs elaborated a more complete theory of collective memory and ushered in the modern academic study of memory. Halbwachs asserted that memory is not simply an individual phenomenon; it is also relational in terms of family and friends and societal and collective in terms of the social frameworks of groups (Halbwachs 1925). Halbwachs clarified that all memory is a social process, shaped by the various groups to which individuals belong, as it is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memory (Halbwachs 1925). Halbwachs thus argued that it is impossible for individuals to remember in any coherent and persistent fashion outside of their group contexts. Group membership provides the materials for memory and prompts the individual into recalling particular events and forgetting others.

Halbwachs later distinguished between "personal," or "autobiographical memory," and "historical memory." The former concerns the events of one's life that one remembers because they personally experienced those events. "Historical memory" refers to the resonance of events through time regardless of

the original generation's presence. Groups can even produce and recall memories of events that they never experienced directly (Halbwachs 1950). "Historical memory" of the American Civil War, for instance, is part of what it means to be an American and is part of the collective narrative of the United States, even though no one today has "autobiographical memory" of the event (Olick et al. 2011). Halbwachs also insisted on a distinction between history and collective memory – history aims for a universal, objective truth severed from the psychology of social groups while collective memory requires the support of a group. By Halbwachs' definition, collective memory does not exceed the boundaries of the group who experienced the event (Halbwachs 1950).

Within sociology the concept of collective memory is linked to issues of identity, as members of a group possess a distinct collective memory. It is important to remember, however, that groups, just like their memories, can be, and often are, diverse and changing. Individual memories and collective memory, nor the resulting memorialization, are static. The process of remembering and forgetting is a highly selective, adaptive process of reconstructing the past. Furthermore, identity, personal memory, and collective memory change over time according to the sociopolitical issues of the period. One scholar conceptualized that collective memories are often "cohort memories," in which members of a given cohort affected by an event write the event's history and thus influence the memories of succeeding generations (Pennebaker et al. 1997). These "cohort memories" often times reflect the memories of the dominant sociopolitical group of that particular time. Their memories can, and often, appear in textbooks or mainstream media. However, this dominance does not mean total memory, which is neither possible nor practical, because other groups' memories are often forgotten or overshadowed.

Dominant groups, particularly as part of a nation, promote their dominant memories by urging citizens to remember their own and to forget others in order to create national collective memory (Nyugen 2016). The resulting dominant memories subsequently overshadow alternative memories until change occurs in the society, as part of social, political, or economic movements. For instance, social movements and the activists a part of them construct their own narratives, discourse, framing, and performances in their separate collective memories. These new narratives not only conflict with the dominant narrative, but also the layering narratives within the movement. Put simply, collective memories are complex, multidimensional structures, which are created and also create diverse narratives and identities (Doerr 2014). The resulting identities and narratives form based on personal memories but also through interactions with other memories.

Memory and the formation of identity is not a homogenous process, in which one memory creates one identity and another memory forms another identity. Instead the heterogeneity of memory means various memories operate and interact over time, which then shapes how individuals and groups come to see themselves and their experiences as well as their understanding of worldwide issues. Hence, it is now an accepted notion in memory studies that collective memory, as well as the subsequent public and cultural memories, is "constructed" (Kammen 1991).

Multidirectional memory also means that memories are not the property of homogenous, primary groups as is suggested by proponents of competitive memory, who maintain that one memory must dominate the public narrative. Multidirectional memory, then, makes the relationship between memory and identity a nonlinear one, in which groups and individuals can access and engage with multiple memories. In creating meaning through multiple memories, groups are not forced to forget the memories of other groups. Multidirectional memory allows for discussion across and between groups, both about the past and present. Individual memory and collective memory can exist without one being more important than the other. Multidirectional memory suggests that different memories can operate in the same space without one losing its significance because of the presence of the other (Rothberg 2009).

Collective memory is also linked with “cultural memory,” as the latter forms through the construction, adaptation, and circulation of certain codes, words, sounds, and images. These are often initially a product of those who directly experienced an event; then through the circulation of the original groups’ recollections, they evolve into a consensus-driven, collective version of events. So even after the members of the original group passed away, the cultural memory remained. Cultural memory as a term implies not only that memories are often produced and reproduced through cultural forms, but it also implies an interaction between personal memories and cultural memories (Erlil and Rigney 2006). Some scholars situate cultural memory within several fields of study: cultural studies, media studies, communication, and visual culture (Sturken 2008). Others prefer the term social memory (Fentress and Wickham 1992). If disseminated well enough through official and vernacular cultural expressions, cultural memory or social memory may emerge as “public memory.”

Collective memory also ensures continuity in a community. It is the way in which members of a group preserve their collective knowledge and pass it from one generation to the next. This enables future generations to construct their own personal and social identities – creating the present by building on the past. Having social or collective memories ensures that members of a community share a sense of unity and connection. Collective memory sustains a community’s identity and makes continuity of its social life and cultural cohesion possible. Collective memories thus are not meant to be entirely accurate. They are designed to unify, comfort, and sometimes explain the inexplicable. For instance, following periods of intense turmoil and loss, such as World War I, collective memory often serves as a vehicle for collective healing and reconciliation. Even when collective memory is qualified in this way, some scholars remain skeptical of the notion and question what exactly memory is and what it has been in the past (Winter 2001).

Along with concerns over definitions for the different forms of memory, scholars have expressed the need to define the relationship between memory and history. Proponents of memory studies are adamant that collective memory, and the resulting public memory, is not history even though it is sometimes made from similar material. Collective memory is a collective phenomenon, but unlike history it only manifests in the actions and statements of individuals of a group (Kansteiner 2002).

Collective memory is the joint memories held by a community about the past and can refer to any period. In order to have a collective memory, an individual does not need to have experienced the event, but it must be of such importance that it is thought of in memory, rather than in historical terms. Collective memories, thus, are confined to the most recent past and valid only for people within that society. History, on the other hand, is the nonpsychological past that is defined and determined by systematic research and analysis. History begins where social and collective memories stop (Halbwachs 1950). History is the academic and objective study of the past. Simply put, writing reinforces history, whereas social occasions, such as rites and commemorative activities, reinforce collective memory.

Sites of Memory and Memorialization

One of the key concepts of memory studies is memorialization. Individuals and groups remember, and thus memorialize, their memories in various ways: stories, both oral and written, monuments, music, film, images, and museums, among many others. Cultural memory has emerged as a useful umbrella term to describe the complex ways in which societies remember the past. It has become apparent that the memories shared within and across generations are the product of acts of remembrance through narratives, media, and public representations. Individuals constantly narrate their lives by creating and telling stories about who and what they are. These stories can appear in many forms. These all work together to create and sustain what Pierre Nora terms “*lieux de memoire*” – sites of memory – environments that link the historical past to present social and cultural understandings of that past (Nora 1989). These sites can vary from funeral eulogies and memoirs to monuments, museums, archives, and historic places.

Individuals select and organize their personal memories to build a coherent sense of the self and establish and maintain their identities (Gergen and Gergen 1988). A method of memory organization and dissemination is storytelling. Personal stories are the means by which identities, both personal and collective, can be fashioned and developed (Wyre 1994). Stories may be shared orally or textually. Texts are in themselves sites of memories in which individuals in the present may remember, and visit, the past (Nora 1989). By sharing their stories, individuals do not simply insert their personal remembrances into history and cultural memory; they also produce new kinds of memories that sort and categorize their unique experiences within the present culture.

Personal memories and their external forms as narratives depend on social discourse. The importance of social discourse – the ways of thinking that are prominent in a society at a given time and the way people interpret events – should not be underestimated in memory studies research. There is a relationship between individual narrative and social discourse, with one influencing the other. Narratives depend on the social context, including the audience they are designed for, as well as individual motivations and desires. Memory itself is constructed partly through narratives and the social context. Some scholars of

memory studies argue that this discourse is what creates collective memory, rather than collective memory merely being the collective remembrance of a particular happening. In opposition to Halbwachs' definition of collective memory, David Thelen argues that people develop collective memory by discussing, debating, arguing, and coming to conclusions about what happened. That is, they debate over the meaning and come to a collective decision, creating a collective memory (Thelen 1998). Thelen's definition of collective memory is as an active process of remembering in comparison to Halbwachs' conceptualization as the more passive practice of collective recollection.

Commemoration

Scholars interested in memory studies no longer limit their examinations to how individuals or groups remember or forget, but have extended their studies to memorialization and commemoration. To commemorate is to "call to remembrance," to mark an event or a person or a group by a ceremony or an observance or a monument of some kind (Bodnar 1991). Commemorations might be ephemeral, such as parades, or permanent in the form of a monument or holiday. The key point is that they propagate collective, national, or historical memory in some conspicuous way. Remembrance in the form of commemorative rites and rituals and the political consequences of these rites shed light on the ways in which people as a group (or nation) understand their past and propagate a specific narrative about that past for present and future generations (West 2017). Over the last century, not only have nations come to embrace traditional forms of commemoration – such as battlefield monuments – but they also pioneered new practices, such as placing a monument to the fallen Space Shuttle *Columbia* crew on Mars.

As storehouses of knowledge and transmitters of history, museums also play a vital role in the dissemination of memory and commemoration. Museums select exhibits in an effort to tell a particular story. As a result, they prioritize some exhibits – some narratives – over others, often streamlining the narrative for audience consumption. Museums serve as places of negotiation and debate, in which individuals with different agendas and diverse personal and collective memories come together to discuss history and participate in commemoration. Museums then simultaneously exist as both "sites of memory" and creators of memory (Noy 2018).

The academic literature on commemoration and its relationship to memory has expanded in the past 20 years. Scholars, from beyond memory studies' traditional base of sociology, history, and art history, have begun to investigate commemorative practices and sites. Geographers, landscape historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, and other academic practitioners, for example, have made recent efforts to map individual commemorative sites within larger contexts of remembrance – landscapes, social networks, tourism, and others. Commemoration, thus, entails more than building, naming, or shaping physical sites (Dickinson et. al. 2010). Commemoration, as a practice, also involves ritual acts and occupations of public space as well as other kinds of performance and consumption. All of these diverse

commemorative practices come together most powerfully around the remembrance of war.

It is no surprise that much of the literature on commemoration concerns war and its aftermath, particularly the American Civil War, World War I, World War II and the Holocaust, and the Vietnam War (Olick et al. 2011). The pairing of war and memory is commonplace particularly after the disasters of the twentieth century with tens of millions dead and even more wounded who seek recognition for their sacrifices (Winter 2006). There are several main concerns in regard to war and memory: first, how to remember the dead, who cannot speak for themselves; second, how to remember the living and what they did during times of war; and third, how to remember the nation and the people for whom the dead and living supposedly fought and died? The question of how to remember war is central to the identity of the war, its participants, and the nations involved. The horrific wars of the twentieth century, around which many memory studies focus – and, indeed, any war’s identity – have a distinct identity, which cannot be extricated from the identity of war itself. Subsequently, wars and their participants possess memories and identities that stand apart from other forms of collective memory (Nyugen 2016).

Traumatic Memory

Just as war and memory are connected, memory and trauma are also closely interlinked. In its general definition, trauma is described as the response to an unexpected or overwhelming violent event or events that are not fully grasped as they occur but return later in repeated flashbacks, nightmares, and other repetitive phenomena. Perhaps the most striking feature of traumatic recollection is that it is not a singular memory. Beginning with the earliest work on trauma, scholars have unearthed a contradiction in traumatic memory recall: while the images of traumatic reenactment remain absolutely accurate and precise, they are largely inaccessible to conscious recall and control (Caruth 1995). While individuals integrate normal life memories into their narratives, traumatic memories are not so easily integrated. Traumatic memories are dominated by sensory, perceptual, and emotional components, components, which are hardened to integrate into the conscious narrative, as they do not normally have verbal components. The horror of the historical experience is maintained in the testimony only as an elusive memory that feels as if it no longer resembles any reality. This means that traumatic memories have fewer interconnections and weaker organization, often not lending themselves to linear narratives.

Given the burgeoning literature on memory over the last three decades, scholars can now reassess the state of the field, especially in regard to trauma, and propose new directions in the study of memory and commemoration by examining both traumatic and non-traumatic memories (Caruth 1996). In particular, scholars from across disciplines can investigate the changing nature of commemoration and remembering, constructions of victimhood, and the role of perpetrators and collaborators in the construction of memory.

Research Methods

Memory studies spans many disciplines, and the methods and sources used are diverse. Methods in memory studies include studying primary historical and archival sources, oral histories, case studies, interviews, surveys, monuments, and architecture, among many others. As a consequence of the interdisciplinary nature of memory studies, there is no singular memory studies methodology. Increasingly, scholars have called for the systematization and improvement of the methodological foundations of the field (Roediger and Wertsch 2008).

One of the approaches recommended for widespread use across the field of memory studies is the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, which are both applicable to memory research. Quantitative research relies on data collected by measurement and then analyzed through numerical comparisons and statistical inferences. Quantitative researchers aim to establish general laws of behavior and phenomena across different settings and contexts. Research, often in the form of experiments, is used to test a theory and ultimately support or reject it. Experiments typically yield quantitative data. Yet, controlled observations and questionnaires can also produce quantitative information in the forms of closed questions or a rating scale. Experimental methods limit the possible ways in which a research participant can react to and express behavior. Findings are, therefore, likely to be limited to the context of the experiment and research questions. Researchers use statistics to summarize data and describe patterns, relationships, and connections. Quantitative research aims for objectivity.

Qualitative research, in contrast, relies on data collected through observation, interviews, and narratives. The latter is a multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, subjective approach to its subject matter. Researchers aim to understand the social reality of individuals, groups, and cultures as nearly as possible as its participants experience it. Qualitative interpretations are constructed based on a variety of techniques, such as content analysis, thematic analysis, or discourse analysis. Scholars interested in a qualitative approach to memory studies often use discourse analysis in an effort to highlight the processes of remembering – showing how people construct the past through speech and language as part of the social worlds they inhabit (Pickering and Keightley 2013). Language itself is a circuit through which memories circulate and become accessible to other individuals and groups. Sources suitable for discourse analysis and memory construction include rituals, parades, speeches, memorials, platitudes, memoirs, and countless other forms of stories. It is part of these narratives in their various forms that individuals, groups, or nations construct and disseminate their memories.

Borrowing from English literature methodology, scholars can also analyze the characters within these narratives and how they reflect on the constructed memory. For instance, individuals can appear as “flat” or “round” characters, depending on their importance and place in the narrative. Flat characters are often reserved for the other, while round, three-dimensional characters represent the individuals’ own side – those who feel, remember, and thus deserve remembrance. Flat, positive characters are not uncommon, especially as part of wartime propaganda. These flat

characters appear as virtuous, smiling, brave individuals in an effort to mobilize the rest of the citizenry to defend the nation. For instance, flat characters, such as Uncle Sam in the United States or John Bull in Great Britain, propagate a distinct memory of war, which celebrates volunteerism and the courage of the nation's citizenry. By analyzing the speech, language, characters, and format used, scholars interested in memory studies can trace development and propagation of memories and identities.

Further interdisciplinary methods for memory studies include the analysis of "memoriscapes." Integrating oral history and cultural geography, memoriscapes – the practice of creating sound walks – use recorded sound and spoken memory to experience and study physical spaces. In this relatively new and rapidly evolving field, the individual brings together works from music, sound art, oral history, and cultural geography, among others, to explore how physical spaces can provide a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of memory (Pickering and Keightley 2013).

It is important to note, however, that not all memories are audible, legible, or visible, due to a number of factors including, but not limited to, illiteracy, lack of translation, diaspora, exile, destruction, and death. These weaker memories have a local distribution and may not be available to those outside the original group. This is common with the American Civil War, in which many soldiers were barely literate and often recorded their memories phonetically, or in imperial wars in which the memories of the colonized are overshadowed by the colonizers.

Scholars interested in memory studies must also be aware of the competition between memories and identities, especially between dominant memories and the memories of others. Individuals, groups, and nations often will remember their own, thus creating an imagined collective memory and identity distinct to their particular group. This collective memory is the dominant memory of the group and depending on the proliferation of the memory – distributed in textbooks and media – may become the dominant memory of that particular society. However, by focusing on one's own side, these groups effectively overshadow or erase the memory of others outside the dominant group. The ethics of remembering, then, is to erase the distinction between the dominant and the other. Working from both ends of the spectrum, from remembering one's own to remembering others, scholars interested in memory studies should analyze disparate memories side by side (Margalit 2002). By objectively analyzing the memories of seemingly dichotomic groups – men and women, young and old, soldiers and civilians, and majorities and minorities – as well as those who fall between binaries, scholars can understand the construction and dissemination of memory more fully (Nyugen 2016).

Along with examining differing and contesting memories, scholars using a memory studies approach can also choose to compare the verifiable lived historical events and largely fabricated versions of the same occurrence. This is not simply a matter of sifting through and separating individual or collective "memory" from the "true" history conflict. Instead, if one chooses to approach memory studies in this manner, one must acknowledge and examine the tension between the two and how this tension manifests in the memories, memorialization, and commemorations

of the event or the group. Sometimes in a group's collective memory, specific stories are repeated, while others are smoothed over or largely silenced. It is the scholars' responsibility to analyze all of these disparate memories if they are to understand the making of memory.

Limitations

Although initially a sociological concept, memory studies as an interdisciplinary field lacks an institutional base and often appears as a methodological tool in neighboring disciplines, such as heritage studies, folklore studies, ethnography, and history. Scholars debate whether this is a shortcoming or an advantage of memory studies (Leonhard 2007). Pointing to its interdisciplinary nature, some scholars argue that memory studies is too broad a field to have overarching or unifying theories (Roediger and Wertsch 2008). They demand that for memory studies to become a field of study in its own right, scholars from across disciplines must systematize and clearly state the field's methodological approaches.

Another critique of memory studies is the enduring separation between the public and the personal. Both personal memory and public memory are contested sources. As the preceding sections address, personal memories are just as involved in the public context as collective memories. Yet those interested in personal or autobiographical memories have not engaged fully with the public dimension of memory and how it is constituted in the public sphere. Furthermore, those interested in public representations of memory have failed to engage with oral history or autobiographical memory because of the former's preoccupation with collective trauma, national history and heritage, and grand-scale social practices, instead of the latter's emphasis on individual and small-group processes of remembering (Pickering and Keightley 2013).

Another recurring point of discussion in regard to memory studies is its Eurocentric focus. This reflects both the origins of the discipline as part of European responses to the First and Second World Wars and the dominant texts' reliance on Western philosophical and psychoanalytic traditions. This concern is not unfounded as the dominant texts and subjects of analysis revolve around European conflicts of the twentieth century. Although scholars interested in memory studies have recently expanded their research to include the memory of empire, colonialism, and decolonization, it remains problematic to teach postcolonial memory predominantly through the lens of theories developed in the scientific traditions of the former colonial powers. For instance, in studying the Vietnam War, only a handful of non-Western scholars have analyzed the conflict. In turn, much of the analyses focus on the French or American experience in Vietnam, rather than on the Vietnamese memory of the conflict (Nyugen 2016).

Another limitation of memory studies is the principal focus on the representation of specific events within particular chronological, geographical, and media settings without reflecting on the audiences of the representation in question (Kansteiner 2002). Wulf Kansteiner argues that collective memory studies has not sufficiently

conceptualized collective memories as distinctive from individual memory. He further notes that collective memory studies has not paid attention to the problem of reception (in terms of methods and sources) and thus cannot illuminate the sociological basis of historical representations. Moreover, although one can assume that the continued memory boom may reflect the public's interest in such topics, scholars have yet to investigate extensively in the public's perception or reception of memories. Most studies on memory focus on the representation or remembering of specific events without reflecting on the intended audience's reception.

Conclusion and Future Directions

While work on commemoration continues to multiply, and to examine how memory practices penetrate all facets of life – personal and public – more work remains to be done. With scholars from countless disciplines increasingly incorporating memory studies in their analyses, it is now time for more collaborative work across disciplines and subjects. Although scholars continue to debate whether the lack of an institutional base is a shortcoming or an advantage of memory studies, scholars have begun to applaud this versatility because it supports dialogue between disciplines and researchers (Leonhard 2007). Possible subjects for fruitful interdisciplinary collaboration are, but not limited to, postcolonial studies, joining international law, politics, diplomacy, and history; war trauma studies, joining psychology, sociology, and military history; and media studies, joining cultural analysis, literary or film studies, sociology, and history. The malleability of memory studies and its applications are not limited to just one field, and thus scholars can take advantage of this flexibility and encourage dialogue between disciplines.

Another subject that lends itself to memory studies and multidisciplinary approach is study of the “memory industry” and the “memory boom” itself. Scholars have examined the act of remembering but are only beginning to examine how memory functions in different landscapes, such as films, documentaries, novels, and other mediums. Memory, as part of the memory industry, has become a transnational phenomenon that warrants sustained critical attention from scholars working in the field of memory studies (Erl 2011).

The analysis of how memories, particularly cultural memories, become transnational and transcultural also deserves more scholarly attention. However, as mentioned, memories are constructed and as such often contentious. In turn, scholars must also acknowledge and study the frictions created through the local, national, and international construction and circulation of memories. For instance, how does national memory affect international relations?

The growing academic field of Digital Humanities also lends itself to memory studies methodologies. Digital Humanities is an academic field concerned with the application of computational tools and methods to traditional humanities, such as literature, history, and philosophy. Digital Humanities research involves collaborative, transdisciplinary practices, with particular focus on how to make

cultural representations and artifacts more accessible. This nascent field not only overlaps with memory studies, but it is also a by-product of memory itself. Blogs, personal websites, institutional sites, and other digital platforms are all means to evaluate the act of remembering or forgetting. They are also (digital) sites of memory.

Recent social and technological forces, including the rise of Digital Humanities, continue to shape the creation of new collective memories and scholars' understanding of those memories. How the past is produced, consumed, internalized, and acted upon will no doubt remain a rich and complex problem for scholars as they work further to extend and integrate memory studies into their own research.

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The Visual Turn in the History of Education 54

Origins, Methodologies, and Examples

María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster

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Abstract

A proliferation of images and visuals in the contemporary era has generated a profound impact on our society in a multitude of ways. This growing visual culture also affects the work of the historian and the historical method. This chapter examines the field of visual methodology within historical studies. First, this chapter examines how historians in past centuries have dealt with images as compared to scholars from other scientific disciplines. Then the chapter discusses the visual turn that has led to a small explosion of books, themed issues of journals about visual research, and different methodologies regarding the way in which images may be analyzed. Third, the authors present the ways in which

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historians of education have dealt with images before and after the visual turn. Finally, this chapter will discuss some future challenges for historical studies in education that will deal with the analysis of visual images.

Keywords

Visual turn · Visual methodology · Content analysis · Semiotics · Images

Introduction

Every day we are surrounded by images. We see them on posters, billboards, and on digital screens when we walk the streets. We see them in newspapers, magazines, textbooks, and on television. We receive them on our smartphones, we share them with others on the Internet, and we produce them ourselves in quantities that clearly exceed the number of photographs people generally took in the times when a camera loaded with 35 mm film was the only means available for taking pictures. Already in 1967, the French Marxist theorist Guy Debord made clear that in our consumer society, images tell us what we need and what we should have: “having” is more important than “living.” Images seem to have supplanted genuine human interaction (Debord 1994). In the twenty-first century, understanding images has become even more important than in the past because of the incredible growth of computer-generated digital imagery and “visual spaces” different from film, photography, and television. So it comes as no surprise that this century has been labelled “the century of the image.” Or in the words of Fred Ritchin (2013, p. 160): “If the last century was the century of the Photograph, this century is that of Image—branding, surveillance and sousveillance, geo-positioning, sexting, image wars, citizen journalism, happy slapping, selfies, photo-opportunities, medical imaging, augmented realities, video games, Snapchat, and within it all, photography.”

The increasing impact of images on society also affects the work of the historian. The availability of historical images on the Internet and the growing number of digital archives offer historians previously unknown possibilities for writing histories. But these possibilities also demand that historians apply rigorous methods and techniques for understanding visual images and achieving true visual literacy. The need to understand images has grown. In this chapter, therefore, we will first look at how historians in past centuries have dealt with images as compared to scholars from other scientific disciplines. We believe that an interdisciplinary approach to image analysis is necessary because the value of images as source material differs between disciplines. Secondly, we will discuss the visual turn that has led to a small explosion of books, themed issues of journals about visual research, and different methodologies regarding the way in which images may be analyzed. Third, we will present the ways in which historians of education have dealt with images before and after the visual turn. Finally, we will discuss some future challenges for historical studies in education that will deal with the analysis of visual images.

Images in Science and Humanities

After its invention in France in 1839, photography became a model of veracity and objectivity. Photographic plates no longer interpreted, they recorded, with precision and fidelity (Evans and Hall 1999, p. 162). In 1859, for instance, we can read in the famous medical journal *The Lancet* that photography is “so essentially the Art of Truth – and the representative of Truth in Art – that it would seem to be the essential means of reproducing all forms and structures of which science seeks for delineation” (quoted in: Evans and Hall 1999, p. 255). Charles Darwin (1809–1882) clearly agreed with this, and in 1872, he published one of the first photographically illustrated books of science, which included depictions of emotional expressions in man and animal. In the medical sciences as well as in the natural sciences, visual images became an inseparable part of empirical research. In sum, in the natural sciences that deal with the physical world and its phenomena, images are an uncontested source. Visual images, like the photographic plates developed in 1839 by Louis Daguerre (1878–1851), are like mirrors that reflect nature. The metaphor of the mirror matches and has its counterpart in *positivism* as a philosophical framework, which in general fits in very well with the natural sciences and their experimental methods. From a positivistic perspective, we believe that there is a single reality that exists beyond ourselves (i.e., the ontological belief about the nature of reality) and that this reality, that is “out there,” can be approached and constructed through research and statistics (i.e., the epistemological belief about how reality is known) (Creswell and Poth 2018, p. 35). Not entirely coincidentally, the positivistic perspective in science was also developed in France by Auguste Comte (1798–1857), at the same time as photography.

In approximately the same period, history developed into a scientific discipline, thanks to the German historian Leopold Ranke (1795–1886). For his book *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*, he made use of multiple sources like memoirs, diaries, government documents, and first-hand accounts of eyewitnesses. In his time, this multidata approach was quite innovative, but the book is best remembered for the following comment: “History has had assigned to it the office of judging the past and of instructing the present for the benefit of the future ages. To such high offices the present work does not presume: it seeks only to show what actually happened [wie es eigentlich gewesen]” (Ranke 1824, p. 1). The last statement was subsequently taken by many historians as their guiding principle. This line of thought became known as *historicism*, and it resembled the basic idea of positivism as a scientific approach that studied reality like a mirror of nature. In many historical studies appearing in the nineteenth and twentieth century, however, visual images were either absent or were employed for purely decorative purposes. In history, images are generally not used as source material, data, or evidence like they have been in the case of the natural sciences (Perlmutter 1994, p. 167). For a long time, historians have used words, and especially written or printed documents, as their primary source of data for finding out “how it really was.” History was about reading and much less about listening (oral history) or looking (visual images).

Historians, however, were informed about the usefulness of images for writing histories as early as 1940. In that year, a book was edited by Caroline Ware on behalf of the American Historical Association explored the potential of a cultural approach in history. Roy Stryker and Paul Johnstone wrote about the “unused treasure of social documentation in the photographic morgues and files of newspapers, picture magazines, and syndicates” (Stryker and Johnstone 1940, p. 326). Documentary photography could provide visual source material that was useful for historical research, as long as historians were putting photographs in context. They admitted that a photograph cannot ordinarily stand by itself, but they also said that “there are certain things that the photograph, set in a context that the historian and social scientist can supply, can communicate better than words alone” (Stryker and Johnstone 1940, p. 326).

The cultural approach that was advocated in 1940 by the American Historical Association would become a trademark for anthropologists. For these scholars, the camera was (from the 1930s onwards) an easy-to-use device for recording observations of the social life and material culture of Indigenous peoples. A classic example is the work of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, who published their ethnographic studies in 1942 after 3 years of research in Bali and New Guinea (Bateson and Mead 1942). They combined *participant observation*, the signature method of anthropologists, with ample use of photography and film as new ethnographic media. In sociology, visual data was rarely used as a basis for empirical research in those days; for sociologists, observing social life did not necessarily imply recording social life on photographs or film. Primary documents like personal letters, or existing statistics, were considered to be better sources for writing about social issues like the life of migrants or suicide.

The use of visual material would become more acceptable for social scientists after John and Malcolm Collier wrote their classic introduction to visual anthropology in 1967 in which they explored the possibilities of photography as a research method (Collier and Collier 1967). In the same year, sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss published their inductive approach to the development of theory that is now known as the grounded theory method. They were critical of the traditional way in which sociologists were formulating hypotheses, i.e., by studying the theoretical work of other sociologists, especially that of the grandmasters Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and Simmel. Documents produced by others, such as “letters, biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, speeches, novels and a multitude of nonfiction forms,” and other qualitative materials as far afield as “deeds, jokes, photographs and city plans” were in general regarded as irrelevant (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 161). Glaser and Strauss argued that, instead of deductively testing “old” theories of others, sociologists could also inductively develop hypotheses and theories of their own. These theories should be grounded on all kinds of data, including photographs and pictures. Glaser and Strauss, however, did not explore in any depth how one might analyze these visual sources.

In the 1970s, Howard Becker and Erving Goffman were among the first sociologists to confront the challenge of analyzing images. Becker (1974) did so by connecting documentary photography with sociology, while Goffman (1976)

developed a number of theoretical categories to describe how females and males were depicted visually in advertisements. Their work helped to inform a cultural turn in the social sciences in the 1970s. A foundational work in this respect was *Interpretations of culture*, written by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, in which culture was described as “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (1973, p. 89). The study of culture focused on the interpretation of symbols and on the study of signs, also known as *semiotics*.

The social sciences had their cultural turn in the 1970s, but the humanities, including history, also had their share of turns. In 1967, the concept of “turn” was introduced by the American philosopher Richard Rorty in his book *The Linguistic Turn* (Rorty 1967). Rorty characterized the history of philosophy as a series of “turns”: ancient and medieval philosophy was concerned with *things*, the philosophy of the seventeenth through the nineteenth century was concerned with *ideas*, while contemporary enlightened philosophy is concerned with *words*. Rorty called this last stage “the linguistic turn.” The linguistic turn had a significant impact on the way historians did their research. The assumption that there is a real past, one which can be objectively described, was challenged. The past did not exist outside our textual representations of it, and these representations could be different because people could have different points of view. The interpretive framework that was characterized by the principles of positivism and historicism faded away and a new interpretive framework emerged: *social constructivism*. From a social constructivist perspective, we believe that there are multiple realities that are constructed through our lived experiences and interactions with others, and that this reality is co-constructed between the researcher and the researched and shaped by individual experiences (Creswell and Poth 2018, p. 35). In line with the linguistic turn, histories are not written as objective narratives anymore. The time of master narratives or social theories like Marxism (in which the economic substructure would shape the cultural superstructure) had come to an end. One had to look for contested meanings and be aware of different voices. The French philosopher Michel Foucault paid special attention to “discourses” or “sequences of signs in that they are enouncements” (Foucault 1969, p. 141). The linguistic turn focused on language and text but also on subjective meanings that were negotiated socially and historically. In other words, the linguistic turn resulted in a cultural turn in history, with culture being defined as a generalized system of meanings, significations, and practices (and not as a superstructure, or as a collection of highbrow cultural products).

In 1989, Lynn Hunt showed that in the “new cultural history” that developed in the 1980s the accent was on the “close examination—of texts, of pictures, and of actions—and an open-mindedness to what those examinations will reveal, rather than on elaboration of new master narratives or social theories” (Hunt 1989, p. 22). This opened the path to another interpretive framework: *postmodernism*. Truth became relative and had to be deconstructed in order to challenge dominant truth claims. Reality was to be known through “co-created findings with multiple ways of knowing” (Creswell and Poth 2018, p. 35). Postmodernism was linked with the

linguistic turn in the sense that postmodern thinkers also thought that society had to be studied like a text. There was also a link with the visual arts: postmodern thinkers, like Jean Baudrillard, wrote extensively about images, which he considered to be akin to evil demons. Furthermore, new cultural historians started to examine pictures. In short, the linguistic turn in the 1960s inspired a cultural turn in the 1970s that in combination with a postmodern turn in the 1980s paved the way for a visual turn in the 1990s.

The Visual Turn and Visual Methodologies

The linguistic turn in philosophy had a major impact on the social sciences and humanities. Reality was a social construction that should be analyzed like a text. Pictures were not necessarily part of that analysis. They created friction and discomfort. Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), one of the philosophers whose name was connected with the linguistic turn, was even accused of “iconophobia” because he defended speech against the visual. But the impact that images had on society could no longer be ignored. Another key figure of the linguistic turn, the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), opened the path to visual analysis by stating that languages are not confined to words but include systems of communication that use signs (Saussure 1916). De Saussure thus introduces *semiology*, the science of signs, which is a subset of semiotics. This type of analysis, the search for the building blocks or signs, could very well be applied to images.

Although the interest in a critical approach to visual images appeared much earlier in time, the art historians William Mitchell (from the USA) and Gottfried Boehm (from Germany) simultaneously published books in 1994 in which they “officially” introduced the successor of the linguistic turn. Mitchell (1994) called it the *pictorial turn*, and Boehm (1994) spoke about the *iconic turn*. In spite of the difference in terms, for both authors, it was obvious that at the end of the twentieth century the study of images should be on the scientific agenda, because “we still do not know exactly what pictures are, what their relation to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world, how their history is to be understood, and what is to be done with or about them” (Mitchell 1994, p. 13).

What we did know at the end of the twentieth century was the work of art historians like Aby Warburg (1866–1929), who introduced a new method for studying art that later would be developed by the German-American art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), who introduced the idea of a three-levelled analysis of works of art (Panofsky 1939). We also knew the work of German critical theorists like Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), who in 1935 wrote a seminal essay about how the work of art was on its way to losing its “aura” in the age of mechanical reproduction (Arendt 1968). And in the 1970s, even the general population was informed about the analysis of oil paintings and advertisements in the form of a four-part documentary that was broadcast on television in the United Kingdom. This documentary, made by the British art historian John Berger, affected the public’s awareness of the societal function of images, especially regarding their use in the

selling of expensive and glamorous consumer products. The underlying Marxist message of the documentary and the subsequent book (Berger 1972) was comparable with the earlier message of the French philosopher Debord (1967).

The work of art historians like Warburg and Panofsky and of cultural critics like Benjamin was rediscovered and republished in the 1970s. At that moment, the scholarly interest for analyzing visual images was also taking off. Although historians' interest in cultural history had been awakened, their involvement with images as historical sources was still limited. We had to wait until the 1980s before the historian James Borchert took upon himself the challenge of writing about historical photo-analysis as a research method; he did this after observing that the journal *Historical Methods*, which had originated in 1967, had so far ignored visual methodologies. In line with social science methodology, he advised seeking multiple confirmations through a *multimethod approach* when images were included in a historical study. A historian had to "learn as much as possible about each photograph, its content, context, and photographer, and use all other available kinds of sources for the research topic" (Borchert 1982, p. 35).

Borchert also provided a clear example of how in the period 1850–1970 the life of black residents in hidden and segregated alleys in Washington D.C. could be studied by using visual material alongside other sources, in his case the 1880 manuscript census, city directories, newspapers, social surveys, and participant-observer studies. Through a systematic reading of 700 photographs, he argued that black residents of the alleys, despite living in intolerable conditions, had viable communities, relatively stable families, and were able to live up to middle-class standards. Pictures showed older men watching over small children playing nearby. There were efforts at decoration and use of middle-class home furnishings such as tablecloths and curtains. Previous descriptions of alleys as filthy and untidy places where children ran wild, unsupervised by responsible adults, proved to be wrong. In this specific case, the photographs told another story.

The photographic analyses of Borchert were still an exception in the world of historians. But after Mitchell and Boehm made their case for a visual turn, the number of books published about visual culture saw an increase (Evans and Hall 1999; Howell and Negreiros 2019; Mirzoeff 1998; Sturken and Cartwright 2001). In response to this growing interest in the visual, new journals appeared, like *Visual communication*, the *Journal of visual culture*, and *Visual studies*. Next to a number of works about how to understand visual culture, several handbooks about how to carry out visual research were published at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Banks 2001; Kress and Leeuwen 1996; Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001; Pink 2001; Prosser 1998; Rose 2001). Cultural historian Peter Burke (2001) also contributed with a book about the uses of images as historical evidence.

The visual turn has produced a vibrant market for texts in the twenty-first century. From the original series of books, many were published as new editions in later years. The book of Gillian Rose, for instance, has become a classic textbook, its fourth edition appearing in 2016 with an accompanying website on the Internet. Nowadays, there are also works about visual history as applied in the field of education (Mietzner et al. 2005), visual sociology (Harper 2012), visual research

methods (Margolis and Pauwels 2012), and using photographs in historical research (Tinkler 2013). The abundant literature about the visual also produced a seemingly extensive overview of methodological strategies for analyzing images, although it must be noted that nearly all of these methods and techniques were already available in the methodological toolboxes of the social sciences and humanities.

Rose (2016) discusses several methods: compositional interpretation, content analysis and cultural analytics, semiology and social semiotics, psychoanalysis, discourse analysis, ethnography, and digital methods. Of these methods, the one most commonly used for the analysis of images is *semiotic analysis*. The compositional interpretation is basically a detailed description of various elements within the image itself, like its framing (long/close shots), angle (profile/frontal), lighting (dark/light), focus (blurred/sharp), etc. We consider this to be a subset of a semiotic analysis. Social semiotics, the study of signs in society, also includes semiology, the science of signs. The origins of these approaches go back to the work of De Saussure, whose work we mentioned earlier. The central aim of a semiotic approach is to uncover the “meaning” of an image. Or in the words of Roland Barthes (1967): the connotative meaning. In his visual semiotics, Barthes makes a distinction between two layers of meaning. The first is the layer of *denotation*, or an answer to the question “what, or who, is being depicted here?” The second layer of meaning is *connotation*, or the answer to the question: “what ideas and values are expressed through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented?” (Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001, p. 94).

The concept denotation is close to that of the first level of the image analysis proposed by Panofsky (1939): the primary or natural meaning, or the description of what is represented in an image on the basis of our practical experience. Panofsky calls the first level the *pre-iconographical description*. The secondary or conventional meaning is about the ideas or concepts attached to the particular persons, things, or places that are depicted in an image. Panofsky calls this second level the *iconographical analysis* in the narrower sense of the word. The final level of analysis has to do with the intrinsic meaning or content of an image, constituting the world of the “symbolical” values. This third level is called the *iconographical interpretation* in a deeper sense. This last level is a synthesis of the basic understanding of an image, the cultural knowledge about the symbolism of an image, and the interpretation of all aspects of an image in a wider historical context (what does it all mean?). Reaching this last level is the ultimate goal of the iconological method of Panofsky.

Semiotics and iconology are research approaches that are useful for an in-depth analysis of single images, especially fine art paintings. Semiotics can also be applied successfully to small series of images, for instance, advertisements. But if we are to investigate the meaning of larger number of images, the most obvious methodological choice is content analysis (Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001, pp. 10–34; Margolis and Pauwels 2012, pp. 265–282; Rose 2016, pp. 85–105). Of the methods mentioned by Rose (2016), content analysis is the second most common for the analysis of images.

Content analysis is a social science research method for the analysis of all kinds of communication, including personal documents in both written form (diaries,

letters, autobiographies) and visual form (photographs, photo-albums, postcards, other visual objects), official documents deriving from public or private sources, mass-media outputs (newspapers, journals, television programs, films, textbooks), and virtual outputs (Instagram, other Internet resources). The goal of content analysis is to systematically quantify content in terms of predetermined categories on the one hand, or classify content in terms of inductively developed categories or codes and the other hand. In the latter case, we speak of *qualitative or ethnographic content analysis*; in the former case, we speak of *quantitative content analysis*. One difference between these approaches is that quantitative content analysis focuses on *manifest content*, or things that are on the surface and easily observable, and qualitative content analysis focuses on *latent content*, i.e., elements lying under the surface. If content analysis is applied to series of visual images, then the content of these images needs to be coded. This coding process can be performed following the procedures of the grounded theory method as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Semiotics as well as the several variations of content analysis are essentially descriptive strategies for discovering the meaning of images. They also focus on the site of the image itself. Both approaches can be enhanced by applying a theoretical framework, like for instance the Marxist perspective that was chosen by Debord (1967) and Berger (1972), or the historical-critical perspective of Foucault (1969) that has resulted in several types of *discourse analysis*. The analysis of images could also be extended to other sites, like the site of the production of an image, the site(s) of its circulation, and the site(s) where it is seen by various audiences (Rose 2016). In other words, we must keep in mind that images are surrounded by a range of economic, social and political relations, institutions, and practices through which they are seen and used. This implies the application of ethnography, which, according to Geertz, is more than a method. Ethnography is a kind of intellectual effort, an elaborate venture in *thick description* (Geertz 1973, p. 6). It is a description that goes beyond surface appearances, and it includes detail, context, meanings, emotions, voices, and relationships. Thick description, a concept that is widely used in qualitative studies, can also be useful for writing down image-related observations.

Images in the History of Education

The visual turn and the growing interest in cultural history has had an undeniable impact on the history of education as a subdiscipline. A highlight came with the special issue of the international journal *Paedagogica Historica* that was published following the 20th session of the International Standing Conference of the History of Education (ISCHE) that took place in Belgium in 1998. This conference was dedicated exclusively to the challenge of the visual in the history of education. It was not the first conference on this topic however. In 1989, scholars in Germany met to discuss “Bild und Bildung” (Pöggeler 1992). Wall charts, as pictorial aids in education, had already been the subject of research, while in the context of textbook collections, a number of books had been published showing illustrations from these

educational manuals. Furthermore, at roughly the same time articles appeared in scientific journals in which several thousand images from a few hundred textbooks were analyzed with a quantitative content analysis (Gaulupeau 1986).

The early attention that historians of education paid to the imagery in textbooks and wall charts was soon followed by a scholarly interest in classroom photographs and educational films. The analysis of school photographs was one of the subjects of conferences held in England, Canada, and Finland in 1995, 1996, and 1999, respectively (Grosvenor et al. 1999; Grosvenor and Lawn 2001), and the interest in educational films increased considerably after the publication of a themed issue of *Paedagogica Historica* on postmodernism in the history of education in 1996 (Cohen 1996). The 20th session of ISCHE, however, was unique in that it provided a forum for discussion on a wide range of visual aspects of education: wall charts, textbooks, photography, feature films and propaganda films, but also paintings, engravings, metaphors, icons, visual aids, emblematics, architecture, exhibitions, cartoons, and even cigarette cards (Depaepe and Henkens 2000). Of all of these themes, photographs and films were the most extensively used media as sources for writing histories of education. Before discussing these two types of media, which acquired such importance in the twentieth century, we will first take a look at two forms of media that were the visual heroes of the preceding centuries: oil paintings and engravings.

As stated earlier, art historians like Panofsky and Berger began by investigating meaning in *oil paintings*, so it does not come as a surprise that other historians have also discovered fine art paintings as a source for studying children and their education. In 1960, it was the historian Philippe Ariès who wrote a ground-breaking book in which he argued that childhood as an idea changed over time. After observing medieval paintings that showed children as miniature adults, he concluded that childhood was not understood as a separate stage of life until the fifteenth century (Ariès 1962). The historian of education Jeroen Dekker would follow in the footsteps of Ariès about four decades later with his analysis of the educational messages in seventeenth century Dutch genre paintings (Dekker 1996). Thanks to the “realistic” oil paintings of classrooms in village schools, made by seventeenth century painters like Jan Steen and Adriaan van Ostade, historians were able to gain some knowledge about the educational practices in this century, and more specifically, about the school material that was used in those days. Oil paintings depicting teachers and children in classrooms can also be found in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Art historian Jeremy Howard gets the credit for analyzing these specific works of fine art that undoubtedly have lost their aura of realism in recent times (Braster et al. 2011). More recent examples in which oil paintings were used as a visual source for describing children in an educational context can be found in the journal *History of education and children's literature* that was dedicated to images of the European child (Sureda Garcia and Pozo Andrés 2018) and in another themed issue of *Paedagogica Historica* about images as objects to think with (Priem and Düssel 2017). Normally the analysis of paintings in the history of education is limited to only one work, or a small number of theoretically selected pictures, chosen in accordance with semiotic principles. By gathering iconological knowledge about

their symbolism and making use of additional sources, a thick description of both the content and context of those images can be achieved.

While Dutch genre paintings could serve as mirrors of educational realities in the seventeenth century, that was most certainly not the case with allegorical pictures like the one that Pieter Bruegel the Elder drew in 1556 and that in 1557 was printed as an *engraving*. It shows a teacher in a school room full of pupils, beating one of them on his bare ass with a stick, while a donkey observes the scene from a window. The caption under the picture reads: “An ass will never become a horse, even if he goes to school.” The story behind this comical image, written in 1984, marks the first time that an article was published with a detailed analysis of a visual image of education in a journal of education history (Bagley 1984). It also illustrated the idea that an image must be analyzed in close connection with its accompanying text, which adds another layer of meaning to the image.

It must be noted that this particular engraving was part of a collection of educational images that was put together to be used as illustrations for teaching the history of education. Reproductions of paintings and engravings are well known teaching tools for lecturers but are less frequently used as sources for researchers. The engraving is a sort of blind spot in research on the history of education. An exception is the article written by Antonio Nóvoa about the public image of teachers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, based on a theoretical selection related to status, discipline, and gender of around 100 engravings and photographs of primary school teachers (Nóvoa 2000). Another example is an article that starts with a watercolor painting exhibited in London in 1809, that travelled, in the format of an engraving titled *A school in an uproar*, from England to France, Germany, and to the United States of America. The picture became a popular, much-reproduced and iconic image of education in the nineteenth century, showing the utter joy children can have in a school when a teacher has left his post (Pozo Andrés and Braster 2017). The first example applied the principles of *theoretical selection* and *constant comparison* to arrive at conclusions about a rather large set of images (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The second study follows an approach that can methodologically be defined as a *case study*, because it develops an in-depth description of a particular image using multiple sources; it can also be defined as a *narrative research*, given that it explores the life of one individual (an image in this case) by telling its story (including epiphanies) using a chronology (Creswell and Poth 2018, pp. 104–105): it is a *biography of an image*, so to speak.

If we direct our attention to *photographs* as visual sources, the first historical study about education is research about constancy and change in American classrooms is from the period 1890–1990 (Cuban 1993). It contains descriptions of hundreds of classrooms in several American states and attempts to address the question of how teachers taught in the twentieth century. It follows a *multidata approach* in which, next to photographs of teachers and students in classrooms, a variety of other sources are used: reports from teachers, yearbooks, school newspapers, textbooks, building plans, desk design, etc. This investigation exemplifies the way that photographs can (and should) be used in dialogue with other sources to

increase the validity of our research, a strategy that in qualitative research is known as *triangulation*.

Because the number of photographs (digitally) available in public archives or private collections is so enormous today, it may be expected that content analysis would be a much-used strategy for analyzing this type of visual material. Some scholars have indeed been dealing with hundreds of classroom photographs for analyzing longitudinal trends in instructional approaches (Cuban 1984; Braster et al. 2011). For studying trends, a *hypothetical-deductive approach* can be followed; this implies identifying a limited number of visual indicators for teacher- or student-centered instruction, coding classroom photographs following a coding scheme with these indicators, correlating these codes with the year in which these photographs were taken, and finally, presenting them in cross tabulations or graphs.

A more *inductive grounded theory approach* can also be applied for analyzing large sets of images. Recent examples include: studies based on thousands of propaganda photographs made in school colonies for children during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), found in public archives and combined with textual sources such as diaries and government reports (Braster and Pozo Andrés 2015); thousands of photographs about new education found in educational journals (Braster and Pozo Andrés, p. 147–193, in: Comas Rubí and Pozo Andrés 2018); and on a thousand combinations of illustrations and texts about Black history found in Dutch history textbooks (1968–2017), combined with oral history interviews with teachers and students (Sijpenhof, pp. 327–352, in: Sureda Garcia and Pozo Andrés 2018).

In general, however, historians of education still seem to prefer semiotic or iconological approaches for investigating the meaning of a single or a small number of photographs. The in-depth analysis of visual material, or in other words, the search for *making the invisible visible*, and thus opening up the black box of schooling, is as important for the historiography of education as delving into large sets of visual data (Grosvenor et al. 1999). The same applies to research that does not treat photographs as data – every bit as valid as qualitative field notes made in the past – but as prompts to entice people to talk about what is represented in them. An example of this line of postmodern inquiry can be found in a recent journal of the history of education dedicated to photography and school culture (Martínez Valle 2016). Recent examples of photographic analyses can also be found in other themed issues of history of education journals (Comas Rubí and Pozo Andrés 2018; Sureda Garcia and Pozo Andrés 2018).

If the analysis of still images like photographs is considered to be methodologically challenging, then what to think about the investigation of moving images or films? The analysis of films as an historical source was taken up relatively quickly in the history of education. To begin with, there was a fascination with feature films. We could mention the well-known American drama film *Dead Poets Society* from 1989, that was analyzed as an example of what was called the “new cultural history” (Cohen 1996). Another example is the deconstruction of the 1955 film *Blackboard jungle* (Perlstein, pp. 407–424, in: Depaepe and Henkens 2000). In addition to feature films, historians of education have also

occupied themselves with propaganda films connected with experiences of new education at the beginning of the twentieth century (Cunningham, p. 389–406, in: Depaepe and Henkens 2000). Films have been, like photography, the theme of several special issues of journals of the history of education. In the past decade, attention has been given to documentary films produced in Belgium, Portugal, and the United Kingdom (Van Gorp and Warmington 2011); documentary and propaganda films from the United Kingdom, Spain, and the German Weimar Republic; a comparison of four visual adaptations of the children’s book *Pinocchio* shown in Italy (Casanovas Prat and Padrós Tuneu 2018); and a comparison of two children’s films from the 1930s in Germany and France (Priem and Düssel 2017). All these examples follow a methodological approach based on the theoretical selection of one or a few films, followed by an analysis of content and context, especially in relation to the audiences that have been watching these films. We should note that Rose (2016) also mentions *psychoanalysis* as a methodology to analyze films.

Conclusions and Future Directions

We live in the century of the image. In the last two decades images – although initially written off by historians as source material, data, or evidence – have been at the center of the attention of scholars from different fields of study: anthropology, sociology, communication studies, educational studies, and also the history of education. Visual sources are widely available in digital archives now. Communication media such as paintings, engravings, photographs, and films are analyzed as single items or within the context of textbooks, educational devices like wall charts, educational journals, school albums, archive collections, etc. On the one hand, these analyses are done by *interrogating images*, or in other words, by critically asking about “the site of production, which is where an image is made; the site of the image itself, which is its visual content; the site(s) of its circulation, which is where it travels; and the site where the image encounters its spectators or users,” which can be called *audiencing* (Rose 2016, p. 24). Unfortunately, the interrogation of an image is a painstaking and time-consuming activity. That is why a semiotic or iconological analysis of visual material is normally limited to a small number of items. On the other hand, we have studies dealing with much larger numbers of images, where the latent content of these images is coded following procedures of the grounded theory method. This also implies a similarly painstaking and time-consuming process, where in a first phase visual data are defragmented into smaller units (or open codes) and subsequently, in a second phase, reassembled in larger units (or axial codes). With the help of quantitative or qualitative content analysis, and possibly with the additional help of statistical algorithms, we can find patterns of meaning, or relationships between sensitizing concepts, in the ocean of visual data.

In the past century, a wide range of concepts has been developed to analyze the physical and social world. There are concepts and methodologies available from semiology, ethnography, phenomenology, and qualitative methodology in general,

that could successfully be applied by historians for investigating visual sources in order to write rich histories of education. As we stated at the beginning of this chapter, historians consider written or printed documents, and not images, as their stock in trade. Although in the field of the history of education the use of images as evidence – instead of mere illustration – is more commonplace than ever before, there is still some apprehension regarding the usefulness of visual sources for knowing the educational practices from the past. And there is certainly some skepticism when visual images are used as a stand-alone source (Mietzner et al. 2005, p. 229). This last opinion was also expressed by the pioneers that started to work with photographs for writing their histories. They quickly learned that interpreting the content of visual images was almost all a matter of context, and that combining visual sources with written, spoken, or material ones resulted in much richer histories. In other words, we cannot live by images alone.

Generally speaking, we can affirm that *multiple data* are required for historical studies. We should add that it is also recommendable to apply *multiple methods*, which means that historians are advised to “borrow” tools from the methodological toolkit of qualitative researchers and semioticians. Enhancing the interdisciplinary aspect of research in the field of the history of education is also advisable (i.e., *multiple researchers*), but achieving such a goal is only possible if historians of education are willing to learn the same methodological language as practitioners of the social sciences or of semioticians. This language should also embrace new concepts related to the digitalization of historical material.

The availability of digital archives has created many new challenges for writing histories of education. If in history there are two roads to travel by, one of narrative history and one of scientific/cliometric history, then the digitalization of historical sources like newspapers and journals, together with the technological development of computer-assisted techniques for the analysis of large amounts of data, could possibly open up a third road (Franzosi 2017). Quantitative narrative analysis of large amounts of text is already a viable research option, while the possibilities for computer-generated visual analysis are being explored under the heading of *cultural analytics*, where answers are already being provided to questions like: How to compare a million images? (Rose 2016, p. 99).

Historians have a tendency of constantly choosing new paths that afterwards are labelled as “turns.” The visual turn was one of them. It was preceded by the linguistic turn that in essence indicated a paradigmatic shift from two interpretative frameworks: positivism (or objectivism) and social constructionism (or subjectivism). In the meantime, other turns have appeared: the body turn, the emotional turn, the biographical turn, the animal turn, the spatial turn, and the digital turn. The main challenge, however, is not to choose a “new” turn but to “return” to the basic question: which interpretative framework are we going to choose to answer our research questions: post-positivism, social constructivism, postmodernism, critical theory, or pragmatism? Or, in other words, which beliefs do we share on ontology, epistemology, and methodology? (Creswell and Poth 2018, pp. 35–36). Integrating visual semiotics and content analysis in one research design could be a next step.

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Abstract

The areas of biographical and autobiographical study are not exceptionally popular as approaches to historical research in education. The reasons for this are several but all likely related to the penchant for historians of education, like other researchers in education, to favor a social scientific approach to their work. Education as a discipline is generally seen as one of the applied social sciences. Given this, an approach to scholarship that favors social scientific concerns such as generalization, hypothesis testing, and larger data sets that support these priorities is dominant in historical study in education as well as the larger field of educational research. This emphasis is further enhanced recently by an orientation toward educational policy and practice that demands results that address policy concerns such as accountability and data driven decision-making. Biography and autobiography speak tangentially at best to these concerns and quite often question the legitimacy of things like generalization, best practices, and policy goals and objectives.

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Keywords

Biography · Autobiography · Revisionism · Horace Mann Bond · James Bryant Conant

Introduction

Biography and autobiography maintain a minority status in the universe of educational scholarship, occupying a contested space that spans decades. In this chapter, I want to use my own professional autobiography as a historian and biographer to show how my interests shifted from a social science to a biographical perspective, discussing in some detail my choice of subject, and the reasons for the choice, in two biographical projects on Horace Mann Bond and James Bryant Conant. These choices, as will be shown, were related as much to my own professional career as to the substantive historical and historiographical concerns and issues that were involved. My interest in autobiography as a lens for biography and other historical studies was increasingly important to me as my career developed. The connection between biography and autobiography became an explicit concern of my own academic work beginning in 2009. In that year, I was asked by the editor of a volume of autobiographical essays by leading philosophers of education, and a series of other volumes on leaders in other subfields of educational studies, to edit a volume of autobiographical essays by historians of education. While the contributors to the philosophy volume, and to another volume in the series on curriculum studies were both American and British, it quickly became apparent that there was enough quantity and commonality in the history and historiography of American education, and a greater difference in situations in the American and British historical traditions in education, to limit the autobiographies in this volume to historians of education in the United States. In 2011, the volume was published as *Leaders in the Historical Study of American Education* (Urban 2011). Twenty-six contributors to the volume discussed their own autobiographies, concentrating on how they came to be involved in historical studies of American education. The individual autobiographies are fascinatingly diverse, but they reveal a common theme: no historian of American education had any idea of what she or he would become professionally until, at least, their time of doctoral study; and at least a few finished their doctoral studies without knowing much, if anything, about the field in which they would establish their professional reputation. In terms of the issue just raised about the relationship between biography and autobiography, the diversity of intellectual backgrounds and understandings brought by the individual historians of education meant a variety of backgrounds animating their work as historians, and, for more than a few, as biographers. About 10 of the 26 had done a biography or more than one in their professional careers and several of the 26 had also done some autobiographical work. This contributes to a large extent to the relative flourishing of the scholarly work in the history of American education, a field with a limited number of practitioners, as well as to the variety of perspectives that the individuals brought to their work.

To return to my biographical work in educational history, it is important to contextualize it as a reaction to how a social scientific set of orientations and objectives has come to dominate, though not completely permeate, historical studies in education. Historical study of education through the middle of the twentieth century was characterized by an approach that studied institutional education, particularly schools, in preference to the multitude of other arenas such as families, communities, churches, and social organizations in which education took place. A great revisionist wave overtook educational history in the 1960s and 1970s and questioned this institutional orientation severely. That questioning came in three not incompatible versions. The first was intellectual, seeking to detach educational history from schooling as its major focus and to embrace a much larger focus on institutions such as family, community, and church as educational agencies. The second was ideological, questioning a focus on the triumph of the public school and its role in the positive development of the United States as a democratic society as the compelling story in the history of education in the United States. The third was methodological, introducing quantitative techniques into the analysis of educational issues and affairs. The revisionist scholarship in educational history often relied on a radical political perspective allied quite often to a quantitative methodology. The seminal work of Michael Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (1968), illustrates these emphases. It was not so much that Katz's approach was overwhelmingly dominant, but that its output stirred a rather somnolent group of educational historians to argue with him, and with each other, and, thereby, to enrich the field through those arguments. In many ways, contemporary scholarship continues, though in altered form, the debates over topics and issues that became prominent in the 1960s and 1970s.

Since then, the quantitative methods of historical study in education pioneered by Katz have not disappeared but have taken a place alongside more traditional historical methods using archival sources, documentary analysis, and, on occasion, oral history interviews. The political radicalism of Katz and other scholars of the 1960s and 1970s has been slowly displaced by an orientation and commitment to social justice in scholarly and professional endeavors that transcends political ideology. The particulars of a social justice orientation include race, economic status, gender, and, more recently, sexual orientation and identification as areas of study. Yet, these particulars can be and have been appropriated by scholars with a variety of political commitments, in some cases even becoming the major focus of a commitment that supersedes, or at least thinks it supersedes, politics. The dominance of a race, class, gender, and sexuality orientation in contemporary scholarship can be seen in perusing the programs of groups like the American Educational Research Association or the pages of the last decade of issues of the major outlet for scholarship in educational history in the United States, the *History of Education Quarterly*, and the major international journal in educational history, *Paedagogica Historica*.

This account of the recent history of educational history is generalized, perhaps even overgeneralized; but it also seems accurate in outlining the contours of the major emphasis on a social scientific approach to scholarship in the field. This

emphasis has been abetted by the circumstances under which educational historians have lived in the past half century. At the beginning of that period, most, if not all, educational historians were housed in departments or schools of education and, thereby, constrained by the professional concerns of those institutions in their teaching and their scholarship. The advent of historians of education housed outside of professional education departments, schools, and colleges broadened the set of concerns that historians brought to their educational scholarship and furthered the development of historical study in education toward larger social concerns than those of schools and schooling. Those larger concerns were, in turn, often embraced by historians working within professional education settings.

Developments within those professional educational settings enhanced the trend toward extra-school concerns, such as family, community, and church. Most historical work within schools and departments of education took place in department or department-like settings most often called "educational foundations," which contained a group of disciplinary-oriented scholars in history, philosophy, sociology, or anthropology whose work was deemed "foundational" to good educational practice. This type of work within professional education schools came under attack as insufficiently relevant to the practice of the teachers and allied educational professionals who made up the student bodies of professional education schools. Educational foundations almost disappeared as an institutional home for educational historians, replaced most often by units featuring titles like "educational policy studies" that focused on the issues and debates surrounding education policy formation and implementation. These concerns were larger in scope than the success or nonsuccess of schools, though that very topic became important as a crucial, and debatable, policy issue. The point for historical study in education, however, was that a policy studies focus enmeshed that study in larger issues than formal educational achievement, or the lack of same, issues that sought to contextualize education as practiced in educational institutions in larger policy and political contexts that in turn could be analyzed critically in terms of their own impact on schools, schooling, and other institutional education. The emphasis on politics and policy enhanced the social science orientation that had emerged from the revisionist educational changes in educational history discussed above. The net result has been a focus by educational historians on groups such as the American Educational Research Association and the Social Science History Association as homes for education history scholarship that have been just as important for educational historians as more traditionally educational history organizations such as the History of Education Society. And these developments meant some alteration, but no abandonment, of a social science approach to the field.

Biographical and autobiographical studies have managed to maintain a foothold in the scholarly arenas of educational history and educational research that are increasingly dominated by the concerns, approaches, and orientations of social science and social scientists. One reason for this foothold is that biography, and autobiography, involve a much more individualized, personal, and avowedly perspectival approach to educational scholarship, one that is often subsumed under the larger label of qualitative educational research, in contrast to the quantitative

approach to educational research that is often used in the social science-oriented mainstream of the field. To simply equate quantification with social science is an oversimplification that leaves out the fact that development of systematic scholarship does not necessarily, for many of its practitioners, seek to undermine systematic critical analysis of social orientations, problems, and issues. As will be seen in the rest of this chapter, my own scholarship in the last half-century illustrates the development of the field and the ongoing place of biography and autobiography in it. Of particular interest is the way, or ways, in which biographical work in my career has taken me away from a social science emphasis, a shift which has been closely related to events in my own professional life, or in my own professional autobiography.

Early Scholarship

Why Teachers Organized was published in 1982 (Urban 1982), the major result of the first 15 years of my academic work. It was on a topic that was relatively popular in the 1960s, teacher unionism. The argument was that early teacher unions were basically conservative in their agendas, concentrating on material benefits for their members in preference to more far reaching aims such as school reform or political changes in school governance. I developed the argument in the book by first looking at the Atlanta Public School Teachers Association, founded in 1905. I then applied my analysis of Atlanta teacher union traditionalism to local organizations in the cities of Chicago and New York. Finally, I looked at the orientation and priorities of two national unions, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. While the thesis of teacher union conservatism developed in the Atlanta chapter did not hold completely for the other two local organizations, the ones in Chicago and New York, there was enough of an overlap to enable me to maintain my characterization of teacher union conservatism in each case. Similarly, there were differences between the two national organizations with each other, and with the three local organizations, but differences not wide enough for me to jettison my thesis of teacher unions as largely conservative occupational organizations devoted to the occupational interests of their members.

The mode of my analysis was fairly typical in terms of historical explanation. I developed a hypothesis in my analysis of the Atlanta case which I then applied to two other local settings and two national organizations. In terms of conceptual and methodological concerns, it resembled much of the explanatory methodology used in nonhistorical educational research. While there was nothing quantitative about the analysis, it did involve a rather traditional social science orientation of hypothesis development and testing to achieve a generalization or conclusion that might be applied to historical and to post-historical analyses of teacher unions. Critics pointed out, however, that my hypothesis of union conservatism often concealed as much as it revealed about teacher unions, locally and nationally. That is, that I stressed certain factors about an organization, factors that fit with my argument about union traditionalism, and downplayed other factors that showed the unions straying from, if not

abandoning, conservatism. And there, indeed, were ways in which unions were anything but traditional, whatever their formal orientation. For example, teacher unions were one body in which women often played an influential role far beyond their ability to influence educational practice and policy in their workplaces.

The reaction to my book by notable educational historians such as Marvin Lazerson (1984) caused me to seriously reconsider my approach to generalization in historical scholarship in my next volume. I decided to do a biography of an individual educator, one in which I could pay attention to the variety of influences and experiences that affected an individual and his or her work in the educational arena. There was also a significant autobiographical aspect to my choice of subject for a biography. As an historian of education, I was interested in studying an earlier historian of education to see how that individual experienced, and coped with, the stresses and strains of academic and professional life like those I was experiencing in my own life. I was interested in an historian at least one generation older than I and, further, one who had studied the American South, the area in which I had experienced most of my career as a scholar. The universe of possible subjects narrowed itself rather quickly and I found myself considering Horace Mann Bond, noted African-American historian of education, or Edgar W. Knight, noted white historian of education in the South as possible subjects for my work. For a variety of reasons, including a lack of documents and a rather retrogressive racial stance by Edgar W. Knight, I decided to study Horace Mann Bond as my subject. The Bond papers were copious, cataloged, and readily available at the University of Massachusetts library, and Bond's widow, Julia W. Bond, was living and working as a research librarian in Atlanta, the city in which I also worked. I had a good preliminary discussion with Mrs. Bond about the project and this finalized my decision to choose Bond as a subject. My study of Bond was aided by a National Endowment for the Humanities grant and, in 1992, 10 years after the publication of *Why Teachers Organized, Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904–1972* (Urban 1992) was published.

Black Scholar

Horace Mann Bond was an African-American historian of education who published several books and even more articles, on the history, sociology, and current and future state of African Americans, especially in relation to their education. My interest in Bond was related to my own career as an educational historian, based in the American South. My foray into Bond's life was extremely helpful to me, personally and professionally. As noted earlier herein, I was looking forward to a biographical study that might ameliorate the problems I had with generalization in my earlier work. Given the constraints of the field of biography that I encountered, that expectation was not to be met completely.

As in most biographies, I searched for an overall theme on which to orient the particulars of my analysis, a "figure in the carpet" to borrow a metaphor from Henry James's biographer Leon Edel. The figure which I uncovered and on which I developed the argument in my biography was the tension between scholarly

excellence and administrative accomplishment, and the rewards attached, or not attached, to each. Briefly, I argued that Bond was an accomplished scholar in the areas of the history and sociology of African-American education. His scholarly output was substantial, including a path breaking revisionist history of black education in post-Civil War Alabama (Bond 1939), a sociologically and historically oriented textbook intended for use in higher education courses related to African-American education (Bond 1934), two books on the origins of intellectual talent in black scholars and intellectuals (Bond 1959, 1969) and a history of Lincoln University (Bond 1976). In addition to these books, he published numerous articles and reviews in scholarly journals in educational history and sociology, in journals devoted to African-American history and education, in general academic and educational journals such as *Phylon* and *School and Society*, in general interest intellectual periodicals such as *Harper's Magazine*, and in newspapers such as the *New York Herald Tribune*. *Black Scholar* lists close to 100 items in its Appendix of "Publications by Horace Mann Bond." In addition to this substantial output, Bond's interest in and desire for scholarly accomplishment and acknowledgment are supported by many letters with other scholars, black and white, engaged in African-American studies. He was unswerving in his assignment of scholarly work as his own first priority and also an exceptionally important priority if African-American advancement was to be achieved in his lifetime.

There was a problem in achieving scholarly eminence for Bond, however, as there was for all African-American scholars of his generation. That problem was that segregation plagued American higher education and it stunted the intellectual growth of African-American scholars working within it. Bond's career, like that of all but a very few African-American scholars of his generation, was confined to segregated institutions largely neglected, or ignored, by the white scholars and intellectuals who controlled scholarly eminence. Further, within segregated black institutions, conditions such as stunted opportunities for research and graduate studies, and opposition to research and other intellectual accomplishments from white politicians and philanthropists who were the leading decision makers over the present and future of segregated black colleges, mitigated against a career which could fully embrace scholarly excellence. In its place, black academics like Bond could look mainly to administration of black colleges for a path to success and some emolument that far outstripped anything accessible to faculty members.

Thus, the trajectory of Bond's career was one of increasingly responsible administrative appointments resulting ultimately in two presidencies of black colleges, Fort Valley State College in Georgia and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Bond scaled this administrative ladder successfully but often times reflected on how it hampered the academic and research accomplishments which he valued so highly. Bond faced a career in which administrative accomplishment was the way to provide for himself and his family and in which scholarship would be, at best, a supplement but in no sense a replacement for administration. Bond's administrative record was generally successful, but that accomplishment was relativized by his unfortunate dismissal from the Lincoln University presidency in the 1950s. Bond took on the deanship of the Atlanta University graduate school of education after leaving

Lincoln, and it was while he was in Atlanta that he completed the last three of his scholarly books, two devoted to the characteristics of academic talent among African Americans and the means for encouraging the development of that talent, respectively (Bond 1959, 1969), and the third project focused on the history of Lincoln University, one of the original historically black colleges in the United States (Bond 1976).

An interesting aspect of the reviews of *Black Scholar* was that many, if not most, reviewers ignored or downplayed my major argument about Bond's academic desires and administrative accomplishments. One notable exception was in the review of the book in the *History of Education Quarterly*, written by an educational historian who was also a full-time administrator, the provost of a private institution in the state of Pennsylvania (Stameshkin 1993). It caused me to reflect on the relationship between my own circumstances prior to completing the Bond book and the larger phenomenon of the ways in which a biographer's autobiography intersects with the biography. Prior to working on the Bond biography, I had been a chairman of a fairly large (25 members) academic department in a medium-sized comprehensive university in the urban South. I served in this position for 7 years and found the administrative duties to be increasing in number and in the degree of threat they presented to my other academic priorities. Thus, I stepped down from that position and looked forward to embracing teaching and, especially, the research commitments of a university faculty member. This clearly had some role in my choice of theme of research versus administration in my Bond biography. It also seemed significant to me that the only reviewer who really "got" my argument about Bond was a serving university administrator. Thus, for both me and the reviewer, our personal situations seemed to highlight a facet of Bond that was not of interest to other reviewers.

Biography and Autobiography

One could conclude that the theme of research versus administration came as much out of my own experience as out of the Bond experience that I was studying. That claim would be both strengthened and weakened by the review from the university administrator being the only one that really responded to the theme and its development in the biography. Of course, a theme is only a theme, not a complete account. The question is how adequate was this biographer's development of the theme and how insightful was it in providing the lens through which to view the life being studied?

Before answering those questions, a discussion of one more aspect of my Bond biography is in order. That is the issue of a white scholar studying a black subject. Can a white scholar really understand the problems and issues encountered by an African-American subject? There is no glib answer to this question, though in my experience of discussing my work on Bond, the issue is remarkably contentious and complex. In my case, the contentiousness of the issue was furthered by an account in the Preface of the biography in which I compared Bond's experience with that of my

own father, a son of Polish immigrants who was establishing a career as a physician. The timing of the two experiences was relatively close but there was, and is, a significant portion of scholarly opinion that sees the comparison as severely inappropriate. One scholarly reader of my Bond biography for its publisher prior to publication urged that the comparison be removed from the Preface. I considered this critique but chose to leave the comparison in the Preface. My reasoning was that I thought that there was significant similarity in the two situations and that the similarity had provided me with a more personal connection to Bond as a subject. The critical readers of the manuscript, and more than one commentator on my work after it was published, were raising an important issue. Most baldly, the issue is: can a white biographer really understand the situation of a black scholar and communicate that understanding to readers?

The answer to that question is easy in one sense. A white biographer *can* understand his or her subject. Essentializing race to the point that only blacks can write about blacks is something that would have denied readers the benefit of works such as Louis Harlan's magisterial two volumes on Booker T. Washington (1972, 1983). This issue, then, is not whether a white biographer can understand a black subject but whether Urban understood Horace Mann Bond to the point that readers learned something important from the biography. And in terms of the earlier discussion about the theme of scholarship versus administration in Bond's life, the issue is whether the theme of scholarship in relation to administration reveals something about Bond that helps readers understand his life and work.

A helpful formulation of these issues considers the question of what a biographer brings to a study of a subject and how that affects the biography. That is, Urban brought to his Bond biography experience in scholarship and administration that affected his formulation of the theme of that biography. Thus, this was Urban's biography of Bond. Other biographers without this biographer's experience may well depict Bond's life in a starkly different fashion. What biography did, in this case, was emphasize, at least for the biographer, the link between his own experience and the subject of the biography he produced. Biography, then, is indelibly influenced, or at least in this case was indelibly influenced, by the perspective of the biographer. This may not always be the case in biography, but it also may be an issue explored more often in the analysis of biography and biographers than it often is. Two of my next scholarly projects expanded on the significance of autobiography in my professional life.

In 2009, I was asked by the editor of a volume of autobiographical essays by leading philosophers of education, and a series of other volumes on leaders in other subfields of educational studies, to edit a volume of autobiographical essays by historians of education. While the contributors to the philosophy volume and to another volume in the series on curriculum studies were both American and British, it quickly became apparent that there was enough quantity and commonality in the history and historiography of American education, and a greater difference in situations in the American and British historical traditions in education, to limit the autobiographies in this volume to historians of education in the United States. In 2011, the volume was published as *Leaders in the Historical Study of American*

Education (Urban 2011) Twenty-six contributors to the volume discussed their own autobiographies, concentrating on how they came to be involved in historical studies of American education. The individual autobiographies are fascinatingly diverse, but they reveal a common theme: no historian of America education had any idea of what she or he would become professionally until, at least, their time of doctoral study; and at least a few finished their doctoral studies without knowing much, if anything, about the field in which they would establish their professional reputation. In terms of the issue just raised about the relationship between biography and autobiography, the diversity of intellectual backgrounds and understandings brought by the individual historians of education meant a variety of backgrounds animating their work as historians, and, for more than a few, as biographers. About 10 of the 26 had done a biography or more than one in their professional careers and several of the 26 had also done some autobiographical work. This, I think, contributes to a large extent to the relative flourishing of the scholarly work in the history of American education, a field with a limited number of practitioners, as well as to the variety of perspectives that the individuals brought to their work.

The Road to James Bryant Conant

My own contribution to that volume of autobiographies, in addition to reading the contributions of the other authors, highlighted again for me the significance of both biography and autobiography for scholarly studies in, and of, education. The bulk of my time in the last 5 or so years has been taken up with a study of James Bryant Conant, noted chemist, president of Harvard University from 1933 to 1952, World War II administrator on the Manhattan Project that developed the atomic bomb used to help end that war, diplomatic representative to West Germany from 1953 to 1957, and, perhaps most famously to readers immersed in educational studies, analyst and advocate for a certain form of the American high school, the comprehensive high school, from the late 1950s until his death in the early 1970s. I came to Conant initially as a result of my studies of the National Education Association (NEA), which I had undertaken intermittently but also in a relatively sustained fashion, since my early work on teacher unions. The NEA was, until the 1960s, a teachers' association but not a full-fledged teachers' union. That is, the NEA believed that amelioration of teachers' salaries and working conditions could best be achieved by seeing them as part of a larger educational profession, one that embraced educational administrators as well as lay people involved in educational governance. That understanding changed in the 1960s when, under the influence of the civil rights movement as well as other radicalizing political forces, the teachers within the NEA decided to "go it alone," that is to make their association a union of school teachers with a small place for others devoted to teachers' occupational improvement.

Following this interest, I produced a history of the Research Division of the NEA (Urban 1998) and a larger history of the entire NEA (Urban 2000). As part of this NEA project I spent a large amount of time working on a subgroup of the NEA called the Educational Policies Commission, founded in the 1930s to help the NEA, and

American public education, to weather the stormy financial conditions for the schools produced by the Great Depression. After the financial crisis diminished a bit, educators faced wartime challenges and then post-war conditions, both of which indicated a need for the continuance of the Educational Policies Commission (EPC). The EPC was a body of leading educators – public school administrators, a few teachers, some university administrators, and a sprinkling of other notables, from intellectual or public affairs – which gathered to consider, to comment on, and to make recommendations regarding the major policy issues which were confronting American education, particularly American public elementary and secondary education. While the EPC focus on educational policy meant, in large part, a consideration of policy issues such as school organization, school effectiveness, school finance, and occupational conditions likely to enhance improvement on these issues, my perusal of the minutes of the EPC brought me quickly back to educational biography.

James Bryant Conant first went on the EPC for a 3-year term in 1940. He would serve on that body intermittently for the next two decades, a total of four terms. A reading of the EPC minutes in those years finds Conant to have been a remarkably influential presence on that body, especially since he was not from the arena of k-12 education that dominated the larger NEA. Conant was conversant with issues in elementary and secondary education, however; he had become interested in schools when, in the 1930s as Harvard president, he spent much of his energy trying to understand and improve the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He spent considerable time on the problems and issues of that school and the public schools that it primarily served. He also wrote a good bit about education, particularly secondary education, in his published reports as Harvard University president. All of this endeared him to the school administrators and professors of education who dominated the NEA and the EPC. Conant, in spite of his duties as Harvard president and as Manhattan Project administrator, faithfully attended the biannual meetings of the EPC. On the occasions when he could not be at the meeting, he corresponded with the NEA staff representative to the EPC about the business of the EPC. Conant himself reported learning significant new things about public education, and its importance, from his colleagues in the EPC, and his influence on and being influenced by, various EPC reports and the deliberations about them prior to publication was a subject upon which he discoursed in his own autobiography (Conant 1970). Briefly, Conant learned and assimilated the concerns of the public school people on the EPC over the education of those with nonacademic interests at the same time that he influenced the EPC toward a concern for education for the academically gifted students, a priority which Conant had held for many years.

The information garnered from Conant's biography suggests an interest and influence in the ranks of leading public school administrators and advocates. Importantly, this influence on the part of a university president such as Conant was incredibly rare. That is, his real interest in public education won him the attention and admiration of the NEA, the EPC, and most K-12 educators of the 1940s and 1950s. Thus, when Conant, 5 years removed from the Harvard presidency and after a term as a diplomat in West Germany, published *The American High School Today* in

1958, he was a force to be reckoned with in American educational circles, whether in the university arena or in elementary and secondary education circles. He continued to write about the high school and related issues such as teacher education especially for the high school for the next 15 years. His voice was respected, if not always heeded, by most educators. Thus, working on Conant provided me with a chance to look at an influential educator very different from Horace Mann Bond, but one equally as formidable in educational scholarship.

Future Directions in Autobiography and Biography

My interest in Conant, like my interest in Horace Mann Bond, related to things that were happening in my professional life as an historian of education. In 2005, I retired from Georgia State University after 35 years and took a new job as Associate Director of the Education Policy Center and Professor of Higher Education at the University of Alabama. My interest in the Educational Policies Commission dovetailed quite nicely with my responsibilities in the Education Policy Center, and Conant's work in universities and interest in elementary and secondary education, showed me at least one leading educator of the twentieth century who pursued the betterment of all levels of American education, rather than be confined to one of the two major sectors. History of education, like education in general, is organized in a rather bifurcated fashion. Historians of education tend to concentrate on either elementary and secondary education or on higher education. Those in the elementary/secondary arena tend to be housed in teacher education schools, departments, or colleges. Those interested primarily in higher education tend to be housed either within higher education programs or in history departments.

When I moved from Georgia State to Alabama, I moved from being housed in a program with the first interest, elementary-secondary, to one with the second interest, higher education. Both emphases can be, and often are, needlessly narrow and constricting to the academic work that goes on within them. And, the narrowness is often echoed in students in k-12 or higher education programs who object to work on individuals and issues in the other program as not relevant to their own interests. Conant became, for me, a way out of that narrowness. He pursued interests in both universities and in elementary and secondary schools, and in the relations between those interests in things like teacher education programs. My own background meant that I knew a great deal about James Bryant Conant, the analyst and advocate of the comprehensive public high school in the 1950s and 1960s, but much less about his two decades as president of Harvard, or his career as a chemist and chemistry researcher. In a seminar on Conant that I taught at the University of Alabama, all the students were higher education majors. That, combined with my own ignorance of Conant as a university president, yielded a seminar focused on that presidency. The availability of Conant's annual reports to the Harvard community enriched our seminar with a common set of primary sources. I came away with a respect for

President Conant that far exceeded the value I had ascribed to his work on the high school.

After the seminar ended, I continued work on Conant's presidency, with trips to the Harvard University Archives where his personal and presidential papers are housed, and to the Columbia University Archives which hold the papers of the Carnegie Corporation and other Carnegie sponsored philanthropic entities. These two sets of documents have been the source for what is an 80,000 word long account of that presidency. My view of Conant as a successful university president is based on his development of an up or out tenure and promotion system much like the one used in most contemporary universities today, his already mentioned respect and regard for the Harvard Graduate School of Education, his desire to diversify the Harvard undergraduate student body with academically able students of background other than the traditional Boston and other New England affluence that dominated that student body, his commitment to research and graduate study as important, perhaps even the most important aspects of a university, his commitment to a liberal education as the fundamental value of a Harvard undergraduate education, and, within that latter commitment his development of a new core of liberal studies at Harvard and of a sequence of history of science courses as an integral part of that core.

Conant's commitment to higher education and to elementary and secondary education was important to me in light of my affiliation with a higher education program at Alabama. The personal attractiveness of Conant's commitment to faculty research in his own prepresidential career and during his presidency should also be noted, in addition to his commitment to teaching in liberal education that might be called innovative but not for any gimmicks or elaborate administrative trapping that these days seems to denote what is deemed innovative. James Bryant Conant, then, was as important to me in my own life as a university professor of education as was Horace Mann Bond as an historian of education. In both biographical exercises, I have studied individuals with values and commitments attractive to my own values and commitments. The main point to be made here is that in my scholarly career, particularly in the two biographies which I have undertaken, I considered concerns and issues raised in the subjects' lives which also were significant in my own academic life. I think this personal aspect has enabled me to persevere in my biographical studies to successful culmination, at least in Bond's case and hopefully, in the Conant case. Both of these works reflect the successful confluence of biography and autobiography in my own work.

Whether this is a necessary condition for other biographers is certainly debatable. What is clear, however, is that the interaction of the personal and professional in both of my biographical efforts was a strong factor in my commitment to the successful pursuit of those efforts. That interaction emphasizes the perspectival aspect of my own biographical work and the inherently perspectival aspect of anyone's autobiographical work. Of course this interaction should not be allowed to overcome the biographer's commitment to a full and fair account of any subject. While it enriches and deepens a biographer's interest in a subject, it should never predetermine the contours or the conclusions of an analysis.

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The Development and Growth of Public History

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Rachel Donaldson

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Abstract

Since the field is inherently multifaceted, a good way to understand public history is through its constituent components and exploring how they each developed over time. Public historians act in a variety of capacities and work within various institutions – public, private, academic, and cultural. As such, breaking public history down into the types of work that public historians engage, and the commonalities among them, is one way to make sense of such a diverse field. The first section of this chapter addresses areas that employ the conservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage for the purpose of public-facing historical interpretation: historic preservation, archival management, folklore, and oral history. The second section examines the evolution of how history has been presented to public audiences through museum curating and exhibition design,

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tours, and performance. The final section concludes with emerging directions in public history, with a special emphasis on issues of social justice, which has come to the fore in public history theory and practice.

Keywords

Public history · Preservation · Archives · Museums · Interpretation

Introduction: Defining the Field

The field of public history is both old and new. It is old in the sense that the practices that fall under the purview of public history – archival work, museum curating, and historic preservation, to name just a few – originated in the nineteenth century and became professionalized early in the twentieth century. At the same time, the field has a much more recent history stemming from the fact that the term “public history” first entered academic and popular lexicon in the mid-1970s with the establishment of the first graduate program in public history at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), in 1976. In 1978, scholars founded *The Public Historian*, a journal dedicated to exploring the issues of the field. A year later, the National Council on Public History formed and is currently the premier organization of public historians in the United States.

While this timeline highlights major moments in the formation of the public history field, it provides little insight into what the field actually *is*; defining the field, it turns out, is somewhat more difficult than determining its major milestones. Robert Kelley, a co-founder of the UCSB program, depicted public history as historical work conducted outside of academia (Meringolo 2012, p. xvii). While this is a broad and inclusive articulation of the field, this definition indicates the true age of public history. In the United States, historians – amateur and professional – had worked outside of academia, presenting history in monuments, museums, and eventually historic sites since the early nineteenth century. While this definition may capture the very basic essence of public history, it only scratches the surface of a field that encompasses myriad professions and varied methodologies of engaging with history beyond the classroom.

Another articulation of public history is that it is an approach of engaging in historical inquiry that is directed to the public, and that directly involves the public in acts of historical interpretation in a form of “applied” history. By focusing on the qualifier “public,” this definition roots the field in the communication of history: public historians are those who work in the public sphere and thus must learn how to effectively translate historical scholarship to a diverse audience using a variety of methodologies and media to do so. Still other applications of the field emphasize the “history” aspect, drawing little distinction between academic and public historians because both are trained *as historians*. But, while the field is rooted in history – and a strong understanding of historical content and methodology is critical for public history – it is important to note that a significant difference between public and academic history is that the former is inherently interdisciplinary; the theoretical

tools of history, the social sciences, and other fields in the humanities, as well as the methodologies of various professions, have shaped the practice of public history (Meringolo 2012, p. xiv).

As these definitions demonstrate, public history is both a field of study and a practice. As a field of study, the methodology of public history is shaped by a variety of academic disciplines in the humanities and social sciences including history, oral history, historical sociology, anthropology, archeology, folklore, cultural theory, material culture studies, digital humanities, and American studies. As a practice, public history intersects with many professions, including (but not limited to) archival and library science, museum curating, historic preservation, heritage tourism, and documentary filmmaking. The first illustrates the theoretical foundations that have shaped the ways in which public historians approach their work of interpreting the past, while the second encompasses the types of work in which public historians are engaged. The field is inherently multifaceted, which is best understood through its constituent components – historic preservation, archival management, folklore, and oral history – and how they each developed over time, including the inclusion of social justice goals as the field continues to move in new directions.

Preserving the Historical Record

During the late 1990s, historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen created a phone survey that investigated how American citizens felt about history, what interested them in the past, and why they were interested in history. Asking how people feel about the past is an important question for public historians because a thread that connects all fields of public-facing work is the need to create a sense of connectedness with the past among different audiences. In projects ranging from oral historians' interviews with people about their historical memories, or museum curators' exhibition designs, public historians must inculcate some degree of appreciation for the past among the people with and for whom they work. Many of the participants in the Rosenzweig and Thelen study claimed that they felt the most connected to the past when they viewed historical objects in a museum or visited a historic site. This is one reason why the origins of the field of public history are traced to those areas that directly engage with the materiality of history, especially the physical places of the past.

Historic Preservation

Americans first began to take interest in the places of their collective past during the early decades of the nineteenth century, after the last living icon of the Revolutionary War, Marquis De Lafayette, conducted his “triumphal tour” of the United States from 1824 to 1825. The tour inspired citizens to take notice of the significant sites of the war that gave birth to the nation. Thus began the era of monumentalizing history

wherein Americans sought to improve the monuments that already existed or erect new ones (some with dubious connections to the war). While this effort primarily celebrated national greatness, it also served to physically identify places in which important events happened. The tour effectively taught Americans that places mattered and that preserving historic sites was an important aspect of remembering and commemorating national heritage (Bluestone 2010).

Following this awakening, a cult of the “Founding Fathers” and other iconography of the Revolutionary era swept across the nation. In 1850, Hasbrouck House, Washington’s military headquarters in Newburgh, New York, became the first historic house museum. Three years later, Ann Pamela Cunningham established the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association (MVLA) to preserve Washington’s plantation by restoring it back to the era of his residency. The MVLA established two aspects of the preservation movement during the nineteenth century: the protection of homes significant to the national narrative and the creation of boards led by women. As the nineteenth century segued into the twentieth, though, men increasingly began to take up the mantle of preserving the places of the American past.

Leading this gender shift were men like William Sumner Appleton and Joseph Everett Chandler, who formed the Society for the Protection of New England Antiquities in 1910. Rather than focus on the homes of national icons, however, the antiquarians of SPNEA worked to preserve the sites of vernacular Anglo-American history, believing that Colonial and Revolutionary era structures provided a “usable past” that would help teach native born and immigrants American history and values. Appleton, Chandler, and others of the SPNEA felt a carefully constructed past would help to Americanize immigrants and newcomers to the United States.

In the American South, women remained at the forefront of efforts to preserve the historic built environment. Following the lead of Susan Pringle Frost, women formed the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwelling Houses in Charleston, South Carolina, during the 1920s. In 1931, they succeeded in securing the passage of a city ordinance establishing the Old and Historic Charleston District in 1931, which used zoning to delineate the first historic district in the United States. During the same period, William Archer Rutherford Goodwin began his crusade to save an entire community and return it to its historical roots; this effort led to the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. Funded by John Rockefeller, Jr., Colonial Williamsburg became the largest preservation and restoration effort in United States history.

While antiquarians and lay historians focused on protecting architectural treasures, historians in the federal government also became involved in preservation efforts. In 1906, Congress passed the Antiquities Act. This was the first law to recognize the cultural and historical significance of archeological resources on public lands. It mandates the federal agencies that manage the public lands to preserve the historical and archeological resources on these lands. It also authorizes the President to protect landmarks, structures, and objects of historic or scientific interest by designating them as national monuments. Signed by President Theodore

Roosevelt, the Antiquities Act was in response to the widespread looting of archeological sites – especially Native American sites.

By the New Deal era, the government had become an active contributor to preservation efforts. The Roosevelt Administration made the documentation and preservation of historic sites a national objective. In 1933, the National Park Service launched the HABS (Historic American Buildings Survey). Unlike the antiquarians, the members of HABS sought to merely record what currently existed and not interpret the structures or work to actively protect them. The New Deal government did adopt a more active stance, however, 2 years later with the passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which worked to secure the preservation of buildings and sites that had played a significant role in national development. The New Deal preservationists, interestingly, never explicitly stated what kind of history these preserved sites had to reflect, so long as they reflected some aspect of national history.

During the post-World War II period, a new challenge to historical preservation, particularly in urban areas, came with the rise of urban renewal programs. The bonanza of suburban development and expressway construction to move commuters in and out of cities quickly, coupled with the passage of the Housing Act of 1949 (which enabled municipalities to initiate “slum” clearance and urban redevelopment, broadly defined), dealt a heavy blow to historic environments in inner cities. In response to the devastation that urban renewal wrought on historic places, and the loss of key sites like Penn Station in New York City, Congress was persuaded to pass the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This marked yet another change in the idea of what was to be preserved. Moving beyond the 1935 Act, this one included sites significant to local and state history in the National Register of Historic Places. Now, the emphasis moved from saving sites of national significance to protecting those important to local communities throughout the country. Following the passage of this Act, the field of what was considered worthy of preservation grew dramatically. Influenced by social movements like the civil rights movement, and changes in academic historical interpretation that accompanied the emergence of new social history, sites important to marginalized and underrepresented Americans became included in preservation efforts. Former factories and company towns gained recognition for their historical significance in the lives of working-class citizens.

In constructing arguments calling for the protection of the historic environment, preservationists have employed various values to support their efforts. Some preservationists point to the intrinsic value of historic structures, whereas others have argued that the act of preserving historic sites can enable preservationists to collaborate with social, political, and cultural interests beyond the field of historic preservation itself. For much of the history of historic preservation, preservationists – professional and amateur – have focused on a curatorial approach to preservation, focusing on the structural elements of a historic site rather than its cultural meaning and on a site’s form rather than its function. The curatorial approach in preservation is inward looking, one that emphasizes technical and historical skills to pursue historical truth and authenticity. The problem with the curatorial impulse is that it limits the

conversation to those already in the field of preservation, rather than engaging those outside of the field, and it only allows those who are accepted as experts in the field to become decision-makers. Randall Mason suggested that preservationists adopt an “urbanistic” model that connects preservation efforts to other fields of the humanities and social sciences, as well as planning and education, “in pursuit of solutions that address broader social goals” (Mason 2006, p. 25). An urbanistic model requires preservationists to partner with other, non-preservation organizations for mutually beneficial aims. This broadens the number of stakeholders for preservation projects by including an array of values that address different perspectives. For instance, he advocated the incorporation of “heritage values,” which, he explains, “are those contributing to the sense of a place being endowed with some legacy from the past” (Mason 2006, p. 34).

In the twenty-first century, historic preservationists have adopted a wide range of approaches toward protecting the historic environment. Besides arguing for the historical merit of historic sites and structures, preservationists have formed partnerships with community advocacy organizations, environmental agencies, economists, and other groups with overlapping interests – efforts that have moved the field of historic preservation in new and diverse directions.

Archives

Projects of historical work, whether academic or public facing, require primary source materials – tangible records of and from the past – much of which are housed in archival collections in comprehensive libraries. Archives play a critical role in preserving the historical record and providing the necessary primary materials for historical research. The term “archive” can refer to material records (documents, audio and video records, and objects) of the past, as well as the places that store and care for these materials. More specifically, the Society of American Archivists defines “archives” as:

Materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator, especially those materials maintained using the principles of provenance, original order, and collective control; permanent records. – 2. The division within an organization responsible for maintaining the organization’s records of enduring value. – 3. An organization that collects the records of individuals, families, or other organizations; a collecting archives. – 4. The professional discipline of administering such collections and organizations. – 5. The building (or portion thereof) housing archival collections. (Pearce-Moses 2005, p. 30)

An archivist, according to Mark Greene, former Society of American Archivists President, is one who has “identified, appraised, preserved, arranged, described, and provided access to historical material” (Greene 2009, p. 18).

Archivists and historians in the United States were both housed under the umbrella of the American Historical Association until the establishment of the National Archives in 1934 and the subsequent formation of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) in 1936. Since that time, historians and archivists have moved further apart, with the latter focused on the theory, methods, and legal aspects of archival practices. Over the years, archivists have expanded their role even further. As keepers of cultural and social memory and the evidentiary material that supports this memory, archivists are interested in the enduring social and cultural value of the historical record. By revealing the perspectives, emotions, and experiences of people from the past, archives and archivists have the power to preserve individual and collective memories, which facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the past, present, and, perhaps, future of society (Miller, pp. 20–24). In this way, while their practices may differ, the overall interests of public historians and archivists are bound together.

Archivists ultimately seek to preserve and conserve the materiality of the past. Like historic preservationists, they protect the “stuff” of the past for contemporary and future use – but rather than focus on places of the past, archivists are specifically concerned with preserving the documentary past of individuals, families, organizations, and society as a whole. In archival work, there is a clear distinction between “preservation” and “conservation.” Preservation refers to the passive protection of archival material that does not include any physical or chemical intervention; it includes all measures taken to protect archival materials from future deterioration. Actions in preservation can include developing particular policies, maintaining appropriate environmental and storage conditions, storing records and manuscript materials in stable (inert or acid-free) containers, and organizing, handling, and managing archives to ensure they are protected from harm. Conservation can be defined as the *active* protection of archival materials, which often involves chemical treatments that inhibit further deterioration but do not impair the integrity of the original records. In this respect, conservation is the physical component of archival preservation (Miller 2010).

As with preservationists in other fields, archivists have to select what is worth preserving and why – a task that is referred to as “appraisal.” One of the most significant problems that archivists face is that of space, which is why collections managers must base their decisions of what to include in their repositories on a number of factors. The guiding principle of any archive can be found in its mission statement. This is a statement that communicates its institutional vision and indicates the repository’s collecting scope and collection development policy. In order to make these decisions effectively, archivists must have historical knowledge to determine what materials would be the most appropriate for their collections. Mission statements take into account the needs of the institution while also informing the public of what kinds of resources can be found at the site. For example, the mission statement for the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, which is part of the library system of the College of Charleston in South Carolina, is “to collect, preserve, and promote the unique history and culture of the African diaspora, with emphasis on Charleston and the South Carolina Lowcountry” (Avery Research

Center for African American History and Culture website 2009). This statement clearly establishes the regional and thematic parameters of the materials housed in the repository while also informing the public of the Avery Research Center's collecting scope.

Beyond historical knowledge, archivists must understand the numerous legal issues that affect the field. During the appraisal phase, collections managers must ensure that any new collection does not contain stolen material or items looted from archeological sites. When appraising a collection, archivists have to ensure that the donor of the materials is the sole owner of the materials being deposited and that this donor has the legal right to donate these materials. Depending on the collection, archivists also determine intellectual property rights. Archival collections can be acquired as gifts, bequests, or transfers; or an archival institution may purchase them. Sometimes, materials are added to an existing collection, a process referred to as accretion or accrual (SAA website). Once the materials from a particular collection are selected for inclusion, archivists then formally establish custody through a process known as accessioning. They must also adhere to copyright laws and comply with all local, state, federal, and international laws (Cauvin, p. 32). Similarly, there are legal procedures with which archivists must be aware when removing materials, a process referred to as "deaccessioning." The SAA provides archivists with a framework to assist them in the decision-making process of deaccessioning a collection with detailed instructions through their *Guidelines for Reappraisal and Deaccessioning*.

Beyond processing the materials, archivists are often apprised of technological advances in the field. While most archivists receive training only in preservation, those with specialized training (conservators) are knowledgeable of new techniques to physically conserve the materials in their collections. Different types of materials require different conditions for their upkeep; climate conditions such as light and humidity must be moderated to ensure proper maintenance. Increasingly, archivists are digitizing their records as a preservation technique and to provide widespread access to materials. Like conservation, digitization – the process of creating a digital replica of an analog object – requires specialized skills, and repositories with a large digital collection must plan for long-term preservation of these materials, especially as technology used to access them becomes obsolete. To provide assistance to smaller archival collections, organizations and initiatives have begun to provide the training that current curatorial approaches necessitate. For example, the Digital Preservation Outreach and Education (DPOE) of the Library of Congress (2017), which consists of Library of Congress staff, a network of trainers, a working group of subject-matter experts, and a community of digital preservation advocates, provides specialized training of digital preservation for current and future professionals (DPOE website).

While archival work incorporates a good deal of logistical training specific to the field, archivists are confronted with many of the same issues and responsibilities as all public historians. They have a great deal of agency in shaping the historical record through the appraisal and acquisition decisions they make. As with museum exhibitions, the materials that are made available through archival repositories are

determined through a decision-making process among individuals as well as teams of archivists. As Greene notes, archivists “do as much to create the documentation of the past as the individuals and organizations that generated the records in the first place.” This “archival power” enables archivists a great deal of leeway in determining what qualifies as historically significant (Greene, 2, 5). As such, archivists have helped to lead the way in generating a more inclusive representation of groups traditionally marginalized from the historical record, an issue that will be explored further in the Social Justice section.

Public Folklore

While historic preservation and archival work focus on material culture, or tangible objects, they also engage with intangible culture as well. Intangible cultural heritage, as defined by UNESCO, consists of “traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. . . The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next” (UNESCO 2011). The significance of intangible cultural heritage is woven throughout all fields of public history, but it is perhaps the strongest in the field of public folklore.

Folklore has informed almost every area of public history, though it is not often viewed as an intrinsic component of public history; in fact, many public historians do not receive training in folklore and folklife studies. A general definition of folklore is that it is the cultural heritage of a people – traditions that get handed down or that develop in response to certain conditions (e.g., climate, geography, work, domestic life, patterns of play). In the United States, while there had been popular interest in folk culture, the study of folklore became more formalized with the founding of the American Folklore Society (AFS) in 1888. The anthropologist Franz Boas played a key role in this effort. While the AFS remained a largely academic organization on the national level, local chapters did succeed in attracting amateur enthusiasts.

Mediating between professional and amateur groups were the new public folklorists who joined the ranks of academic folklorists in studying, collecting, and defining folk music while also remaining connected to a popular audience during the first two decades of the twentieth century. They worked both to generate wider interest in folk music and to use this music to understand the lives and views of the people who continued these musical traditions. One of the more famous public-facing folklorists was John Lomax. Raised in Texas and trained at Harvard and the University of Texas, Lomax worked collecting songs from communities that seemed disconnected from mainstream society and therefore “authentic” in their traditions: cowboys and incarcerated African Americans men (Walkowitz 2013).

As with the field of historic preservation, the federal government began to play a more active role in folklore beginning during the late 1920s. In 1928, the Library of

Congress established the Archive of American Folksong (AAFS), with Robert Winslow Gordon acting as its first director. The AAFS was originally intended as an archival repository for “all the poems and melodies that have sprung from our soil or have been transplanted here, and have been handed down, often with manifold changes, from generation to generation as a precious possession of our folk” (Archive Report). After John Lomax became acting head in the 1930s, the purpose of the archive started to shift. During the Depression and World War II era, Alan Lomax, who succeeded his father, and Benjamin Botkin, who succeeded Alan, turned the archive into a facility that would preserve folk music, creating recordings that became “a tangible analog to the original expression,” *and* make those recordings available to a public audience (Jabbour 2003). The AAFS sponsored song-collecting expeditions around the country, housed Works Progress Administration folklore projects including the slave narratives compiled by members of the Federal Writers’ Project, and participated in the Radio Research Project, a series of historically based radio documentaries that aimed to introduce listeners to the materials housed at the Library of Congress.

By the 1950s, folklore began to take an academic turn, as students learned of the field in graduate programs at the University of Indiana, Cooperstown, the University of Pennsylvania, and other academic institutions. The federal government continued to sponsor and support programs in folklore during the 1960s, most notably by creating the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife, currently known as the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Established in 1966 as part of a wider effort to make the Smithsonian more accessible to the public, organizers viewed the festival as a means for bringing the institution closer to the people. Ralph Rinzler, the festival’s founding director, wanted the program to touch on all aspects of folk culture – music, crafts, foodways, and storytelling – to educate the public on folk cultural heritage.

Public folklore grew even more during the 1970s with the assistance of federal and state funding for arts programs. The National Endowment for the Arts established a grant program for folk arts in 1974, and 2 years later, the federal government passed the American Folklife Preservation Act (Public Law 94–201), which established the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress (which subsumed the AAFS). While much of folklore had focused on intangible traditions such as oral culture, music, and dance, the Act broadened the understanding of what qualifies as folk culture and folk traditions by establishing a definition of folklife that encompassed intangible as well as tangible resources. Written by folklorist Archie Green, the Act defines folklife as “traditional expressive culture shared within the various groups in the United States: familial, ethnic, occupational, religious, regional; expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms such as custom, belief, technical skill, language, literature, art, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual, pageantry, handicraft; these expressions are mainly learned orally, by imitation, or in performance, and are generally maintained without the benefit of formal instruction or institutional direction.” It is a definition that has subsequently influenced cultural legislation on the state, national, and international levels (Jabbour 2003).

Oral History

Of all the fields under the umbrella of public history, oral history has been perhaps most instrumental in shaping the ideas, practices, and approaches of public history. Like archivists, oral historians can be credited with democratizing the historical record because they rely on the public for documenting a variety of historical perspectives through documenting firsthand accounts of the past. The Oral History Association (OHA) defines oral history as referring “both to a method of recording and preserving oral testimony and to the product of that process. It begins with an audio or video recording of a first person account made by an interviewer with an interviewee (also referred to as a narrator), both of whom have the conscious intention of creating a permanent record to contribute to an understanding of the past” (OHA Principles, year). Oral history interviews are distinguishable from other interviews because they are *rooted* in history: interviewers question interviewees (narrators) on the experiences of their pasts. Furthermore, the tangible product of an oral history – the recording and transcript of the interviews – is intended to be available for future researchers and the general public.

Oral history has many antecedents, most of which emerged during the New Deal of the 1930s. Many of the artistic products of this time – especially those sponsored by the federal government – were shaped by a widespread effort to document the experiences of struggling Americans. Photographers from the Farm Security Administration captured images of the suffering that downtrodden Americans endured; pioneer documentarians like Pare Lorentz created films of New Deal programs that also informed Americans of widespread regional issues like the Dust Bowl of the plains states; folklorists in the AAFS recorded interviews and performances of economically displaced citizens; and audio documentarians with the Radio Research Project at the Library of Congress aired those recordings through federally sponsored radio programs. Perhaps most notably, writers employed in the Federal Writers’ Project collected interviews with former slaves, interviews that are currently housed in the Archive of American Folklife at the Library of Congress. After the New Deal, another antecedent to contemporary oral history was the founding of the Columbia University Oral History Research Office in 1948. This project focused chiefly on recording interviews with people in leadership positions. According to oral historian Linda Shopes, even though the project at Columbia University relied on audio interviews, it still was a *precursor* to the field because it focused entirely on elite perspectives (Shopes 2002).

The field of oral history as it currently exists began to take shape during the 1960s and 1970s, influenced by the social and cultural turn in academic history as well as by the grassroots political and social movements of the era. During this time, oral historians began to use the methods of their field to access the lives and perspectives of average citizens. Perhaps the most famous of the oral historians of this era was Studs Terkel, known for his collections of interviews that shed light on the experiences of Americans during the Depression and World War II, as well as the lives and views of ordinary working people. Soon, oral histories became important resources for shedding light on vernacular local history. For instance, from 1978 to 1980, a cohort of oral historians,

including Shopes, conducted interviews with over 200 older city residents as part of a large-scale community history project called the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP). The interviewers led the narrators (those being interviewed) in discussions of such topics as “migration and immigration, racial and ethnic identity, national and local events, neighborhood and family life, work and religion” (Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project Brochure, Maryland Historical Society 2017). Several public history projects, including a theatrical production, a traveling museum exhibition, and a book appropriately titled *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*, stemmed from the BNHP.

Oral historians have profoundly shaped the field of public history since the founding of the Organization of Oral Historians in 1967, and their work has become the basis of public history projects such as museum exhibitions, the preservation of vernacular structures, and archival collections, as well as academic historical works. Oral historians have also shaped the ways in which public historians approach their work, most notably through the concept of “shared authority,” which has become a principle of the field. According to Michael Frisch, who is credited for coining the term, “shared authority” in public history projects refers to the balance between scholars of the past and the people who experienced the past. While historians provide the academic authority of contextualizing historical events, the narrators of oral history bring another kind of expertise: “Although grounded in culture and experience rather than academic expertise, this authority can become central. . .to provide meaningful engagement with history—to what should be not only a distribution of knowledge from those who have it to those who do not, but a more profound sharing of knowledges, an implicit and sometimes explicit dialogue form very different vantages about the shape, meaning, and implications of history” (Frisch 1990, p. xxii). Through oral histories, ordinary citizens can change how historians both perceive and study history. Linda Shopes explains, “[By] recounting the experiences of everyday life and making sense of that experience, narrators turn history inside out, demanding to be understood as purposeful actors in the past, talking about their lives in ways that do not easily fit into preexisting categories of analysis” (Shopes 2002). In this way, the narrators of oral history and public historians can challenge the ways in which historians have made sense of the past and help to generate new paradigms of historical interpretation.

While oral histories have played a critical role in providing more nuanced and pluralistic perspectives on the past, they should not be treated as an unproblematic source. At its core oral histories are acts of memory; an individual oral history is about a moment in time – what gets discussed during the interview – rather than a totality of experience. Furthermore, as acts of memory, oral histories can contain falsehoods or inaccuracies as narrators conflate events and compress time. Therefore, an oral history ought to be treated as an “interpretive event” wherein identities such as race, class, ethnicity, and gender, as well as the narrator’s relationship to the interviewer, must be taken into account (Shopes 2002). To help navigate the complexities of oral history work, the OHA has established a Best Practices (2009) guide for the preparation, execution, and preservation of oral history interviews.

Disseminating the Historical Record Among the Public

The field of public history is guided by a two-pronged approach. The first prong stipulates that public historians ought to incorporate the public into products of historical interpretation. Indeed, this is the approach that guides the work of public folklorists, archivists, oral historians, and archivists. The second prong is that public historians operate in the public realm, directing their work toward and communicating with a public audience. Therefore, public historians have to ensure that their work engages a wide audience and is comprehensible to audiences with a broad range of intellectual capabilities.

Exhibition Design

Public exhibitions in museums, libraries, historic sites, and historical interpretive centers are the most common, and most popular, ways in which the public engages with history. As Rosenzweig and Thelen discovered through their survey of how people engage with the past, Americans tend to enjoy and trust historical exhibitions more so than most other means by which history is conveyed such as dense volumes of “official” history – and certainly more than learning history in the classroom. One explanation of why audiences prefer learning history in museums is that through exhibits, they can see historical materials for themselves. Furthermore, many respondents believed that the history presented at these sites is less biased – that it was not mitigated or altered by the political persuasions of historians.

Despite this view, history is constantly being negotiated in museums through teams of historians, curators, designers, and other members who create historical exhibitions; museum exhibitions *are* acts of historical interpretation. Furthermore, these efforts are rooted in the collaborative ethos of public history. While curatorial teams negotiate with each other, they also have to strike a balance between their responsibilities as historians, their responsibilities to their institutions, and their commitment to the larger public (Gardner, pp. 14, 16). As educative institutions, history museums strive to teach the public about the past, but exhibit designers also have a responsibility to their public and ought to balance what they want to teach through an exhibit with what the audience wants to receive from it. Unlike the captive audiences in history classes, museum audiences can come and go as they please; in self-guided exhibits they can pick and choose what aspect of the exhibit they wish to view. As Richard Rabinowitz, President of the American History Workshop, explains, audiences “come to museums to enjoy themselves in the company of friends and family. They trust museums—but learning is just an extra. People like to tell their friends how much they enjoyed museum visits. . . . But I’ve met no visitors who wanted to be tested on their mastery of the intellectual content” (Rabinowitz 2016).

In order to engage audiences while maintaining an educative emphasis, museum exhibitions have become increasingly dynamic. The staffs of different institutions have moved toward working in collaboration with other institutions and the public in

exhibition design, particularly to generate greater social and cultural inclusivity. This effort largely began during the 1960s, influenced by the political movements of the era as well as by the social turn of academic history, which broadened academic history by adopting a multi-perspectival approach that incorporated the views and experiences of underrepresented social groups. For the past half-century, history exhibits have increasingly tackled complex issues and incorporated a greater variety of perspectives. Sometimes, this approach of complicating long-cherished historical narratives has been met with great hostility, as in the notorious case of the Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum in 1994. In presenting a nuanced interpretation of the decision to drop the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and explaining how this decision also helped precipitate the Cold War, the Smithsonian came under fire for allegedly promoting an anti-American view that dismissed the sacrifices of American veterans of the war (Kohn 1995).

Despite the enormous controversy that this exhibit design engendered, museum curators have continued to strive to present historical nuance as much as possible. They also have continued to work with audiences in creating exhibits. For example, in developing *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities*, an inaugural exhibit at the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), lead curator Cynthia Chavez Lamar adopted an approach that she refers to as "community co-curating." Rather than simply generating content that represents the lives of American Indians from the perspectives of museum curators, the museum partnered with American Indian groups so that community members could have a say in how they were represented – so that they could "engage in self-representation as curatorial partners" (Chavez Lamar 2008, p. 144). To facilitate this process, the communities represented in the exhibit created committees that worked directly with the museum curators.

The curatorial approach that the NMAI took in creating *Our Lives* reflects the shared authority emphasis in public history. While the museum relied on the authority of community members to represent themselves, the curators did not accede their authority as public historians; rather, they worked with the community co-curators in making decisions regarding exhibit design. Collaborating *with* communities takes an enormous amount of time and effort, particularly when creating long-standing physical exhibits. Recently, community collaboration has entered the field of digital exhibitions and has driven new projects in digital history more generally.

The central aim of digital public history involves creating, preserving, and visually representing historical data. Digital public historian Dan Cohen explains that there are three major aspects of this field within public history: using digital technology to search and research information, creating and altering digital documents like maps, and generating new audiences via digital sharing. Historic preservation organizations including the Historic Charleston Foundation in Charleston, South Carolina, and Baltimore Heritage in Baltimore, Maryland, employ mapping tools to create neighborhood tours accessible through cellphone apps. Mapping tools have the ability to be closed source (only edited by an administrator) or open source, in which anyone can contribute content. As an illustration of the latter, the

Smithsonian Gardens digital archive, Community of Gardens, has created a user-generated map of private and public gardens around the country.

User-generated content is one of the benefits of digital public history. Organizations can involve the general public in collaboration on public history projects even beyond those that involve mapping. For instance, Operation War Diary (2017), a collaborative effort through the British National Archives, the Imperial War Museums, and the web developer Zooniverse, engages people to help classify and tag information from the diaries of British soldiers during World War I. The National Archives digitized the diaries for the “citizen historians” to read through on their own computers. The readers then classify the information provided in individual entries; all the information from this project will then become open-source material for public and academic use (operationwardiary.org).

Accessibility is another benefit of digital history. Digitized materials make physical collections available to a wider audience, and projects like Operation War Diary directly engage the public in public history projects. Digital history has also had an impact on history museums, as exhibits and even whole museums have started to operate online. The exhibit, “The Lives They Left Behind: Suitcases from a State Hospital Attic,” was an exhibit of a series of suitcases found in the attic of the Willard Psychiatric Hospital in New York that started in 2005. In addition to the traveling exhibit, curators launched a website displaying images and captions of the materials that were on display. While the exhibit has found a home in the Museum of disABILITY History in Buffalo, New York, the contents are still available on a digital platform through the museum’s website.

Performing and Interpreting History

Many historic sites and museum exhibits use performance as a means to connect to, and engage with, their audiences. Some sites use costumed interpreters to create an immersive experience. According to James Gardner, history, at its core, is about people. To engage people, public history should therefore emphasize how ordinary actors made choices and dealt with real life (Gardner 2004). Historical performers are particularly well situated to help audiences understand the nuances of everyday life in the past through their reenactments. Living history sites like Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia and Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts create situations where audiences can learn about the quotidian past by interacting with costumed interpreters who perform the roles of period characters. Historical interpreters can either be a first-person narrator reenacting a particular historical figure or an amalgamated character based on historical research. For example, actress Azie Mira Dungey worked as a costumed interpreter of slavery at Mount Vernon creating the character Lizzie May, an enslaved woman based on her research on the site (Tyson and Dungey 2014).

Costumed interpreters can help engage audiences and provide an entryway for discussing difficult history. When the programming directors at Mount Vernon sought to enhance the historical representation of slavery on the site, they used a

costumed interpreter to interact with visitors while explaining what being a house slave entailed. This was a method of presenting the difficult history of slavery – a history that many visitors were not expecting to receive – at one of the most popular historic sites in the country. One method that Dungey used to effectively communicate with audiences was to engage them in conversation, which enabled her to confront historical misperceptions in a non-hostile way (Tyson and Dungey 2014).

Incorporating difficult history like slavery into public interpretations is an undertaking in which historic sites and museums around the United States are increasingly engaging. Another method of dealing with difficult history or controversial issues that also relies on a conversational approach is facilitated dialogue. According to the National Park Service, facilitated dialogue “is a form of interpretive facilitation that uses a strategically designed set of questions – an “arc of dialogue” – to guide participants into a structured, meaningful, audience-centered conversation about a challenging or controversial topic” (Interpretive Development Program). One site that specializes in this approach is the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York City. The museum is entirely tour-based with each tour focusing on a different immigrant family that lived in the building. The emphasis of the tour program is to teach about historical and contemporary issues relating to immigration in America. Tour leaders subtly work to “break down stereotypes about immigrants and to draw attention to the connections between immigrant experiences past and present” (Ševčenko and Russell-Ciardi 2008, p. 40). After seeing that some visitors reacted with hostility when confronted with information that challenged their perceptions of the past, the museum initiated a program called “Kitchen Conversations,” a post-tour conversation led by a trained dialogue facilitator in which participants could discuss what they thought and felt about the content of the tour, how it related to their previous understanding of immigrant experiences from the past, and how this information affected their views on immigration issues in the present (Ševčenko and Russell-Ciardi 2008).

Social Justice and Future Directions in the Field

Sites like the Lower East Side Tenement Museum are part of a current rise of interest in the intersection between public history and social justice and efforts to infuse the latter into the former. According to Julia Rose, historic sites and museums are increasingly becoming “social agents” and engaging in social justice advocacy, which is a move beyond their traditional roles of acquiring and conserving material culture. An early example of curators presenting “difficult history” was the National Museum of American History’s 1987 exhibit from *Field to Factory: Afro-American Migration 1915–1940*, which explores the hardships that African American endured as sharecroppers in the rural South and as urban workers in the industrial North (Rose 2016). The public historians in this vein view their work as advocating on behalf of socially, politically, and economically marginalized groups whose history

has traditionally been omitted from the historical record. Organizations like the Social Justice Alliance for Museums, for instance, target how public history has also failed to incorporate the perspectives of these groups and works to ensure that contemporary museums give voice to underrepresented people (Cauvin 2016).

The concept of “giving voice” to underrepresented groups is not a new one. Politically progressive public folklorists since the 1930s had viewed their work as a way to provide a platform in which members of marginalized communities could speak for themselves through performances. Indeed, this approach became an emphasis in public folklore circles by the late 1960s, specifically through the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife. As an annual event that occurs on the Washington Mall in the United States Capitol every July, the Festival is a program in which tradition bearers present their cultural heritage directly to an audience without the use of intermediaries. The festival is designed so that audience members can interact with, and thus learn directly from, the performers rather than through secondary interpreters. Furthermore, over the past 50 years, the program has had a long history of letting artists speak for themselves, which, according to former director Richard Kurin, can play a role in generating social change. As cultural institutions, sites and programs of public history can “legitimate” cultural practices, and, through exhibitions, these institutions are able to aid “in the generation and articulation of the symbols and statements by which a community might represent itself. The production of ideology and rhetoric is something museum professionals and academic scholars are trained to do, and can be of great importance to those they seek to study and represent” (Kurin 1991, p. 340).

This kind of “activist curating” is becoming a feature of almost every branch of public history practice. Archivists are increasingly using their “archival power” to collect and preserve the historical record of groups traditionally excluded and, in so doing, have become an important resource in efforts of restorative justice, particularly through the creation of human rights archives in the United States and around the world. In the field of historic preservation, Max Page encourages efforts that focus on the preservation and interpretation of “difficult places.” Historic sites like the Manzanar National Historic Site in California, one of ten sites of incarceration for Japanese Americans during the World War II, “help societies confront their difficult places and difficult pasts, to contribute to the fundamental human needs for memory and justice” (Page 2016). An example of this effort is the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, a global network of sites, memorials, and place-based museums, that use historic sites of trauma to connect the past to the present and advocate human rights efforts around the world (Sites of Conscience 2017). In the United States specifically, the National Historic Landmark Program of the National Park Service has initiated a series of theme studies over the past 20 years to increase the social and cultural inclusivity of National Historic Landmarks. Studies dedicated to the civil rights movement, labor, Latino, Asian American Pacific and Pacific Islander, and LGBT history are designed to enable citizens to identify sites of importance to and of these groups in American history. An even more explicit example of the connection between tangible historical memorials and

contemporary social justice issues is the Equal Justice Initiative's National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama, which is the "first memorial dedicated to the legacy of enslaved black people, people terrorized by lynching, African Americans humiliated by racial segregation and Jim Crow, and people of color burdened with contemporary presumptions of guilt and police violence" (Equal Justice Initiative website 2017).

Contemporary discourse around social justice indicates a profound expansion of the meaning and application of public history. While the study and profession of public history is relatively new since its establishment in the 1970s, the *practice* of public history has much deeper roots. The fields that fall under the public history umbrella have long histories of their own, developing along their own trajectories that closely coincide with each other. Most fields of public history emerged in the late nineteenth century, were profoundly influenced by New Deal federal programming, and were further shaped by the social and political movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As public historians work to ensure that the people see themselves reflected in articulations of the past, they have considerably broadened social and cultural interpretations of history to generate more inclusive understandings of local and national history. As public historians reach across disciplinary boundaries and are joined by academic historians who are increasingly adopting public-facing projects and approaches, the field will continue to evolve throughout the twenty-first century.

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