

Teacher Education at the Crossroads of Multiple Modernities and Internationalities (XIX-XX Centuries)



Edited by
Rosa Bruno-Jofré
&
Diana Gonçalves Vidal

· FEUSP

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2025

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Capa/Cover design by Dr. Ana Jofre, SUNY Polytechnic Utica, New York

Catálogo na Publicação

Biblioteca Celso de Rui Beisiegel

Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo

T253 Teacher education at the crossroads of multiple modernities and internationalities (XIX-XX Centuries). / Rosa Bruno-Jofré; Diana Gonçalves Vidal (Edited). – São Paulo: FEUSP, 2025.

212 p.

ISBN: 978-65-87047-88-1 (E-book)

DOI: 10.11606/9786587047881

1. History of education. 2. Climate crisis. 3. Artificial Intelligence. 4. Pedagogical knowledge. 5. Transnational history. I. Bruno-Jofré, Rosa (ed.). II. Vidal, Diana Gonçalves (ed.). III. Título.

CDD 22ª ed. 371.12

Ficha elaborada por: José Aguinaldo da Silva – CRB8ª: 7532

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Prefácio

Carlota Boto

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Teacher Education at the Crossroads of Multiple Modernities and Internationalities (XIX-XX) é um livro de intersecção: intersecção de projetos – ele foi constituído a partir de dois grupos de pesquisa; intersecção de objetos; intersecção de metodologias; intersecção de escritas. Redigido por uma abordagem inovadora em várias línguas, sintomaticamente, até na forma, trata-se de um trabalho que trança linguagens. O modo de escrever e a língua que constitui a redação de cada capítulo decerto impulsionam formas específicas de leitura. Por ser assim, este é um trabalho para historiadores da educação, mas não só. Trata-se de um convite aos outros campos dos saberes pedagógicos, em especial aqueles que versam sobre Didática, Currículo, Formação de Professores e Educação Comparada, a se aventurarem por um passeio no tempo e no espaço. São várias histórias; são inúmeras geografias. Na confluência de perspectivas, o livro versa sobre a questão transnacional da circulação dos saberes e das práticas pedagógicas. Trata-se aqui de pensar, não em lugares privilegiados de referência, mas em múltiplas interações, apropriações e ressignificações, em virtude dos vários movimentos constituídos pelas realidades nacionais, regionais, locais e até globais. Não se busca, portanto, à luz da categoria da ‘influência’, verificar como as periferias da constelação global foram impactadas por um suposto centro, que irradia suas luzes para as margens. O ponto de vista aqui assumido é o de que haveria uma circulação, onde todos teriam algo a receber e a apropriar, mas onde todos também teriam algo a entregar.

A questão intelectual que move os autores deste livro é basicamente o debate sobre a escola moderna: como se constituíram os projetos de renovação da escola, em termos transnacionais; como se deu a circulação de modelos culturais; quais movimentos estruturantes compuseram as diversas culturas escolares; como se processou historicamente a constituição da formação de professores. A originalidade dos trabalhos aqui apresentados está exatamente na noção de rede, que inscreve os empreendimentos de renovação escolar em iniciativas de fronteiras culturais. Nessa direção, os diferentes estudos evidenciam como se configurava a preocupação com a criança, mais do que com o aluno. A própria pedologia era posta como ciência ocupada dos estudos da infância. Pela New Education Fellowship estruturava-se a compreensão da base empírica da Pedagogia, enquanto ciência da educação. Técnicas de

observação, inquéritos e experimentação procuravam interpretar a dimensão interdisciplinar dos estudos pedagógicos. Tudo isso era sistematizado nos periódicos educacionais e nos manuais pedagógicos como lugares intermediários de composição do discurso sobre a nova escola e a nova educação, que alicerçariam por suposto um novo projeto de sociedade. O debate sobre a escola, entre a continuidade e a descontinuidade do olhar historiográfico, era engendrado para compor sentidos de tradição, de ruptura e de fragmentos de nação. Criava-se, pela narrativa, uma visão teleológica do trajeto da escolarização. Tudo isso é posto em questão pelos diferentes capítulos da presente obra.

Com o desafio de desenvolver alguns fundamentos históricos da construção da moderna concepção de infância, de educação e de escola, bem como suas implicações pedagógicas, a presente obra aponta para a indagação dos próprios padrões pelos quais foi construída a história das práticas e do pensamento educacional. Procurou-se a intersecção entre as dimensões histórica e pedagógica para a compreensão do universo teórico acerca das práticas educativas de autores que propuseram a renovação escolar entre o final do século XIX e a primeira metade do XX. Nossa contemporaneidade presencia a crise da escola republicana. O discurso sobre a privatização do ensino - bem como a crítica aos modelos escolares herdeiros da Escola republicana - torna-se a tônica do debate. Muitos dirão que a escola que chegou até nós não soube se renovar. É preciso, entretanto, compreender os movimentos de renovação que tiveram lugar na história e que impactaram a trajetória dessa escolarização, que chega aos nossos dias eivada de procedimentos cristalizados pelo lastro da tradição, mas marcada também por inúmeras tentativas de mudança.

A escola que foi engendrada pelo Estado e se consolidou como projeto de nação em finais do século XIX, hoje é confrontada com um mundo multilateral, à luz de referências globais e de desafios locais. Nesse mundo, não se trata mais de apenas engendrar a igualdade. É preciso um olhar acurado para as diferenças, para a diversidade, para aquilo que não é igual... A questão das múltiplas migrações, das distintas identidades e do comunitarismo impacta o cenário escolar. A população que vai para a escola é outra. Por isso, é preciso uma reinvenção, pelo multiculturalismo, dos 'modos de fazer' na escola. Além disso, enfrentamentos contemporâneos derivados do avanço tecnológico também alteram antigas formas de ensino-aprendizagem. Como será o ensino após a incorporação da Inteligência Artificial na instituição escolar? E, por fim, como devemos agir para educar para a sustentabilidade em meio à crise climática que assola todo o planeta? Enfim, todas essas questões são levantadas por esta obra que dialoga com questões da atualidade tomando-as enquanto história do tempo presente. Tais questões, como vimos, tangenciam todo um conjunto de temas e de problemas que contam modos e maneiras pelos quais a tradição escolar se configurou e engendrou um movimento voltado para a busca de renovação dos tempos, espaços, saberes e práticas da antiga escola moderna. Vamos ler o livro; porque os autores contam melhor do que eu essa História...

Introduction

Rosa Bruno-Jofré

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This collection includes work from members of the Theory and History of Education International Research Group (THEIRG), Queen's University, <https://theirgroup.org/>, led by Rosa Bruno-Jofré, and invited contributors. It also includes work by members of Projeto *Temático Saberes e Práticas em Fronteiras: Por uma história transnacional da Educação* [Thematic Project Knowledge and Practices at Borders: For a Transnational History of Education], led by Diana Vidal, University of São Paulo, supported by FAPESP, the Foundation of Research in the State of São Paulo.

The chapters in this book address the circulation of knowledge and reception processes from various perspectives and many textures: how schooling organized human experience within the context of regional, national, and colonial agendas, and the response to internal and international movements claiming rights. These movements and “translations” occurred at complex international conjunctures, such as World War I and its geopolitical re-accommodation; national revolutions such as Mexico's in 1910; the Russian Revolution; the emergence of fascism and Nazism, and of Franquism in Spain; World War II and the decolonization process; the Cold War; the long 1960s and the pursuit of rights; neo-liberalism; and the technological revolution.

At the moment, we are facing an Orwellian, nihilist US project to change the architecture of the world, which as a consequence will affect education and its role in the formation of a polity. Meanwhile, contemporary paradigms situate humanity within a broader perspective in relation to our Earth and the universe, questioning anthropocentrism and generating a continuum with nature. The expansion of democratic rights and the central tenets of inclusivity and identity, which are currently being challenged in the United States, make the formulation of an ethically defensible language of education a matter of some urgency.

This collection is divided into six parts that respond to the intentionality of the joint project. The contributions are aligned with an understanding of transnationalism not only as networks but also taking into account the groups and individuals connecting, the multiple

readings of a synthesis of ideas, and the contextual spaces in the process of reception/translation. Some chapters survey the modern history of education and discuss the building of the modern self and a language of new education that took a global dimension, reaching its peak in the interwar years. They don't neglect that modern education articulated a language grounded in freedom yet nonetheless framed by forms of colonialism and by the oppression of Indigenous People, African Americans, and the poor. While there are chapters that examine attempts at teacher education reform, others explore pressing issues of our time.

Part I, titled "Transnational Approaches at the Crossroads of Multiple Modernities and Internationalities (IX-XX)," comprises two chapters. Chapter 1, by Diana Gonçalves Vidal, "Teacher Education and the New Education Movement: (dis)Connections between NEF and Brazilian Education (1920–1948)," focuses on the international New Education movement and its entanglement with Brazilian educators. It explores the interwar period, taking a transnational history of education approach, to problematize the global flow of individuals and ideas and their local synthesis, appropriations, and hybridizations. The research points to a struggle inside the educational field to establish hierarchies and theoretical affiliations and plot webs, and strengthens the sense of solidarity and "belonging" among individuals and groups, reterritorializing spaces and epistemologies, with impacts on teacher education in Brazil and beyond.

Rosa Bruno-Jofré contributes Chapter 2, in Spanish, whose translated title is "A Longue Durée Contextualized Synthesis of Teacher Formation in English Canada at the Intersection of International Currents of Thought." It centers on teacher preparation in light of refractory adaptations of international and transnational intellectual and ideological currents intersecting at the regional and national planes. It explores the recurrent tensions generated by the colonial state, the search for an identity by subordinated groups within the framework of ethno-religious identities and linguistic claims, the re-creation of a Canadian identity after the Second World War as encouraged by social movements, and the quest for civil rights and to foreground the powerful voice of Indigenous nations. Educators did begin to confront the fluid identities of a postmodern world.

Part II, "International Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge," comprises two original chapters, both in Portuguese. The first is Chapter 3, "School Libraries and Teacher Formation in São Paulo, Brazil (1886–1929): Appropriation and Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge" by Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery and Angelica Pall Oriani. The authors take two normal school libraries in the cities of São Carlos and Piracicaba as the empirical basis for their analysis of teacher education in São Paulo state. They aim to understand how pedagogical knowledge circulated by identifying the books in the libraries' collections and retracing the organization and functioning of these libraries' during three periods: 1880–1911, 1911–1927, and 1927–1929). They conclude that the international book trade and the growth of national publishers are key issues for understanding the pedagogical culture developed in these schools.

Chapter 4, "Evidence of the International Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge: Faria de Vasconcellos's Lessons Read by Educators from São Paulo," is by Heloisa Helena

Pimenta Rocha and Vivian Batista da Silva. Its research questions are the following: What issues are addressed by *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* [Lessons of Pedology and Experimental Pedagogy] by the Portuguese educator Faria de Vasconcellos? What is his legacy in terms of the Brazilian debate surrounding New Education? What aspects of his arguments have São Paulo educators circulated? The authors' interpretation, which follows a transnational history of education perspective, attempts to unveil the international circulation of ideas between Portugal and Brazil.

Part III, "Programmatic Changes in Teacher Education," introduces the reader to paradigmatic shifts. Chapter 5, written by Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, Gonzalo Jover Olmeda, Patricia Quiroga Uceda, and Alba Torrego González, is titled "'Burying the So-Called Traditional Education': Teacher Formation within the Context of Technification of Education in Spain (1970–1978)." The authors' research spans 1970, the year of the promulgation of the General Law of Education, to 1978, the year of the 1978 Constitution following Francisco Franco's death in 1975. It explores the differences between the 1950 plans inspired by a Christian pedagogy and the 1967 plan grounded in the 1967 Law of Primary Teaching, illustrating the transition to the 1977 program by stressing what was pedagogical and didactic, with a lesser emphasis on ideology. The 1977 plan of studies attempted to generate some homogeneity, its basic requirements referencing human capital theory, a functionalist logic, modernization as an objective, and a concern with education and technology.

Traveling in space and time to a different geographical and historical location, Tom O'Donoghue shares his primary research in Chapter 6, "A Move to Interdisciplinarity in Teacher Education in Western Australia." This chapter focuses on Murdoch University, established in the late 1960s, which pioneered a connection between theory and practice through an interdisciplinary framework, for example by blurring the line between curriculum studies and the other professional components of the program. After examining this paradigm, O'Donoghue helps readers understand the weakening of the model and the emerging tensions that ensue.

Part IV, "Teacher Education and the Climate Crisis," speaks to our understanding of the relevant role of education through schooling in dealing in a multidimensional way with the climate crisis and the loss of biodiversity. Chapter 7, written by Laura Sims and Marie-Élaine Desmarais and titled "Enabling the Possible: Planning for Inclusion through Approaches Anchored in a Community and the Environment," argues for a new lifestyle in which one must "learn to live differently." One of the pedagogical means the authors propose is to integrate Indigenous perspectives and use "natural and community spaces as classrooms." Teachers will find in this chapter a tentative guide for the planning of this educational experience.

Chapter 8, "Mapping the Research in Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education in Canada," by Alysse Scoping, argues that Canadian universities are not using the expertise that faculties of education can provide in terms of curricular design and pedagogical innovation in relation to environmental and sustainability education (ESE). The chapter maps the findings of a scoping review of trends and gaps in the field

of ESE in teacher education, calling attention to the work of educational researchers. The scoping review was timely. In 2022, the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) had released the Accord on Education for a Sustainable Future and the findings will prove useful in filling gaps in language and regions.

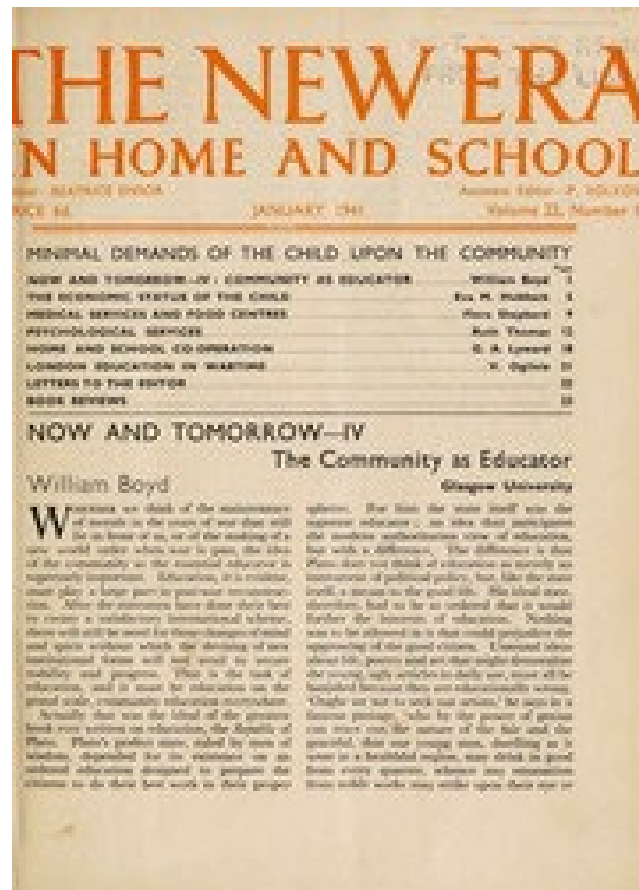
Chapter 9, by Christopher Beeman, is titled “Beloved Earth and Sky: Encountering the World in Teacher Education Amidst Lost or Injured Kinship Relations.” It is a beautiful and profound experiential narration of interconnections with the world beyond the human, one inspired by the author’s long-time relationship with Indigenous elders. Beeman tries to illustrate what he terms “the building and sustaining of a relationship with the natural world” and discusses the difficulties of moving this process into policies affecting teacher education and the workings of a “reciprocal interactive knowing-being with the world and the preconditions for that to take place.”

Part V, “Teacher Education and the Irruption of Artificial Intelligence,” comprises a single chapter, by Peter Glinos, titled “What Teachers Will We Train? Gen AI in History Education in Light of Alternative Education’s Social Critics.” This fascinating chapter deals with the gap in Ontario between the advent of Artificial Intelligence and the history education curriculum’s objective of promoting historical thinking skills. One recommendation made by Glinos that would open new and complex avenues beyond educational practice itself is that AI policies should proceed to “‘opening the box’ toward conviviality, teaching learners how to create and control their genAI tools to further their historical thinking.” This chapter’s most original aspect is its conceptual framework, one that relies on the writings of the many social critics involved in the alternative education movement—Paulo Freire, A.S. Neill, Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich, Jonathan Kozol, John Holt—to formulate a bridge between historical thinking concepts and AI. It should be noted that the author does not neglect to discuss the difficulties inherent in dealing with AI.

We hope this book will generate new questions while providing some historical answers to the nuanced issues regarding teacher education at the intersection of circulating ideas, social movements, political turns, and the challenges of the technological revolution.

Part I

Transnational Approaches to History of Education



The New Era in Home and School, vol. 22, January, 1941.
 Image of journal page, [University College London Institute of Education Collection].

1. Teacher Education and the New Education Movement: (Dis)Connections Between NEF and Brazilian Education (1920-1948)¹

Diana Gonçalves Vidal
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Introduction

The New Education Fellowship (NEF) emerged as a fraternity, created by Beatrice Ensor in London in 1915, to gather together people who shared the belief that the solution to problems that threatened civilization relied on a new education conceived to prepare men and women for a world in permanent change. In 1920, the fraternity published the first volume of what would become *The New Era* journal, which was initially titled *Education for the New Era*. In addition, in 1921, held its first Congress, in Calais, France.

Convening important educators related to the international New Education movement, such as Ovide Decroly, Adolphe Ferrière, and Elizabeth Rotten, the Congress not only gave birth to NEF but also boosted two new journals, *Pour L'Ere Nouvelle* and *Das Werdende Zeitalter*, edited by Ferrière and Rotten, respectively.²

¹ The research is funded by *Fundação para o Amparo da Pesquisa no Estado de São Paulo* – FAPESP – Thematic Project Knowledge and Practices at Frontiers (process no. 2018/26699-4).

² The principles of NEF, established in Calais, were “1) Education should equip us to understand the complexities of modern social and economic life, safeguarding freedom of discussion by the development of the scientific spirit. 2) It should make adequate provision for meeting the diverse intellectual and

NEF appeared after the end of World War I and expressed the desire of many educators at that time that through education it was possible to build an international community, peaceful and sympathetic, avoiding the risk of a second armed conflict of global dimension. With this expectation, they involved themselves in the diffusion of schooling and the debate of learning methods related to New Education.

In Brazil, the New Education movement was also in place. Jorge Nagle³ called this period pedagogical optimism because of the belief in the power of school and education to overcome national problems. Educational reforms emerged in different Brazilian states and cities, expressing the attachment to the purposes and practices of New Education.⁴ Two expressions—New School and *escolanovismo*—became usual among educators in Brazil, giving support to political, editorial, and educational initiatives.⁵

Why, then, are mentions of the NEF so scarce in Brazilian educational historiography? This paper, adopting a transnational history of education approach, aims to explore the connections and disconnections between the international New Education movement and Brazil, and its relation to teacher education, by tracing the vestiges of the NEF.

NEF's Initial Initiatives

During the first 15 years of NEF, according to Brehony,⁶ besides Calais, six other conferences were organized in Montreux (1923), Heidelberg (1925), Locarno (1927), Elsinore (1929), Nice (1932) and Cheltenham (1936), convening a growing number of

emotional needs of different individuals, and should afford constant opportunity for active self-expression. 3) It should help us to adjust ourselves voluntarily to social requirements, replacing the discipline of fear and punishment by the development of intelligent initiative and responsibility. 4) It should promote collaboration between all members of the community. This is possible only where teachers and taught alike understand the value of character and independent judgement. 5) It should help us to appreciate our own national heritage and to welcome the unique contribution that every other national group can make to the culture of the world. The creation of world citizens is as important for the safety of modern civilisation as the creation of national citizens." (Yvonne Larsson, "The World Education Fellowship: Its Origins and Development with Particular Emphasis on New South Wales, the First Australian Section," Working Paper no. 16 (Australian Studies Centre, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1987, p. 1-2).

³ Jorge Nagle, *Educação e Sociedade na Primeira República*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2001.

⁴ The decentralized nature of primary education administration meant that it was up to the provinces and, later, the states to develop education in their territories, hence the difficulty in analyzing the changes made to primary education in Brazil globally. The changes were local and differentiated. Despite the topical variations, however, in the 1920s and 1930s, several reforms based on New School ideals were implemented in some states, especially São Paulo (M.B. Lourenço Filho, 1930-1931, Fernando de Azevedo, 1933, e A. F. Almeida Jr., 1935-1936), Minas Gerais (Francisco Campos, 1927-1930), Rio de Janeiro (Carneiro Leão, 1923-1926; Fernando de Azevedo, 1927-1930, e Anísio Teixeira, 1931-1935), Ceará (M.B. Lourenço Filho, 1922-1923), Bahia (Anísio Teixeira, 1925-1927), and Pernambuco (Carneiro Leão, 1928-1930).

⁵ Diana Vidal and Luciano Faria Filho, "Reescrevendo a História do Ensino Primário: O Centenário da Lei de 1827 e as Reformas Francisco Campos e Fernando de Azevedo," *Educação e Pesquisa* 28, no. 1 (2002): 31-50.

⁶ Kevin J. Brehony, "A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education, 1921-1938," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 40, nos. 5 & 6. October 2004: 734.

participants—Calais (150 people), Locarno (1200), Elsinore (2000), Nice (1800) and Cheltenham (1200)—and bringing together more than one thousand people. The increasing number of sections and journals associated with NEF show its vitality during these first years. In 1936, there were fifty-two sections and groups and twenty-two journals in fifteen languages.⁷

The main principles supported by NEF were: the defense of equality in the opportunity to access and permanence of children in school; active learning based on comprehension, creativity, and sociability, uniting school, community, and youth organizations; discipline based on respect of needs and interests of children; and the conception of a teacher training program free from the pressures of policies. The conferences addressed these principles, which were systematically the subject of articles published on *The New Era*.

To reinforce the debate, *The New Era* dedicated some issues to one particular theme. For instance, in January 1924, the articles were about “sexual education in school and at home”; in January 1926, the main question was “re-creating the teacher”; and in July 1929, “changing the discipline at home and in school.” The journal could also choose a country to tell its experiences. It was the case of the January 1928 issue, entitled “Pioneer Education in Russia.”

It is worth expanding this mention to Russian education because it allows us to highlight some important points for our argument. Initially, selecting a country so far geographically from the head bureau of NEF (always in London) calls attention. Second, Russia has a very different language and even a different alphabet. These choices imply that neither the language nor the distance were barriers to NEF’s internationalization. The argument eludes the assumption that these questions would be relevant to understanding the late admission of Brazil as an NEF member. Regarding the language, it is necessary to clarify that Portugal also had a section.

Russia was particularly interesting to these educators because New Education was a state policy there. In comparison to other nations, where New Education was restrained to individual schools, Russia presented a differential. *The New Era* made an effort to list the names and addresses of all schools in the world that practiced the new methods to follow the diffusion of the movement. Brazil was not included. However, in the 1920s,

⁷ According to Yvone Larsson, “The World Education Fellowship”, 26, the sections and groups in 1936 were: Sections – Belgium (1932), Bulgaria (1927), Denmark (1926), England (1927), Finland (1929), France (1921), Netherlands (1936), All India Federation (1935; Bengal 1936, Mysore 1934, Punjab 1933, United Provinces 1934), Japan (1930), Norway (1929), Poland (1927), Romania (1928), Scotland (1924), South Africa (1934), South America (Argentina 1928, Bolivia 1936, Chile 1931, Paraguay 1932, Uruguay 1932), Spain (1933), Sweden (1927), Switzerland (1931), Turkey (1928), and United States (the Progressive Education Association became a NEF section in 1932); Groups – Australia (NSW 1926, Queensland 1931, Western Australia 1935, Tasmania 1936), Canada (Alberta 1930, Montreal 1931, Toronto 1930, Vancouver 1931, Victoria BC 1930), Czechoslovakia (1921), Hungary (1925), India (Central Provinces, Jubulpore 1934, Nagpur 1935, Tumkur 1934), Northern Ireland (1930), Yugoslavia (1926), New Zealand (1933), South Africa (Cape 1932, Natal 1934, Durban 1934, Pietermaritzburg 1934, Bloemfontein 1934, Transvaal 1934), South America (Ecuador 1930, Mendoza 1929, Peru 1930).

Brazil could be considered another country where New Education became a state policy and it should have attracted NEF's attention.

It is not right to say, though, that there was no mention of Brazil in the pages of *The New Era*. The journal acknowledged the Brazilian attendance at NEF's Conference of Locarno (1927) by Laura Lacombe, and the registration of M.B. Lourenço Filho in Nice (1932); the visit of Isaac Kandel (1927) and Ad Ferrière (1930) to South American countries, including Brazil; and the purchase of cinema projectors by the State of Espírito Santo (1931). Susan Isaacs, in the article "Corporal Punishment, Some Reflections Upon Corporal Punishment," published in July 1929, claimed that punishment in Brazil was illegal.

The most comprehensive note regards the presence of Laura Lacombe in Locarno. She was introduced as a Brazilian government and a Brazilian Association of Education delegate. A summary of her presentation was published as follows:

A film illustrating education in state schools in Rio de Janeiro was shown by Miss L. Lacombe. Special attention is given to the health of the scholars, weakly children receiving Rollier sun-baths and classes are held in the open air. The pupils are taught by direct contact with subjects that will concern them in later life. They study details of agricultural processes; they visit interesting buildings (gasometers, commercial exhibitions, etc.); they are encouraged to read in the school libraries, of which the Rotary Club has given eight. The parents are closely linked with the work of the schools⁸

Those mentions point to connections between Brazil and the international movement of New Education in the 1920s and early 1930s. However, even though in South America, Argentina (1928), Equator (1930), Peru (1930), Bolivia (1936), Chile (1931), Paraguay (1932), and Uruguay (1932) had united themselves to NEF by the 1930s, Brazil would hold a section only in 1942. On that occasion, Carleton Washburn, NEF's president, visiting South America, stayed a few days in Rio de Janeiro and got in touch with M.B. Lourenço Filho, who, at that moment, was a member of the staff of the Ministry of Education and Health (MES). Celina Nina was appointed as secretary of the section. Her name was only mentioned for the first time in a report from NEF head office in 1943, simultaneously as an MES and National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP) employee.⁹ Her name remained as a reference until 1948.

Notwithstanding, the creation of the Brazilian section had no great impact. In the reports, we cannot find information about initiatives related to New Education in Brazil in the 1940s. Possibly the international context of war and the national context of authoritarian government had been the reason for this silence. According to Watras,¹⁰ in the post-World War II context, NEF enlarged its interests and embraced a large range of objectives that

⁸ *The New Era*, vol. 8, October, 1927, no. 32, p. 179.

⁹ WEF/A/VII/ 306 file 1/2, April 1937- May 1945.

¹⁰ Joseph Watras, "The New Education Fellowship and UNESCO's Program of Fundamental Education," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 47, nos. 1-2, February-April 2011: 191.

challenged the capacity of the agencies, such as the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, support. At the same time, the dispersion made Congresses less efficient, diminishing NEF's political influence. The number of national sections and initiatives decreased. In South America, only the sections of Colombia and the Equator remained active.

NEF had a key role from the 1920s to 1940s, contributing to the creation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1946. Not only members of NEF were appointed representatives of their countries at the first UNESCO Conference in Paris, but also NEF's offices gave regional support for UNESCO actions.¹¹ In 1966, the World Education Fellowship replaced NEF. The new name gave substance to a change in the orientation of the Fellowship that had been happening in the past decades.

The timeframe from 1920, when NEF was created, until 1948, when the Brazilian section was closed, also has implications for the Brazilian history of education. It coincides with the birth of educational reforms based on New Education in the 1920s, comprises the period of authoritarian government—known as New State—between 1937 and 1945, and ends with the National Plan for Education debates.

We can follow another path to explore the connections between Brazil and NEF, evoking internationally well-reputed educators linked to the Fellowship. For instance, in 1932, when NEF had five offices for vice-presidencies to the Nice Conference, John Dewey became the United States of America representative.¹² The relationship between Ovide Decroly, Ad Ferriere, John Dewey, and Brazilian educators emerged in letters exchanged within that period regarding the translation of their books to Portuguese. Just to cite one of the most known examples, *The Child and the Curriculum* and *Interest and Effort in Education*, by John Dewey, were translated into Portuguese by Anísio Teixeira and published as *Vida e educação* by Editora Melhoramentos in 1930, when M.B. Lourenço Filho was the editor in chief.

For sure, educators such as Anísio Teixeira, Lourenço Filho, and Fernando de Azevedo, not to mention other important names of the Brazilian New Education movement, were in contact with individuals who attended and actively participated in NEF. Nevertheless, and this is the most challenging question, as said before, there are a few studies in Brazil that refer to NEF. Why is the Fellowship so neglected by Brazilian historians of education? We will return to this interrogation later.

Transnational History of Education and (dis)Comparison Analysis

The perspective of transnational history implies a refusal of the geographical national frontiers as a principle that organizes the exchanges among educators in different parts

¹¹ Celia Jenkins, "New Education and Its Emancipatory Interests, 1920-1950," *History of Education* 29, no. 2 (2000): 141.

¹² Watras, "The New Education Fellowship," 197.

of the world.¹³ Even though NEF was composed of national sections and groups, the web it built configured a new territorially, simultaneously spatial and epistemological, to be explored by the investigation.

In the first case, spatial, we are addressing the comprehensiveness and constant reconfiguring of the net created by NEF, mobilizing individuals and groups. At the end of 1920, for example, the *Fellowship* congregated educators from fourteen countries and articulated eight educational journals. In 1936, there were fifty-two national sections and groups and twenty-two journals, as mentioned before.

To epistemological territory, we refer to what represents the New Education to these individuals and groups in terms of addressing themes, authors, and experiences. It is in the conjunction of these two territorialities that the transnational approach acquires substance. More than an international movement, New Education produced a community of meaning. That is the challenge Marcel Detienne¹⁴ refers to when stating that the historian's craft is to build comparables, to forge new categories, and not to identify comparables.

According to the author, the task of comparative history is to proceed with a logical disassembly that allows isolating micro configurations to identify differences more and more refined and analyze the mechanisms of thought arranged in channels not necessarily thematic. Therefore, its commitment is to put into perspective the values and choices of a society or group, keeping a critical regard on traditions and searching to understand different cultures from their systems of representation.

The strategy reinforces alerts existent in the historiographical debates at the same period when NEF emerged. In the famous conference *For a Comparative History of European Societies*, pronounced by Marc Bloch in 1928¹⁵ in Oslo during the *VI International Congress of Historical Sciences*, and repeatedly quoted by historians, emerged the alert against the practice of using comparison as a confrontation of phenomena occurring in one or another board of a state or nation frontier.

As a good medievalist, Bloch used to operate with objects situated in a time previous to the national state's appearance, but forced to refer to their boundaries to give intelligibility (albeit provisional) to the analyses, saw with suspicion the habit of topographically isolating the social reality. He questioned the frequency with which we take national state boundaries as a convenient frame to study past institutions. Claimed to overcome this artificialized analysis to prevent anachronism or mistakes when using the actual political, administrative, or national frontiers to define research subjects. He believed that social and cultural events often cross the limit of the borders. To the medievalist, historians should design geographical frames according to their investigation problems.

¹³ Eugenia Roldan Vera, Eckhardt Fuch, eds., *The Transnational in the History of Education: Concepts and Perspective* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

¹⁴ Marcel Detienne, *Comparar o Incomparável* (São Paulo: Idéias e Letras, 2004).

¹⁵ Marc Bloch, *Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes: Mélanges historiques* (Paris: Sevpen, 1963), 14-40.

However, Detienne's proposal is not limited to this strategy. Taken strictly, the spatial configuration of NEF would include Brazilian educators only for the brief period from 1942 to 1948 when Celina Nina was a member of the Fellowship and the Brazilian section led by M.B. Lourenço Filho. The procedure, therefore, would restrain the analysis to locate the vestiges of a direct relation between Brazil and NEF.

Beyond this dimension, the investigation in progress seeks to operate with an epistemological territoriality built upon the representation of New Education forged by NEF in its journals and conferences. Albeit we may not consider this territoriality as homogeneous and theoretically coherent, it produced an effect on the international mobilization of educators and institutions around consensual themes such as education for peace, education for democracy, and education as experience, among others, privileging authors and publications.

From this perspective, Brazil has been part of New Education's international movement of principles and initiatives since its beginning. The debate about New Education and the association between New Education and political reform grew from 1920 to 1930. Brazilian educators were in touch with foreign colleagues by correspondence, book translation, and article editions.

The question intrigues us even more when we follow Watras's argumentation. According to the author, NEF's birth coincides with the creation of departments of education in many universities worldwide. Therefore, the configuration of an academic field was also a subject of dispute and those entangled in the debate of New Education assumed a post in the academic sphere. The affirmation is also valid in the Brazilian context. In 1934 in São Paulo and 1935 in Rio de Janeiro, institutes of education were created and their teachers colleges associated with the Universities of São Paulo and Distrito Federal, by the guidance of Fernando de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira, and M.B. Lourenço Filho. In 1937 the National Institute of Educational Research (INEP) was founded, representing one more step in the direction of a Brazilian educational science based on the active school.



Institute of Education in the Federal District (in Rio de Janeiro). Source: *Arquivos do Instituto de Educação Journal*, vol. 1, nr. 1, June 1934.



Institute of Education in São Paulo. Source: Acervo Histórico da Escola Caetano de Campos/Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico/Centro de Referência em Educação Mario Covas/ Efape/Secretaria da Educação do Estado de São Paulo.

Therefore, the diffusion of New Education's ideas and initiatives in Brazil and other countries was not confined to the defense of ideals and propaganda of experiences. It was fundamental to the educational academic field configuration, not restricted to normal schools but aiming at the university sphere. Gary McCulloch,¹⁶ for example, analyses the association of the Institute of Education in London with the University of London in the 1930s as a center for the study of education.

This would mean the appointment of staff who would be able to specialize in particular aspects of education, such as history and organization, methods of instruction and training, and the philosophy and psychology of education, and to engage in research in these areas.¹⁷

However, it also meant the internationalization of educational studies and research. In the US, the International Institute of Teachers College at the University of Columbia emerged in 1923 with the financial backing of the Rockefeller Foundation. The activities of the International Institute increased visibly between the year of its foundation and 1933/1934 when the Rockefeller Foundation reduced the funds offered.¹⁸ Rafaela Rabelo¹⁹

¹⁶ Gary McCulloch, "Fred Clarke and the Internationalization of Studies and Research in Education," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 50, nos. 1-2 (February-April 2014): 123-137.

¹⁷ McCulloch, "Fred Clarke," p. 126.

¹⁸ Luís Grosso Correia, "'The Right Kind of Education for the Right Individual': Comparative Education Studies According to the Educational Yearbook of the Teachers College (1924-1944)," *History of Education* 40, no. 5 (2011): 580.

¹⁹ Rafaela Rabelo, *Edward Lee Thorndike e John Dewey: Itinerários da Formação Matemática do Professor Primário no Brasil* (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Educação, 2016).

reinforces the prestige of Teachers College and its focus on international and comparative research, as well as its aims to attract educators from all over the world.

The coincidences explored previously and the relationship between Brazilian and foreign educators identified give support to the core problem of this research swinging from connection to disconnection. Methodologically, we move on to the porosity of the interstices, valuing contacts and absences. Regarding the contacts, the purpose is to detect appropriations and treat them not as distortions to the original but as recreations of meanings, combining cultural semantics to produce a new originality. Regarding the absences, we consider them part of what constitutes territoriality. We proceed by (dis) comparison,²⁰ searching for empty spaces instead of locating recurrences.

Finally, the (Tentative) Answer

Let us start with the absence (or scarce presence) of mentions of NEF in the Brazilian historiography of education. When facing the challenge of connecting New Education in Brazil with the international movement in the 1920s and 1930s, researchers very often mention the *Ligue Internationale pour l'Éducation Nouvelle* (LIEN). To assure this relationship, they cite Adolphe Ferrière's travel to Latin America and the news about Brazilian educational reforms published in *Pour le Nouvelle*. Although Ferrière's visit to Brazil was very short, once he arrived at Rio de Janeiro when the Revolution of 1930 erupted, he previously had information about the New Education movement in Brazil. According to Marta Carvalho,²¹ Ferrière also received written material to read on the ship during his trip back home sent by some Brazilian educator. These texts were published afterwards in *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*.

The mention of Ferrière and *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* calls attention. Initially because we know that the journal was created during the first Congress organized by NEF, in Callais, in 1921, as part of this new net. Secondly, according to Joseph Coquoz,²² Ad. Ferrière was responsible for disseminating the LIEN among Latin American countries, whilst Beatrice Ensor would take care of the Anglophone countries and Elisabeth Rotten of the Germanophonic ones. The reference to Beatrice Ensor and Elisabeth Rotten, when Marta Carvalho²³ explains the birth of LIEN, drives us to the founders of NEF and the history of NEF's creation.

In the geographical and epistemological Brazilian territory, in fact, NEF was usually referred to as LIEN. The procedure helped to erase the connection between the international movement and its head office in London as well as the Institute of Education

²⁰ Mirian J. Warde, "O Itinerário de Formação de Lourenço Filho por Descomparação," *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 3, no. 1 (5) (2009): 125-167.

²¹ Marta M. Carvalho, "A Bordo do Navio, Lendo Notícias do Brasil: O Relato de Viagem de Adolphe Ferrière," in *Viagens Pedagógicas*, ed. A.C.V. Mignot and J.G. Gondra (São Paulo: Cortez, 2007), 278-279.

²² Josef Coquoz, "Le Home «Chez Nous» Comme Modèle d'Attention à l'Enfance," *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació* 20 (juliol-desembre, 2012): 43.

²³ Marta M. Carvalho, "A Bordo do Navio, Lendo Notícias do Brasil", 279.

(IOE). It associated this international movement with the Francophonic context and the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute, the nest of *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*, the workplace of Ferrière, and an institution visited by Brazilian educators at that time in search of exchange.

We could also argue that Brazilian educators were more familiar with the French language than English. However, it is a minor concern and we can discard this explanation easily. We do not intend to revive the argument about Russia raised previously, but bring new elements that are relevant to the understanding of the problem. It is necessary to emphasize that in the 1920s Brazilian educators made a long cycle of trips to the US. They were interested in knowing the education system and improving their training. Many of these, such as Anísio Teixeira, Lucia Casassanta, Alda Loti, and Isaias Alves amongst others, went to the Teachers College at Columbia University²⁴. Anísio Texeira is an exemplary case, but not exceptional. He had a degree in Master of Arts in 1929.

The relationship with the US brings up other questions. Despite the role played by Beatrice Ensor in NEF, it is important to recall that in 1932, at the Nice Conference, John Dewey took one of the vice-presidencies, representing the US. The Progressive Education Association became an American section of NEF in the same year. While Ensor was unknown in Brazil, Dewey was considered one of the key personalities of New Education in Brazil. As said before, in 1930, *Vida e educação* came out and increased the influence of Dewey in the teacher training programs of the institutes of education of Rio de Janeiro²⁵ and São Paulo²⁶. However, the association between NEF and Dewey did not seem to cause any interest.

That is curious. Coquoz,²⁷ referring to a poem written by Ferrière during his stay in Montevideo in 1930, reveals that the Genevan educator had evaluated his notoriety as unequal and superficial. He felt relatively isolated from the heart of the New Education international movement. Even at the J-J Rousseau Institute, his colleagues Edouard Claparède and Jean Piaget show little respect for his scientific achievements.²⁸ In Brazil, however, Ferrière had a captive public. Seven of his books were translated into Portuguese from 1920 to 1932 (*A escola activa*, 1920; *A educação autônoma*, 1926, *A liberdade da criança na Escola Activa*, 1928, *Transformemos a escola*, 1929, *A lei biogenética e a Escola Activa*, 1929, *A escola por medida pelo molde do professor*, 1931, e *A Educação na Família - Novos Problemas Educacionais*, 1932). They were Brazilian and Portuguese editions.

At the same time, John Dewey had only three books translated into Portuguese (*Vida e Educação*, 1930, *Como pensamos*, 1933, e *Democracia e educação*, 1936). We cannot

²⁴ Rabelo, *Edward Lee Thorndike e John Dewey*.

²⁵ Diana Gonçalves Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar: Livros, Leituras e Práticas de Formação Docente no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)*, 1a ed. (Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 2001).

²⁶ Rabelo, *Edward Lee Thorndike e John Dewey*.

²⁷ Josef Coquoz, "Le Home «Chez Nous» Comme Modèle d'Attention à l'Enfance", 40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

say, though, that Dewey was less important than Ferrière in the Brazilian educational context. The records of the Institute of Education of Rio de Janeiro Library show that while there were six volumes of Dewey on the shelves in 1936, there were 11 volumes of Ferrière. Nevertheless, in the bibliography suggested by professors of the same Institute, references to Dewey appear in psychology of education, philosophy, lecture and language, calculus, social studies, children's literature, music and chant, and physical education courses. Ferrière appears only in the physical education bibliography.²⁹

However, the prestige of John Dewey was not the same in England. According to Darling and Nisbet,³⁰ despite the efforts of J.J. Findley to disseminate Dewey's ideas in England, only in the 1960s did they penetrate British soil. Darling and Nisbet argue that it was due to differences between Dewey's and British social thought. The pages of *The New Era* reveal the same. There are few references to John Dewey.

Final Comments

These vestiges seem to conduct the research to inquire about the construction of epistemological territories, in different geographical spaces and societies. Yet, to argue about the dispute of meanings associated with the New Education international movement concerns expressions (progressive education, new education, active school); institutional leadership (Teachers College/UC, Institute J.J.-Rousseau, Institute of Education, London); to authors of reference and the attributes of the New Education. If we add Watras's argument about the coincidence of the rise of NEF and the creation of Departments of Education in Universities, the problem grows in interest, involving the genesis of the academic field of Education.

What is in the spot is the international circulation of ideas and individuals, as well as the local synthesis, appropriations, and hybridizations. In neither case, there is a perfect harmony. On the contrary, the disputes also reveal a struggle inside the field to establish hierarchies and theoretical affiliations, plotting webs, and strengthening the sense of solidarity and "belonging" among individuals and groups. It is fascinating to follow the changes in the configuration in this kaleidoscope of images of New Education and its impact on teacher education in the period.

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²⁹ Diana Gonçalves Vidal, *O Exercício Disciplinado do Olhar*.

³⁰ John Darling and John Nisbet, "Dewey in Britain," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* (2000): 39-52.

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2. Una síntesis longue durée contextualizada de la formación de docentes en Canadá Inglés en la intersección con corrientes de pensamiento transnacionales

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Este capítulo intenta delinear una síntesis histórica *longue durée* de la preparación/entrenamiento/educación de docentes de escuelas primarias y secundarias en Canadá inglés. Se extiende desde mediados del siglo diecinueve hasta el fin de los “largos años sesenta” (c. 1958-1974).¹

La narrativa, necesariamente limitada en detalles, gira alrededor de la escuela y la preparación de docentes a la luz de la adaptación refractaria de fuertes corrientes intelectuales e ideológicas internacionales y transnacionales en intersección con lo regional y lo nacional. El marco de referencia lo dan las tensiones recurrentes creadas por el estado colonial, la búsqueda de identidad de grupos subordinados en el marco de conexiones étnico-religiosas y lingüísticas, la recreación de la identidad canadiense después de la segunda guerra a la luz de los movimientos sociales, el activismo y la poderosa voz de las naciones Indígenas. Los educadores empezaban a enfrentar un mundo posmoderno con identidades fluidas.

El estado educacional colonial, la dimensión subjetiva del poder, y la configuración colonial: 1867-1918

En el siglo diecinueve, las escuelas fueron elementos centrales del proceso de formación del nuevo sujeto político y tuvieron un papel central en la construcción y consolidación

¹ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties. Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

de la estructura del mítico estado nación. Entre el fin de la centuria diecinueve y la primera guerra mundial en 1914, el contexto geopolítico estaba caracterizado por las ambiciones coloniales que llevaron al historiador Eric Hobsbawm a denominar este período la *Age of Empire* [Edad del Imperio].² Canadá era parte de la empresa colonial como colonia británica y al mismo tiempo era colonialista en relación a Canadá francés y en su calidad de colonia, sus colonos colonizaban a los pueblos Indígenas mientras ocupaban su tierra. Paralelamente, las provincias y territorios tenían un fuerte programa educacional de asimilación con tonos protestantes, de los inmigrantes que no eran de origen británico.

El fin de siglo se caracterizaba también por un capitalismo comercial y procesos de industrialización que generaban un nuevo paisaje urbano y fuertes problemas sociales. La escuela sería el medio para inculcar los valores sociales y morales importantes para la clase dirigente y la clase media. Sin embargo, dada la diversidad geográfica de Canadá, su composición demográfica y cultural, la fuerte presencia católica, posiciones políticas socialistas y anarquistas, así como el movimiento de lucha sindical y el feminismo, en la práctica la escuela era un espacio de contención, pero a menudo también un espacio de lucha en torno a valores. Las comunidades francoparlantes, católicas, en provincias inglesas ofrecen un ejemplo claro. Analicemos el escenario histórico.

El Acta de Unión de 1841, aprobada por el parlamento inglés en 1840 y proclamada en Montreal en 1841, es un punto de referencia importante porque se une a las colonias de *Lower* (Quebec) y *Upper* Canadá (Ontario) y la provincia de Canadá se convierte en Canadá East (Lower Canadá) y Canadá West (Upper Canadá).³ El Acta implicaba la integración colonial de Quebec, que había sido una colonia francesa, y la imposición de una administración británica centralizada que subordinaba a grupos subalternos y movimientos, o manejaba su resistencia a un nuevo orden liberal. Le sigue el Acta Escolar de 1841, aprobada por el nuevo parlamento establecido en Kingston, Canadá West, contenía una cláusula de disensión que permitía a aquéllos con una fe diferente de la mayoría en cualquier municipio o parroquia notificar a la comisión escolar, elegir sus propios consejeros escolares y crear y mantener una o más escuelas comunes para la minoría, gozando del apoyo estatal. Esta cláusula tiene un efecto decisivo en la organización del sistema escolar en Canadá. Por otra parte, el Acta de la Escuela Común de 1846, siendo Egerton Ryerson superintendente de escuelas en Canadá West (Ontario), sigue el ejemplo prusiano y diseña una fuerte autoridad central a cargo de las regulaciones, el currículo, la autorización de libros de texto, certificación de maestros,

² Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London: Abacus. 1989).

³ Bruce Curtis argumenta que el Acta, en nombre de las libertades civiles y religiosas, representa una noción de auto-educación, una creencia republicana que el pueblo se puede educar a sí mismo. Bruce Curtis, *Ruling by Schooling Quebec: Conquest to Liberal Governmentality. A Historical Sociology* (University of Toronto Press, 2012), 428.

inspección y la creación de escuelas normales.⁴ Sin embargo, como en Prusia, los brazos regionales y locales tendrían no sólo flexibilidad sino cierto poder de decisión que se expresaba en los consejos escolares. El modelo prusiano se divulgó en las Américas a través del informe escrito por Víctor Cousin, ministro francés de instrucción pública y asuntos eclesiásticos, en el cual describe el modelo prusiano. El modelo tiene una concepción nueva del poder, aunque viene de un régimen absolutista, como McGarry explica, no hay sólo poder coercitivo, sino que incluye espacio para la participación en el gobierno.⁵

Las Actas sientan las bases para que se creen innumerables divisiones escolares a través de las provincias canadienses, a menudo como expresión de grupos étnicos y religiosos; un ejemplo interesante lo constituyen las comunidades francoparlantes en conjunción con la Iglesia Católica, las que se constituyen en mediadoras del currículo y las políticas educacionales en las comunidades. Tal sería el caso, entre otros, en la provincia de Manitoba después de la crisis de 1897 o las escuelas católicas separadas en Saskatchewan y Ontario.⁶ Los/as docentes respondían a los valores de la comunidad.

En 1867, con el British North America Act, las colonias se unen federalmente y crean el Dominio de Canadá bajo la corona británica (a ese punto se unen Ontario, Quebec, Nueva Escocia y Nuevo Brunswick y creció dentro de una década desde el Atlántico al Pacífico). El artículo 93 establece que la educación estaría bajo jurisdicción provincial.⁷ Desde mediados de siglo ya se habían abierto Escuelas Normales para la preparación de docentes para las escuelas primarias y de segunda enseñanza.

La escolarización/colonización de los niñas/niños Indígenas habría de estar bajo jurisdicción federal en su mayoría en la forma de escuelas industriales que serían

⁴ Egerton Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1847); J.G. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada 1792-1876*, vol. 6, 283-284.

⁵ M. G. McGarry, "To Read, Write, and Cast Accounts": Foucault, Governmentality and Education in Upper Canada/Canada West"(Ph.D. diss, Department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice Education, OISE, University of Toronto, 2012), 2-3. El informe de Cousin inspira a Horace Mann en su diseño del sistema de Massachusetts y fue un punto de referencia para Ryerson quien viajó a Estados Unidos y Europa.

⁶ La crisis se conoce como la Manitoba School Question. Como resultado, las escuelas católicas dejaron de recibir dinero público. Fue también una expresión de anti-catolicismo. Gilbert-L. Comeault, "La question des écoles du Manitoba—Un nouvel éclairage," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 1 (1979): 3-23; Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Stephen T. Rusak, "The Canadian 'Concordat' of 1897," *The Catholic Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (April 1991): 209-34.

⁷ R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 5. En Alberta, Saskatchewan, y Ontario, minorías locales, fueren protestantes o católicas romanas, tenían el derecho a formar sus propias escuelas separadas siendo parte del sistema educativo. En otras partes de Canada inglés, las escuelas públicas no eran sectarias, pero había acuerdos en Nueva Escocia y Nuevo Brunswick que permitían a los consejos escolares organizar clases o incluso escuelas respondiendo a minorías religiosas. Así Halifax (Nueva Escocia), tenía un sistema católico romano, que incluía escuelas elementales y secundarias operadas por el consejo escolar de la ciudad (Ibid.).

rebautizadas escuelas residenciales. Se trataba de internados lejos de la familia a cargo de las congregaciones religiosas católicas y protestantes.

Transnacionalidad: movimiento transatlántico y bordes porosos

El desarrollo de ideas pedagógicas modernas y su circulación transnacional no sólo en Europa y las Américas, sino también en el Medio Oriente, caracterizaron el siglo diecinueve.⁸ El concepto del yo [*self*] autoactivo y consciente [*self-activity*] y dotado de autodirección que expusiera el filósofo Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) tuvo una gran influencia en las concepciones pedagógicas que se desarrollaron en Suiza y en lo que sería Alemania, particularmente en Prusia. En la práctica, la noción del yo y sí mismo aparece negada y reemplazada por valores colonizantes y/o dominantes en la escuela al implantar una matriz de poder.

Tres pedagogos sirvieron en varios momentos como fuentes inspiradoras en la formación de docentes. El suizo Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) para quien la experiencia sensorial era el punto de partida, aprendizaje intuitivo también conocido como lección objeto y libertad del ser y autodeterminación del yo.⁹ Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) quien trató de construir una pedagogía científica en Prusia. Herbart buscaba cultivar la moralidad cuya concepción está en el centro de sus principios educacionales a través del cultivo del carácter y así reforzar las convenciones sociales.¹⁰ El enfoque estaba centrado en el educador/a quien generaba interés en los alumnos/as.^{11, 12}

Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) de la región de Turingia (hoy Alemania) quien trajo la creación de jardines de infantes, tomó fuerza en Ontario y llegó a las Escuelas Normales y a los/las docentes a través de James Laughlin Hughes, inspector de escuelas públicas en Toronto. Hughes escribió *Froebel's Educational Laws for All Teachers* en 1897 y

⁸ Jürgen Oelkers, "Philosophies of Education 'in Action,' Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Friedrich Fröbel," in *A History of Western Philosophy of Education in the Age of Enlightenment*, Tail Gilead, ed. (Bloomsbury, 2023), 151–180, citation from page 156.

⁹ Daniel Tröhler, *Pestalozzi and the Educationalization of the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹⁰ Frederick Beiser, *Johann Friedrich Herbart: Grandfather of Analytic Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), Introduction, 4; Jürgen Oelkers, "Philosophies of Education 'in Action,' Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Friedrich Fröbel," in *A History of Western Philosophy of Education in the Age of the Enlightenment Tail Gilead*, ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 162; N. Rary Hiner, "Herbartians, History and Moral Education," *The School Review* 79, no. 4 (1971): 590–601, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1084346>.

¹¹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *The Science of Education, The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aim and The Aesthetic Revelation of the World*, trans. Henry M. and Emie Felin (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co. Publishers, 1895), original title *Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet* (Göttingen: bey Johann Friedrich Röwer, 1806), 111, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=32KqPCxmsq4C&pg=GBS.PP8&hl=en>

¹² See also Werner Ehm, "Broad Views of the Philosophy of Nature: Riemann, Herbart, and the 'Matter of the Mind,'" *Philosophical Psychology* 23, no. 2 (2010): 141–162, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09515081003690400>.

extendió los principios Froebelianos de autoactividad como guía para maestros/as más allá del jardín de infantes [*kindergarten*].¹³

¿Cuál era el enfoque Froebeliano? En *The Education of Man*, Froebel entendió a la educación como un proceso a través del cual el individuo/a desarrolla autoconciencia de lo humano mientras funciona en armonía con la naturaleza y la sociedad.¹⁴ Utiliza el juego como autoexpresión e inventa instrumentos ("*gifts*") pedagógicos para niños/as. Los jardines de infantes se desarrollaron en todas partes, pero el racionalismo froebeliano (alcanzar la verdad a través del raciocinio) no sobrevivió desarrollos en psicología experimental y el empirismo que encarnaría la construcción del ser moderno.

Una presencia importante en las escuelas normales canadienses fue la pedagogía de Herbart mediada por los herbartianos de los Estados Unidos, reflejada, en particular, como argumenta Osborne, en el valor que se le daba a la historia como una fuente de desarrollo del carácter y el uso de cuentos o relatos en la enseñanza de la historia.¹⁵ Uno de los textos más conocidos es *Special Method in History* (1903) del autor estadounidense y representante Herbartiano Charles McMurry, el cual fue usado en las escuelas normales tan temprano como en 1902.¹⁶ El enfoque moralista, etnocéntrico y patriarcal de los Herbartianos, que incluso suscribían a la teoría de la recopilación (movimiento de la barbarie a la civilización), silenciaba a las minorías que llegaban, las mujeres, los trabajadores, las fuerzas sociales emergentes que disientían, y justificaba la colonización.

Por supuesto, la historia británica con una dimensión moral y colonizadora estaba en el centro de la enseñanza de la historia. El herbartianismo fue dejado de lado hacia fines de la centuria, aunque permaneció en las escuelas normales. Fue reemplazado por enfoques centrados en el niño/a y por la psicología experimental, si bien el intento anglo-conformista no cambió.

La configuración ideológica enmarcando el desarrollo de la educación y la formación docente hacia el fin de la centuria diecinueve estaba enmarcada por la presencia del darwinismo social de Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), que defendía la transmisión de características adquiridas; el Lamarkianismo (Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, 1744-1829), que argumentaba que los antepasados blancos adquirieron facultades mentales que se transmitieron (idea que era usada para justificar colonialismo y el trabajo de misioneros). Así, la teoría de la recapitulación cultural, que sostenía que el desarrollo de los niños seguía de manera lineal el desarrollo humano y social desde el salvajismo a la vida civilizada occidental, tuvo una presencia que fue más allá de su adopción abierta por educadores como Stanley Hall, líder del *Child Study Movement*, los herbartianos, o el filósofo neo-Hegeliano William Harris e incluso educadores dentro de la educación

¹³ Oelkers, "Philosophies of Education," citation from page 156.

¹⁴ Froebel, *The Education of Man*, translated by J. Jarvis. Part I.

¹⁵ Ken Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History." Teaching in Manitoba Schools. Part I 1897-1927," *Manitoba History*, Winter 1998-1999, 3-25, citado en p. 5.

¹⁶ Ken Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History."

progresiva. Esta ideología de supremacía blanca y su epistemología estuvieron inmersas implícitamente en los planes de estudio, currículo, y libros de texto por muchas décadas y aparecen claramente en el tratamiento y representación de los pueblos indígenas y en la racialización y opresión de la población negra. Aparece también en el tratamiento de otras civilizaciones; así, la civilización china era vista como no progresista, atrasada. *The Ontario Normal School Manual Science of Education*, autorizado por el Ministerio de Educación y publicado en 1915, capítulo IV, titulado "El Currículo Escolar" [*The School Curriculum*] con el subtítulo "Experiencia Valiosa: Conocimiento de la Raza" [*Valuable Experience: Race Knowledge*], ilustra el enfoque lamarkista y provee base para un entendimiento racializado: "Se constituye un cuerpo de experiencia racial, cuyo valor ha sido testado en su aplicación directa a las necesidades de la vida social de la comunidad. Así es que la educación toma la experiencia o los problemas de las formas más típicas de esta experiencia social, o raza."¹⁷ En otras palabras, las experiencias del niño/a son reconstruidas a través de la educación de tal manera que lo/la pone en posesión de las formas de experiencia de la raza más valiosas y así su conducta se torna más eficiente.

Hacia fines del siglo y primeras décadas del siglo veinte, el movimiento filosófico del idealismo en educación es desplazado por el pragmatismo encarnado en John Dewey, siendo *My Pedagogic Creed* ("Mi Credo Pedagógico") un punto de ruptura (1897).¹⁸ Dewey, en *Creed*, entendió la escuela como una forma de vida en comunidad y como agencia transformativa. Su libro *Democracia y Educación* (1916) se convirtió en una referencia central en relación a la educación progresiva y la corriente denominada progresiva pedagógica. En la corriente progresiva administrativa, David Labaree incluye la psicología experimental que ganó un espacio dominante en escuelas normales, siendo el conductista Edward Thorndike (1874-1949) una figura central en oposición a Dewey, y también a los propulsores de la teoría de la eficiencia social.¹⁹ G. Stanley Hall lideraba el *Child Study Movement*, centrándose en el interés de los/las niños/as. Había gran hibridez en la formación de docentes, en particular con referencia a los docentes de educación secundaria que tenían acceso a teoría.²⁰

¹⁷ Ontario Normal School Manual, *Science of Education* authorized by the Minister of Education (Toronto: William Briggs, 1915), 25.

¹⁸ John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," *The School Journal* 54 (1897): 77–80.

¹⁹ David Labaree, "Progressivism, Schools, and Schools of Education: An American Romance," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, nos. 1 and 2 (February 2005): 275-288.

²⁰ Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Joseph Stafford, *The Peripatetic Journey of Teacher Preparation in Canada* (Emerald Publishing, 2020), 121. Se generan relaciones personales e institucionales con los Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña. Un ejemplo interesante lo da la Asociación Educacional de Ontario (OEA) invitó a G. Stanley Hall a Toronto en 1874, para hacer presentaciones sobre la centralidad de los niños en la educación. Patrice Milewski and Annmarie Valdes, "The Ontario Educational Association: Transnational Networks and Curriculum Reform in the Early Twentieth Century," *Paedagogica Historica*, 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2023.2263841>.

La Escuela Normal

La docencia para la escuela elemental era preparada en las escuelas normales y las escuelas modelos, las que ofrecían observación y práctica. La docencia para escuelas secundarias requería un grado universitario, no siempre exigido.

En principio, la escuela pública como agencia del estado y el cuerpo docente (sus agentes) tendría como misión crear una nación homogénea con la lengua inglesa, la cultura imperial y una sociedad gobernable. Sin embargo, la noción de anglo-conformidad, a menudo usada, necesita ser entendida no solo a la luz de configuraciones ideológicas británicas y norte-americanas, sino de diferencias étnicas en parte generadas por la inmigración masiva, características regionales, movimientos sociales y diferencias religiosas, en particular el papel que tuvo en la educación la Iglesia Católica, ligada a la cuestión francesa. El concepto de colonialidad como matriz de poder que es a menudo contestada es más útil.

La Iglesia Católica jugó un papel mayor en Quebec, pero también se abrió un espacio en las diferentes provincias con escuelas privadas, parroquiales, o siendo financiado por el estado (*separated catholic school system* siguiendo el currículo oficial, por ejemplo, Saskatchewan). El anticatolicismo se expresa en varios conflictos que no se analizan aquí.²¹ Es importante indicar que los docentes católicos asistían a las escuelas normales o pasaban exámenes, dependiendo de la provincia y del periodo histórico.

Se requería para entrar a la escuela normal grado 11; en la práctica, había mucha flexibilidad en las admisiones y pocos requerimientos, lo cual se reflejaba en las categorías de certificaciones y en los permisos. La investigación hecha por Miller muestra que en 1913, excluyendo Quebec, 9.7% de los docentes tenían certificados de primera clase que exigía un grado adicional en la escuela secundaria y un año entero de preparación profesional. Miller ubicó a un 18 por ciento debajo de la categoría tres (menos que la primera parte del secundario y un periodo corto de entrenamiento o ninguno) incluyendo aquellas/os que enseñaban con permisos.²²

La configuración patriarcal de la sociedad se retrataba en las escuelas, las mujeres estaban fuertemente representadas en el nivel elemental, mientras que los hombres lo estaban a nivel secundario y en la administración escolar. Las mujeres no tenían el derecho a continuar como docentes después de casarse.²³ Sin embargo, las docentes

²¹ Incluye la Manitoba School Question. Vea nota 6.

²² Robert D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 125–27; la información fue tomada por Gidney y Millar de James Collins Miller, *Rural Schools in Canada: Their Organization, Administration and Supervision* (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1913), 63, Table 6.

²³ Kate Rousmaniere, *City Teachers: Teaching and School Reform in Historical Perspective* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "'Girls Just Want to Have Fun': Women Teachers and the Pleasures of the Profession," in *History Is Hers: Women Educators in Twentieth Century Ontario*, eds. Rebecca Priegert Coulter and Helen Harper (Calgary: Detselig, 2005), 211–29.

mujeres jugaron un papel importante en las asociaciones de docentes primarios y secundarios y en el movimiento feminista.²⁴

Hacia el fin de la centuria se acentúa en el mundo occidental el movimiento hacia la profesionalización de la educación y el proceso de desarrollo de un cuerpo de conocimiento considerado científico, particularmente en psicología. Se crearon cátedras de pedagogía en universidades de Estados Unidos (Universidad de Ohio, Iowa, Michigan, Columbia, Berkeley, Chicago, Stanford y Harvard) donde evolucionaron en departamentos y luego en *colleges of education*. Las universidades en Canadá vivían un proceso de cambio. Se movían de instituciones que preservaban valores cristianos y formaban la élite, a instituciones que respondían a las necesidades de industrialización, especialmente en Ontario. En 1894, *The Educational Journal*, publicado en Toronto, recibe muy bien la creación del grado en pedagogía en la Universidad de Toronto (1893) y afirma el derecho a que la enseñanza sea vista como una de las profesiones que se aprende.²⁵ La creación de facultades de educación en la Universidad de Toronto en 1906 y en Queen's University en 1907 tenía como fin la profesionalización de la enseñanza a nivel secundario y la promoción de la investigación. Las dos facultades fracasan y cierran en 1920. Mientras tanto, McGill vio la oportunidad de estar a la par con Teachers College en Columbia y la School of Education en la Universidad de Chicago.²⁶ Una mirada al programa de la Facultad en Queen's, cuya admisión requería un grado universitario, ejemplifica entre los años 1907 y 1920, su carácter ecléctico. John Dewey (Pragmatismo), William Kilpatrick (pragmatismo), Herbert Spencer (evolucionismo social), Edward Thorndike (conductismo), Friedrich Froebel (psicología racionalista, *kinder garden* (jardín de infantes)) mediado por James Hughes, y Friedrich Herbart a través de los Herbartianos norteamericanos. Incluía también a William Torrey Harris (Idealismo filosófico, neo-Hegeliano) y a G. Stanley Hall (movimiento por el estudio de la niñez) buscando el pasaje de lo tradicional a lo nuevo.

Hacia el comienzo de la nueva centuria, Canadá se convertía en una sociedad industrial, con gran crecimiento urbano, intensa inmigración, mientras que la presencia de corporaciones para explotar la madera y las minas y la concentración de capitales afectaba a los pequeños propietarios de molinos y plantas procesadoras.

Canadá rural, en particular en las praderas, se caracterizaba por trabajo fuera de la granja, autoabastecimiento y un sistema de comercio internacional de grano basado en la granja familiar.²⁷ El ritmo de la granja afectaba la vida de la escuela sumado a la existencia de cientos de consejos escolares que podían contratar y despedir docentes. Más aún, los granjeros estaban muy politizados no solo en las praderas sino también en

²⁴ Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Life History as a Window to Understanding the Politics of Teaching and Schooling: Manitoba Teacher Sybil Shack (1911-2004)," *Manitoba History*, no 59 (2008): 13-24.

²⁵ Nota editorial: University Degrees in Pedagogy (1894), *Educational Journal, Toronto*, 8, no 4 (1894):56.

²⁶ Reginald Edwards, "Theory, History, and Practice of Education: Fin de siècle and a New Beginning," *McGill Journal of Education* 26, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 259-260.

²⁷ Ruth W. Sandwell, *Canada's Rural Majority. Households, Environments, and Economies, 1870-1940* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp.138-139.

Ontario y Quebec. Se trataba de un orden liberal híbrido. En 1916, ocho provincias tenían la ley de educación obligatoria, Ontario fue la primera en 1872, mientras que Quebec y Terranova no la promulgaron hasta 1942.²⁸

Las escuelas elementales rurales tenían su propia vida en línea con la composición étnica y cultural. En las ciudades, la materialidad de la escuela afirmaba la conexión con el imperio (foto del rey y la reina, celebración del día del imperio, versión Mercator de un mapamundi). Los docentes enseñaban con orgullo "que el sol nunca se pone en la *Union Jack*" (la bandera del imperio).

El Período Entre Las Dos Guerras

El periodo entre las dos guerras que se extiende desde 1918, fin de la primera guerra mundial, hasta el fin de la segunda guerra. Hacia el fin de la guerra, se perfila un cuadro geopolítico que incluye la caída de los imperios, siguiendo a Hobsbawm, Otomano, Austrohúngaro, Ruso, y Germano.²⁹ Si bien el mapa fue modificado en Europa, África, Asia y el Medio Oriente, el colonialismo continuó, así como el racismo subyacente. Gran Bretaña y Francia eran las dos mayores potencias coloniales. En el caso de Canadá, el historiador Ian McKay habla del "orden liberal" que comenzó en 1840 con un grupo de activistas dedicados al liberalismo clásico y sus nociones de libertad individual, igualdad formal, la propiedad privada y elaboraron varias rejillas de poder: el sistema penitenciario y los códigos criminales, escuelas y legislaturas usadas para contener a aquellos colonizados.³⁰ Esta forma de liberalismo conservador verticalista mantuvo hegemonía hasta los años de 1940; en la práctica hubieron muchos procesos de negociación, el lenguaje oficial de la educación fue resistido e incluso redirigido mientras que los niños indígenas eran separados de sus familias en escuelas residenciales y había segregación de la población negra.³¹

Los poderes coloniales reorganizados después de la guerra establecen un orden liberal para sí y excluyen de este modelo a los colonizados en África y Asia recurriendo a jerarquías raciales y los condenan a la violencia colonial aunque no pueden impedir ideas emergentes de soberanía y autodeterminación.³² El Dominio Canadiense hace lo mismo con los pueblos indígenas y la población negra (a mediados del siglo diecinueve Ontario y Nueva Escocia establecen legalmente escuelas segregadas para niños/as negros) y

²⁸ Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada: 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

²⁹ Erick Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, (Abacus, 1996) 7.

³⁰ Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2000): 617-651, <https://dx.doi.org/10.3138/CHR.81.4.617>.

³¹ J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision. A History of Native Residential Schools* (University of Toronto Press, 1996); La segregación legal en las escuelas de Nueva Escocia terminó, pero todavía en los 1950 tardíos, The Prestons, la localidad donde estaban las escuelas para estudiantes negros/as, al este de Halifax, se empleaban sólo docentes negros. George Perry, *The Grand Regulator: The Miseducation of Nova Scotia Teachers, 1838-1997* (Mc Gill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 231-233.

³² Martin Thomas, *The End of Empires and a World Remade. A Global History of Decolonization* (Princeton University Press, 2024), 69.

coexiste con la resistencia del Canadá francés y los acadianos franceses (descendientes de colonos franceses desplazados por el triunfo inglés).. Se reproduce el modelo internamente.

Muchos canadienses del Canadá inglés sintieron que su país era una entidad nacional distintiva al mismo tiempo que era una parte importante del imperio británico. Canadá había firmado el Tratado de Versalles e iniciado membresía separada en la recientemente creada Liga de Naciones.³³ “Educación y el espíritu nacional” era un asunto importante para líderes políticos y el mundo de los negocios preocupados por los disturbios laborales (*the Winnipeg general strike*) y la presencia de inmigrantes, como indica Tom Mitchel.³⁴ Estas ideas aparecen claramente en la Conferencia Nacional sobre “Educación del Carácter en relación a la Ciudadanía Canadiense”, que Mitchel interpreta como un esfuerzo de la clase media para enfrentar la crisis de postguerra.³⁵ La mayoría en esta conferencia pensó que la escuela tenía un papel fundamental en la transmisión de la ideología del imperio [*anglo-conformity*], en la asimilación de inmigrantes, en la estabilidad social, servicio y hostilidad al cambio radical. Por supuesto, los delegados de Quebec (Canadá francés) disintieron, trataron de hacer ver que había otra visión de Canadá mientras que los pocos líderes laborales que había no fueron escuchados.³⁶ Se trataba de una cultura cívica basada en servicio, obligaciones y responsabilidades que se plasmaba en el currículo y en las escuelas normales. Esta visión “moralista” de la educación como agente social no era algo aislada. Después de la guerra, se generó un fuerte sentimiento que una civilización nueva se podría crear a través de la educación. Se formó así La Liga Internacional de Mujeres por la Paz y la Libertad [*Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom*] oficialmente in 1919 con centrales en Ginebra y Filadelfia siendo sus líderes Jane Addams, Emily Green Balch entre otras; ya existía el Congreso Internacional de Educación Moral (1908-1934).³⁷ Olvidaron que la realidad demográfica, política y cultural desafiaban esa noción de la escuela. La situación económica después de la guerra llevó a enfatizar la educación vocacional en las escuelas; algunos docentes en programas vocacionales eran militantes en organizaciones laborales.³⁸

En el mismo contexto nacional e interactuando con el mundo educativo , en los años veinte, las mujeres – no todas – adquirirían el derecho a voto, se repelía la prohibición de alcohol, se continuaban creando organizaciones comunitarias que tenían que ver con los distritos escolares y los/las docentes, se extendía el test de coeficiencia de inteligencia,

³³ Rosa Bruno-Jofré, “Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945,” *Manitoba History*, 36 (Autumn /Winter 1998-1999): 26-36.

³⁴ Tom Mitchel, “The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality: Winnipeg’s 1919 National Conference on Canadian Citizenship, English Canadian Nationalism, and the New Order after the Great War,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, o 4 (Winter 1996): 5-28.

³⁵ Mitchel, “The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality”

³⁶ Mitchel, “The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality”

³⁷ Marco Cicchini, “Un bouillon de culture pour les sciences de l’éducation? Les Congrès International d’éducation morale (1908-1934),” *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5-6 (October 2004): 633-656.

³⁸ Rosa Bruno-Jofré , *Citizenship and Schooling*, 31.

y se introducía a los padres y madres a ideas científicas sobre la crianza de los niñas y niños mientras que organizaciones de padres y madres y docentes crecieron al punto de que en 1922 se creó la *Home and School Association* (la Asociación Nacional Hogar y Escuela).³⁹ No podemos dejar de lado las asociaciones provinciales de educación canadiense-francesas que protegían los intereses católicos y la lengua francesa y abrían espacios para la educación católica en escuelas públicas, las que, como en el caso de Manitoba en áreas franco-manitobanas, estaban a cargo de religiosas católicas que se formaban en las escuelas normales.⁴⁰

Después de la guerra, el movimiento de la nueva educación en Europa toma fuerza, así como la educación progresiva en los Estados Unidos y ambas circulan en tiempo y espacio.⁴¹ La expansión de ideas occidentales generó un proceso transformativo de apropiación. Hay una reconstitución de redes transnacionales como instituciones organizadas; en términos de educación, la *New Education Fellowship* (Liga de la Educación Nueva) tenía una fuerte dimensión internacional. En su publicación *The New Era* se encuentran noticias desde 1920, por ejemplo, aparece una nota sobre la *National Conference on Education and Character* (Conferencia Nacional sobre la Educación y el Carácter), Winnipeg, 1919;⁴² hay numerosas referencias, en particular Canadá inglés, y se cita a William Blatz, director fundador del *Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto* (director desde 1925 a 1960 aquí).

En un nivel macro, los educacionistas organizaron sus propios congresos, conferencias internacionales de educación que sustentaban o generaban cooperación internacional. Los congresos tenían lugar no solo en Europa sino en América Latina. Al mismo tiempo, Estados Unidos extiende su hegemonía sobre América Latina con el panamericanismo, que enfoca también la educación y la niñez y se organizan las conferencias pan-Pacífico un encuentro del este y oeste “para democratizar la educación.”⁴³ Las ciencias educacionales son legitimadas a través de la nueva psicología cuyo objeto era la conducta humana, su variabilidad; incluía psicología individual, psicología de la individualidad, la psicología de los Estados Unidos (incluía conductismo y pragmatismo), psicología Gestalt, psicoanálisis, y la psicología del irracionalismo. Kevin Brehony observa la diferencia que surge entre una concepción moral y espiritual de la educación,

³⁹ Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens. History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905 to 1980* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 29-55.

⁴⁰ Rosa Bruno-Jofré, *The Missionary Oblate Sisters: Vision and Mission* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005): 106-107.

⁴¹ See Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Scheuwly, “New Education at the Heart of Knowledge Transformations,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 4-5 (August-October 2009).

⁴² *The New Era*, 1, no. 273 (1920-21): 22, <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/special-collections/2020/04/27/the-new-era-journal-1921-1999-now-available-online/>. Había también una publicación en frances y otra en alemán.

⁴³ Eckhardt Fuchs, “Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics: International Educational Congresses. In the Early Twentieth Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* XL, no. 5-6 (October 2004): 757-784.

con énfasis en los fines de la educación y una concepción positivista y ubica a la psicología en una posición ambigua.⁴⁴

Lo regional y local

En un nivel macro, las ciencias de la educación tomaban forma y las teorías pedagógicas progresivas, las teorías de eficiencia y los desarrollos en psicología llegaban de alguna manera a las escuelas normales. Estas tomaban forma ecléctica de acuerdo a las necesidades regionales, influencias étnicas, ideologías, e imaginarios sociales, y la colonialidad dominante. Sin embargo, en las escuelas normales había mucho énfasis en la psicología educativa inspirada por el psicólogo experimental Edward Thorndike, quien, en 1904, publicó *An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurement*.⁴⁵ Era conocido como “el padre de la medición” y tenía un lugar importante en el currículo en particular desde los años veinte. Paterson nos dice que el movimiento de reforma creció lentamente en los años veinte y concluyó alrededor de 1939.⁴⁶

Cada provincia y aún cada región daba a las ideas circulantes características singulares; las corrientes de pensamiento llegaban de manera despareja y ecléctica a los gobiernos provinciales y por consiguiente a las escuelas normales. Por ejemplo, en las provincias marítimas Nueva Escocia, New Brunswick, Isla del Príncipe Eduardo, Terranova (se une a Canadá en 1949) las escuelas normales se fundaron a mediados del siglo diecinueve.⁴⁷ La preparación docente se dio en el contexto caracterizado por la presencia de los acadianos y su resistencia, los indígenas que eran colonizados y en Nueva Escocia segregación escolar de los/las niños/niñas negros/as, historia que comparte con Quebec y Ontario.⁴⁸ A partir de 1892, las escuelas normales en Nueva Escocia tomaron un

⁴⁴ Kevin J. Brehony, “A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education 1921-1938,” *Paedagogica Historica* 40, nos. 5–6 (2004): 733–55, footnote 107; information is from *Towards a New Education*, ed. William Boyd and Muriel M. Mackenzie, eds., (London, 1930), 348.

⁴⁵ Vea, por ejemplo, “Regulation and Courses of Study for Provincial Normal Schools 1928-1929, *The Homeroom*, curric.library.uvic.ca/homeroom/content/topics/programs/curriclm/nschool.htm.

⁴⁶ Robert S. Patterson, “The Canadian Experience with Progressive Education,” in *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, ed. E. Brian Titley (Calgary: Destelig, 1990), 95-110.

⁴⁷ George D. Perry, *The Grand Regulator: The Miseducation of Nova Scotia's Teachers, 1838-1997* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); Paul W. Bennett, “Unsettling ‘Old Ways’: Matter or Method, Relevance or Standards in Nova Scotia Teacher Education, 1855 to the Present,” in *The Curriculum History of Canadian Teacher Education*, ed. Theodore Michael Christou (New York: Routledge, 2018), 75–90, 76; Frances Helyar, “Thwarted Ambitions: Teacher Education in New Brunswick,” in Christou, *Curriculum History*, 94–109; Sean Wiebe and J. Tim Goddard, “Conquest, Controversy, and Consolidation: A History of Teacher Education on Prince Edward Island,” in Christou, *Curriculum History*, 59–73, 68; Gerard Galway, “Reading, Writing, and Religion: The History of Teacher Education in Newfoundland and Labrador,” in Christou, *Curriculum History*, 41–58; Trudi Dale Johnson, “Teacher Training in Newfoundland, 1800-1949” (MA thesis, Memorial University, May 1985).

⁴⁸ George D. Perry, *The Grand Regulator: The Miseducation of Nova Scotia's Teachers, 1838-1997* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); Perry, *The Grand Regulator*, 231–33; see also “Milestones in Human Rights in Nova Scotia,” Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, accessed April 1, 2010, <https://humanrights.novascotia.ca/about/milestones-human-rights-nova-scotia>. La primera docente negra se graduó en 1928 en la escuela normal de Truro; sin embargo, las docentes negras eran orientadas hacia materias domésticas y los docentes a las artes industriales.

carácter utilitario en relación con las necesidades regionales y asumen una misión rural. En los años treinta, Columbia Británica, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, y Nuevo Brunswick emprendieron reformas curriculares con una integración ecléctica de corrientes progresivas y de educación nueva y la agenda de la clase media como de los docentes profesionales.⁴⁹ Expresaban una modernidad emergente. La cuestión religiosa cruzaba no solo las provincias marítimas sino las otras provincias y territorios. No hay espacio para discutir las reformas en cada provincia.

En las praderas, la educación progresiva alcanzó Manitoba, Saskatchewan y Alberta hacia fines de 1920 y, en particular en Alberta y Ontario en los años 1930, en el contexto de la Depresión.⁵⁰ Saskatchewan experimentó con el método de instrucción individualizada *Winnetka Plan* (Illinois).⁵¹ El método Enterprise, nombre tomado del informe británico Hadow, similar al método de proyecto (de William Kilpatrick del Teachers College at Columbia University), centrado en problemas, cooperación e integración de materias, se divulgó con el sello de la influencia de Donald Dickie en Alberta y otras provincias.⁵² Dickie se desempeñó como instructora en las tres escuelas normales de Alberta. Nótese que cuestionaba los estereotipos indígenas y la discriminación.⁵³

Había un contexto reformista en medio de la crisis del 30, the *Cooperative Commonwealth Federation*, coalición política de organizaciones de trabajadores, progresistas y socialistas, se funda en Calgary en 1932 y se convertiría en un partido político nacional. Alberta traduce los componentes de la educación progresiva de los Estados Unidos en un programa de reforma curricular de la enseñanza elemental y secundaria, con énfasis en nuevos desarrollos en psicología incluyendo los conductistas de Columbia University y la incidencia del ambiente.⁵⁴ Una conexión importante en el movimiento de ideas fue Huber Newland, supervisor de escuelas, quien había servido en el comité ejecutivo de la *American Progressive Education Association*. Newland estaba influenciado por George Counts, profesor en el *Teachers College*, reconstruccionista social que concebía un papel político para los docentes y cuyo enfoque era considerado radical.⁵⁵ En cambio, en Columbia Británica, el ministro de educación del gobierno liberal

⁴⁹ Paul W. Bennett, "Unsettling 'Old Ways': Matter or Method, Relevance or Standards in Nova Scotia Teacher Education, 1855 to the Present," in *The Curriculum History of Canadian Teacher Education*, ed. Theodore Michael Christou (New York: Routledge, 2018), 75–90, 76.

⁵⁰ Robert Patterson, "The Canadian Experience."

⁵¹ Robert Patterson, "The Canadian Experience," 104; Kerry Alcorn, *Border Crossings. U.S. Culture and Education in Saskatchewan, 1905-1937* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 42-43.

⁵² Amy Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta Schools, 1905-1980* (University of Calgary Press, 2006), 55-90.

⁵³ Dickie fue una de las primeras mujeres que obtuvo un PhD en historia de la Universidad de Toronto en 1929.

⁵⁴ Amy Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 55-90.

⁵⁵ C. A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression. The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969).

en 1933 concebía a la escuela como agente de cambio social enfocando en la socialización del individuo, no en la reforma de las instituciones.⁵⁶

En 1937, en medio de la depresión, desempleo, y conflictos sociales, el ministerio de educación de Ontario produjo un documento con un nuevo currículo y nuevas políticas. Se lo llamó *Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of the Public and Separate Schools* [Programa de Estudios para los Grados I a VI de las Escuelas Públicas y las Separadas], conocido como el Little Gray Book.⁵⁷ Fue seguido en 1938 por el *Programme of Studies for Grades VII and VIII of the Public and Separate Schools* [Programa de Estudios para Grados VII y VIII]. Se trata de cambios estructurales, pero aún más de cambios curriculares y pedagógicos los que prometían mayor autonomía de los docentes y la formación de un sujeto escolar inquisitivo dentro del marco canadiense liberal. Se cita el informe británico Hadow y recoge ideas de psicología, higiene, teorías de desarrollo del niño, ideas de la *Progressive Education Society* y conceptos prevalentes en la nueva educación.⁵⁸ La *New Education Fellowship* tenía contacto con la *Ontario Educational Association*. Es importante señalar el papel de Thornton Mustard, miembro del personal de la *Toronto Normal School* y desde 1938, director, dado que jugó un rol central no solo en el desarrollo de la reforma sino como principal y en su trabajo con futuros docentes.

El enfoque discriminatorio racial y étnico de los libros de texto, en especial de historia, los estereotipos raciales y la aceptación del imperialismo eran parte de la concepción progresiva. Los docentes se actualizaban en el método con cursos de verano.

La formación de docentes se amplía. La educación técnica y la preparación de personal docente para esta área había adquirido relevancia a nivel nacional después del informe de 1913 de la *Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*, seguida por la *Technical Education Act* de 1919 que proveía fondos a las provincias. Por otra parte, Ellis ha indicado que, entre 1910 y 1945 había alrededor de 340 docentes de educación especial, siendo casi todas mujeres, en Toronto y Vancouver,⁵⁹ Eran docentes experimentadas que posiblemente hubieran tomado cursos en psicología e higiene mental.⁶⁰

La creación de federaciones de docentes después de la Primera Guerra en la década de los años veinte trajo una voz corporativa con relación a salarios, seguridad en el trabajo, pensiones, procesos de contratación, un empuje para la profesionalización. La década

⁵⁶ Jean Simpson Mann, *Progressive Education and the Depression in British Columbia* (MA thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of British Columbia, 1978).

⁵⁷ Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for Grades I and VI of the Public and Separate Schools, 1937* (hereafter *The Programme*).

⁵⁸ Patrice Milewski, "The Little Gray Book': Pedagogy, Discourse and Rupture in 1937," *History of Education* 37, no. 1 (January 2008): 91-111.

⁵⁹ Jason Ellis, "Exceptional Educators: Canada's First Special Education Teachers, 1910-1945," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 30, no 2 (Fall/Autumn 2018): 47-77.

⁶⁰ Ellis, "Exceptional Educators," 58-59.

de 1920 fue precedida por el movimiento de trabajadores en 1919 con 428 huelgas a través del país. En 1920 se crea la *Canadian Teachers Federation*, una confederación de asociaciones provinciales las que estaban organizadas de acuerdo al nivel, lenguaje, religión, sexo. Sus publicaciones mostraban preocupación con el profesionalismo, el desarrollo de una conciencia profesional mientras que el número de docentes primarios poco calificados en particular en zonas rurales era alto. La feminización de la enseñanza era parte de la ideología de género y estaba expresada en salarios, limitaciones (no podían ser casadas); los hombres aspiraban a niveles más altos, normalmente la secundaria y a posiciones administrativas. En 1920 en Canadá, había 48,178 mujeres docentes y 9,600 hombres (las estadísticas no diferenciaban entre educación elemental y secundaria).⁶¹ En Quebec en 1920, había 14,570 docentes mujeres y 2,631 docentes hombres. En 1930 en Canadá, había 55,990 docentes mujeres y 14,255 docentes hombres. En 1919 había en Ontario, 10,570 docentes mujeres en escuelas elementales públicas, mientras que el total de docentes en esa categoría era 11,803.⁶² En 1930, en Ontario, había 15,663 docentes mujeres y 3,777 docentes hombres; en Quebec, había 17,220 docentes mujeres y 3,751 docentes hombres.⁶³

Las revistas tenían un papel formativo siendo financiadas directa o indirectamente por el Departamento Provincial de Educación (por ejemplo, el *Western School Journal* en Manitoba o *The School*, publicada por el *Ontario College of Education*). Esta última muestra la influencia de la educación progresiva en particular en el nivel secundario e introduce lecciones modelos para generar una educación experiencial.⁶⁴ Se trataba de enfoques que reforzaban autorregulación, carácter moral y una ciudadanía ordenada. Es interesante observar cómo las revistas de las federaciones de docentes utilizaban el lenguaje deweyano de democracia y educación, educación siendo parte de la vida misma. El discurso de ciudadanía de los tempranos años de 1930 que desplegaba con tonos deweyanos, por ejemplo, la revista *Manitoba Teacher* publicada por la *Manitoba Teachers Federation* estaba enmarcado en un currículo colonial con contenido británico imperial.⁶⁵ Hacia los últimos años treinta, la preocupación con el autoritarismo y la

⁶¹ Statistics Canada, "Historical Statistics for Canada – Education," <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/4147445-eng.htm#2>; W150-191, "Full Time Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Sex, Canada and Provinces, Selected Years, 1867 to 1975," https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W150_191b-eng.csv

⁶² "Appendix K," in *Sessional Papers, Vol. LIII, Part IV, Second Session of the Fifteenth Legislature of the Province of Ontario*, 2nd Session, No. 13-18 (Toronto, 1921), 150, <https://archive.org/details/n04ontariosession53ontauoft/page/n375>.

⁶³ Statistics Canada, "Historical Statistics for Canada – Education," <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/4147445-eng.htm#2>; "W150-191. Full Time Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Sex, Canada and Provinces, Selected Years, 1867 to 1975," https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W150_191b-eng.csv

⁶⁴ Alice A. Harding, "Language Work in Primary Grades," *The School* 12, no. 1 (February 1923): 21–33; H. E. Amos, "Lessons 75-85, Senior Second, A Public-School Geography Programme," *The School* 12, no. 1 (February 1923): 15–35, citado en p. 20.

⁶⁵ "Deliberate Citizenship Training," *The Manitoba School Journal* 1, no. 4 (December 1938): 3.

emergencia del fascismo y el nazismo tomaron un lugar central. La guerra llevó a la preparación de docentes con un discurso patriótico y de servicio.

No hubo cambios estructurales en la formación de los docentes en el periodo entre guerras, aunque sí los hubo en Estados Unidos donde se crearon los *Teachers College*.⁶⁶ Hacia fines de la guerra se abrió un período transicional en la preparación de docentes en Canadá en medio de debates sobre la misión de la educación y las Comisiones Reales.

El “interregno” y los “largos años sesenta”: redefiniendo asunciones y los primeros pasos hacia la descolonización en la preparación de docentes indígenas

El fin de la segunda guerra trajo el colapso del imperio británico y la ascendencia de los Estados Unidos como potencia mundial.⁶⁷ Canadá entra en un proceso de autodefinición. El *Acta de ciudadanía canadiense* fue adoptada el 1 de enero de 1947 y el día del imperio fue reemplazado por el día de la ciudadanía. La guerra llevó a un cuestionamiento de posicionamientos racistas y etnocentristas en medio de un proceso de descolonización global. La cuestión indígena en Canadá tomaría fuerza política en los años setenta. En el nuevo alineamiento geopolítico, Canadá se alinea como aliado de los Estados Unidos durante la guerra fría, la cual tuvo también el carácter de guerra cultural y se reflejó en la educación y particularmente en la pedagogía.

En la posguerra hubo cambios políticos, militares, demográficos, y educacionales en particular en la preparación de docentes primarios. El estado canadiense introdujo controles keynesianos en la economía y creó programas de bienestar social.⁶⁸ Estos cambios coexistieron con el conservadorismo fundacional manteniendo al rey británico como jefe de estado y la anglo-conformidad dominaba en las escuelas. Así, la coronación de la reina Isabel II en 1953 fue un evento que apareció en todas las publicaciones escolares.⁶⁹

Al mismo tiempo, había una preocupación con el desarrollo de una cultura canadiense cuestionando la influencia norteamericana lo cual es evidente en el informe (1951) de la *Royal Commission* conocida como *Massey Commission*.⁷⁰ La comisión refleja las

⁶⁶ James W. Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers: A History* (New York: Teachers' College Press, 2007), 74–78.

⁶⁷ El término interregno es tomado de Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, “Introduction,” in *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-War Canada, 1940-1955*, eds. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 3-23, citado en p. 7.

⁶⁸ Ian McKay, “The Canadian Passive Revolution, 1840-1950,” *Capital and Class* 34, no. 3 (2010): 361-381, citado en p. 373.

⁶⁹ A.M. Pratt, “Suggestions for Teachers: On Social Studies,” *The Manitoba School Journal* 19, no. 8 (April 1958): 6–8, cita de la p. 8.

⁷⁰ Canada, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters & Sciences, 1949–1951 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), 16–17, by permission of the Privy Council Office, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/massey/h5-401-e.html>. El Consejo de Canadá, establecido en 1957, fue el resultado de las recomendaciones emitidas por la Comisión Massey.

tensiones propias de un reacomodamiento que trata de rescatar elementos residuales del pasado con un tono conservador y civilizador. Hilda Neatby, miembro de la comisión, denunciaba en los tempranos cincuenta, la influencia que había tenido la educación progresiva.⁷¹

El escenario social y económico cambiaba rápidamente, dramáticos cambios demográficos después de la guerra con la admisión de desplazados por la guerra y 1,543,000 inmigrantes de países europeos entre 1951 and 1961 lo cual impactó el sistema educativo.⁷² La *Bill of Rights* de 1960 rechaza discriminación racial, religiosa, y de género y en 1967, se establece el sistema de puntos para la inmigración que se extiende a países de África, Asia, el Caribe y América Latina. Las corrientes pedagógicas y las teorías educativas y psicológicas emergentes se superponen; así, cuando en 1957 la Unión Soviética lanzó el primer satélite espacial se generó especialmente en Estados Unidos, una crítica al currículo y énfasis en matemáticas y conocimiento científico. Sin embargo, a mediados de los sesenta hubo un movimiento hacia la educación progresiva e incluso educación alternativa crítica teniendo como contexto el movimiento global de disenso incluyendo el movimiento por los derechos civiles, la segunda ola feminista y reclamos por la equidad.⁷³

En Canadá, el progresismo de los sesenta se refleja en *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, 1968* [Vivir y Aprender: Informe del Comité Provincial sobre Fines y Objetivos de la Educación en las Escuelas de Ontario], documento conocido como Informe Hall Dennis, que incluso cita a John Dewey.⁷⁴ Cole ha argumentado que el documento es una respuesta a los desafíos de la modernidad tratando de salvar lo individual, la creatividad, la autonomía y la libertad; una utopía en línea con “los largos años 1960” los que exhibían varias tendencias desde la Nueva Izquierda hasta formas incipientes libertarias.⁷⁵ Fue un periodo de disensión global dentro de una constelación política y cultural con muchos frentes, coyunturas políticas, intersecciones religiosas, un nuevo sentido del ser que

⁷¹ Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1953). Kenneth C. Dewar, “Hilda Neatby’s 1950s and My 1950s,” *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d’études canadiennes* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 210–31; Bruno-Jofré and Cole, “To Serve and Yet Be Free.”

⁷² Statistics Canada, *Canada Yearbook, 1976-1977, Special Edition* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce, December 1977).

⁷³ Wayne Urban, *More than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Act of 1958* (University of Alabama Press, 2010); *Schools of Tomorrow, Schools of Today: What Happened to Progressive Education*, ed. Susan E. Semel and Alan R. Sadovnik (Peter Lang, 2006/1999), 1–23.

⁷⁴ Josh Cole, *Hall-Dennis and the Road to Utopia: Education and Modernity in Ontario* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2021).

⁷⁵ Cole, *Hall-Dennis and the Road to Utopia*, 15. Los largos años sesenta, concepto que proviene de Arthur Marwick y se usa para examinar el período que va desde los últimos años de 1950 hasta mediados de los 1970. Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c.1974* (Oxford University Press, 1988).

creaba subjetividades y deseos.⁷⁶ Canadá vivía la *Quiet Revolution* en Quebec desde fines de los cincuenta y en los años setenta. El entendimiento de Quebec como unidad política “*basic polity*” de Canadá francés, creó un nuevo escenario para la educación a través del país. El movimiento de mujeres llevó a la *Royal Commission on the Status of Women* (1967-1970) y a un proceso de concientización de la situación de la mujer. Después de las objeciones al *Report de la Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1969), los líderes políticos reconocieron la necesidad de formular nuevos principios con un renovado sentido de canadeidad, no uno limitado a “las dos razas fundadoras.” Así emerge Canadá como país multicultural y bilingüe inglés-francés. En 1971, el primer ministro Pierre Trudeau declara en la *House of Commons* la adopción de una política multicultural dentro de un marco bilingüe. Las naciones indígenas, así como los nacionalistas del Quebec, no se sintieron representados en esta decisión. El multiculturalismo se establece en los años ochenta con la section 27 of the *Charter of Rights* de 1982 y la *Multiculturalism Act (Bill C93)* de 1988. La política multiculturalista y pluralismo liberal tuvo un impacto importante en las facultades de educación las que, en muchos casos, identificaron las limitaciones del culturalismo liberal y desarrollaron enfoques antirracistas en la intersección con género.⁷⁷

El escenario de posguerra y las condiciones emergentes en la década de 1960 generaron un punto de inflexión. Dentro del contexto de posguerra las escuelas normales fueron reemplazadas en algunas provincias por *Teachers College* que requerían certificación de la escuela secundaria, siguiendo al ejemplo de los Estados Unidos de principios de siglo. Pero esto no era suficiente y la preparación de docentes para escuelas elementales empieza a ser movida a las universidades en las diferentes provincias: Alberta en 1945, Terranova en 1946, en Columbia Británica en 1956, en Saskatchewan en 1964, en Manitoba en 1965, en Ontario en 1965, y en Quebec en 1969.⁷⁸ Fue una década de comisiones reales y comisiones provinciales sobre educación siendo la preparación de docentes, los fines educacionales, las funciones de la escuela, temas centrales. En 1967 se crea el *Council of Ministers of Education of Canada* con el objetivo de tener una voz común en la Comunicación con el gobierno federal y facilitar la cooperación interprovincial.

Las facultades que abren en los sesenta reflejan la coyuntura histórica. Los líderes de negocios y los líderes políticos no esperaban que los alumnos fueran formados de manera estrictamente utilitaria. Paul Axelrod argumentó que lo que querían era una exposición intensa a las artes liberales lo cual era considerado vital para la economía de

⁷⁶ Rosa Bruno-Jofré, “The ‘Long 1960s’ in a Global Arena of Contention: Re-defining Assumptions of Self, Morality, Race, Gender and Justice, and Questioning Education,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* 6, no. 1 (January-June 2019): 5–27.

⁷⁷ See Franca Iacovetta, *Before Official Multiculturalism: Women and Pluralism in Toronto, 1950-1970s* (University of Toronto Press, 2022).

⁷⁸ Nancy Shehan and Donald Wilson, “From Normal School to the University to the College of Teachers: Teacher Education in British Columbia in the 20th Century,” *Journal of Education for Teaching* 20, no. 1 (1994): 23-37, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0260747940200104>.

posguerra que necesitaba estudiantes con una actitud crítica y creativa.⁷⁹ Era una manera de enfocar la noción de capital humano en lo que se entendía como una sociedad educativa. De esta manera, el *Report of the Minister Committee on the Training of Elementary Teachers* de 1966 [Informe del Comité del Ministro sobre el Entrenamiento de Docentes Elementales] conocido como el Informe MacLeod incluía un prospecto del programa para Ontario que incluía humanidades y ciencias sociales.⁸⁰ Por supuesto, se esperaba que hubieran cursos sobre técnicas de enseñanza y práctica pero se enfatizaba que las técnicas no relacionadas con los fundamentos de la educación fuesen evitadas. Es evidente una preocupación por el liderazgo moral del docente. El primer calendario 1968-69 de *Duncan McArthur College* [después Facultad de Educación], Queen's University, ofrecía filosofía, historia de la educación, psicología, sociología, educación comparada y asuntos profesionales en la educación contemporánea.⁸¹ Sin embargo, el programa mismo estaba enmarcado por una visión eurocéntrica y el documento entero reflejaba el entendimiento patriarcal y excluyente de género. La situación de los indígenas era inexistente. No refleja la nueva conciencia de poder y la presencia en las calles del poder negro, el poder de la mujer, el poder del estudiante. Los indígenas ya se movían a afirmar su identidad y derechos.

Mientras tanto se gestaba en los tardíos sesenta y los setenta, particularmente en los Estados Unidos, un cambio paradigmático que dejaba la psicología conductista a un lado para moverse a una psicología cognitiva, que, como Tröhler y Rohstock lo explican, se centró en la investigación de las actividades mentales como una forma de procesar información inspirada en la cibernética; sus principales líderes fueron Jerome Bruner y George Armitage Miller.⁸² En esta línea se desarrolló una fuerte relación con medidas de evaluación y el desarrollo de una nueva psicometría. Glaser, protagonista importante, escribe que “la investigación de la estructura y los procesos cognitivos de los alumnos [*performers*] en varios dominios del conocimiento empezaron a sugerir técnicas para evaluar el logro de niveles incrementalmente complejos de habilidades y entendimiento.”⁸³ Este modelo llega dentro del marco de la guerra fría a las facultades de educación especialmente en los años ochenta o antes con la retórica de cientificación. Se desarrolla un enfoque construccionista que favorece estructuras cognitivas abstractas

⁷⁹ Paul Axelrod, “Higher Education, Utilitarianism, and the Acquisitive Society, Canada, 1930-1980,” in *Modern Canada: Readings in Canadian Social History*, eds. M. Cross and G.S. Kealy (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989), 179-205, citado en p. 192.

⁸⁰ Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers* (1966), 24-25.

⁸¹ McArthur College of Education, Queen's University at Kingston, *First Session, 1968-69* (Kingston, Ontario, 1969), 24.

⁸² Anne Rohstock and Daniel Tröhler, “From the Sacred Nation to the Unified Globe: Changing Leitmotifs in Teacher Training in the Western World, 1870-2010,” in *Teacher Education in a Transnational World*, eds. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and James Scott Johnston (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 111-131; Daniel Tröhler, *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations* (Routledge, 2011), 200-202.

⁸³ Robert Glaser, “The Future of Testing: A Research Agenda for Cognitive Psychology and Psychometrics,” *American Psychologist* 36, no. 9 (1981): 923-936, citado en p. 923.

y habilidades relacionadas a la resolución de problemas con menos interés en contenido y contexto.⁸⁴ Desde comienzos del siglo XXI, se da cada vez más énfasis a la evaluación dentro de un clima de rendición de cuentas.

Al mismo tiempo, en varias provincias canadienses hubo una reacción a los cambios de los largos años sesenta caracterizados por la militancia, la crítica a las escuelas, escuelas alternativas y hubo una propuesta de la noción de capital humano. El eslogan era vuelta a lo básico, Ciencia, Matemática, Lenguaje, énfasis a nivel secundario en un centro riguroso de materias.⁸⁵

Las facultades de educación no reflejaron estos cambios inmediatamente. Por ejemplo, el calendario de la Facultad de Educación de la Queen's University, 1984-85, programa de un año, que ofrecía un Bachelor of Education a quienes venían con grado universitario o un Diploma en Educación tecnológica y vocacional, puntualiza la contribución del filósofo y del humanista, así como del psicólogo y del empiricista.⁸⁶ La lista de profesores, muchos sin Doctorado e incluso sin estudios graduados, es una muestra de la transición del Teachers College, instituto postsecundario, no dedicado a la investigación, a la universidad.

El programa de la Universidad de Alberta 1984-85 muestra una facultad de educación con un fuerte equipo fundacional con especialidades en historia, filosofía, educación internacional; un equipo en psicología, al que no le faltaba psicología cognitiva, así como administración, educación industrial y vocacional, mientras que la medición y evaluación no tenían un rol dominante.⁸⁷ *Back to Basics* no inspiraba el programa.

El giro postmodernista alcanzó las facultades en los años noventa y los dos mil a través de estudios culturales y cambios epistemológicos que dieron a raza y género, así como identidad, un lugar heurístico prominente. Raza, género, identidad generando cambios en el currículo de preparación docente. Los valores y el orden de las cosas habían cambiado. Daniel Rodgers habla de un sujeto individualizado, siendo sus características la capacidad de elegir, la agencia, el deseo, la interpretación y el actuar, y un ser fluido, una identidad fluida.⁸⁸ Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Judith Butler y otros pensadores postmodernistas eran leídos. El desplazamiento conceptual fue a menudo acompañado de un relativismo vulgar y de individualismo. Los cursos, sin embargo, en la mayoría de los casos, eran opcionales, a veces módulos cortos obligatorios y módulos cortos para resurgir en los 2020 con un paradigma incluyente y una preocupación por el medio ambiente.

⁸⁴ Rohstock and Tröhler, "From the Sacred Nation," 129.

⁸⁵ Brian Titley and Kas Mazurek, "Back to the Basics? Forward to the Fundamentals?" in *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, ed. E. Brian Titley (Calgary, Alberta: Destelig, 1989), 111-128.

⁸⁶ Queen's University, Faculty of Education Calendar 1984-85, 13.

⁸⁷ University of Alberta. Faculty of Education Calendar 1984-1985.

⁸⁸ Daniel Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 3.

Por otra parte, se daba énfasis al desarrollo de habilidades genéricas separadas del complejo contexto del que emergen los problemas históricos; así, en la Queen's University en 2001-2002, 32% de futuros docentes de secundaria podían enseñar historia teniendo áreas consideradas afines tales como antropología, sin una especialidad en historia. Al mismo tiempo, desde mediados de los años 1990s se expande la práctica en el terreno – la situación real - en todas las facultades de educación y se dedica mucho tiempo a la evaluación; había que preparar docentes para la era de rendición de cuentas.⁸⁹

La publicación del libro de Schön 1983, *The Reflective Practitioner*, encarnó la dirección que tomaba la formación de maestros poniendo énfasis en la autorreflexión lo cual generó fuertes debates.⁹⁰ Tom Russell reflexionaba que “en el verdadero espíritu de la racionalidad técnica, la teoría puede ser prometedora; sin embargo, en la práctica no se ha logrado el cambio paradigmático requerido.”⁹¹

Schön se refiere a la racionalidad técnica como la resolución instrumental de problemas de manera rigurosa por la aplicación de teoría científica y técnica.⁹² Siguiendo a Tröhler and Roshstock, este enfoque está en línea con la psicología cognitiva (que califican como racionalista, occidental, sexista) y mueve el mecanismo de control del estado al docente a través de una actividad de reajuste en un ciclo de optimización autorreferencial y auto reflexiva.⁹³ Este enfoque penetró las Facultades de educación, no sin oposición, al mismo tiempo que se debilitaban enfoques históricos y filosóficos como se puede observar en los programas y se descontextualiza.⁹⁴ Quienes cuestionaban el nuevo enfoque notaron que se dejaba de lado los fines de la educación para enfatizar el aprendizaje efectivo, un *leit motiv* en mi propia facultad.⁹⁵ Sin embargo, esta orientación y la preocupación con valoración y evaluación de la enseñanza han sido mediadas por programas especiales dedicados al arte, a la educación con relación al ambiente, la preocupación por la equidad y otros.

El paradigma evaluativo y en cierta medida el enfoque reflexivo está a tono con los programas de organizaciones internacionales como la Organización para el Desarrollo y la Cooperación Económica (OECD), fundada en 1961, su instrumento de evaluación global, el Programa Internacional para la Evaluación de Estudiantes (PISA), creado en

⁸⁹ See University of Manitoba, Faculty of Education, *Bachelor of Education*, “The ‘New’ Bachelor of Education at the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba,” personal copy.

⁹⁰ Daniel Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

⁹¹ Tom Russell, “Paradigmatic Changes in Teacher Education: The Perils, Pitfalls, and Unrealized Promise of the ‘Reflective Practitioner’,” in *Teacher Education in a Transnational World*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and James Scott Johnston (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 158-176.

⁹² Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner*.

⁹³ Rohstock and Tröhler, “From the Sacred Nation,” pp. 111-131.

⁹⁴ “Vision Statement,” *Queen's University, Faculty of Education Calendar*, online, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, online

⁹⁵ Gert Biesta, “Good Education: What It Is and Why We Need It,” *Education Letter*, Queen's University Faculty of Education (Spring/Summer 2014): 8-14.

1982. Este último influyó en las expectativas de la profesión docente dado el interés en el resultado de las pruebas y dentro de la ideología de mercado se generó un interés por exportar programas de educación de docentes, abrazado por facultades.⁹⁶

El proceso de recepción de corrientes de pensamiento ha sido muy contextualizado por las características de la vida universitaria, los debates académicos, la política nacional y regional, la fuerte presencia política de las naciones Indígenas y el reclamo por el control de su educación, y el la decolonialidad. Ha habido una creciente respuesta de los programas a los derechos basados en género, raza, identidad, inclusividad, no tanto clase. Sin embargo, el enfoque se torna, a menudo, individualista y fragmentario con poca inclinación a desentrañar las estructuras económicas y sociales más allá de políticas específicas.

El Comienzo de los programas de Educación de Docentes Indígenas

Dentro del marco de política supranacional y conciliando el globalismo con un enfoque nacional, no solamente persiste un interés en estudios canadienses, en la diversidad y los derechos colectivos e individuales, sino que la presencia política de los pueblos Indígenas adquiere perfil fuerte en los largos años sesenta. Se abre un proceso de decolonialidad. Así, cuando en 1969 el gobierno liberal de Pierre Trudeau produjo el *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* [Declaración del Gobierno de Canadá sobre Políticas Referentes a los Indios [sic], conocido como *white paper* [papel blanco], las organizaciones Indígenas incluyendo *The National Indian Brotherhood* [La Hermandad Nacional Indígena], se opusieron fuertemente. El white paper parte de la concepción liberal del primer ministro Pierre Trudeau de una sociedad justa – dejaba de lado los derechos que daban los tratados (Treaty Rights), proponía eliminar gradualmente el “status Indian” como categoría legal, y terminar gradualmente las operaciones del Department of Indian Affairs.⁹⁷ El intento por integrar estudiantes Indígenas con niños/as no Indígenas en escuelas provinciales y territoriales con docentes que no entendían su cultura y trataban de asimilarlos, no tuvo buenos resultados.

La respuesta al *white paper* titulada *Citizen Plus* (conocido como *red paper*[papel rojo]), liderado por Harold Cardinal, hizo que el gobierno retirara su propuesta política en 1970.⁹⁸ Ya emergía la idea de que la autodeterminación podría ser alcanzada a través de la educación.⁹⁹ De tremenda importancia para la formación de maestros indígenas

⁹⁶ Roger Dale, "Globalization, Higher Education, and Teacher Education: A Sociological Approach," in *Teacher Education in a Transnational World*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and James Scott Johnston (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 33-53.

⁹⁷ J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 402.

⁹⁸ Indian Chiefs of Alberta, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal People and the Canadian State* (Edmonton: Indian Association of Alberta, June 1970); Indian Chiefs of Alberta, "Foundational Document, Citizens Plus," *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 1, no. 2 (2011): 188–281, accessed in November 19, 2024, <http://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/aps/article/view/11690>.

⁹⁹ En 1969 la sociedad entre el gobierno y las iglesias que dirigían las escuelas residenciales fue disuelta. El Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas (*Department of Indian Affairs*) tomó control total de las escuelas. Esto indicaba el comienzo del fin de las escuelas residenciales.

fue el documento *Indian Control on Indian Education* (1972) porque sentó los cimientos para reclamar el derecho de los pueblos Indígenas a educar sus propias comunidades con su lengua y cultura, tener representantes en todos los consejos escolares, preparar sus propios docentes y consejeros Nativos (Indígenas), y mejorar el entendimiento de los Indígenas de su propia cultura.¹⁰⁰ En los años setenta se empiezan a crear programas de *Native Teacher Education* (Educación de Docentes Nativos), por ejemplo, en Brandon University, Manitoba, desde 1971; en Simon Fraser University (British Columbia) en 1973; University of British Columbia in 1974; en Alberta, University of Calgary, en 1974; en Montreal, McGill University en 1975. Los programas generaron colaboración entre las comunidades y las facultades de educación en línea con los objetivos del documento *Indian Control of Indian Education*.¹⁰¹

Se desarrollaron programas de pre-grado y graduados en sitio en las comunidades y las instituciones o sitios de enseñanza combinados y han continuado creciendo en facultades de educación a través del país. Bonita Uzorúo examina los primeros pasos de los programas de formación de maestros Indígenas como una herramienta para la descolonización/decolonialidad a través de la recuperación de la lengua, la cultura, y la identidad.¹⁰² Alrededor de 1980, diecisiete programas dedicados a la preparación/educación de maestros Indígenas estaban operando en Canadá, muchos de ellos estaban en el oeste del país.¹⁰³

Las recomendaciones de la Comisión sobre la Verdad y la Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada), publicadas en 2015 tuvieron un efecto sobre el curriculum escolar.¹⁰⁴ El proceso de indigenización ha ido más allá de los programas

¹⁰⁰ "Indian Control of Indian Education," policy paper presentado al Ministro de Indian Affairs and Northern Development por National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations (National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations, 1972; 1st printing, 1973; 2nd printing, 1976; 3rd printing, 2001), <https://oneca.com/IndianControlofIndianEducation.pdf>. Nótese que Nativo era un término común usado hasta los años ochenta, cuando fue reemplazado por Aborigen, designación que incluye a los "status Indians", Metis, e Inuit. First Nations se refiere a status y non status Indians. Uso aquí Indígena que es ahora el término preferido por los primeros habitantes de Canadá. Provee un vínculo con las tradiciones ancestrales así como con la experiencia ancestrales de colonización a nivel internacional.

¹⁰¹ Bonita Uzoruo, "Educationalization in Canada: The Use of Native Teacher Education as a Tool of Decoloniality," in *Educationalization and Its Complexities: Religion, Politics, and Technologies*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 277–92; Manitoba Government News Service, "Native Teacher Program to Cover Northern Man.: Brandon University to Conduct 'BUNTEP,'" January 17, 1975, https://news.gov.mb.ca/news/archives/1975/01/1975-01-17-native_teacher_program_to_cover_northern_man.pdf; Lori Eastumre, "Teacher Education in Yukon: Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow," in *Curriculum History*, ed. Theodore Christou (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 231–40, see 235; Jack Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools: An Inuit Teacher-Training Program," *McGill Journal of Education* 20, no. 2 (Spring 1985): 113–31; Lindsay Morcom, Kate Freeman, and Jennifer Davis, "Rising like the Thunderbird: The Reclamation of Indigenous Teacher Education," in *Curriculum History*, ed. Theodore Christou (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 23–40.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Lindsay Morcom, Kate Freeman, and Jennifer Davis, "Rising like the Thunderbird: The Reclamation of Indigenous Teacher Education," in *Curriculum History*, ed. Theodore Christou (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 23–40.

¹⁰⁴ <https://nctr.ca/about/history-of-the-trc/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-of-canada/>

mencionados para penetrar las facultades de educación en sus varias dimensiones con implicaciones no sólo pedagógicas sino epistemológicas que merecen ser examinadas. Las Facultades de Educación viven un nuevo momento pos-humanista y de re-ubicación en relación al mundo más allá de lo humano y un nuevo debate emerge.

Conclusión

Hemos hecho un recorrido de la formación de docentes dentro del contexto regional, nacional, las coyunturas internacionales y el movimiento intelectual e ideológico que es recogido en la formación docente. En este recorrido se introdujo la escuela y sus docentes como agentes del estado desde la formación inicial del dominio de Canadá, sus políticas coloniales que excluía a los niños/as Indígenas del sistema escolar mientras se apropiaban de su tierra, la asimilación de inmigrantes que no eran de origen británico y la segregación de la población negra. Las corrientes pedagógicas que se basaban en la autonomía del yo tales como Pestalozzi, Herbart y Froebel eran mediadas por la intencionalidad anglo-conformista y el imperio. El social Darwinismo social de Herbert Spencer, el Lamarkianismo influyeron en la preparación de maestros y la vida escolar por largo tiempo. Una mediación más compleja, pero mediación al fin ocurrió con las corrientes progresivas dentro de un marco eurocéntrico. Como se ha indicado las dos guerras fueron puntos de inflexión.

Un asunto central aquí en relación a la fuerte política de anglo-conformidad (anglo-conformity) es, aplicando los conceptos de Honneth, la violación de los lazos (bonds) de reconocimiento del valor humano que ocurre con el poder asimétrico en casos de colonización, así como en varias formas de exclusión como en el caso de las personas racializadas. Sin embargo, resiliencia y formas pasivas y activas de resistencia caracterizaron la práctica educativa. Esto se manifiesta en las naciones Indígenas cuyos niños eran llevados por agentes federales a escuelas residenciales a cargo de congregaciones religiosas católicas (la mayoría) o protestantes lejos de la familia.

En la práctica, había ciertamente una diferencia entre la intencionalidad detrás de las políticas y lo que ocurría en la clase por muchas razones, entre ellas el gran número de divisiones escolares controladas por comunidades étnicas y religiosas, el movimiento feminista, los trabajadores/as organizados, las organizaciones de docentes, las mujeres y hombres ligados a la Asociación de Productores de Granos que publicaban artículos críticos de la educación. Así, se producían mediaciones en la clase a través de los docentes y los alumnos/as. Fuera de estas mediaciones estaban las naciones Indígenas y la población negra.

El periodo posguerra abre cambios en la formación de docentes que tienen tanto que ver con la nueva configuración económica y política (la guerra fría y el alineamiento de Canadá con los Estados Unidos) como con los movimientos sociales. Los programas de docentes primarios y secundarios se mueven a las universidades.

El contexto de la posguerra, el realineamiento político, la decolonización como cultura global, así como los movimientos de los “largos años sesenta” dejan su marca en los

programas; también lo es para las facultades de educación el cambio paradigmático hacia la psicología cognitiva y en particular la necesidad de formar docentes para la era de la rendición de cuentas. Al mismo tiempo, las facultades se encuentran con las concepciones fluidas de los ochenta y noventa, enfoques autorreferenciales reflexivos, expansión de derechos y reconocimiento de diferencia, fuerte individualismo y a la vez tendencias relacionales. Todo esto es relevante para entender cambios programáticos y sus contradicciones.

Una característica es notable, los cambios, más allá de los contextos y constelaciones ideológicas internacionales y transnacionales y cambios estructurales en Canadá, los nuevos escenarios fueron configurados por la resiliencia y las acciones de grupos subordinados y la resolución de tensiones. Sean estos grupos las comunidades étnicas, la población negra, los colonos francocanadienses, o las naciones indígenas colonizadas.

Part II

International Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge



Students playing in the kindergarten classroom of a school in London, Ontario (n.d.). Canada.
Source: Dept. of Manpower and Immigration / Library and Archives Canada.

3. Biblioteca Escolar e Formação de Professores em São Paulo-Brasil (1886-1929): apropriação e circulação do conhecimento pedagógico



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Introdução

No final do século XIX, no estado de São Paulo (Brasil), teve início o processo de organização e institucionalização das bibliotecas escolares nas Escolas Normais. Inicialmente, os acervos dessas bibliotecas foram constituídos a partir de livros de Pedagogia importados de países estrangeiros – incluindo os livros de autores

portugueses – e de poucos livros publicados no Brasil. Ao longo da década de 1920, com o mercado editorial brasileiro ganhando força, passaram a ser publicados no país livros de Pedagogia escritos por professores vinculados às Escolas Normais e, também, coleções compostas por traduções de livros de autores estrangeiros, sobretudo europeus e americanos, voltadas para a formação de professores. Assim, entre as décadas finais do século XIX e as três primeiras do século XX, a produção e a circulação do conhecimento pedagógico se modificaram profundamente em São Paulo e no Brasil.

Por essa razão, o olhar direcionado aos acervos das bibliotecas escolares nas Escolas Normais enveredando pela discussão acerca da constituição e guarda de conhecimentos de Pedagogia pode oferecer pistas importantes sobre a produção da cultura pedagógica e a circulação de saberes docentes. Neste texto, privilegiamos a análise de duas Escolas Normais do estado de São Paulo: a Escola Normal de São Carlos e a Escola Normal de Piracicaba, no recorte entre os anos de 1886 e 1929, que é o período que inicia com a criação da Escola Complementar de Piracicaba, antecessora da Escola Normal da mesma cidade, cujo espólio forma o acervo inicial da Normal, e vai até 1929, período que inclui a publicação da Coleção Biblioteca de Educação. Também assinalamos que este período é marcado pela afirmação da república como melhor regime de estado com a escolarização ocupando um lugar de relevância nesse processo. Como parte importante do projeto republicano, a formação dos professores ganhou destaque nos planos de ampliação e expansão escolar; como exemplo, podemos citar o fato de que no início do período do recorte, em 1886, havia apenas uma Escola Normal no estado de São Paulo e no final dele, em 1929, havia 10 escolas normais.

Considerando tais aspectos, o objetivo deste texto é analisar as formas com que o conhecimento pedagógico circulou por essas bibliotecas escolares, participou da formação de professores e sofreu transformações no recorte privilegiado. Para tanto, apoiamo-nos no trabalho de identificação dos livros presentes nos acervos dessas escolas e de outras fontes que nos auxiliam no processo de aproximação quanto à organização e ao funcionamento dessas bibliotecas.

As bibliotecas escolares para a formação de professores: desafios e perspectivas teóricas

Inicialmente, é importante fazer alguns alertas sobre os limites e perspectivas da pesquisa histórica com bibliotecas escolares. Primeiramente, a ausência ou carência de documentos de naturezas diversas que permitam maior proximidade quanto aos usos da biblioteca escolar, tais como fichas ou relatórios de leitura e livros-tombo, particularmente considerando que ainda há pouca atenção no Brasil para a preservação dos patrimônios escolares, o que resulta em acervos em estados precários.

Além disso, podemos questionar o modo com que a presença de um livro em um acervo "atestaria" ou seria garantidor do uso desse livro por parte dos usuários, e se o livro chegou ao acervo momentos após sua produção. A resposta à primeira questão depende de documentos sobre a biblioteca, publicações feitas por professores ou alunos das

escolas normais que façam referência aos livros presentes na biblioteca, planos de ensino com indicação de leituras, dentre outros. A segunda questão pode ser dirimida pela análise dos carimbos ou selos das bibliotecas que atestam a temporalidade.

Por fim, há que se destacar que há poucas investigações acerca da temática no Brasil, o que torna mais desafiador o desenvolvimento de pesquisas que se propõem adentrar em uma seara que questiona as bibliotecas escolares, particularmente desbravando o campo da história da educação a partir das interfaces diversas com a História do Livro, da Leitura, das Disciplinas Escolares, da Cultura Escolar e Cultura Material Escolar. Uma das pioneiras no estudo sobre as bibliotecas escolares é Vidal¹, que analisa as práticas de leitura no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal.

Neste texto, a temática da Formação de Professores é desenvolvida sob a lente da História Cultural, em interface com a História das Bibliotecas; partindo de estudos inseridos neste último campo, adotamos a perspectiva de Barbier,² que, após tecer considerações sobre o léxico, deduz que a:

[...] biblioteca designa, portanto, um *corpus* documental (um conjunto de textos) reunidos em um dado espaço (o da biblioteca). Ora, a característica central desse para conteúdo/espaço é sua inserção profunda na lógica das transformações culturais e isso em diferentes planos.

Assim, a biblioteca é formada por um conjunto de impressos reunidos num dado espaço, com condições e objetivos variados. Completando essa ideia, Jacob e Baratin³ indicam que

[...] toda a biblioteca dissimula uma concepção implícita da cultura, do saber e da memória, bem como da função que lhes cabe na sociedade de seu tempo. [...]

Pois a história das bibliotecas no Ocidente é indissociável da história da cultura e do pensamento, não só como lugar de memória no qual se depositam os estratos das inscrições deixadas pelas gerações passadas, mas também como espaço dialético no qual, a cada etapa dessa história, se negociam os limites e as configurações da tradição, as fronteiras do dizível, do legível e do pensável, a continuidade das genealogias e das escolas, a natureza cumulativa dos campos de saberes ou suas fraturas internas e suas reconstruções.

¹ Diana Gonçalves Vidal, *O exercício disciplinado do olhar: livros, leituras e práticas de formação docente no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)* (Bragança Paulista: Editora da Universidade São Francisco, 2001).

² Frédéric Barbier, *História das bibliotecas: de Alexandria às bibliotecas virtuais* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2023), 19.

³ Christian Jacob and Marc Baratin, eds., *O poder das bibliotecas: a memória dos livros no Ocidente* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da UFRJ, 2000), 10-11.

A biblioteca é, portanto, um conteúdo/espço em que a cultura se materializa e se transfere. Convergentemente à perspectiva de Chartier⁴, Barbier⁵ indica que:

[...] como o autor não é o único responsável pelo texto tal como ele é proposto ao leitor – no esquema clássico, será necessário fazer intervir o editor (no sentido comercial do termo), o tipógrafo, eventualmente o ilustrador, o tradutor [intermediários esquecidos, tal como os nomeia Darnton], sem esquecer o próprio leitor que, em última análise é aquele que constroi o texto como texto ao se apropriar dele. Menos ainda do que os outros setores ligados ao livro e à escrita, a biblioteca não poderia escapar do imperativo da história instrumental.

Por essa razão, podemos entender que a biblioteca é fonte e objeto fértil para a pesquisa de campos científicos variados (História, História da Educação; Sociologia; Biblioteconomia, etc.), uma vez que possibilita analisar: um conjunto de impressos num espaço específico e em sua proximidade com os leitores; práticas de leitura determinadas pelo conjunto, e marcadas por formas de controle do espaço bibliotecário (fichas de leitura; público-alvo; formas de acesso ao acervo, perfil do bibliotecário etc.); as formas de constituição da biblioteca (organização, catalogação, disposição dos impressos, meios de consulta).

A origem da biblioteca escolar é referenciada por Jean Hébrard,⁶ quando esse pesquisador estudou as escolas primárias francesas. Inicialmente, ela surgiu como um armário-biblioteca no espaço da aula, em torno de 1860. No mesmo texto, em nota de rodapé, Hébrard informa, citando um determinado documento, que uma das atividades obrigatórias no processo de formação de professores, que eram as Conferências Pedagógicas, indicavam a necessidade de bibliotecas. Oficialmente, em 1862, o ministro Gustave Rouland transformou o armário-biblioteca em Biblioteca Escolar. A responsabilidade dos cuidados com a biblioteca ficou a cargo do professor e a finalidade dela era a de promover empréstimos de obras aos alunos e às famílias. Assim:

As bibliotecas escolares parecem, efetivamente, então, ter-se desenvolvido, de maneira contínua, entre o Segundo Império e a *belle époque*, tentando, não sem dificuldades, conjugar sua dupla finalidade de serem bibliotecas de sala de aula e bibliotecas de empréstimos destinadas aos familiares dos alunos.⁶

No Brasil, as bibliotecas escolares foram instaladas nas escolas de formação de professores nas décadas finais do século XIX. Suas principais características são a de ser um espaço restrito para o uso dos alunos e professores e, ao lado de um acervo de conhecimentos gerais que compunham o currículo da escola primária, era voltado para a profissionalização dos professores em formação. Do ponto de vista organizativo, vale

⁴ Roger Chartier, *A História Cultural. Entre práticas e representações*, trans. Maria Manuela Galhardo (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Bertrand do Brasil; Lisboa: Difel, 1990).

⁵ Frédéric Barbier, *História das bibliotecas: de Alexandria às bibliotecas virtuais* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2023), 15.

⁶ Jean Hébrard, *As bibliotecas escolares: entre leitura pública e leitura escolar na França do II Império e da III República* (São Paulo: Mercado das Letras, 2009).

destacar o caráter aleatório, tendo em vista que os acervos eram constituídos por meio de doações, de aquisições que não seguiam necessariamente uma ordem ou uma prescrição oficial.

Além das bibliotecas escolares, as bibliotecas públicas começam a se desenvolverem nos centros urbanos brasileiros a partir da segunda metade do século XIX. Às bibliotecas públicas, de modo geral, eram atribuídas duas funções: de um lado, selecionar a partir de um plantel imenso de publicações aquelas adequadas ao seu público leitor, organizando e dispondo da melhor maneira possível o conjunto bibliográfico adquirido; de outro, ser um espaço de constituição de práticas, de comportamentos e de socialização, intentando produzir novos indivíduos, numa nova sociedade. Às bibliotecas profissionais, isto é, aquelas que se situavam em espaços de formação de professores, médicos, engenheiros, advogados, ainda couberam as funções de serem espaço de guarda dos saberes fundamentais do campo profissional a que se referiam e instrumentos de pesquisa e formação das práticas profissionais que legitimavam o corpo profissional formado sob seus auspícios.

Assim, a biblioteca de uma Escola Normal pode ser pensada e analisada como um espaço institucional a partir do qual pode-se visualizar as sucessivas políticas de formação do professor – "tanto aquelas que a tomaram como instrumento de formação privilegiado, quanto aquelas que secundarizaram a sua importância. Pode, também, ser estudada como expressão material dessas políticas, tendo em vista que é o lugar no qual as escolhas sobre bibliografias, tipos de livros, como manuais, tratados, revistas, coleções, indicações de leituras e modelos de formação do leitor se materializam"⁷.

Por essa razão, os critérios de escolha dos livros, as políticas de aquisição dos fundos bibliográficos, os repertórios bibliográficos propriamente ditos, a escrituração e organização material desse acervo, os modos como as bibliotecas foram dispostas espacialmente para seu uso e os modos peculiares de empréstimo ou de consulta revelam as opções que seus administradores e gestores fizeram ao colocar para funcionar as políticas e representações de formação do aluno-mestre⁷.

No espaço da biblioteca, o livro ganha contornos específicos, uma vez que a leitura é intermediada por um conjunto de práticas e saberes que compõem a formação docente nas diferentes instituições. Como indica Chartier⁸, o livro imprime uma especificidade ao conhecimento que não é restrito apenas ao texto, mas às possibilidades de leitura enviesadas pelo conjunto cultural proporcionado tanto pela biblioteca, quanto pela escola. Aqui retomamos a tão reiterada ideia de Chartier⁸, de que "não existe texto fora do suporte que o dá a ler, que não há compreensão de um escrito, qualquer que ele seja, que não dependa das formas através das quais ele chega ao seu leitor". Consideramos

⁷ Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, "Bibliotecas escolares nas Escolas Normais no Brasil: constituição do lugar e dos sujeitos" / "School libraries in the Normal Schools in Brazil: constitution of the place and subjects," *Educação em foco* 19 (2017): 235-258.

⁸ Roger Chartier, *A História Cultural. Entre práticas e representações*, trans. Maria Manuela Galhardo (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Bertrand do Brasil; Lisboa: Difel, 1990), 8.

ainda que os intermediários da leitura são os professores e os bibliotecários, que participam da escolha dos títulos para aquisição e determinam os que poderiam chegar às mãos dos alunos-mestres.

Por outro lado, atentamos para o fato de que é neste espaço privilegiado que podemos compreender a constituição dos saberes pedagógicos e educacionais, no momento de ausência de outros espaços especializados no campo da Pedagogia, tendo em vista que as Escolas Normais foram os espaços favorecidos⁹ de formação de professores no Brasil no recorte deste texto e, à época, não havia cursos superiores na área, nem lugares institucionais especializados de pesquisa e produção de conhecimento no campo.

Assim, a Escola Normal no período entre os anos finais do século XIX e as primeiras décadas do século XX era o espaço de circulação e produção de conhecimentos pedagógicos. As bibliotecas dessas escolas são, portanto, os espaços institucionais, que organizam o conhecimento pedagógico e educacional no Brasil ao compor os acervos.

As Escolas Normais de São Carlos e de Piracicaba e suas bibliotecas

Em São Paulo, a primeira Escola Normal a ter uma biblioteca foi a Escola Normal da Capital. Carvalho¹⁰ discute o acaso que deu origem à aquisição de parte do acervo da biblioteca dessa escola e se atém às compras feitas por Paulo Bourroul¹¹, quando este foi à França para a compra de equipamentos para o Laboratório de Química, e adquiriu livros para a biblioteca.

A biblioteca na Escola Normal de São Paulo era prevista no Regulamento de 30 de junho de 1880, e deveria ser “[...] composta de livros dos melhores escriptores sobre as diversas materias do ensino normal e dos livros de Sciencias, História, Viagens, Literattura, Artes e Officios [...]”¹². O regulamento em questão, também prevê a especialização do acervo, combinado com aspectos da cultura geral, tal qual era o currículo da própria escola, e indica que o cuidado do acervo seria de responsabilidade de um bibliotecário.

⁹ As Escolas Complementares, ao lado das Escolas Normais, formavam o professor para a escola primária, como foi o caso do estado de São Paulo.

¹⁰ Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho, “Uma biblioteca pedagógica francesa para a Escola Normal de São Paulo (1882): livros de formação profissional e circulação de modelos culturais,” in *Culturas escolares, saberes e práticas educativas: itinerários históricos*, ed. Marcus Levy Bencostta (São Paulo: Cortez, 2007), 17-41.

¹¹ Paulo Bourroul (1855-1941) era professor de Química da Escola Normal de São Paulo. Formado em Medicina, nasceu na França e se radicou no Brasil.

¹² São Paulo, *Regulamento expedido pelo conselheiro Laurindo Abelardo de Brito, em 30 de junho de 1880* (São Paulo: Gazeta Liberal, 1884), 36.

Ainda a respeito da biblioteca da Escola Normal da Capital, Trevisan e Cortella¹³ e Silva¹⁴ fazem um investimento analítico convergente ao que desenvolvemos aqui, e discutem o modo com que a constituição dos livros do acervo da biblioteca dessa Escola Normal acompanhou a diversificação e a ampliação das matérias da própria instituição. Tal aspecto, segundo Silva,¹² põe em evidência a ascensão do caráter científico no campo da Pedagogia e a circulação de materiais e ideias pedagógicas que veiculavam esses conhecimentos.

Ainda que o acervo tenha se iniciado em 1875, somente em 1884 o regulamento da escola previu uma biblioteca. Em 1887, havia a função de bibliotecário e arquivista, com indícios de que elas seriam cumulativas a algum cargo uma vez que estava prevista apenas gratificação. A Reforma Caetano de Campos, publicada em 1890 e que dá início à modernização e modelização do ensino paulista, estabeleceu o cargo de bibliotecário e arquivista na Escola Normal da Capital, que seria exercido por um professor, designado pelo governador, indiretamente oficializando a biblioteca. Os livros de Pedagogia que estavam presentes nesta biblioteca eram de autores franceses, ou traduzidos para o francês por editoras francesas, eram, também, de autores portugueses e alguns de autores brasileiros.

Como até 1911 a única Escola Normal do estado de São Paulo estava na capital, o regramento sobre a biblioteca escolar era função da própria Escola Normal da Capital. A partir de 1911, com a criação de Escolas Normais Primárias e Secundárias, a Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública, através de expedientes oficiais, bem como a partir das posteriores reformas de ensino, normaliza as bibliotecas e a função de bibliotecário.

No interior do estado de São Paulo, as bibliotecas das Escolas Normais começaram oficialmente a se constituir a partir do Decreto n. 2367 de 14 de abril de 1913¹⁵. Nele, está previsto um bibliotecário no quadro de pessoal administrativo, que seria responsável por: organizar o catálogo da biblioteca, cuidar do acervo, garantir somente aos lentes e professores a retirada de livros, orientar os alunos nas consultas e indicar ao diretor a lista de obras a serem adquiridas. Vemos que a função de bibliotecário vai se alterando, ampliando seu papel e sua responsabilidade tanto quanto a ter alguma formação - pelo menos na área de especialidade da biblioteca - como co-participante do processo de indicação de novos títulos.

É também este decreto que põe em funcionamento a biblioteca em todos os dias úteis “pelo tempo necessário ao serviço escolar”. Desde 1911, a Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública havia criado uma Bibliotheca Pedagógica, destinada aos professores, com a

¹³ Thabatha Aline Trevisan and Bárbara Cortella Pereira, “Leituras recomendadas para as Escolas Normais no Brasil e na França (século XIX): transferências culturais e de modelos pedagógicos,” *Patrimônio e Memória* 9, no. 1 (janeiro-junho 2013): 223-237.

¹⁴ Carolina Mostaro Neves da Silva, “Professores e seus estudos: biblioteca, livros e leituras na Escola Normal de São Paulo (século XIX),” *Educação e Pesquisa* 50 (2024).

¹⁵ São Paulo, Decreto n. 2367 de 14 de abril de 1913. Aprova o Regulamento das escolas normais de curso secundário e escolas anexas (1913).

finalidade de ser uma fonte segura de informações, um repositório do que de melhor se diga e se faça em matéria de educação e ensino, onde os professores pudessem buscar, quando precisassem, novos conhecimentos para o bom desempenho dos deveres da profissão.

Essa fonte de informações constitui um complemento indispensável em uma boa organização escolar, como é a que temos presentemente, e uma necessidade para a actividade e o progresso do professorado.¹⁶

Tal biblioteca era pensada como uma forma de manter o professorado – muitos deles sem formação adequada – em constante contato com a “marcha evolutiva do ensino nos países mais adiantados”¹⁴ estando atento ao movimento da moderna pedagogia. Para a constituição e atualização desta biblioteca, João Chrisostomo, Diretor Geral da Instrução Pública, solicitava dotação de uma verba do orçamento do Estado. Provavelmente seria a referência para as bibliotecas das Escolas Normais comporem seus acervos.

A Biblioteca da Escola Normal Primária de Piracicaba, no interior do estado de São Paulo, foi criada a partir do espólio da antiga Escola Complementar de Piracicaba, de parte do acervo da biblioteca da Universidade Popular de Piracicaba e através de aquisições feitas pelo bibliotecário. As doações feitas por professores, alunos e pessoas da comunidade igualmente contribuíram para a formação da coleção. O bibliotecário era formado pela Escola Complementar, o que lhe dava algumas condições de escolha dos livros. A instituição funcionou no mesmo prédio que foi adquirido pela prefeitura da cidade, em 1896. Foi a partir de 1917 que ganhou um novo espaço, num belíssimo edifício construído a partir das ideias modernas, com sala de música, museu pedagógico, laboratório de química e física e biblioteca escolar.

Na imagem abaixo, apresentamos uma fotografia apresentando uma aula de leitura acontecendo no espaço da biblioteca da Escola Normal de Piracicaba. Nela, temos a presença de alunas da Escola Normal, alunas da Escola Primária Anexa e a presença do bibliotecário. Os armários eram fechados por portas de vidros o que pode indicar que os impressos não eram acessados diretamente pelos estudantes, mas controlados pelo bibliotecário. Esta era uma prática comum nas escolas. Apesar de haver alunos na Escola Normal, somente as alunas estão na imagem. Neste aspecto, na biblioteca da Escola Normal de Piracicaba, tal qual nos demais espaços de aprendizagens, não havia coeducação dos sexos. Porém, no caso da Escola Primária anexa, há alunas e alunos.

¹⁶ *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo*, 1911-1912. *Livros Didáticos* (São Paulo: Typographia do “Diário official”, 1912), 29.



Imagem 1 - Aula de Leitura na Biblioteca da Escola Normal de Piracicaba.

Fonte: acervo iconográfico da Escola Estadual Sud Mennucci.

Além da imagem anterior sobre uso do acervo, também são apresentadas as seguintes informações na seção "Movimento Escolar" da *Revista de Educação*, publicação dos professores da Escola Normal de Piracicaba:

Bibliotheca Escolar: Com a nomeação de um bibliothecário, cargo criado pela nova reforma [1920], a bibliotheca da Escola Normal pode ter uma reorganização e ser installada em local adequado. O movimento de consultas, de fevereiro até 12 de maio, foi o seguinte:

Obras de psycologia e pedagogia			514
"	de literatura		208
"	de linguistica		29
"	de sc phys. e naturales		59
"	de historia e geographia		74
"	de mathematica		3
"	diversas		16
Total			903

Desse total 852 obras consultadas, são de texto em portuguez e 51 em lingua estrangeira. É de notar-se o numero animador de consultas em geral e, particularmente, o de consultas de obras de psycologia e pedagogia.

Está em organização uma pequena secção infantil da bibliotheca, que se destina a incentivar o gosto pela leitura entre os alumnos da escola modelo.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Revista de Educação*, 1, fasc. 1 (maio 1921): 64.

A *Revista de Educação* foi explicitamente criada para apoiar a execução da Reforma Sampaio Dória, de 1920. Os idealizadores e responsáveis pela revista foram o diretor da Escola, Prof. Honorato Faustino, o então Professor Lourenço Filho – nomeado como professor de Pedagogia da Escola Normal de Piracicaba, como parte das mudanças feitas por Sampaio Dória –, dentre outros professores. Daí o tom dado à biblioteca e ao cargo de bibliotecário, ainda que estes já eram previstos em legislação anterior. Por outro lado, os dados indicam que os livros de Pedagogia e Psicologia eram os mais consultados. A presença de Lourenço Filho pode ser um indício do protagonismo das áreas nas práticas de leitura da biblioteca. No entanto, é preciso tomar cuidado com os dados estatísticos, sobretudo se considerarmos a intenção do periódico.

A Biblioteca da Escola Normal Secundária de São Carlos começou a adquirir seu acervo a partir de sua instalação, no ano de 1911. O prédio da escola foi inaugurado em 1916, e já tinha espaço previsto para a biblioteca, com dotação própria e com bibliotecário. O acervo inicial tinha em torno de 4000 obras. Vale destacar que nessa escola foram organizadas duas bibliotecas: uma destinada aos alunos e outra aos professores, provavelmente por receber um montante de recursos duas vezes maior que o das Escolas Normais Primárias do estado de São Paulo.

Sobre os usos do acervo, destacamos trecho do *Correio de São Carlos* de 1918, que indica a grande circulação e acesso aos materiais: “198 empréstimos de livros dos mais variados gêneros, incluindo desde dicionários até obras de literatura clássica e ciências exatas, cuja média de consultas por dia chega a 24.”¹⁸



IMAGEM 2 - Aula de Leitura na Biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Carlos.
FONTE: acervo iconográfico da Escola Estadual Dr Álvaro Guião.

¹⁸ Alessandra Arce, Michele Varotto, and Thais Maria Manieri, “As Idéias Pedagógicas em Movimento: O livro de Ouro da antiga Escola Normal Secundária de São Carlos,” in *Idéias Pedagógicas em Movimento: Produção de saberes na Escola Normal Secundária de São Carlos*, ed. Alessandra Arce and Ana Clara B. Nery (São Carlos: EduFSCar, 2011), 95-122.

Abaixo, apresentamos uma fotografia em que é possível visualizar uma aula de leitura acontecendo no espaço da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Carlos. Nesta imagem podemos ver que a biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Carlos é maior e mais bem dotada de impressos do que a biblioteca da Escola Normal de Piracicaba. A diferença foi causada, provavelmente, pelo fato de que a Normal de São Carlos, entre 1911 e 1920 era Normal Secundária¹⁹ – com a mesma finalidade que a Escola Normal da Capital, e com dotação orçamentária superior, tal qual mencionamos acima – o que ocasionou diferenças no tipo de prédio construído e na possibilidade de aquisição de mobiliários e impressos para a biblioteca.

Nesta imagem, estão alunas e alunos da Normal de São Carlos. É provável que os homens em pé sejam, em parte, professores da escola e algum deles, o bibliotecário. Há, por outro lado, uma mulher em pé, num nível mais elevado, apanhando livros na estante, onde se deduz que, nesta biblioteca, não havia portas e o acervo era, assim, mais acessível aos normalistas.

Conhecimentos pedagógicos em trânsito nas bibliotecas escolares

A partir da identificação dos livros existentes nas bibliotecas e das datas de incorporação deles nos acervos, constatamos que é possível entender a presença e circulação dos conhecimentos pedagógicos a partir de três momentos.

No primeiro momento, entre 1880 e 1911, os acervos das bibliotecas escolares das Escolas Normais do estado de São Paulo tiveram majoritariamente livros, revistas e folhetos importados e alguns livros e revistas publicados no país. Como exemplo, destacamos a tradução do livro *Primeiras Lições de coisas. Manual de ensino elementar para uso dos Paes e professores*, de Norman Allison Calkins, que é um manual de ensino norte-americano com edições brasileiras feitas até 1950. A edição presente na biblioteca da Escola Normal Primária de Piracicaba é a primeira publicada no Brasil, pela Imprensa Nacional, em 1886, com tradução de Ruy Barbosa. Esta mesma edição é a do exemplar presente na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Carlos. A tradução, de Ruy Barbosa, foi feita a partir da 40ª edição e “adaptado as condições do nosso idioma e paizes que o falam”.

O livro de Célestin Hippeau, *A Instrução nos Estados Unidos*, presente na biblioteca da Escola Normal de Piracicaba, foi doado por Prudente de Moraes. Ele fornece elementos sobre o funcionamento do modelo escolar norte-americano e traz informações sobre o método intuitivo. Este livro fazia parte do conjunto de livros que compunham a biblioteca da Escola Normal da Capital no final do período monárquico. Na Escola Normal Secundária de São Carlos, o livro adquirido deste autor foi *L'Instruction Publique en Italie*²⁰, em 1913.

¹⁹ A Escola Normal de Piracicaba foi criada como Normal Primária, com função distinta da Normal da Capital e com dotação orçamentária inferior.

²⁰ Célestin Hippeau, *L'Instruction Publique en Italie* (Paris: Didier et Cie, Librairies – Éditeurs, 1875).

Lições de Pedologia e de Pedagogia, de Faria de Vasconcelos é o livro de Pedagogia mais antigo a ser encontrado no acervo da biblioteca da Normal de Piracicaba, sendo adquirido enquanto ela ainda era Escola Complementar - em torno de 1909. Este mesmo livro foi adquirido pela biblioteca da Escola Normal Secundária de São Carlos em 1913.

Além desses livros, há, também, folhetos publicados por Tipografias, como a Andina, a Espíndola; jornais como o de Piracicaba, e revistas como a Revista *Eschola Publica*, de professores da Escola Modelo da Capital (encadernadas como livros) e a *Revista do Ensino*, da Associação Beneficente do Professorado de São Paulo. Podemos destacar, também, exemplares do livro *Pedagogia e Metodologia*²¹, de 1887, do Padre Camillo Passalacqua e *O facto psichico*, de 1904, de Manoel Bomfim²², publicado pela Tipografia Espíndola.

No período que nomeamos de segundo momento, entre 1911 e 1927, temos as bibliotecas oficialmente organizadas, e nelas, constatamos a presença de livros, revistas e folhetos publicados no Brasil e fora do país, os quais eram voltados para a Pedagogia, a Psicologia e Métodos de Ensino, sendo que muitos desses livros eram escritos por professores das Escolas Normais.

Como exemplo, destacamos o livro *Princípios de Pedagogia*, de 1914, de Sampaio Doria²³, saído à lume pela editora Pocai-Weiss; *Lições de Pedagogia*, de 1915, de Manoel Bomfim²⁴, publicado pela Livraria Francisco Alves e *Noções de Psicologia*, de 1916, também de Manoel Bomfim²⁵, publicado pela Livraria Escolar. Dentre os livros estrangeiros publicados em Portugal, a Normal de Piracicaba recebeu de Agostinho de Campo os títulos *Educação e Ensino*²⁶ e a primeira edição de *Casa de Pais, escola de filhos*²⁷; e de José Augusto Coelho²⁸, o livro *Manual Prático de Pedagogia*. Na Normal de São Carlos, a entrada de livros estrangeiros de Pedagogia foi marcante neste período. Publicados em Paris pela *Librairie Paul Delaplane*, há os livros de Gabriel Compayré²⁹, *Les Grands Educateurs* e, de Pestalozzi³⁰, *Comment Gertrude Instruit ses Enfants*. Publicado pela *Librairie Ch. Delagrave*, há *Philosophie de L'Expérience*, William James³¹

²¹ Camilo Passalacqua, *Pedagogia e Methodologia (Theorica e Prática)* (São Paulo: Typographia a vapor de Jorge Seckler & C., 1887).

²² Manoel Bomfim, *O fato psíquico* (Rio de Janeiro: Spíndola, 1904).

²³ Sampaio Doria, *Princípios de pedagogia* (São Paulo: Pocai-Weiss, 1914).

²⁴ Manoel Bomfim, *Lições de pedagogia: teoria e prática da educação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1915).

²⁵ Manoel Bomfim, *Noções de psicologia* (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1916).

²⁶ Agostinho de Campos, *Educação e ensino* (Paris-Lisboa: Livraria Aillaud e Bertrand, 1922).

²⁷ Agostinho de Campos, *Casa de pais, escola de filhos: ensaios sobre educação infantil* (Porto: Typ. da Empr. Litter e Typographica Porto, 1916).

²⁸ José Augusto Coelho, *Manual prático de Pedagogia* (Porto: Livraria Editora de José Figueirinhas Jr., n.d.).

²⁹ Gabriel Compayré, *Les grands éducateurs* (Paris: Librairie Paul Delaplane, 1902).

³⁰ Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Comment Gertrude Instruit ses Enfants* (Paris: Librairie Paul Delaplane, 1882).

³¹ William James, *Philosophie de L'Expérience* (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, n.d.).

e *Principes de Psychologie*, de Herbert Spencer³², publicado pela *Ernest Flammarion*. Da Itália, há o livro de Maria Montessori³³, *Antropologia Pedagógica*, publicado pela *Casa Editrice Dottor Francesco Vallardi*, Milano.

Há que se destacar, também, que, neste período, a Normal de São Carlos fazia circular dois periódicos: *A Revista da Escola Normal de São Carlos* (1916-1922) e *Excelsior!* (1911-1916)³⁴. A primeira, publicada pelo corpo docente, e a segunda, iniciativa do Grêmio Normalista da escola. Na Normal de Piracicaba, a *Revista de Educação* (1921-1923), publicada pelos professores, compôs o acervo da biblioteca de Piracicaba.

No terceiro período, entre 1927 e 1929, constatamos a entrada das coleções especializadas na formação de professores, as quais eram publicadas por editoras brasileiras. A esse respeito, podemos destacar a Coleção Biblioteca de Educação (1927-1941). A publicação de coleções pedagógicas já era uma prática na Espanha e na França, quando Lourenço Filho, pela Companhia Melhoramentos, lança a coleção Biblioteca de Educação.

Como parte de uma estratégia de desenvolver uma nova cultura pedagógica, esta coleção – assim como outras – "organizam-se como espécie de repertório de valores e conhecimentos destinados a balizar a prática docente"³⁵. Neste terceiro momento no acervo das bibliotecas das Escolas Normais aparece o livro *A escola e a psicologia experimental*, de Edouard Claparède³⁶, da coleção indicada acima.

Em pouco menos de duas décadas de organização, as bibliotecas das Normais de Piracicaba e de São Carlos já continham um acervo substantivo para a formação de professores. Neste período, a Escola Normal já estava consolidada no estado de São Paulo. Entre 1911 e 1920 havia Escola Normal primária e secundária, com recursos financeiros distintos e esse cenário se modificou com a Reforma Sampaio Doria de 1920, que unificou as escolas. A Escola Normal de São Carlos, enquanto secundária, recebeu recursos para móveis e livros para a biblioteca. A Escola Normal de Piracicaba recebeu metade do recurso que recebeu a Normal de São Carlos, justamente no momento inicial de organização das bibliotecas. A biblioteca da Normal de Piracicaba foi constituída inicialmente por livros importados de Pedagogia e Educação, basicamente de autores portugueses. O idioma português e os custos menores, assim como os acordos comerciais que marcam a relação Brasil-Portugal, ajudam a compreender esta presença. Por outro lado, a Normal de São Carlos inicia seu acervo por livros importados,

³² Herbert Spencer, *Principes de Psychologie* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, n.d.).

³³ Maria Montessori, *Antropologia Pedagógica* (Milan: Casa Editrice Dottor Francesco Vallardi, ca. 1900).

³⁴ Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, Jaqueline Rampeloti Ozelin, and Emerson Correia da Silva, *Divulgando Práticas e Saberes: a produção de impressos pelos docentes das Escolas Normais*, 1st ed. (Marília: M3T, 2007).

³⁵ Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho and Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo, "A Biblioteca da Educação de Lourenço Filho: uma coleção a serviço de um projeto de inovação pedagógica," *Quaestio: Revista de Estudos de Educação* 8, no. 2 (2006): 48.

³⁶ Edouard Claparède, *A Escola e a Psicologia Experimental*, trans. and prefaced by Lourenço Filho (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos de S. Paulo, n.d.).

principalmente da França. Neste aspecto, a biblioteca de São Carlos se aproxima da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, da Escola Normal da Corte e de demais escolas congêneres na América Latina.

Analisar a circulação do conhecimento pedagógico e educativo a partir do estudo de bibliotecas de escolas normais imprime um olhar diferenciado. As bibliotecas escolares, pelo fato de serem especializadas, por si só, constroem um sentido aos livros e aos objetos que a constituem. Dessa forma, o livro não está sozinho, mas envolto por outros livros, revistas, folhetos e demais objetos que juntos participam da constituição da cultura pedagógica. Este texto se ocupou em compreender a circulação do conhecimento pedagógico a partir da constituição de duas bibliotecas de formação de professores. Tomamos bibliotecas de escolas normais do interior do estado de São Paulo para compreender o projeto paulista de interiorização da formação docente da segunda década do século XX.

Há muitos elementos a explorar nos estudos sobre bibliotecas escolares, o que demonstra a fertilidade de esta fonte/objeto de pesquisa. Em especial, exploramos a circulação do conhecimento pedagógico e educativo a partir dos modos pelos quais os livros de Pedagogia, Educação e Ensino chegaram às bibliotecas. A análise evidencia que, a despeito de haver livros comuns nas bibliotecas pesquisadas, as formas de constituição são distintas, determinando culturas pedagógicas distintas. As diferenças foram construídas pelas formas de aquisição do acervo, pelos orçamentos distintos, pelas finalidades específicas de cada uma nos primeiros anos de funcionamento e pelos agentes educativos. Mesmo assim, os três momentos distintos propostos na análise possibilitam demonstrar como as bibliotecas sofrem a influência dos modos de circulação executadas pelo comércio internacional de livros, pelas Pedagogias em trânsito e pelo desenvolvimento das editoras nacionais. O certo é que cada escola, a seu modo, constituiu sua própria e peculiar cultura pedagógica que, de alguma forma, deve ter influenciado nas práticas profissionais dos professores e professoras ali formados.

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4. Indícios da circulação internacional dos saberes pedagógicos: as Lições de Faria de Vasconcellos lidas pelos educadores paulistas¹

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Em 1909, o educador português António de Sena Faria de Vasconcellos, importante representante da Escola Nova, publicou *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental*. A obra, que reunia as conferências proferidas na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, com patrocínio da Liga de Educação Nacional, tinha como propósito reorientar o trabalho pedagógico segundo novas concepções. Voltadas para a defesa de uma “pedagogia de real alcance prático e científico,” em consonância com o “modo de ser da criança”, as conferências se articularam em torno do que ele considerava como o “princípio verdadeiramente fundamental em pedagogia: adaptação do ensino e da educação ao desenvolvimento natural, físico e psíquico, da criança.”² Os ecos das suas reflexões se fizeram ouvir entre os educadores paulistas, atentos às discussões em torno da renovação dos métodos e processos de ensino, indiciando um movimento de circulação dos saberes pedagógicos para além das fronteiras nacionais, o que conduz a indagar: quais as questões abordadas nas suas *Lições*? Qual o legado do pensamento do educador para o debate em torno da renovação educacional entre os educadores de São Paulo? Que aspectos das suas reflexões foram selecionados e postos em circulação?

¹ Este artigo apresenta resultados das pesquisas realizadas pelas autoras no âmbito do Projeto Temático *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras* (Projeto FAPESP 2018/26699-4), como também do projeto financiado pelo CNPq - Processo 312088/2021-3.

² Antonio de Sena Faria de Vasconcellos, *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* (Lisbon: Antiga Casa Bertrand, 1909), 7.

Como seus argumentos foram mobilizados e que questões foram acionadas na defesa desses argumentos?

No tratamento dessas indagações, além das *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental*, recorre-se aos *Anuários do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo*, publicação periódica da Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública que chegou a um total de 18 volumes, recobrando o período que vai de 1907 a 1937.³ Tais fontes são especialmente úteis quando se busca capturar indícios da circulação das ideias de Faria de Vasconcellos entre os educadores paulistas, em um veículo oficial que permite acessar dimensões importantes da *cultura normativa e pedagógica* da escola.⁴

Neste capítulo, selecionam-se os *Anuários do Ensino* referentes ao período entre 1909 e 1917. Seus conteúdos permitem entrever as formas como os educadores de São Paulo se apropriaram das reflexões do educador português em textos que dão a ver a maneira como o Estado procurava informar, disciplinar e celebrar a escola e o espaço profissional docente no período (Catani 1995). Como se procura evidenciar, as reflexões de Faria de Vasconcellos embasaram orientações da Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública aos professores, embora não sejam tão recorrentes em outras modalidades de impressos publicados durante as primeiras décadas do século XX, como os manuais pedagógicos destinados às Escolas Normais.⁵

Faria de Vasconcellos foi um “agente internacional da Educação Nova”. Reconhecido em seu país e no exterior, ele viveu entre 1880 e 1939 e desenvolveu boa parte da sua formação e atuação profissional na Bélgica, integrando uma geração pedagógica que fundamentou a construção da “escola moderna”⁶ desde o século XIX.⁷ O educador firmou uma trajetória progressista para a época, sendo um entusiasta da educação popular e da experimentação pedagógica,⁸ num momento em que o sistema escolar organizado pelo Estado se firmava em diferentes lugares do mundo, como um projeto de formação da nação, destinado a todos os cidadãos.⁹ Sua obra parte da insatisfação com

³ Denice Barbara Catani and Cynthia Pereira de Sousa, *Imprensa Periódica Educacional Paulista (1890–1996): Catálogo* (São Paulo: Plêiade, 1999).

⁴ Agustín Escolano, “Las Culturas Escolares del Siglo XX. Encuentros y Desencuentros,” *Revista de Educación*, no. extraordinario (2000): 201–218, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2521352>

⁵ Vivian Batista da Silva, *Saberes em Viagem nos Manuais Pedagógicos: Construções da Escola em Portugal e no Brasil (1890–1990)* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2018).

⁶ David Hamilton, “The Pedagogic Paradox (or Why No Didactics in England?),” *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 17, no. 1 (1999): 135–152, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14681369900200015>.

⁷ António Nóvoa and Jürgen Schriewer, *A Difusão Mundial da Escola* (Lisbon: Educa, 2000).

⁸ Filomena Bandeira, “Vasconcelos Cabral Azevedo, António Sena Faria de,” in *Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses*, ed. António Nóvoa (Lisbon: Edições ASA, 2003).

⁹ Nóvoa and Schriewer, *A Difusão Mundial*.

os modos autoritários de ensino da então adjetivada “escola tradicional,”¹⁰ constituindo-se enquanto uma entre as muitas produções da Escola Nova.¹¹

Em seus trabalhos sobre a produção de Faria de Vasconcellos, Carlota Boto afirma que “reconstituir seu pensamento significa dialogar com a própria herança da educação renovada,”¹² sublinhando que muitos estudos têm se voltado para a biografia do educador, o que justifica os investimentos de pesquisa no sentido de compreender como ele elaborou o seu pensamento pedagógico, em articulação com o ideário do movimento que viria a ser conhecido como Escola Nova. Para além dos aspectos biográficos e das dimensões ligadas à produção do educador, interessa-nos apreender algumas dimensões da circulação e apropriação das suas reflexões no âmbito das discussões que tiveram lugar em São Paulo, no início do século XX, de modo a contribuir para nuançar as várias referências que se cruzaram na formulação das propostas de renovação educacional.

Faria de Vasconcellos no circuito internacional da Escola Nova

Como um “teórico da educação portuguesa”¹³ e um dos representantes mais reconhecidos da Escola Nova, Faria de Vasconcellos reclamava para a criança o centro das preocupações pedagógicas, com base no pressuposto da especificidade da infância. Cabe notar que a especificidade e a valorização da criança correspondem a uma espécie de “lugar comum” desse movimento de renovação educacional, ou seja, a preocupação em tornar o aluno o centro das atenções está presente em diferentes produções, nem sempre concordantes.¹⁴ Segundo propunha o educador português em suas *Lições*:

Ora a criança constitui, tanto física como psiquicamente um tipo especial que difere não só quantitativa mas qualitativamente do adulto. Donde a necessidade de tratar a criança como uma criança, de não perturbar e contrariar a natureza, de conformar o ensino e a educação ao seu estado de desenvolvimento físico e psíquico e de recorrer portanto a meios que a criança sinta e compreenda.¹⁵

Considerado por Ferrière como “pioneiro da educação do futuro” (Martins 2019, 365),¹⁶ Faria de Vasconcelos bacharelou-se em Direito pela Universidade Coimbra em 1900,

¹⁰ António Nóvoa, “Uma Educação que se Diz Nova,” in *Sobre a Educação Nova*, ed. António Candeias, António Nóvoa, and Manuel Figueira (Lisbon: Educa, 1995).

¹¹ Na discussão de aspectos da trajetória e da produção de Faria de Vasconcellos, lançamos mão de dados sistematizados em Heloísa Helena P. Rocha, “O Estudo Científico da Criança e a ‘Educação da Afetividade’,” in *Infância, Juventude e Emoções na História da Educação*, ed. Heloísa Helena P. Rocha and Pablo Toro-Blanco (São Paulo: Fino Traço, 2022).

¹² Carlota Boto, “Faria de Vasconcelos e a Escola Nova em Portugal: Do Self-Government à Educação Científica,” *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 19, no. 49 (2019): e092, <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/48006/75137514858>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Nóvoa, “Uma Educação.”

¹⁵ Vasconcellos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 8.

¹⁶ Como indica Manuel Figueira, Faria de Vasconcellos é considerado por António Nóvoa como um dos “quatro mosqueteiros” da Educação Nova portuguesa, ao lado de António Sérgio, Adolfo Lima e Álvaro

partindo em 1902 para a Bélgica. Obteve o grau de doutor em Ciências Sociais (1904), com a tese *Esquisse d'une theorie de la sensibilité sociale*, na Universidade Nova de Bruxelas, onde se tornou professor de Psicologia e Pedagogia (1904-1914). Foi admitido, em 1912, como membro da comissão executiva da Sociedade Belga de Pedotecnia, criada por Decroly em 1905.¹⁷ No período em que viveu na Bélgica, fundou e dirigiu, entre 1912 e 1914, uma escola em Bierges-les-Wavre, organizada segundo os princípios da Escola Nova, a qual foi caracterizada por Ferrière como “uma das melhores realizações da Escola Nova.”¹⁸ Referindo-se a essa iniciativa, afirma António Nóvoa: “Depois de um século de teorias pedagógicas, importava, agora, explicar concretamente o que se fazia, esperando que esta ilustração fosse inspiradora e contribuísse para lançar a semente da escola nova.”¹⁹

Não é demais lembrar que o ambiente intelectual da Bélgica, à época, se configurava em um cenário propício para a difusão de novas ideias e trocas dos saberes sobre a infância e sua educação que circulavam na Europa e América, calcados em novos pressupostos e em dados experimentais. Nessa direção, Margarida Felgueiras²⁰ lembra que a Bélgica era vista, no período, “como o centro irradiador de novas ideias e técnicas educativas.” Tal efervescência lhe rendeu o título de “capital internacional da proteção da infância e patronato”, segundo destaca Ernesto Martins,²¹ ao indicar que “Faria de Vasconcelos não foi alheio a todo esse emaranhado de ideias filosóficas, sociológicas e psicológicas, especialmente da educação nova e das experiências pedagógicas nas escolas de países europeus.”

Viana de Lemos (Figueira 2004, 33). O autor considera Faria de Vasconcellos como “figura de divulgação de ideias, experiências e ações no campo da pedagogia moderna” (Figueira 2001 *apud* Martins 2019, p. 364). Margarida Felgueiras refere-se a Faria de Vasconcellos e António Sérgio como “dois vultos maiores da Cultura e da Educação portuguesas”, assinalando que, segundo António Nóvoa, ele teria sido “o educador português mais conhecido no estrangeiro” (2020, p. 50), um dos representantes do “período de ouro da pedagogia portuguesa” (2020, p. 68). Ernesto Martins (2017, 2021) destaca o prestígio europeu e latino-americano do educador português, chamando atenção para as suas contribuições para o estudo das questões ligadas à educação das crianças consideradas à época como “anormais escolares”.

¹⁷ Ernesto Candeias Martins, “As Influências (Psico)Pedagógicas Belgas em Faria de Vasconcelos e a Repercussão na Educação das Crianças 'Anormais' (Escolares),” *Sarmiento*, no. 25 (2021): 95–122, https://revistas.udc.gal/index.php/sarmiento/article/view/srgphe.2021.25.0.8605/g8605_pdf; Ernesto Candeias Martins, “Da Experiência numa Escola Nova à Educação com Crianças 'Anormais': Faria de Vasconcelos (1880–1939) no Contexto do Ensino Especial,” *Acta Scientiarum* 39, no. 2 (2017): 119–130, <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/ActaSciEduc/article/view/28676/18884>.

¹⁸ Vasconcellos, *Lições de Pedologia*, *apud* Martins, “Da Experiência numa Escola Nova,” 121. A literatura registra que o prestígio alcançado pela escola pode ser aquilatado quando se observa que a escola atingia 28,5 dos 30 pontos elencados por Ferrière, sendo considerada por este como uma escola modelo. Ver, por exemplo, Felgueiras (2020).

¹⁹ Nóvoa 2005 *apud* Ernesto Candeias Martins, “O Ideário Científico-Pedagógico de Faria de Vasconcelos (1880–1939) em Prol Duma Escola Nova e Atual,” *EccoS – Revista Científica*, no. 48 (2019): 371, <https://www.redalyc.org/jatsRepo/715/71558958021/html/v>

²⁰ Margarida Louro Felgueiras, “Dois Portugueses no Movimento Internacional da Escola Nova: Faria de Vasconcelos e António Sérgio,” in *Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova*, ed. Diana G. Vidal and Rafaela S. Rabelo (Lisbon: Fino Traço, 2020), 53.

²¹ Martins, “As Influências (Psico)Pedagógicas,” 21.

A invasão da Bélgica pela Alemanha, em 1914, respondeu pela partida do educador para Genebra, onde integrou a equipe do Instituto Jean-Jacques Rousseau, ministrando cursos de Psicologia Experimental. Nessa instituição, estabeleceu um vínculo estreito com lideranças do movimento de renovação educacional, como Claparède – com quem colaborou no Laboratório de Psicologia Experimental –, Ferrière e Bovet, chegando a assumir a função de secretário do *Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles*.²² Data desse período a publicação da obra *Une école nouvelle en Belgique*, que alcançou projeção internacional, no conjunto da sua produção, merecendo tradução para várias línguas.²³ Prefaciada por Ferrière, a obra resultou da reunião de conferências proferidas nesse instituto, abordando o trabalho desenvolvido na escola de Bierges-les-Wavre.

Entre 1915 e 1920, Faria de Vasconcellos trabalhou em países da América Latina – Cuba e Bolívia –,²⁴ atuando como administrador escolar, gestor de políticas educacionais, conferencista e autor de textos pedagógicos. Na Bolívia, organizou a seção de Psicologia e Pedagogia da Escola Normal Superior de La Paz, dirigiu a Escola Normal de Sucre e respondeu pela *Revista Pedagógica*,²⁵ exercendo uma intensa atividade tanto como reformador quanto na divulgação de suas ideias.²⁶ Nesse período, participou também de missões nos Estados Unidos, Uruguai e Argentina, conforme registra Manuel Figueira.²⁷

Em seu retorno a Portugal, após o golpe militar de 1920 na Bolívia, vinculou-se ao grupo que criou a revista *Seara Nova* e envolveu-se ativamente na elaboração do projeto de lei de reorganização da educação nacional (Reforma Camoesas, 1923), atuando em distintas instituições, a partir de 1921: Universidade Popular, Universidade Livre, Escola Normal Superior e Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa. Fundou, em 1925, o Instituto de Orientação Profissional de Lisboa, voltado para o atendimento de crianças em situação de risco, respondendo pela sua direção entre 1925 e 1936. Colaborou também na organização do Instituto de Reeducação Mental e Pedagógica (1929),

²² Felgueiras, “Dois Portugueses no Movimento,” 51.

²³ Marques 2000, apud Boto, “Faria de Vasconcelos.”

²⁴ Manuel Figueira (2004) registra que o educador teria ido para Cuba em lugar de António Sérgio, que declinara do convite de Claparède e Ferrière para fundar uma Escola Nova naquele país. A passagem de Faria de Vasconcellos por Cuba parece não ter sido muito bem-sucedida, já que não conseguiu repetir a experiência de Bierges-les-Wavre. Conforme Figueira (2004, p. 40), ele teria permanecido em Cuba entre 1915 e 1917 como inspetor do Ministério da Saúde e Beneficência, viajando em seguida para outros países da América Latina e fixando-se na Bolívia, entre 1917 e 1920, onde obteve reconhecimento como autoridade em matéria de educação.

²⁵ Teresa Sousa Machado, “Faria de Vasconcelos: Um Pioneiro no Movimento da Escola Nova na Europa e na América Latina,” *Revista Argentina de Ciencias del Comportamiento* 8, no. 2 (2016): 117, <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/3334/333449322010.pdf>.

²⁶ Felgueiras, “Dois Portugueses no Movimento.”

²⁷ Manuel Henrique Figueira, “A Educação Nova em Portugal (1882–1935): Semelhanças, Particularidades e Relações com o Movimento Homônimo Internacional (Parte II),” *História da Educação*, no. 15 (2004): 40, <https://seer.ufrgs.br/asphe/article/view/30279/pdf>

destinado ao atendimento de crianças com deficiências ou atrasos no desenvolvimento mental e crianças consideradas normais que requeriam atendimento especializado.

Sistematizando alguns aspectos da atuação do educador português, Margarida Felgueiras assinala que ele “atuou como educador e investigador em Ciências da Educação e em Psicologia, fazendo uma carreira acadêmica notável a que uniu uma persistente capacidade de intervir socialmente, difundindo as ideias novas em educação.”²⁸ Assim, conforme destaca, o educador teria se dedicado a “um trabalho mais acadêmico e de investigação, direcionado para a orientação educativa e profissional, distante da ribalta política mas não da intervenção cívica e educativa, o que lhe permitiu sobreviver na fase inicial da Ditadura.”²⁹ Maria Cruz sublinha que, graças à sua atuação na escola criada em Bièrges-les-Wavre, o educador se tornou “conhecido no mundo da Educação, como teórico e homem de ação.”³⁰

As Lições do educador português

Faria de Vasconcellos é autor de vasta obra, com textos publicados em português, francês e espanhol,³¹ sendo digna de destaque, como assinala Ernesto Martins,³² sua “intensa obra de divulgação dos novos ideais educativos e dos novos planos de ação didática”.³³ Segundo esse mesmo autor,³⁴ o educador “foi um contínuo tratadista de problemas escolares e de assuntos pedológicos e didáticos”, destacando-se, além das suas *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental*, a edição de pequenos volumes ou de obras como *Problemas escolares* (1921) e *O desenho e a criança* (1939).

As *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* foram bastante utilizadas na formação de professores, segundo destaca Carlota Boto.³⁵ Organizada em 12 lições, a obra examina o desenvolvimento físico e mental das crianças, em suas várias dimensões,

²⁸ Felgueiras, “Dois Portugueses no Movimento,” 57

²⁹ Ibid., 67.

³⁰ Maria Gabriel M. Bulas Cruz, “Antônio de Sena Faria de Vasconcelos (1880–1939): Um Português no Movimento da 'Escola Nova,’” *Educação em Revista* 2, no. 1 (2001): 138–149, <https://revistas.marilia.unesp.br/index.php/educacaoemrevista/article/view/672>

³¹ Machado, “Faria de Vasconcelos.”

³² Ernesto Candeias Martins, “O Ideário Científico-Pedagógico de Faria de Vasconcelos (1880–1939) em Prol Duma Escola Nova e Atual,” *EccoS – Revista Científica*, no. 48 (2019): 381, <https://www.redalyc.org/jatsRepo/715/71558958021/html/v>

³³ Sobre a produção de Faria de Vasconcellos, assinala Margarida Felgueiras (2020, p. 56): “A escrita foi uma atividade a que se dedicou, visível na sua ampla obra pedagógica e em várias revistas portuguesas como *Educação Social* [órgão oficial da Liga Internacional para a Educação Nova], *Revista Escolar*, *Broteria*, *Boletim do Instituto de orientação profissional*, *Revista Lusitânia*, entre outras. Foi colaborador da *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* e escreveu na *Revista Pedagógica*, da Escola Normal de Sucre, Bolívia, de que era diretor. As suas obras completas foram editadas em 7 volumes, pela Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, entre 1986 e 2011.”

³⁴ Ernesto Candeias Martins, “As Influências (Psico)Pedagógicas Belgas em Faria de Vasconcelos e a Repercussão na Educação das Crianças 'Anormais' (Escolares),” *Sarmiento*, no. 25 (2021): 111, https://revistas.udc.gal/index.php/sarmiento/article/view/srpgphe.2021.25.0.8605/g8605_pdf

³⁵ Boto, “Faria de Vasconcelos.”

debruçando-se sobre o estudo da percepção, da memória, da associação de ideias, da atenção, da inteligência, da afetividade, dentre outros aspectos. Além disso, interroga o papel de fatores como o jogo, a imitação e o interesse no desenvolvimento infantil; bem como os efeitos da atividade, dos hábitos e da fadiga sobre o trabalho escolar.

No estudo de cada um desses temas, o educador lança mão de uma ampla gama de dados resultantes de inquéritos e experimentações científicas, oferecendo um panorama das investigações em curso no período, na Europa e nos Estados Unidos, e dos desafios que os resultados desses estudos colocavam para a educação das crianças. Nesse sentido, Teresa Machado³⁶ afirma que a leitura da obra pode ser considerada como: “uma viagem pela história da psicologia, pois que nela vamos revisitando influências dos *grandes nomes* que nos finais do século XIX, início do XX, constroem a psicologia científica; e, particularmente, defendem o estudo científico do desenvolvimento – a psicologia da criança – em prol de uma intervenção preventiva de cariz social e individual”. A autora propõe, ainda, que a obra teria lançado as bases para a organização da escola fundada pelo educador em Bièrges-les-Wavre, em 1912.

O conjunto de lições é marcado por veementes críticas aos moldes segundo os quais se organizava a escola e aos prejuízos dessa forma de organização para o desenvolvimento infantil. A imobilidade, o confinamento, o silêncio, a monotonia, a disciplina, os castigos e as coações que caracterizavam o regime escolar são alguns dos aspectos que responderiam, segundo advertia, pela influência “deprimente” ou “nociva” da escola sobre a criança. Tal forma de organização, com suas marcas nos corpos e nas mentes das crianças, resultava, conforme o educador, do total desconhecimento das leis que regem o desenvolvimento infantil. Assim, uma vez que “a escola atual exerce uma influência deprimente sobre a energia física e mental da criança, pois a sua organização revela o desconhecimento, quase absoluto, das exigências do desenvolvimento corpóreo e espiritual da criança,”³⁷ cabia modificar as suas formas de organização e os processos de ensino. Como defeito mais sério do criticado regime escolar, figura, em suas reflexões, a negligência em relação à especificidade da infância e o descaso quanto às necessidades e interesses das crianças.

No centro da discussão, estava o imperativo de adaptação da escola à criança, com base nas orientações de uma “pedagogia de real alcance prático e científico que atenda, como deve, ao modo de ser da criança.”³⁸ Ou seja, cabia romper com o “caráter artificial da antiga pedagogia”, a qual ignorava tanto a “natureza da criança” quanto as “condições do meio.”³⁹ Como se pode observar, as lições do educador português são marcadas pelas críticas às formas de educação vigentes e, em outra dimensão, por uma apologia ao novo, que se traduzia em formas de conceber a infância e sua educação construídas

³⁶ Machado, “Faria de Vasconcelos,” 118.

³⁷ Vasconcellos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 109.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

à luz das respostas dadas pela ciência experimental para a compreensão do desenvolvimento físico e mental, em suas distintas fases.

Assim, segundo Vasconcellos,⁴⁰ uma questão central se impunha aos educadores: quem é a criança que se pretende ensinar e educar? O que essa criança está apta a aprender? A resposta a essa indagação passava necessariamente pelo estudo científico da criança – “primeiro imperativo da pedagogia ou ciência da educação”⁴¹ - para o que se mostravam fundamentais os aportes da medicina, da biologia, da fisiologia e da psicologia. Algumas pistas sobre o tratamento conferido à questão podem ser encontradas já no texto de apresentação da obra, em que o educador se refere à criança como “um tipo especial”, distinto do adulto, tanto em termos quantitativos quanto qualitativos. A investigação sobre a criança derivava do pressuposto de que o aluno se configurava em “elemento primacial e fundamental em matéria educativa”. A base do ensino deveria, assim, repousar sobre o conhecimento do aluno, uma vez que “só se pode ensinar bem e com proveito quando se conhece aquele a quem se ensina.”⁴²

Recorrente nas lições do educador é a afirmação da especificidade da infância. Assim, a propósito das peculiaridades do desenvolvimento físico e mental, ensinava Vasconcellos: “criança não é um homem”,⁴³ “a criança não é uma redução do adulto, mas um ser à parte, *um tipo especial*.”⁴⁴ No diálogo com as teorias em circulação no período, o educador procurava distanciar a criança da pureza e da inocência, mas também dos supostos parentescos com o criminoso, o louco e o selvagem. Ao mesmo tempo, buscava afastar-se da identificação da criança às promessas futuras, uma vez que: “a criança é já em si uma obra de arte, porque é a vida cheia, intensa, vibrátil.”⁴⁵

A pedagogia reclamada por Faria de Vasconcellos fazia repousar as exigências de cientificidade sobre o tripé formado pelo estudo científico da criança; pela colaboração entre o médico e o educador; bem como pela cooperação da família na obra educativa. Eixo central das lições proferidas pelo educador, o estudo científico da criança tinha em vista conhecer as particularidades do seu desenvolvimento físico e psíquico, com o propósito de “subordinar os métodos de ensino às necessidades individuais”, adaptando o ensino ao “tipo mental e físico do aluno.”⁴⁶ Nessa direção, a colaboração com a medicina mostrava-se fundamental, tanto para a preservação do desenvolvimento, como a prevenção e o tratamento de atrasos e desvios, configurando-se os dados colhidos nos exames das crianças como guias no planejamento da ação pedagógica. Igualmente importante mostrava-se a atuação da família, para o que cabia educar os pais, de modo a evitar que seus exemplos e conselhos viessem a comprometer a ação da escola. Para

⁴⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁴¹ Martins, “O Ideário,” 369.

⁴² Vasconcellos, *Lições de Pedologia*, 17.

⁴³ Ibid., 339.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 90.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 458.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 10.

além disso, fazia-se necessário investir na formação dos professores, com base nos dados reunidos pelos estudos da pedologia.

A pedologia, “ciência experimental da criança,”⁴⁷ cujas lições Faria de Vasconcellos procurava compilar, assumia lugar central nesse investimento de renovação dos modos de organizar a escola e de educar as crianças, uma vez que tinha como objetivo conhecer, por meio da observação, dos inquéritos e da experimentação, as leis gerais do desenvolvimento infantil e as formas como elas se expressavam na experiência individual de cada criança. Oferecia, nesse sentido, recursos para conhecer a criança, em sua “natureza física e psíquica,”⁴⁸ mas também, as diferenças, estabelecendo parâmetros para distinguir o desenvolvimento normal das anormalidades. Marcados pela apologia da ciência experimental, os apontamentos do educador indicam as possibilidades e os limites da pedologia, em sua ambição de oferecer os subsídios para a almejada renovação dos modos de educar as crianças:

A pedologia procura conhecer o corpo da criança (estatura; peso, etc.) normal ou anormal, a sua evolução, os órgãos dos sentidos, o seu espírito, as qualidades e defeitos físicos, intelectuais e morais, tendo em vista a determinação das leis do seu desenvolvimento físico e mental, tanto sob o ponto de vista geral aplicável a todas as crianças, como sob o ponto de vista das diferenças e variedades individuais.⁴⁹

Investigando as leis gerais do desenvolvimento infantil, em suas correlações com fatores como o sexo, a raça, as condições sociais e o estado de saúde, a pedologia procurava atender, ao mesmo tempo, para as peculiaridades e diferenças individuais, de modo a traçar o perfil de cada criança. A identificação de tipos psicológicos distintos, em suas características e em suas reações, respondia às exigências de adaptação dos métodos e processos de ensino, objetivo ainda distante de ser alcançado, segundo ponderava o educador, considerando o estado incipiente dos estudos.

Como alvo dessa adaptação, figuravam os propósitos de preservação e de estimulação das forças da criança, visando assegurar o seu pleno desenvolvimento ou, nos termos do autor, “a evolução normal da criança.”⁵⁰ À escola caberia, nesse sentido, não apenas a responsabilidade pela aquisição dos conhecimentos por parte da criança, mas também pela formação do seu caráter, personalidade e vontade. Nesse processo, lugar central era conferido ao interesse: “basear o ensino no interesse da criança é um princípio fundamental da nova pedagogia, que se propõe a respeitar o seu desenvolvimento natural fisio-psíquico.”⁵¹ Tomar o interesse em eixo para o ensino implicava, ao mesmo tempo, em organizar o trabalho pedagógico de modo a despertar o interesse infantil.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 47.

⁵¹ Ibid., 40.

Faria de Vasconcellos chega aos educadores paulistas

A atuação de Faria de Vasconcellos não se restringiu ao território português. Sua trajetória de vida, formação e trabalho foi marcada pela circulação em outros países e, tal como se quer evidenciar, suas reflexões permearam as leituras e proposições de educadores paulistas. Os dados levantados não permitem saber que circuitos possibilitaram que suas *Lições* chegassem a São Paulo. O certo é que, em um momento muito próximo à sua publicação, o livro foi citado nos *Anuários do Ensino*, continuando as suas reflexões a servir de subsídio aos nossos educadores nas décadas seguintes.⁵² Embora não tenha visitado o Brasil, alguns dados dão conta das aproximações dos educadores brasileiros com a sua produção e atuação, entre as décadas de 1910 e 1930. Conforme registra Ernesto Martins,⁵³ a escola criada por Faria de Vasconcellos em Bièrges-les-Wavre, em 1912, contava com um *Comité de Patronage* investido da responsabilidade de acompanhar essa experiência. O comitê, composto por figuras ilustres como Compayré, Ferrière e Decroly, era dirigido pelo embaixador brasileiro na Bélgica, Oliveira Lima.

Teresa Machado⁵⁴ assinala que a ação de Vasconcellos “se estende a toda a América Latina, ao influenciar diversos pedagogos (como o cubano Aguayo e o movimento brasileiro expresso por nomes como J. Damasco Penna, Fernando de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira, Afrânio Peixoto, Theobaldo Miranda Santos, entre tantos outros)”. Margarida Felgueiras,⁵⁵ por sua vez, assinala que o Instituto de Orientação Profissional, criado pelo educador em 1925, foi visitado por especialistas de distintos países, dentre os quais a autora registra o nome de “Cecília Meireles e de várias individualidades brasileiras do Rio de Janeiro ligadas ao direito, à medicina legal e à educação, entre elas Afrânio Peixoto (1937)”. Manuel Figueira também se refere à “Liga Propulsora da Instrução em Portugal, também conhecida por Liga do Brasil, por ter sido fundada por emigrantes portugueses em S. Paulo, em 1925.”⁵⁶ A liga foi criada por iniciativa de António Sérgio⁵⁷ e José Rodrigues Miguéis⁵⁸ e, segundo Felgueiras “contribuiria para a construção de

⁵² Exemplar nesse sentido são as referências que circularam na *Revista Escolar*, órgão da Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública, entre os anos de 1925 e 1927.

⁵³ Martins, “As Influências (Psico)Pedagógicas.”

⁵⁴ Machado, “Faria de Vasconcelos,” 117.

⁵⁵ Felgueiras, “Dois Portugueses,” 58.

⁵⁶ Figueira, “A Educação Nova,” 38.

⁵⁷ De acordo com o *Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses* (Nóvoa 2003, 1291-1300), “António Sérgio é um dos intelectuais de referência do século XX português. [...] define-se como *pedagogista*, no sentido abrangente do termo”. Foi estudante do Instituto Jean-Jacques Rousseau entre 1914 e 1916 e participou, ao longo de sua trajetória, da construção de um pensamento pedagógico fortemente voltado para a ação reformadora das escolas. Margarida Felgueiras (2020) registra a estreita relação estabelecida por ele com o Brasil, onde residiu por alguns períodos entre as décadas de 1910 e 1920, atuando no Rio de Janeiro e em São Paulo.

⁵⁸ Formado em Direito, abandonou a advocacia em prol da pedagogia. Em 1929, foi aluno da Universidade de Bruxelas, sob a direção de Decroly, tendo estudado os métodos de reeducação de “crianças anormais” e firmado uma trajetória profissional na área. Viveu nos Estados Unidos, regressou a Portugal algumas vezes e esteve no Brasil entre 1949 e 1950. Tem uma obra literária reconhecida e traduzida desde 1943

escolas modelo, publicação de obras didáticas e atribuição de bolsas de estudo,”⁵⁹ sendo possível supor que, de alguma maneira, tenha possibilitado a difusão das reflexões de Faria de Vasconcellos.

As *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental* fazem parte da vasta e complexa obra produzida pelo educador português ao longo de sua trajetória. Em meio ao conjunto de educadores reunidos no *Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses*⁶⁰ – composto por 900 biografias de homens e mulheres que se dedicaram ao ensino e à educação em Portugal nos séculos XIX e XX, dentre os quais figuram professores primários e secundários, políticos, reformadores e dirigentes, intelectuais, reitores e professores universitários –, Faria de Vasconcellos se destaca pela sua longa formação acadêmica e científica, como também por ser um viajante e entusiasta da renovação educacional. Faz parte, portanto, do grupo de pedagogos “com prática educativa e com obra pedagógica original”⁶¹ Tais considerações são importantes ao se analisar o âmbito de circulação das reflexões de Faria de Vasconcellos em São Paulo. Não há dúvidas de que a sua representatividade no movimento da Escola Nova teve um papel significativo na sua circulação entre os educadores paulistas.

Cabe observar que as menções às *Lições* de Faria de Vasconcellos encontraram espaço em determinados segmentos da imprensa educacional e, em menor escala, nos manuais de formação. Estudos comparados sobre os manuais pedagógicos publicados em Portugal e no Brasil entre 1870 e 1970⁶² identificam a presença dos autores, livros, países, áreas de saber que constaram nas páginas desses livros como referências. Isso permite afirmar, por exemplo, que no Brasil o autor mais mencionado entre 1930 e 1970 foi John Dewey⁶³ que também fez parte da bibliografia usada nos livros escritos para as aulas da Escola Normal entre os portugueses.

De forma geral, os manuais de ambos os países construíram, ao longo de sua história, imagens de países mais propensos a aprender e outros mais dispostos a ensinar. Portugueses e brasileiros foram colocados claramente no primeiro grupo, considerando o cenário internacional e comparando as nações “européias” e “americanas”, tal como elas foram representadas nos livros. Nas raras vezes em que manuais brasileiros fizeram alusão a Portugal, destacou-se o passado colonial, como um conteúdo a ser transmitido nas aulas do ensino primário. Já por parte de Portugal houve a tendência de apresentar

em diferentes línguas, entre elas, o inglês, o italiano e o alemão. “A sua figura literária e sua obra são referenciadas nos actuais programas de Português do ensino secundário” (Dias 2003, 922-923).

⁵⁹ Felgueiras, “Dois Portugueses,” 67.

⁶⁰ António Nóvoa, “Sérgio de Sousa, António,” in *Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses*, ed. António Nóvoa (Lisbon: Edições ASA, 2003).

⁶¹ Ibid., 13.

⁶² Vivian Batista da Silva, “Notas sobre uma História de Leituras para Normalistas em Portugal e no Brasil (1870–1970): Tornar Visíveis os Distanciamentos nas Proximidades,” in *Educação Comparada: Rotas Além-Mar*, ed. Donaldo Bello de Souza and Sílvia Alicia Martinez (São Paulo: Xamã, 2009).

⁶³ Vivian Batista da Silva, *Saberes em Viagem nos Manuais Pedagógicos: Construções da Escola em Portugal e no Brasil (1890–1990)* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2018).

o Brasil ora como filho, ora como um irmão mais novo. Ambos os países não se consideraram mutuamente como sociedades de referência,⁶⁴ estando fora daquilo que Ortiz (1991 e 2000a)⁶⁵ denominou como “epicentro mundial”, restrito a países como França, Alemanha, Inglaterra e Estados Unidos. Isso também acabou por distanciar Portugal e Brasil, que não serviram de exemplo um para o outro (Silva, 2008).⁶⁶

Talvez isso explique, em parte, o fato de Faria de Vasconcellos e suas *Lições* não merecerem tanto destaque como uma obra de referência nos manuais pedagógicos brasileiros, muitos deles publicados em São Paulo, embora autores com quem partilhou suas primeiras experiências de formação e trabalho – como é o caso de Adolph Ferrière, Edouard Claparède, Pierre Bovet e Ovide Decroly – figurem entre a melhor e mais citada geração de pedagogos nessas obras destinadas à formação de professores. Afinal, o que significa circular via manuais pedagógicos ou via imprensa e *Anuários do Ensino*? Trata-se de uma pergunta que permite compreender a pequena recorrência de Faria de Vasconcellos e de suas *Lições* nos manuais, ao mesmo tempo em que elas estão mais presentes em outros impressos da área.

Ao que tudo indica, as referências à obra de Faria de Vasconcellos dependem dos lugares onde circulam, dos seus propósitos e dos lugares ocupados pela publicação no cenário de disputas em torno dos projetos de renovação educacional. Há que se destacar, nesse sentido, o *lugar intermediário* dos manuais e do discurso educacional, expresso por meio das relações estabelecidas no interior do campo da educação, bem como entre educadores e outras instâncias da sociedade. Os manuais pedagógicos ocuparam uma *posição intermediária* num *campo intermediário*. Ou seja, eles foram produções dos educadores que apresentaram os “grandes teóricos e pedagogos” aos professores. Os seus textos explicaram as questões de ensino, supondo a existência de um consenso, pois os escritos apresentam-se sempre de forma concisa, dando pouco espaço para o registro de discussões e dissensos entre educadores. As revistas educacionais, por sua vez, puderam ocupar múltiplas posições⁶⁷ e, dependendo de sua natureza, estiveram mais abertos ao debate e à polêmica,⁶⁸ evidenciando múltiplas relações com associações estudantis, com o Estado e com as diferentes áreas de saber.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Nóvoa and Schriewer. *A Difusão Mundial*.

⁶⁵ Renato Ortiz, *Cultura e Modernidade: A França no Século XIX* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1991); Renato Ortiz, *O Próximo e o Distante: Japão e Modernidade-Mundo* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2000).

⁶⁶ Vivian Batista da Silva, “Os Manuais Pedagógicos e Seus Prefácios como Fontes para a História da Profissão Docente e do Campo Educacional (Brasil e Portugal, 1870–1970),” in *Anais do V Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação* (São Paulo, 2008), 1–15.

⁶⁷ Catani e Souza, *Imprensa Periódica*,

⁶⁸ John Rogan and Jean Luckowski, “Curriculum Texts: The Portrayal of the Field. Part I,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 22, no. 1 (1990): 17–39, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0022027900220102>

⁶⁹ Vivian Batista da Silva, *Saberes em Viagem nos Manuais Pedagógicos: Construções da Escola em Portugal e no Brasil (1890–1990)* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2018).

Valeria a pena retomar aqui a distinção entre *alta* e *baixa pedagogia* proposta por Depaepe,⁷⁰ para delimitar as características de um discurso de tipo pragmático – a *baixa pedagogia* – e outra modalidade mais científica que o autor nomeou como *alta pedagogia*, podendo, pois, as reflexões de Vasconcellos, em suas conferências reunidas na obra *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental*, ser interpretadas como transitando entre um nível e outro. Teresa Machado afirma que elas “são base científica para o planejamento da escola de Bièrges-les-Wavre – marco incontornável da história da Educação Nova e da psicologia da criança em geral.”⁷¹ Trata-se de uma afirmação valiosa para compreender os diferentes espaços e momentos no âmbito dos quais as reflexões do educador português foram apropriadas entre os educadores paulistas. Como se poderá observar, sua presença nos *Anuários do Ensino* se mostrou marcante, o que, provavelmente, se deva aos propósitos mais práticos da organização escolar que orientaram essa publicação oficial.

A circulação das *Lições de Vasconcellos* nos *Anuários de Ensino*

Como já foi possível assinalar neste capítulo, as *Lições* elaboradas por Faria de Vasconcellos com base nos resultados oferecidos pela ciência do seu tempo articulam-se em torno de uma veemente crítica à pedagogia e aos modos de ensinar então vigentes, procurando oferecer elementos para a reflexão sobre formas renovadas de pensar a organização escolar, fundadas no conhecimento científico da criança, do ponto de vista do seu desenvolvimento físico e psíquico. As reflexões do educador português não eram estranhas aos educadores brasileiros, como evidenciam as referências à sua obra nos *Anuários do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo*, publicação periódica da Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública, criada pelo Governo do Estado de São Paulo em 1907, com o objetivo de reunir informações sobre aspectos ligados às condições materiais das escolas, dados estatísticos, bem como questões pedagógicas relacionadas aos métodos e processos de ensino, dando divulgação aos “progressos em matéria de ensino” (1907, VI).

Numa pesquisa sobre o papel dos *Anuários* na organização do campo educacional paulista, Denice Catani explica que seu surgimento em 1907-1908: “representa uma vitória da orientação do Estado sobre o grupo de professores da Associação do Professorado Público, que vinha editando a *Revista de Ensino* desde 1902 e não andava em boas relações com a Secretaria do Interior, órgão ao qual estava subordinada a Inspetoria Pública.”⁷²

Na análise dos volumes publicados entre 1908 e 1917, é possível apreender os dados estatísticos e as informações relativas ao desenvolvimento do sistema de ensino no

⁷⁰ Marc Depaepe, “The Practical and Professional Relevance of Educational Research and Pedagogical Knowledge from the Perspective of History: Reflections on the Belgian Case in Its International Background,” *European Educational Research Journal* 1, no. 2 (2002): 360–379, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.2304/eerj.2002.1.2.10>

⁷¹ Machado, “Faria de Vasconcelos,” 121.

⁷² Catani and de Sousa, *Imprensa Periódica Educacional*, 10.

estado. É possível observar também as marcas de celebração do advento da República, num momento em que São Paulo punha em marcha um conjunto de reformas e continuava a organizar as escolas primárias, dando ênfase especial ao recrutamento e à formação docente. Como assinala Denice Catani,⁷³ “na ordem do dia, aparecem a difusão de novos métodos de ensino, a contratação de professores versados nesses procedimentos e a construção de edifícios adequados à tarefa pedagógica”. A ênfase nesses aspectos é uma resposta da Diretoria de Ensino, em sua publicação oficial, às críticas e denúncias de precariedade das condições do magistério feitas pela Associação Beneficente do Professorado na *Revista de Ensino*. Catani assinala que “seria possível pensar que a publicação destinava-se a substituir a *Revista de Ensino*,”⁷⁴ oferecendo “colaboração abundante e variada sobre a parte técnica de ensino, métodos e resultados, [...] que forneça apenas e principalmente, orientação aos professores”. É nessa perspectiva que os *Anuários do Ensino* se apropriam das *Lições* de Faria de Vasconcellos.

Fortemente marcado pelo tom de defesa da “escola moderna,” o relatório do diretor da Instrução Pública, Oscar Thompson, no volume referente aos anos de 1909-1910, dá destaque aos estudos de antropologia pedagógica e psicologia experimental no estado de São Paulo, remetendo às reflexões do educador português, textualmente citadas:

Quem é tudo em educação, diz Faria de Vasconcellos, é a criança; é o seu conhecimento que deve ser aprofundado. O melhor programa só dará resultados quando a maneira de o ensinar se adaptar ao espírito, ao tipo mental e psíquico do aluno. É por isso que o melhor professor será aquele que melhor conhecer os seus alunos.⁷⁵

As referências às *Lições* também estão presentes nas reflexões do diretor sobre o emprego do método analítico no ensino da leitura, “mais conforme à realidade psíquica do processo de percepção”, como ensinava Faria de Vasconcellos “nas suas magníficas e documentadas *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental*,”⁷⁶ que merecem uma longa citação de Thompson, na qual são afirmadas as vantagens do método, sob o ponto de vista psicológico, pedagógico e metodológico, com base em autoridades como Binet e Decroly, por exemplo.

As posições do educador português serão também convocadas em apoio às conclusões do diretor sobre o ensino de desenho e suas contribuições para o desenvolvimento físico e moral dos alunos. Propalando o “método intuitivo e direto”, em contraponto à

⁷³ São Paulo. *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo* (1915) (São Paulo: Augusto Siqueira & C., 1915), 15.

⁷⁴ Denice Barbara Catani, “Informação, Disciplina e Celebração: Os Anuários do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo,” *Revista da Faculdade de Educação da USP* (São Paulo) 21, no. 2 (1995): 17.

⁷⁵ São Paulo. *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo* (1909–1910) (São Paulo: Typographia do “Diário Oficial”, 1910), 14.

⁷⁶ São Paulo, *Anuario do Ensino* (1909-1910), 169.

“pedagogia livresca,”⁷⁷ Thompson fazia alusão às reflexões de Faria de Vasconcellos para advogar que, distintamente do desenho geométrico ou da reprodução de modelos, esse método, baseado na psicologia da criança, como também sublinhavam outros autores referidos, “é um método vivo que se adapta à criança e que apenas lhe pede a representação dos objetos que o interessam pelos processos que lhe agradam.”⁷⁸ Em contraste com a mera reprodução, o método lançava mão do interesse da criança, destacava Thompson.

Entre os documentos que compõem o relatório, Thompson inclui o estudo elaborado por um dos funcionários da diretoria, Prof. Clemente Quaglio, sobre os gabinetes de antropologia pedagógica e psicologia experimental. As reflexões de Quaglio, embora sem fazer referência às *Lições* do educador português, sinalizam o peso dos reclamos de cientificidade que marcavam a gestão de Thompson à frente da Diretoria. Partindo da constatação dos progressos da pedagogia, Quaglio procura destacar a contribuição que ela representava para o conhecimento do estado psicológico das crianças, das diferenças de atividade mental de cada aluno nas distintas fases do desenvolvimento, bem como para o acompanhamento do grau de desenvolvimento mental, aspectos considerados centrais na orientação do trabalho do professor “com critério positivo e científico.”⁷⁹ A exposição é rica em detalhes sobre os diferentes testes e instrumentos, por meio dos quais se mostrava possível conhecer cientificamente a criança e avaliar o grau de normalidade do seu desenvolvimento, em relação a dimensões como a vontade, a mobilidade, a memória, bem como ao funcionamento dos órgãos sensoriais. Avaliação essa que deveria orientar o professor quanto ao tipo e à quantidade de trabalho intelectual e de exercícios físicos recomendáveis.

As discussões sobre a Escola Nova ganham destaque na edição do *Anuário do Ensino* de 1917, quando Thompson reassume a Diretoria de Instrução Pública. Preocupações com o desenvolvimento da criança sob o ponto de vista físico, intelectual e moral perpassam as reflexões do educador, que sublinhava a importância da “cultura simultânea da intelectualidade, da sentimentalidade e da volição,”⁸⁰ implicando na necessidade de que a lição a ser aprendida fosse, ao mesmo tempo, “desejada, sentida e instrutiva.”⁸¹ O respeito à “natureza psíquica” de cada aluno configurava-se, nas reflexões de Thompson, como um imperativo para os professores, a quem não cabia mais o desconhecimento das leis da “moderna psico-pedagogia”⁸² e das suas contribuições para o estudo da criança, “nova bússola do ensino novo.”⁸³

⁷⁷ Ibid., 176.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 177.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 162.

⁸⁰ *São Paulo. Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo* (1917), vol. 1 (São Paulo: Augusto Siqueira & C., 1917), 27.

⁸¹ Ibid., 28.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 29.

É no âmbito dessas reflexões que o diretor propunha a necessidade da adaptação dos programas de ensino “a cada aluno, segundo o seu tipo,”⁸⁴ recorrendo, para apoiar as suas reflexões, à mesma citação da obra de Faria de Vasconcellos utilizada na edição de 1910, acrescentada de uma frase ausente na citação anterior: “É por isso que o melhor professor será aquele que melhor conhecer os seus alunos.”⁸⁵ Nesse intervalo, Faria de Vasconcellos também foi amplamente citado no volume correspondente aos anos de 1910-1911 pelo inspetor escolar Mariano de Oliveira, em suas reflexões sobre a disciplina na escola, para fundamentar as críticas às punições e a defesa das recompensas que, segundo postulava aquele estudioso, teriam “função educativa da vontade, caráter e do sentimento.”⁸⁶ Já no *Anuário do Ensino* de 1915, a obra do educador português foi citada nas reflexões do inspetor Guilherme Kuhlmann sobre a importância pedagógica do trabalho manual, em suas contribuições para o desenvolvimento físico, intelectual e moral da criança; a citação refere-se ao tema da atenção, considerada por aquele autor como “um fator primacial das operações psíquicas.”⁸⁷

A maneira pela qual as *Lições* do educador português circularam nos *Anuários* paulistas não pode ser confundida com uma mera cópia. Elas foram recortadas, selecionadas, de modo que nem tudo o que está proposto nelas foi reproduzido. Pelo que se pode notar, o que mais se enfatiza da pedagogia defendida por Faria de Vasconcellos não é sua dimensão científica. O entusiasmo de Thompson reveste-se da necessidade de orientar os professores, dar a eles subsídios práticos para edificar o sistema com o que havia de “melhor” em termos de renovação do ensino e de seus métodos. Nesse movimento, a publicação oficial buscou apagar as críticas que vinham sendo feitas na *Revista de Ensino* ao Estado, sobretudo no que se refere às questões salariais do magistério (Catani 1995).⁸⁸ Faria de Vasconcellos é, assim, apropriado num discurso que celebra o método e disciplina a docência. A chave das leituras do educador português no periódico oficial remete, em suma, à organização escolar, com base nos postulados escolanovistas.

As leituras de suas *Lições* decorrem de filiações e rejeições que se colocam em diferentes contextos, vozes e momentos. A presença do educador português nos *Anuários do Ensino* pode ser comparada a ecos da pedagogia prática e científica de Faria de Vasconcellos, constituindo-se em indícios valiosos da circulação de seu pensamento e do movimento escolanovista entre os educadores paulistas. De fato, o legado do educador português é construído para além das fronteiras nacionais, em meio a viagens, contatos, produções, atuações em ligas nacionais e internacionais, o que, aliás, são movimentos comuns a outros educadores da época. Trata-se de um processo fundamental para o incremento da trajetória de vida, formação e trabalho de Faria de

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁶ *São Paulo. Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo (1910–1911)* (São Paulo: Typ. Siqueira, Nagel & C., 1911), 124.

⁸⁷ *São Paulo. Anuario do Ensino (1915)*, XXXVI.

⁸⁸ Catani, “Informação, Disciplina e Celebração.”

Vasconcellos. Por outro lado, esses esforços permitem a ampla difusão da Escola Nova e das ideias que fundamentam a “escola moderna” (Nóvoa 1995).⁸⁹ António de Sena Faria de Vasconcellos foi um viajante, não só do ponto-de-vista físico como também intelectual e coletivo.⁹⁰ As leituras que dele foram feitas em São Paulo reforçam uma discussão já bem consolidada na história transnacional da educação,⁹¹ de que não é possível compreender a escola e as ideias que a fundamentam por meio de uma visão centrada em alguns autores ou países isoladamente. É nessa lógica de apropriação que se dá a circulação de ideias. Este capítulo suscita o interesse por mais pesquisas, considerando-se outras revistas ou livros em que as reflexões e a atuação do educador português são mencionadas. Talvez assim se possa continuar compondo um quadro mais claro de nossas referências pedagógicas, entendidas como uma espécie de amálgama nem sempre perceptível dos saberes que fundamentam a escola.

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⁸⁹ Nóvoa, “Uma Educação.”

⁹⁰ Jean Houssaye, “Pedagogias: Importação-Exportação,” in *Viagens Pedagógicas*, ed. Ana Chrystina Mignot and José G. Gondra (São Paulo: Cortez, 2007).

⁹¹ Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Vivian Batista da Silva, *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2024).

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Part III

Programatic Changes in Teacher Education



Normal School, Ottawa, Ontario. (n.d.). Source: Canada. Dept. of Interior / Library and Archives Canada

5. “Enterrar la llamada educación tradicional.” La formación de maestros en el contexto de tecnificación de la educación en España (1970-1978)

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Introducción

En este trabajo abordamos los cambios introducidos en la formación de maestros en la década de los años setenta del siglo XX en España desde la perspectiva del proceso de tecnificación del discurso pedagógico que se opera en los años setenta. A nivel temporal situamos nuestro trabajo entre las fechas de 1970, año en el que se aprueba la Ley General de Educación, y 1978, fecha en la que se promulga la actual Constitución vigente. El estudio toma como referencia los diferentes planes de estudios diseñados para la formación de maestros, en concreto los aprobados en 1950, 1967 y 1977. Partiendo de un análisis detenido de estos planes se puede observar un desplazamiento de una formación de maestros con un marcado componente ideológico hacia unos planes con evidente calado pedagógico y didáctico.

Es preciso observar en detalle este movimiento hacia lineamientos pedagógicos y didácticos que acabamos de mencionar. Así, el plan de 1950 en su justificación menciona que está inspirado “en los más puros principios de la clásica pedagogía cristina.”¹ Al

¹ Boletín Oficial del Estado, “Decreto de 7 de julio de 1950 por el que se aprueba el Reglamento para las Escuelas de Magisterio”, BOE no 219, 7 de agosto, 1950, 3468.

tiempo, hace explícita una visión del maestro como “ministro de la verdad, que es vida en Dios y que de Dios sale y a los Maestros viene. Y aún se diría que al salir de ellos y comunicarse a los alumnos se vuelve a hacer vida.”² Según este plan lo que corresponde es una formación basada en el “cultivo del estudio y de la experiencia docente, cimentadas en la recta filosofía de la vida.”³ Partiendo de estos principios, la organización de los estudios según este plan tiene dos grandes ejes: el aprendizaje de los conocimientos generales que el maestro deberá enseñar a los alumnos en el aula y la formación ideológica que garantiza el correcto desempeño de la labor docente en continuidad con las ideas que sostiene al régimen vigente a nivel nacional. Los maestros, con el fin de reforzar sus conocimientos generales, han de cursar en el primer curso las siguientes asignaturas: “Religión”; “Lengua española”; “Matemáticas”; “Geografía e Historia”; “Filosofía”; “Labores”; “Caligrafía” y “Educación Física”. En el segundo curso aparecen nuevas asignaturas referentes a conocimientos generales como son: “Física y Química”; “Dibujo”; “Música” y “Caligrafía”. Ya en el tercer curso el plan integra las asignaturas de “Historia de la Literatura Española”; “Geografía e Historia”; “Historia Natural”; “Agricultura e Industria”; “Música”; “Un idioma extranjero”; “Dibujo natural” y “Educación Física”. Las asignaturas de “Formación político-social” para los hombres y de la “Enseñanza del Hogar” para las mujeres son las que poseen un contenido ideológico más notable. De hecho, esta asignatura está presente en los tres cursos del plan de estudios. Por su parte, las materias con un contenido más pedagógico o didáctico apenas ocupan espacio en el decreto de 1950, lo que se propone es cursar la asignatura “Pedagogía: Educación y su Historia” en el segundo año y “Pedagogía: Metodología general y organización escolar” en el tercero.

Por su parte, el plan de estudios aprobado en junio de 1967 es resultado de la Ley de Enseñanza Primaria de febrero de ese mismo año.⁴ Este plan, que estará diez años en vigor, presenta como principal novedad la introducción de diferentes didácticas: “Didáctica de las Matemáticas”; “Didáctica de las Ciencias Naturales”; “Didáctica de la Lengua española y la Literatura”; etc. Otra novedad es que en el primer año desaparecen las materias con un claro componente ideológico que tenían una fuerte presencia en el plan de 1950, aunque en el segundo año todavía tiene presencia la materia “Didáctica de la Formación del Espíritu Nacional”. Para el primer año se introducen asignaturas como “Pedagogía e Historia de la Educación” y “Psicología general y evolutiva”, y en el segundo año aparece “Didáctica y organización escolar”. Estamos, por lo tanto, ante un planteamiento que anuncia una transición hacia un modelo formativo más pedagógico y didáctico, y menos ideológico, que se va a terminar de configurar en la reforma de los planes de estudio de 1977.

² *Ibíd.*

³ *Ibíd.*

⁴ Boletín Oficial del Estado “Orden de 1 de junio de 1967 por la que se fija el Plan de Estudios en las Escuelas Normales”, BOE no. 136, 8 de junio. 1967.

Es importante tener en cuenta que el plan de estudios de 1977, a diferencia de los planes anteriores, parte del propósito de establecer cierta homogeneidad en la formación de los maestros.⁵ Sucede que tras la LGE de 1970 las Escuelas Normales quedan integradas en Universidades, que son las responsables de aprobar dentro de sus órganos colegiados los planes de estudios de éstas haciendo uso de su autonomía académica. Si bien, en última instancia, correspondía al Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, a través de la Dirección General de Universidades, la supervisión de los planes definitivos de cada universidad. De ahí que la reforma de 1977 lo que viene a establecer es un plan de mínimos que integra unas “materias comunes” y cinco especialidades: Ciencias, Ciencias Humanas, Filología, Educación Preescolar y Educación Especial. En este nuevo itinerario formativo para los maestros destacan en el primer curso asignaturas como: “Pedagogía I”; “Pedagogía II”; “Psicosociología I”; “Psicosociología II”. Al mismo tiempo, cada especialidad tiene un evidente desarrollo didáctico que no excluye el conocimiento general de cada rama de especialización.

Tomando como referencia estos tres planes de estudios para la formación de maestros, lo que observamos es la articulación de un giro hacia la pedagogía y la didáctica que inicia con el plan 1967 y que se consolida en 1977. Lo que vamos a discutir en este trabajo es en qué medida este giro es el resultado de la tecnificación del discurso educativo. Desde finales de los años cuarenta se filtra en el contexto español el supuesto de que los avances en el campo de la tecnología y los medios de comunicación han de mejorar los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje. Sobre este supuesto, a su vez, se va a establecer la idea de que la educación de masas es condición para la necesaria modernización de las estructuras del país. Se trata de una lógica funcionalista que es promovida por organismos internacionales con interés específicos en España. Y es que, como han constatado Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves, “desde finales de los cuarenta del siglo XX, las instituciones educativas franquistas desarrollaron proyectos de modernización educativa relativos a tecnologías educativas, libros de texto o alfabetización y publicaron una cantidad importante de trabajos relacionados con los proyectos propuestos por la UNESCO.”⁶

Teniendo presente lo mencionado hasta el momento, en este artículo analizamos algunos de los elementos del discurso que sostuvo el proceso de tecnificación de la formación de maestros a partir de la revista *Vida Escolar*, que publicó su primer número en 1958. Durante los años sesenta y setenta esta fue una publicación de referencia en España, baste mencionar que sus números llegaban a la totalidad de escuelas nacionales. Historiadores de la educación como Agustín Escolano, han constatado que “el análisis del contenido de la revista contribuirá sin duda al conocimiento de las líneas

⁵ Boletín Oficial del Estado, “Orden del 13 de junio de 1977 sobre directrices para la elaboración de los planes de estudios de las Escuelas Universitarias del Profesorado de Educación General Básica”, BOE no. 151, 25 de junio, 1977.

⁶ Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves, “La UNESCO y la Ley General de Educación: La influencia de los organismos internacionales en torno a la modernización educativa en el franquismo,” *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 14 (2021); 209–252. <https://doi.org/10.5944/hme.14.2021.28116>

de renovación de la educación española en el periodo tecnocrático.”⁷ Centramos el estudio en una selección de textos publicados en la revista por cuatro académicos que ocupaban entonces posiciones relevantes en estructuras universitarias y en organismos ministeriales: Arsenio Pacios López, Ricardo Marín Ibáñez, Rogelio Medina Rubio y Vicente Barberá Albalat. En sus artículos se detecta una línea de argumentación que demanda una urgente reforma de la formación de maestros que atienda el fenómeno tecnológico. Esta reforma debe velar según estos autores, como habrá tiempo de mostrar con más detalle en este trabajo, por un proceso formativo en el que la Pedagogía y la Didáctica ocupen un espacio central y donde los aspectos ideológicos apenas tengan presencia. Lo que se constata con este análisis es que el plan de 1977 encuentra fundamento en estos discursos que poseían una notable presencia en el contexto académico y que quedaron expuestos en las páginas de la revista *Vida Escolar*.

Modernización de la educación y la formación de maestros durante el franquismo

Existe un consenso amplio entre los historiadores sobre la necesidad de estudiar el periodo histórico del franquismo desde la complejidad. Para tal fin es fundamental alejarse de aproximaciones monolíticas que buscan situar estructuras sociales y discursos políticos dentro de un mismo paisaje discursivo que apenas sufre variación entre 1936 y 1975. Este distanciamiento es clave para situar las variaciones y adaptaciones que las estructuras y los discursos que sostuvieron el régimen franquista fueron realizando durante casi cuarenta años. Asumir que el franquismo fue un periodo complejo es la condición de posibilidad, a su vez, para indagar en las continuidades que determinados discursos y estructuras tuvieron con el tiempo anterior de la Segunda República y la Restauración, así como con el tiempo posterior de la Transición y el régimen democrático que inicia con la Constitución de 1978. En el campo concreto de la educación historiadores como Antonio Viñao han señalado elementos para una potencial hoja de ruta que permita un estudio crítico al respect.⁸

Recientes estudios históricos sobre el tiempo de la dictadura de Franco insisten en ampliar el foco de análisis a partir de cuestionar determinados supuestos asentados en determinada historiografía. Nicolás Sesma en su libro *Ni una, ni grande, ni libre. La dictadura franquista* pone en cuestión, por ejemplo, que el régimen fuera la dictadura de una sola persona. Aunque en los primeros años tras el alzamiento Franco se rodeó de un estrecho grupo de colaboradores y asumió, en parte, que su papel de líder de la rebelión era un designio de la providencia, con el paso del tiempo, se fueron organizando cuadros políticos que resultaron claves para adoptar muchas de las medidas más importantes que influyeron en el plano económico, industrial, educativo o diplomático. De

⁷ Agustín Escolano, “Discurso ideológico, modernización técnica y pedagogía crítica durante el franquismo,” *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria* 8, (1989): 7-27, 13.

⁸ Antonio Viñao, “Politics, education and pedagogy: ruptures, continuities and discontinuities (Spain 1936–1939),” *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no 4 (2015): 405–417, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2015.1047384>

igual manera, Sesma en su trabajo pone en cuestión la idea de que la península ibérica fuera un territorio aislado internacionalmente. De hecho, lo que se observa es que prácticamente todos los fenómenos y acontecimientos que marcan el cambio político, económico y social a nivel mundial tienen una repercusión directa en España. Posiblemente lo hicieron con cierto retraso y es evidente que desde el poder muchas de estas transformaciones que estaban sucediendo en el entorno más cercano se observaban con poco entusiasmo.⁹

Este tipo de visiones, que ahondan en la complejidad del franquismo, resultan fundamentales para aproximarse al estudio de los discursos que se fueron abriendo paso en la educación en este tiempo. En esta misma línea, Agustín Escolano diferencia entre el primer franquismo donde se impone un “discurso de legitimación” y el segundo franquismo, donde hay un “discurso funcional.” Ambos discursos son complementarios y se ensamblan en la tarea de justificar el proceso de “modernización educativa exigidos por el desarrollo económico y social del país.”¹⁰ Es importante subrayar que ya a finales de los años cincuenta son evidentes las aspiraciones del régimen a integrarse en un contexto político internacional. Para tal fin las reformas educativas juegan un papel estratégico clave y la renovación de los postulados pedagógicos del primer franquismo se presentan como un lastre que hay que soltar para que el país pueda levantar vuelo.

En 1959 España adoptó el Plan de Estabilización bajo la asesoría del Fondo Monetario Internacional y la OCDE. Este plan nacional suponía dejar a un lado las pretensiones autárquicas que una vez finalizada la Guerra Civil llegaron a vertebrar las políticas nacional e internacional del régimen. En pocos años, y gracias a un contexto económico favorable, el país experimentó un notable despegue económico que se vio acompañado de fenómenos sociales como la migración del campo a la ciudad y el crecimiento del sector servicios. Siguiendo lo expuesto por Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, todo lo cual “condujo a transformaciones en la estructura social, que generaron una demanda en ascenso de servicios colectivos como la enseñanza, la salud pública, los transportes o el alojamiento.”¹¹ En los años sesenta se llevan a cabo transformaciones que impactan directamente en la estructura del sistema educativo. En 1961 España se incorporó al Proyecto Regional Mediterráneo, junto con Italia, Grecia, Portugal, Turquía y Yugoslavia. Este plan estaba dirigido a modernizar las estructuras económicas y educativas de este grupo de países del sur de Europa. De las propuestas que se debatieron dentro de este proyecto auspiciado por la UNESCO “saldrían los materiales básicos que se utilizaron en la preparación de los planes de desarrollo posteriores” y para “el diseño de las políticas

⁹ Nicolás Sesma, *Ni una, ni grande, ni libre: La dictadura franquista* (Editorial Crítica, 2024).

¹⁰ Agustín Escolano, “Discurso ideológico, modernización técnica y pedagogía crítica durante el franquismo,” *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria* 8 (1989): 7-27, 7.

¹¹ Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, “Educación para el desarrollo. OCDE, asistencia exterior y reforma de la enseñanza en la España del tardofranquismo,” *Foro de Educación* 18, no 2 (2020):127-148, 131. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14516/fde.847>

tecnocráticas de los años sesenta y setenta.”¹² Entre los resultados inmediatos cabe destacar que en 1964 se elevó la edad de escolarización hasta los 14 años. Ya en 1965 se aprobó la ley de Enseñanza Universitaria cuyo objetivo era reformar el proceso formativo del profesorado y reorganizar la rígida composición de las estructuras docentes.

También 1965 se aprueba la Reforma de la Educación Primaria, que incluye una serie de artículos que impactan directamente sobre la formación del Magisterio y el funcionamiento de las Escuelas Normales. En la nueva normativa se exige que para acceder a la formación inicial del magisterio es requisito el título de Bachiller Superior que finalizaban los estudiantes con 16 años. Hay que tener en cuenta que el requisito anterior, según el Reglamento para las Escuelas de Magisterio de 1950 era haber cursado el Bachiller elemental, que se podría finalizar con 14 años. Además, se unifican los planes de estudios de las Escuelas Normales estatales y las regidas por la Iglesia católica. También se regula la duración del proceso formativo de un maestro que inicia con dos años donde se impartirán las enseñanzas propias de la formación profesional, religiosa y político-social y educación física del Magisterio. Tras este periodo formativo de dos años, los estudiantes pasarán una prueba que les habilitará para iniciar un periodo de prácticas bajo supervisión de las Escuelas Normales y las Inspecciones de Enseñanza Primaria que serán también evaluados. De tal forma, los alumnos de mejor expediente académico y calificación de prácticas son los que pueden ingresar directamente en el Cuerpo del Magisterio Nacional.

La Ley General de Educación de Educación de 1970 es el principal referente del impulso de modernización de la educación que llevó a cabo el régimen franquista. Con esta ley se proponía la transformación del sistema educativo elitista y su transición hacia un sistema de masas, lo que conlleva una transición en el nuevo modo de educación tecnocrático de masas que emerge en este momento histórico.¹³ Baste como ejemplo que hasta entonces el paso de la educación primaria al bachillerato requería de un examen de reválida, y lo mismo sucedía para pasar del bachillerato al curso preuniversitario. La LGE sustituyó este sistema de reválidas por una evaluación continua. Al mismo tiempo, se estructura la Educación General Básica, que llega hasta los 14 años, que pasa a ser obligatoria y gratuita y que parte de un curriculum común regulada. Por su parte el Bachillerato, a partir de 1970, incorpora la doble posibilidad de preparar al acceso a los estudios superiores o a la Formación Profesional.

Para Manuel de Puelles, la LGE incorpora supuestos del conservadurismo español y de la tradición liberal. Desde esta perspectiva es una ley que presenta un “carácter híbrido,” pues se trata de “un texto antiguo y moderno al mismo tiempo, antiguo, porque recoge inevitablemente principios impuestos por la línea política del régimen; nuevo, porque

¹² Agustín Escolano, “Los comienzos de la modernización pedagógica en el franquismo (1951-1964),” *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 50, no. 192, (1992): 289-310. 303.

¹³ Raimundo Cuesta, *Felices y escolarizados. Crítica de la escuela en la era del capitalismo* (Octaedro, 2005).

enlaza con los principios innovadores que inspiraron las reformas educativas en la Europa de los años sesenta.”¹⁴ Es evidente que la ley de 1970 conlleva elementos modernizadores que tienen un claro recorrido hasta el presente. Como han constatado Juan Manuel Fernández-Soria y Diego Sevilla Merino, en la ley hay un “predominio de la autoridad racional en detrimento de la carismática y tradicional, que apuesta por ajustar la educación al desarrollo económico haciendo suya la teoría de la modernización que habla de eficacia, productividad y adaptación a las exigencias económicas y sociales del país.”¹⁵

El impacto en la formación de los maestros de la LGE es un elemento a tener en cuenta. De hecho, en el informe que redactó el Comité de Cooperación Internacional para la Reforma de la Educación en España, en el momento en que se discutía la ley de 1970, hacía alusión a que “probablemente el problema crucial y más difícil para asegurar el éxito de las innovaciones sea el reentrenamiento y formación del profesorado para su adaptación a los nuevos métodos.”¹⁶ En este sentido la gran novedad de la ley estaba en la disposición transitoria segunda, donde se señalaba que “Las Escuelas Normales y las Escuelas de Arquitectura Técnica e Ingeniería Técnica estatales se integrarán en las Universidades como Escuelas Universitarias en la forma que reglamentariamente se determine.”¹⁷ Esta disposición transitoria motivó el decreto de 1972 en el que se regulaba la integración de las Escuelas Normales en la Universidad como Escuelas Universitarias de Profesorado de Educación General Básica. Entre las novedades de este decreto estaba que para acceder a la formación inicial de maestro sería necesario haber superado el Curso de Orientación Universitaria (COU), que las nuevas Escuelas Universitarias quedaban sujetas a las normas del Estatuto de la Universidad en que se hubiesen integrado y los planes de estudios debían ser aprobados por cada universidad siguiendo las directrices que al respecto se establezcan desde el Ministerio de Educación. Como ya se ha señalado en páginas anteriores los planes de estudios fueron modificados sustancialmente en este contexto, primero con el conocido como Plan Experimental de 1971 y finalmente con el real decreto de 1977 que regulaba los planes de estudios para la formación de maestros.¹⁸

Educación y tecnología en el discurso del CEDODEP

¹⁴ Manuel de Puelles Benítez, “Tecnocracia y política en la reforma educativa de 1970,” *Revista de educación*, no. ext. (1992):13-29, 24.

¹⁵ Juan Manuel Fernández-Soria y Diego Sevilla Merino, “La Ley General de Educación de 1970, ¿Una ley para la modernización de España?,” *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 14 (2021): 23-68, 39. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5944/hme.14.2021.30034>

¹⁶ Comité Internacional para la Reforma de la Educación en España, “Informe final del Comité Internacional para la Reforma de la Educación en España,” *Revista de Educación* 202 (1969): 58-64, 58.

¹⁷ Boletín Oficial del Estado, “Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa”, BOE 187, 6 de agosto de 1970, Disposición Transitoria 2, punto 3, 12543.

¹⁸ Miguel Beas Miranda, “Formación del magisterio y reformas educativas en España: 1960-1970,” *Profesorado. Revista de currículum y formación del profesorado* 14, no 1 (2010): 397-414.

El 25 de abril de 1958 el Ministerio de Educación Nacional hacía público en el Boletín Oficial del Estado la creación del Centro de Documentación y Orientación Didáctica de Enseñanza Primaria (CEDODEP). El 18 de junio de ese mismo año, era publicado el nombramiento de Adolfo Maíllo García como director del centro y de José Fernández Huerta como secretario.¹⁹ Existían previamente a esta institución el Centro de Orientación Didáctica que se había creado en 1944, cuyo objetivo había sido el perfeccionamiento de la Enseñanza Media, y la Institución de Formación del Profesorado que estaba enfocada a la Enseñanza Laboral desde 1952. Ambas instancias estaban centradas en el perfeccionamiento metodológico de la enseñanza, de la educación secundaria y la formación profesional respectivamente. Lo que se plantea entonces desde el Ministerio de Educación Nacional es que la Educación Primaria “reciba análogo estímulo”²⁰ con un centro, el CEDODEP, “específicamente dedicado al estudio de la docencia y a la elaboración y difusión de normas técnicas que impulsen el avance de la educación primaria en beneficio de la formación de las nuevas generaciones.”²¹

Desde el inicio el CEDODEP estuvo en relación con la UNESCO. Un claro ejemplo de esta vinculación institucional se puede constatar en el desarrollo del Curso sobre Escuelas Unitarias Completas que se implementó entre enero y marzo de 1960. El objetivo del curso era formar un grupo de docentes de primaria en la técnica de la escuela unitaria. El curso dirigido por Adolfo Maíllo tuvo una primera fase teórica que se implementó en las instalaciones del Ministerio de Educación y una posterior fase práctica, que se llevó a cabo en diferentes escuelas unitarias de provincias españolas y en especial en la Escuela-piloto unitaria del Pozo del Tío Raimundo en Vallecas. La tercera fase consistía en una mesa redonda sobre la experiencia práctica. La clausura del curso estuvo presidida por Ricardo Díaz Hochleitner que entonces estaba destinado en la UNESCO como especialista en planificación y administración de la educación.²²

Según el Real Decreto por el que se crea el CEDODEP, la contribución que se esperaba de este centro a la formación de los maestros es un aspecto a tener en cuenta. Así, entre los servicios del centro se encuentran, desde su fundación: “estudiar, promover y divulgar la utilización de nuevas técnicas y métodos pedagógicos, planes y programas, sistemas de organización escolar, procedimientos de medida y calificación y cuantos contribuyan al progreso de la Enseñanza en Primaria” y “publicar libros, revistas y folletos de carácter pedagógico para orientar y actualizar la formación de los profesionales de la Enseñanza

¹⁹ Boletín Oficial del Estado, “Orden de 22 de mayo de 1958 por la que se nombran director y secretario del Centro de Documentación y Orientación Didáctica de Enseñanza Primaria” BOE no. 145, 18 de junio de 1958, 5685.

²⁰ Boletín Oficial del Estado, “Decreto de 25 de abril de 1958 por el que se crea el Centro de Documentación y Orientación Didáctica de Enseñanza Primaria” BOE no. 116, 15 de mayo de 1958, 882.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Juan Iglesias Marcelo, “Curso sobre Escuelas Unitarias Completas,” *Revista de Educación* 15, no 116 (1959): 66- 70.

Primaria.”²³ Dentro del CEDOPEP se articularon cinco departamentos: Departamento de Documentación, Departamento de Investigación, Departamento de Educación Fundamental, Departamento de Publicaciones y Departamento de Orientación. Con estos objetivos y esta estructura operativa en mente, en octubre de 1958 se ponía en marcha uno de los proyectos que con el tiempo alcanzaría una mayor repercusión para el debate pedagógico en España en los años sesenta y setenta, nos referimos a la revista *Vida Escolar*. En el primer número de la revista, Joaquín Tena Artigas, como director general de Enseñanza Primaria, dejaba constancia de que este proyecto editorial estaba encaminado al “perfeccionamiento de la labor docente”. Teniendo presente que “la superación constante de las técnicas pedagógicas, en sus distintas modalidades, es un punto de partida esencial para el aumento de la eficiencia escolar.”²⁴

Como han señalado Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves, la revista *Vida Escolar* “constituyó uno de los principales dispositivos que se utilizaron a nivel institucional para fomentar nuevas perspectivas de enseñanza entre el magisterio español.”²⁵ Siendo su objetivo “ofrecer nuevas perspectivas de tipo teórico y práctico que ayudasen a perfeccionar la actividad docente del magisterio.”²⁶ La revista tenía además una gran difusión, pues llegaba mensualmente a todas las escuelas nacionales de España con tiradas de más de 50.000 ejemplares. Entre 1958 y 1964, el mismo director del CEDODEP, Adolfo Maíllo, figura como director de la revista. A partir de 1964 el director es José Manuel Moreno García; “un joven licenciado en Pedagogía, discípulo de Víctor García Hoz, que por aquel entonces andaba seducido por las ‘máquinas de educar’ y la enseñanza individualizada, y que, tan sólo unos años después, en 1970, obtendría su doctorado con una tesis sobre el concepto de ‘unidad didáctica’.”²⁷ Rogelio Medina es director de la revista a partir del número 112 publicado en octubre de 1969. Medina Rubio fue Inspector General en los años sesenta, y también fue discípulo de Víctor García Hoz y profesor de Teoría de la Educación y Pedagogía Social en la UNED. Entre 1974 y 1979 la dirección de la revista la ostenta Orencio Sánchez Manzano. Posteriormente se suceden en el cargo Julián Juaz Vicente, entre 1979 y 1981, María Pura Sánchez, entre 1982 y 1983, y Jorge Roa Fernández, quien es el director en el último número que se publica en 1984.

Durante los más de 25 años de historia de la revista el enfoque pedagógico mantuvo un equilibrio entre dos modos distintos de concebir las reformas que demandaba el sistema

²³ Boletín Oficial del Estado, “Decreto de 25 de abril de 1958 por el que se crea el Centro de Documentación y Orientación Didáctica de Enseñanza Primaria” BOE no. 116, 15 de mayo de 1958, 883.

²⁴ José Tena Artigas, “Presentación,” *Vida Escolar* 1 (1958): 1.

²⁵ Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves, “La búsqueda de una nueva formación docente en el tardofranquismo: el enfoque internacional de la revista *Vida Escolar* (1958-1963),” *Revista de História da Educação* 26 (2022): 1-30, 8. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-3459/119632>.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁷ Juan Mainer y Julio Mateos Montero, *Saber, poder y servicio. Un pedagogo orgánico del estado: Adolfo Maíllo* (Tirant lo Blanch, 2011), 19.

educativo y la propia formación de los maestros. Por un lado, estaban quienes mantenían una línea más coherente con la ideología del régimen franquista. Los textos que publican estos autores tienen evidentes resonancias del humanismo católico y del personalismo. Por el otro, se daba cabida a autores que representaban lineamientos cercanos a los métodos activos, los cuales partían de cierto positivismo didáctico en sintonía con algunos de los referentes de la escuela nueva europea y norteamericana. Esta convivencia de dos corrientes es lo que Agustín Escolano, al referirse a la revista *Vida Escolar*, ha calificado de simbiosis entre “tecnocracismo e ideología.”²⁸

Lo cierto es que durante los primeros 6 años, bajo la dirección de Adolfo Maíllo, *Vida Escolar* será el principal instrumento con poder para introducir las ideas de los métodos activos en la realidad escolar en España. En el editorial del número 8 de la revista publicado en 1959 se señala que:

El descubrimiento de que éste (el alumno) posee mecanismos mentales distintos de los del adulto y de que gradualmente va integrando a sus modos intelectuales el realismo, la capacidad crítica y el afán de objetividad del hombre, en un lento proceso de maduración, proporcionó armas eficaces contra el abuso de la palabra y preparó el terreno a la metodología activa (...). Es urgente abandonar el sistema que consiste en ‘dar’ y ‘tomar’ las lecciones. La lección no se da ni se toma: se construye (como una arquitectura mental que es), mediante la colaboración de Maestro y niños, y no porque consista en un hacer manual, ni siempre ni principalmente, sino porque debe ser un suscitar progresivo de actitudes (situaciones, a fin de cuentas), que van satisfaciéndose a medida que se hacen surgir.²⁹

Pero como hemos señalado, estos impulsos por modernizar la educación primaria mediante la introducción de métodos activos conviven con reivindicaciones pasionales del humanismo pedagógico de tradición católica. Así, en el mismo año de 1959, en el número 12, es posible encontrar todo un alegato del humanismo pedagógico al servicio de los ideales nacional católicos del régimen:

Nada más higiénico que abroquelarse contra la tentación utópica del pensamiento pedagógico, presto casi siempre a construir mundos ficticios, regios tantas veces de un idealismo que es sólo encubierta incapacidad. [...] Qué saludable y, sobre todo, qué necesaria, para quienes se dedican a sembrar en los corazones infantiles, la devoción sin reservas ni descuentos a la verdad simple y pura, exenta de disfraces y arrequives. [...] Cuando a la relación de asombro, de imantación del espíritu por la verdad, sustituye la pragmática persuasión del ‘hecho’ o la picaresca tendencia al ‘provecho’, el espíritu enferma.³⁰

²⁸ Agustín Escolano, “Las culturas escolares del siglo XX. Encuentros y desencuentros,” *Revista de Educación*, no. ext. (2000): 210-218, 214

²⁹ *Vida Escolar*, “Sobre el concepto de lección,” *Vida Escolar* 8 (1959): 1.

³⁰ *Vida Escolar*, “Humanismo Pedagógico,” *Vida Escolar* 12 (1959): 1.

Hasta prácticamente el 78, es decir, durante los primeros 200 números de la revista, la simbiosis entre tecnocracismo e ideología se mantiene. La novedad a partir del 78, y posiblemente como resultado de los cambios políticos que estaban aconteciendo durante la consolidación de la democracia liberal en España, reside en que *Vida Escolar* integra ideas pedagógicas más de vanguardia que buscan desarrollar experiencias educativas a partir de otros referentes. Especialmente durante el tiempo que Jorge Roa Hernández dirige la publicación, siendo presidenta de la misma Blanca Guelbenzu Valdés, destaca el interés por experiencias e ideas de los Movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica. Así, el número 222 incluye un extenso reportaje sobre la escuela de Palomeras situada en Vallecas donde se ponía en marcha un modelo pedagógico autogestionado, democrático y antiautoritario.³¹ El número 224 es un monográfico dedicado a la situación de la renovación pedagógica en España, con alusiones a la Institución Libre de Enseñanza, la Escuela Moderna de Ferrer i Guardia, las escuelas de verano organizadas Escola de Mestres Rosa Sensat, el Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular inspirado en la pedagogía de Célestin Freinet. En el número 227 de 1983 escribe José Luis Sampedro, intelectual cercano a los movimientos sociales y vecinales, para reivindicar una educación que deje de “inyectar conocimientos” para pasar a “formar una capacidad crítica y creadora.”³² Y en el número 229 de 1984 aparece publicado un texto de Francesco Tonucci titulado “la diversidad como valor en una escuela.”³³

Tecnificación y pedagogía en la revista “Vida Escolar”

La apuesta por una educación que integra elementos tecnológicos en el curriculum y que por tanto demanda de una formación específica de los maestros tiene su origen en España en los años cincuenta. Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves han investigado el modo en que la educación programada se proyecta durante el tardofranquismo como un intento por modernizar y transformar el curriculum. En esta empresa desempeñaron un papel importante organismos internacionales como la Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (UNESCO). Desde la perspectiva de la UNESCO era el momento de que países en vías de desarrollo integraran perspectivas funcionalistas en el ámbito educativo. Aunque la enseñanza programada no tuvo un desarrollo muy prolongado en España, fue un impulso de apenas dos décadas, lo relevante es que llegó a representar una propuesta curricular que “ostentaba gran legitimidad”. De hecho, siguiendo con lo expuesto por Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves, “simboliza una síntesis de aquellas cuestiones que fueron hegemónicas entonces: las ideas dominantes sobre el desarrollismo, la fe en los

³¹ Jorge Rosa y Feliciano Blázquez Palomeras, “Una experiencia de participación escolar,” *Vida Escolar* 222 (1983): 26-28.

³² José Luis Sampedro, “La página de José Luis Sampedro,” *Vida Escolar* 227(1984): 4-5.

³³ Francesco Tonucci, “La diversidad como valor en una escuela,” *Vida Escolar* 229 (1984): 28-37.

modelos psicológicos conductistas y experimentales y la grata aceptación de ampliar el horizonte de las tecnologías educativas.”³⁴

Si bien, es entre 1970 y 1978 cuando esta ampliación del horizonte de las tecnologías educativas alcanza una dimensión de notable envergadura. Se trata de un momento histórico de cambio político y de importantes transformaciones sociales. Dentro del discurso pedagógico el humanismo católico y el personalismo quedan definitivamente rezagados y la apuesta por metodologías activas en el aula y en la formación de maestros se posiciona en el centro del debate. Como veremos a continuación este desplazamiento en el discurso pedagógico tiene su reflejo en publicaciones como *Vida Escolar*, donde es posible encontrar autores que reivindican una educación que integre los nuevos medios tecnológicos. En segundo lugar, este salto discursivo tiene una repercusión notable en la estructuración de los planes de estudio de los futuros maestros. Así, en el plan de 1977 la pedagogía entendida como técnica y la didáctica de las áreas de conocimiento específicas se imponen definitivamente a lo que venía siendo unas décadas atrás una formación del magisterio fuertemente politizada e ideologizada.

Los textos que tomamos como referencia publicados entre 1970 y 1978 en *Vida Escolar* están firmados por académicos que desarrollaban una labor clave en la formación de maestros, estos son: Arsenio Pacios López, Ricardo Marín Ibáñez, Rogelio Medina Rubio y Vicente Barberá Albalat. Resulta de interés realizar una pequeña semblanza de la trayectoria de cada uno de estos autores. Pacios López fue el primer catedrático de Didáctica en España en la Sección de Pedagogía de la Universidad Central. Su recorrido profesional en el campo de la educación inició como inspector de Bachillerato, siendo importante también su labor como profesor en la Escuela Normal de Cáceres. Aunque sus reflexiones pedagógicas estaban vinculadas a “la ortodoxia católica de la época,”³⁵ en una línea muy cercana a Víctor García Hoz, al inicio de los años setenta abogó por una formación pedagógica de los maestros que atendiera a los desafíos tecnológicos. Marín Ibáñez, por su parte, era Catedrático de Pedagogía General de la Universidad de Valencia desde 1968. Anteriormente había estado desarrollando una destacada labor de formación de maestros en la Escuela Normal de Valencia como profesor de Filosofía y Psicología. Fue también asesor de la UNESCO y terminó su carrera académica como Catedrático del área de Teoría de Historia de la Educación en la UNED.³⁶ Su obra se centró en estudios didácticos sobre creatividad e innovación, integrando en sus ideas elementos de la pedagogía activa. Medina Rubio era también un académico muy cercano a Víctor García Hoz. En la Universidad de Oviedo había la cátedra de Pedagogía General. Posteriormente continuó su trayectoria en la UNED donde centró sus

³⁴ Mariano González-Delgado y Tamar Groves, “La enseñanza programada, la UNESCO y los intentos por modificar el currículum en la España desarrollista (1962-1974),” *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 4, no 2 (2017): 73-100, 92. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14516/ete.186>

³⁵ Ángel Lorente Lorente, “Arsenio Pacios López y los primeros inspectores de enseñanza media del estado. Bordón,” *Revista de Pedagogía* 58, no. 2 (2006): 202-217, 207.

³⁶ Ricardo Marín Ibáñez (coord.), *Homenaje al profesor doctor don Ricardo Marín Ibáñez* (UNED, 1991).

publicaciones en el ámbito de la teoría de la educación, un ámbito donde académicos como Alejandro Sanvisens venían desarrollando encuentros sobre la Pedagogía Cibernética ya desde los años setenta. Finalmente, Vicente Barberá Albalat había sido maestro, profesor de Enseñanza Secundaria y Universitaria e Inspector Jefe en Valencia. Cabe destacar que fue también Agregado de Educación en Suiza, Liechtenstein y Austria. Sus trabajos pedagógicos estaban vinculados al cambio educativo y a los modelos de programación de la didáctica.

Arsenio Pacios señala en un artículo titulado “Exigencias metodológicas de la nueva orientación educativa” publicado en el número 127 de *Vida Escolar* en 1971 que “para formar se necesita un profesorado altamente cualificado y profesionalmente pertrechado de cuantos recursos y técnicas son precisas para tan dificultosa tarea.”³⁷ Tres años después, en 1974, publica un nuevo artículo en la revista titulado “La formación tecnológica en la educación” en el que constata que un “grave problema que pide pronta y correcta solución es el del profesorado que ha de programar y dirigir estas actividades tecnológicas.”³⁸ Lo que observa Arsenio Pacios como una evidencia es que “carecemos del tipo de profesor que necesitamos” y que también “carecemos de los formadores de estos profesores.”³⁹ Todo lo cual implica una reforma de los planes de estudios del Magisterio que debería centrarse en que el profesorado “sepa programar y dirigir actividades tecnológicas.”⁴⁰

En 1971 Marín Ibáñez publica en *Vida Escolar* el texto titulado “La innovación educativa”. En ese año ocupaba el cargo de subdirector general de planes y programas de la Dirección General de Ordenación Educativa. En el artículo va a cuestionar si la formación que oferta el sistema educativo “responde a la demanda de una sociedad móvil, cósmica y tecnológica.”⁴¹ Marín Ibáñez valora positivamente el avance reciente de la LGE que “postula la innovación como una constante esencial.”⁴² La ley, desde su perspectiva, sitúa a España dentro del discurso educativo de la OCDE y su Centro para la Investigación y la Innovación Educativa, cuyo objetivo es institucionalizar la innovación y darle una dimensión internacional con el fin de impulsar el cambio hacia una nueva educación. En su visión de la educación “el entrenamiento del profesorado en modelos, técnicas y experiencias innovadoras es una garantía de que éste será la punta de lanza de las reformas.”⁴³

Rogelio Medina Rubio publicó en 1972, en el número 141-142 de *Vida Escolar*, el texto titulado “Sentido actual de la función instructiva y de la función educadora del profesor”.

³⁷ Arsenio Pacios, “Exigencias metodológicas de la nueva orientación educativa,” *Vida Escolar* 127 (1971): 5-10, 7.

³⁸ *Ibíd.*

³⁹ *Ibíd.*

⁴⁰ *Ibíd.*

⁴¹ Ricardo Marín Ibáñez, “La innovación de la educación,” *Vida Escolar* 131-132 (1971): 5-11, 7.

⁴² *Ibíd.*, 8.

⁴³ *Ibíd.*, 10.

Su preocupación reside en que las nuevas dimensiones del Profesor respondan a las “exigencias de la vida de una sociedad post-industrial”, y en especial al hecho de que se piense en una “distinta organización y distribución de los medios destinados a una educación que esté al servicio de las exigencias educativas del individuo a lo largo de su vida, en la que el recurso de nuevas técnicas [...] faciliten procesos educativos continuados e individualizados.”⁴⁴ Desde su perspectiva, la innovación tecnológica y los sistemas científicos de programación conllevan un “re-examen profundo [...] del sistema educativo y del papel del profesor.”⁴⁵ Para tal fin reivindica una formación pedagógica más científica que parta de una rigurosa delimitación de métodos y funciones que han de conocer e implementar los maestros. La formación de maestros, para Medina Rubio, debe partir de que “el profesor tiene una función instructiva inalienable” y al tiempo de que “la tecnología de la educación ha de desempeñar un papel más importante que el de un simple medio didáctico auxiliar del Profesor.”⁴⁶ Dicho de otra forma: “nunca la transmisión televisada captará el alma de la persona,” ya que “la imagen fotografiada o televisiva, como cualquier ‘enseñanza instrumentalizada’, siempre es una visión parcial de la persona, mientras que la persona real es pluridimensional y polivalente.”⁴⁷

Ya en 1976, Vicente Barberá Albalat escribe en *Vida Escolar* el artículo “La educación en la sociedad actual”. Lo que plantea Barberá Albalat es que la educación “ha adquirido un aspecto técnico y científico que ha elevado su consideración a una altura insospechable pocos años ha.”⁴⁸ Al tiempo, constata este autor que “la pedagogía cuenta con entidad propia y pujante que nadie discute.”⁴⁹ Más concretamente lo que señala explícitamente es que “la didáctica tendrá que establecer las técnicas, métodos y procedimientos más adecuados al momento actual.”⁵⁰ Es decir, corresponde a la didáctica en su dimensión de ciencia del aprendizaje considerar “los fines y objetivos a lograr partiendo de las necesidades del momento y según los propósitos de la política educativa.”⁵¹ Llegados a este punto Barberá Albalat se adentra en lo referente a la formación de los maestros. Sobre esta cuestión menciona que “lo primero que hay que lograr es un cambio de mentalidad, para que comprendan la necesidad de enterrar la llamada educación tradicional, en vigor hasta no hace muchos años.”⁵² De tal manera, es fundamental que el maestro sepa “comprender, sobre todo, la persona del niño y las circunstancias del mundo en que vive.”⁵³ Se trata de un trabajo de “concienciación” que

⁴⁴ Rogelio Medina Rubio, “Sentido actual de la función instructiva y de la función educadora del profesor” *Vida Escolar* 141-142 (1972): 24-32, 25.

⁴⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 26.

⁴⁶ *Ibíd.*

⁴⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 27.

⁴⁸ Vicente Barberá Albalat, “La educación en la sociedad actual” *Vida Escolar* (1976): 4-12, 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibíd.*

⁵⁰ *Ibíd.*

⁵¹ *Ibíd.*

⁵² *Ibíd.*, 12.

⁵³ *Ibíd.*

“deberá partir de las mismas escuelas del profesorado y de los planes de estudio”. Partiendo de este trabajo de cambio de mentalidad, los maestros podrán iniciarse en la “comprensión y manejo de los medios que la técnica pone a su alcance.”⁵⁴

Conclusiones

Carlos Lerena señaló en su libro *Reprimir y Liberar* que “con el término educación no estamos ante un concepto, sino ante un precepto: el precepto humanista con el que las clases dominantes del siglo de las luces han inaugurado la legitimación de una nueva estrategia política.”⁵⁵ En sus estudios, el que fuera el primer Catedrático de Sociología de la Educación en España, constató que en los años setenta se estaba operando una transición de un modo de educación elitista a un modo tecnocrático de masas. La LGE de 1970 era el acontecimiento que marcaba este giro por el que la técnica se posiciona en un lugar preferente dentro del discurso pedagógico que a partir de entonces sería hegemónico. Como se ha podido observar en el análisis que hemos realizado de los planes de estudio de 1977 para la formación de maestros, lo que se planteó entonces fue una reforma que integrara elementos pedagógicos y didácticos. Como resultado la formación ideológica de los maestros fue suprimida. Lo que sucedió entonces en España no fue una excepción en perspectiva internacional. William Pinar ha observado que es precisamente en estos años cuando en los países de occidente se apuesta por la tecnificación de los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje, lo que conlleva una idea de educación fuertemente vinculada a la ciencia cognitiva. En este contexto, para Pinar, “las cuestiones de sentido y significado se vuelven secundarias, a veces incluso sospechosas.”⁵⁶

Centrando la atención en el caso concreto de España, resulta de interés observar que en buena medida las mismas convenciones lingüísticas que operaban a nivel internacional fueron articuladas por académicos como Arsenio Pacios López, Ricardo Marín Ibáñez, Rogelio Medina Rubio y Vicente Barberá Albalat. Sus textos publicados en la revista *Vida Escolar* son una fuente histórica de gran valor para el estudio de las líneas de argumentación desarrolladas con el fin de impulsar una reforma de los planes de estudio del magisterio en los años setenta. Posiblemente el elemento novedoso que articularon fue que entre sus propósitos quedaba formulado de forma explícita el objetivo de “enterrar la llamada educación tradicional”. Sin duda este es un elemento contextual a tener en cuenta, ya que sitúa estos discursos en los años finales del régimen franquista. Un tiempo en el que parecía inminente un cambio político y en el que era común la búsqueda de posiciones más próximas a las transformaciones que habrían de suceder

⁵⁴ *Ibíd.*, 12.

⁵⁵ Carlos Lerena, *Reprimir y Liberar. Crítica sociológica de la educación y de la cultura contemporánea* (Akal, 2015): 9.

⁵⁶ William Pinar, “Educationalization as technologization” en *Educationalization and its complexities. Religion, politics and technology*, ed R. Bruno-Jofré (University of Toronto Press, 2019): 245.

que a la defensa de postulados ideológicos obsoletos cuya defensa se hacía por momentos tan complicada como inútil.

Para poder estudiar el modo en que se articularon este tipo de discursos tecnicistas en el campo de la educación se considera fundamental complejizar el tiempo histórico del franquismo. Lo cual no supone, en ningún modo, mantener una postura de comprensión o justificación de un régimen autoritario que no permitió el desarrollo de instituciones y estructuras democráticas en España. Lo que implica, por el contrario, es que al analizar en perspectiva histórica discursos que se consolidan en este tiempo histórico de poco sirven visiones simplistas que parten de que el régimen era un sistema político que operaba de forma aislada a nivel internacional, al margen de los movimientos sociales que se estaban desarrollando en otros países, sin atender al proceso de secularización de las sociedades industriales, de espaldas a las novedades en el campo de la tecnología o ajeno a los giros en la forma de imaginar el mundo moderno que estaban aconteciendo. Sin duda, todos estos fueron fenómenos que tuvieron una presencia destacada en la sociedad española y que impactaron en la organización de los planes de estudios diseñados para la formación de maestros.

6. A Move to Interdisciplinarity in Teacher Education in Western Australia

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Introduction

For many decades from the second half of the nineteenth century, teacher preparation in many countries involved preparation in one's teaching subject areas and engagement in teaching practice. Slowly though, over time, student teachers were also exposed in their courses to some history of education and psychology of education. Both were offered to place teaching on a more professional footing, the former being aimed at locating it within a great tradition and the latter at providing a scientific basis for pedagogical approaches. Little by little, various other theoretical strands were added to courses. Those included the study of the progressive education movement, child development and the antecedents of what we now term philosophy of education and sociology of education, while all of the time a practical focus was also maintained. Thus, a third strand developed in courses of teacher preparation, namely, one aimed at producing teachers able to reflect on education at the broad societal level.

While the latter strand became known by a variety of terms, 'education studies' emerged as the most common and neutral of them. In various countries too, the nature of what was involved was generally well received by staff, students and education authorities. Yet, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, associated syllabi in a number of constituencies consisted of such a disconnected set of academic areas that educationists sought to define the nature of this area of study in fairly precise terms. In Britain, the philosopher of education

Hirst made a major contribution to the debate in his distinction between 'forms of knowledge', 'fields of knowledge', and 'practical theories'¹.

Regarding 'forms of knowledge', Hirst's argument, put simply, was that over history, human beings mutually constructed specific modes of thought, or ways of knowing, namely, philosophy, mathematics, physical sciences, social sciences, morals, religion, literature and fine arts. These modes of thought, ways of knowing or forms of knowledge, he went on, are complex ways of understanding experience which are publicly specifiable and require justification. Each deals with different concepts, possesses a different logical structure, contains distinctive expressions which are testable against experience, utilises different techniques and skills for exploring experiences and defines its own criteria for distinguishing true from false and good from bad. Also, each form of knowledge has developed within it specialist subjects, or disciplines.

'Fields of knowledge', as defined by Hirst, are akin to what we call interdisciplinary studies. As he saw it, they consist of selections from different forms of knowledge (and also from subject disciplines within them) organised around a central unifying concept. Examples of fields of knowledge in this sense are geography, women's studies and peace studies. 'Practical theories', on the other hand, are defined as being composed of relevant knowledge from the various forms of knowledge (and also from subject disciplines within them) organised around certain central practical problems in order to help one to understand these problems as fully as possible and to assist one in coming up with possible solutions for dealing with them. Medicine fits into this category since it consists of knowledge organised around a series of medical problems. Engineering, law, architecture and education can be conceptualised in a similar manner.

Around the same time that Hirst was clarifying his thinking, Broudy et al.² at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign in the USA were designing an interdisciplinary model for professional preparation in education which was consistent with Hirst's views and included inducting students into Education Studies. From there, their influence radiated out to various parts of the world, including Australia. This chapter is concerned with one site where it was embraced in earnest, namely, Murdoch University in the state of Western Australia, which was set up as one of a few new universities in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, to rival the 'sandstone' universities that had been established between 1853 and 1911.

To put it in sociological terms, the relationship between theory and practice envisaged by the staff of the Murdoch School of Education was one of 'tight coupling'. In other words, while the emphasis within the more traditional schools of education across the land was on student teachers themselves making the connections between theory and practice

¹ P. Hirst, "Educational Theory" in *The Study of Education*, ed. J. Tibble (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1966), 29-58.

² H. S. Broudy, M. J. Parsons, I. A. Snook and R. D. Szoke, *Philosophy of Education. An organization of Topics and Selected Sources* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1967).

through their own exercise of mind, the emphasis at Murdoch was on lecturers operating within a structure where the connections made were much more explicit. That, in turn, reflected the developments in the discipline already initiated at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

The positive environment conducive for adopting the 'tight coupling' approach to teacher preparation courses at Murdoch University was a result of changes in the university sector nationally. With the intention of breaking the influence of the traditional universities, the emphasis was on developing institutions that would attract a diverse range of students into interdisciplinary courses focused directly on contemporary issues.³ Also, many of the new universities included in their mission a desire to make a tangible improvement to the world outside the university campus, in addition to providing excellent education and research opportunities for their students. However, while those broad structural forces facilitated the emergence of the parameters within which an alternative construction of the field could be developed at Murdoch University, the 'agency' of the foundation Professor, Dr Brian Hill, who was a PhD graduate of the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

The central argument presented so far is developed in the remainder of this chapter. By way of background, a brief overview of the establishment of Murdoch University is presented. This is followed by an elaboration of the integrated approach courses of teacher preparation evident in the model promoted there by Hill. Finally, an account of related initiatives at Murdoch is presented. Those included the introduction of an undergraduate degree in education studies which was not oriented towards teacher preparation, the promotion of higher degrees, and the development of research activities based on a structure that also reflected Hill's interpretation of the study of education as a disciplinary area.

The Establishment of Murdoch University

Murdoch University was established under the provisions of the Murdoch University Act in 1973⁴ and admitted undergraduate students in 1975. The time in question was one of significant growth in the tertiary education sector in Western Australia. Until then, there was only one university in the state, namely, The University of Western Australia, along with an institute of technology, teachers' colleges, and technical schools. As a result of an economic boom in the 1960s, the post-war demand for educational places for ex-servicemen, and the recommendation for increased federal funding for universities by the Murray Committee, policy makers began to argue for the establishment of a second university in the state.⁵ Initially, in 1967, members of the Jackson Committee of Inquiry

³ G. Bolton, *It Had Better Be a Good One. The First Ten Years of Murdoch University* (Perth, Murdoch University, 1985).

⁴ *Murdoch University Act 1973* (Perth, Western Australia's State Law Publisher, 1973).

⁵ Committee on Australian Universities, *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities* (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1957).

into Tertiary Education in Western Australia⁶ recommended that The University of Western Australia be encouraged to establish a university college south of the Swan River (which bisects the city of Perth from east to west) to cater for increasing numbers of first and second year' students, especially in arts and science.⁷

Concurrently, there was considerable pressure within Australia for the establishment of a fourth veterinary school, with the University of New England in New South Wales initially being the favored site. However, after discussions between the state and federal government, Western Australia was chosen as the preferred location for a new school, to be housed in a new college of The University of Western Australia in the city's southern suburbs. During planning sessions throughout 1968 and 1969, however, there was a change of thinking, and in September 1969, "the Senate of The University of Western Australia advised the government that, in its opinion, the new institution should be autonomous from the beginning."⁸

The Premier of Western Australia confirmed in March 1970, that a new university, which would be named after Sir Walter Murdoch, a foundation professor and former vice-chancellor, pro-vice chancellor and chancellor of The University of Western Australia, would be established and that it would incorporate a veterinary school.⁹ Enrolments commenced five years later. From the outset, the founding professors agreed that students would be the first products of the electronic revolution and 'the counterculture', and that experience of universities in the past would not provide an appropriate blueprint for the University's future. Their view on the ethos that should pervade Murdoch was much broader and humanitarian than that of the early universities in Australia:

[...] Murdoch should respond to the need for that humane and vital intelligence. Humane in that it is oriented towards development of the maximum human potential for creativity, growth, love, community and joy rather than towards exploitation of man and nature. Vital in that it is deeply rooted in the real, emotional, spiritual and physical needs of men rather than being mere cleverness. If Murdoch is to succeed in fostering such humane and vital intelligence, it must play the role of a healer. At first glance this may seem as unusual goal to suggest for a university, for universities (at their best) have traditionally tried primarily to nurture critical thought by preserving, exploring and goading.¹⁰

⁶ Committee on Tertiary Education in Western Australia, *Report of the Committee on Tertiary Education in Western Australia* (Perth: UWA Press, 1967).

⁷ N. S. Bayliss (Chair), *Murdoch University Planning Board* (Perth: Murdoch University, 1970), 3.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Committee of Inquiry into the Future of Murdoch University, *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Future of Murdoch University* (Perth: Government Printer, 1979).

¹⁰ J. Raser, *An Ethos for Murdoch University: Discussion Paper* (Perth: Murdoch University, 1970), np.

"In a world as profoundly troubled and pathology riddled as ours," it was concluded, "the highest calling may be that of healing."¹¹

In considering the nature of the curriculum to be offered at Murdoch, the planning board was mindful of the view expressed by the Jackson Committee, that tertiary institutions had a responsibility to the demands of employers and the professions, while still aspiring to high standards of scholarship.¹² This was a mandate for the Board to adopt a unique approach, the nature of which has been depicted as follows:

The academic structure would be based on multi-disciplinary schools of study rather than on the traditional faculties and departments. Each school would have a head. The degree of academic and financial responsibility of each school was left to be determined. The schools nominated tentatively in the submission to the Australian Universities Commission were humanities, social studies, education, physical science, biological science, veterinary science, and environmental studies.¹³

The Board recommended also that a wide choice of study options be offered without sacrificing depth, that a balance between the liberal and vocational aspects of the curriculum be developed, that interdisciplinary studies be encouraged, that an awareness of contemporary issues be developed in the students, that the student cohort be diverse, that close connections be established with the community, and that a variety of teaching approaches be embraced.

The community, however, responded to the 'new' vision with a skepticism that was reflected in first year enrolments being just 668 undergraduate students and fifty post-graduates. Most interest came from students who were turning their backs on more conventional study options and were keen to pursue contemporary studies in areas such as 'peace and conflict studies', 'human development' and 'communication studies.' This situation created the perception amongst the local community that Murdoch University was not a high-quality institution and the local high schools expressed doubt about its academic rigour. Only the Schools of Veterinary Studies and Education were unaffected by the demographic trends and were able to attract a healthy intake of school leavers. At the same time, the university was able to recruit high quality staff.¹⁴ Over time, too, the reputation of the university began to grow. The first graduates of Murdoch University completed their degrees and competed successfully for jobs. The Student Guild actively promoted life on campus, presenting it as a lively institution within the local community.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Report of the Committee on Tertiary Education, *Tertiary Education in Western Australia* (Perth, UWA Press, 1967).

¹³ W. D. Neal, *Education in Western Australia* (Perth, UWA Press, 1979), 279.

¹⁴ Committee of Inquiry into the Future of Murdoch University, *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Future of Murdoch University* (Perth: Government Printer, 1979).

An Integrated Approach to Courses for Teacher Preparation: Theoretical Foundations

At the time of the establishment of Murdoch University, teachers were prepared at The University of Western Australia, the Western Australian Institute of Technology and the five government-owned teachers' colleges. By 1975 they were oversupplying teachers for the state. Thus, it could be argued that a School of Education should not have been established at Murdoch University. However, a case was made that it was necessary as a second professional school (in addition to the Veterinary School) would provide credibility internationally, and the compulsory participation of student teachers in other schools of the University to gain subject knowledge in their chosen teaching areas would contribute to viability.

Prof. Brian Hill was appointed foundation Dean of Education. He had previously been a lecturer at The University of Western Australia and foundation head of education at the Wollongong University College, University of New South Wales, after completing doctoral studies. A Western Australian by birth, he has been judged to have been an "admirably systematic administrator, whose reputation as a committed Christian did not stop him from operating tenaciously and successfully in the sometimes cutthroat world of educational politics."¹⁵ In fact, he was considered one of the more 'radicals' among the foundation professors.

Professor Hill had been a doctoral student at the University of Illinois in Chicago at a time when Harry Broudy and his colleagues were generating and developing new ideas concerning the nature of the study of education. They conceptualised it as a broad area of study, rather than one concerned only with the technical competencies of teaching. On that position he drew a parallel with other professional areas of study such as architecture, engineering and education:

For a field of study to justify an autonomous existence it must have a set of special problems that direct and focus its enquiries... For a field of study to be professionalised it must use and organise facts and principles taken from such diverse disciplines, e.g., chemistry, physics and psychology, around the demands of its own problems... Finally, if a field of study is to be professional, it has to utilise practice in order to illuminate theory and to use theory as a guide to practice... A professional field of study generates rules or practice as well as principles or generalisations that guide practice.¹⁶

They then developed a schema for organising education studies centred on the notion that there are major perennial issues in the field.

¹⁵ Murdoch University, School of Education, Annual Internal Report, 2002, p. 12.

¹⁶ H. Broudy, M. J. Parsons, I. A. Snook, R. D. Szoke, *Philosophy of Education: An Organisation of Topics and Selected Sources* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1967), ix.

By identifying major perennial issues in education, Broudy was equating the study of education with the study of medicine, which draws on anatomy, physiology and psychology as relevant bodies of knowledge informing the understanding of medical problems and offering suggestions for solving them. Similarly, engineering draws on the disciplines of physics, chemistry, and mathematics to develop areas of study such as chemical engineering and structural engineering. Likewise, in education, Broudy argued, it is possible to draw on such disciplines as philosophy, history, and the social sciences to help understand perennial educational problems and issues related to aims and policy, curriculum, teaching and learning, management and administration, and teacher preparation. In this way education, as he saw it, is a field of study in its own right and has a research agenda just as is the case with any other area of study within the university.

The basic schema of education studies detailed above should, according to Broudy and colleagues, inform the basic preparation of all education professionals, whether they be teachers, school principals, education administrators, regional managers, or leaders. However, they argued that a more specific programme of preparation should also accompany this approach. Thus, in the case of teacher preparation, all student teachers should not only know their teaching subject(s) but should also have an education in the contributing areas of knowledge (philosophy, history, and the social sciences) as they relate to that teaching subject. Furthermore, they should be engaged in the simulation of teaching and in actual teaching practice in 'real' school situations. A similar approach to preparation should also apply in the case of the curriculum for other educational professionals.

Such an integrated approach to the study of education was evident at Murdoch University. This is not surprising given Hill's experiences, initially while completing his doctoral studies at the University of Illinois, and later while working in the area of teacher preparation in Australia. At the time that Hill was a student at the University of Illinois, Harry Broudy was Professor of Philosophy of Education and was highly respected for his writing on education in a democracy, the aesthetics of education, the importance of citizenship, and values and moral education. These areas were of great interest to Hill, who later became a recognised scholar in those fields in Australia.

Broudy, as noted already, had a keen interest in the structure and purpose of education as an area of study. That, Vandenberg claimed, was stimulated by two questions: What is good knowledge and what is knowledge good for?¹⁷ In addressing these questions when considering construction of education as an area of study, Broudy and his colleagues designed the model already outlined. While its significance was not immediately obvious to Hill, it became more relevant to his situation when he returned to Australia to work in the field of teacher preparation. The organised structure and the 'tight-coupling' between theory and practice that was evident within the model, highlighted what

¹⁷ D. Vandenberg, "Harry Broudy and Education for a Democratic Society," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 26, no. 4 (1992): 5-19.

he perceived to be less-than-satisfactory arrangements he experienced on his return. Between 1964 and 1967, as a lecturer in education at The University of Western Australia, he had been required to liaise with the nearby government-owned and operated Claremont Teachers College in managing the teaching practice component of teacher preparation courses at the university. He found the arrangement to be “fragmented and unsatisfactory.”¹⁸

Hill's subsequent experience at Wollongong University College, University of New South Wales from 1968 to 1974, where he was charged with establishing courses in education, was equally troubling for him. Appointed at senior lecturer level and with a very limited budget, he set about developing courses in cooperation with a local teacher's college which was located on the same campus as the University. There he taught the theoretical aspects of education, while the teacher's college staff delivered courses in methods and supervised the teaching practice. Again, he found the “disjunction between those two areas quite unsatisfactory”¹⁹ and was motivated to try to bridge the gap.

So keen was Hill to marry the theoretical and the practical aspects of studies in education that he took on the task of teaching history in the History Department at Wollongong, while at the same time teaching history method and being involved in teaching practice supervision at the teacher's college. The latter experience was met with resentment from teacher's college staff, who preferred to manage the teaching practice without interference from the University. That, in turn, led to considerable friction between both institutions. Overall, though, the experience from Hill's point of view contributed, he claimed, to shaping his thinking on what would be an appropriate structure for studies in education at university level.

In 1974, Hill had a chance to refine his thinking when he was appointed Professor of Education at Murdoch University. While he continued to be influenced by the theoretical perspectives gained from his work at Illinois, and particularly Broudy's schema on the nature and structure of education as a professional area of study, he also took note of developments at Macquarie University in New South Wales, which had been established in 1964. He paid special attention to a ‘master teacher in schools’ model developed there, that involved the drawing up of an individual contract between a teacher, who was identified as particularly competent, and a student teacher. He was impressed by the associated core notion of providing school-based support for student teachers.

Thus armed, Hill set about planning courses of teacher preparation for the School of Education at Murdoch University with the ideal of developing the “professional educator”. He identified four distinct yet interrelated and equally important components as the basis for degree programmes in initial primary school teacher education, initial secondary school teacher education, and tertiary and adult teacher education, and for organising research programmes within the school: curriculum studies, process studies, professional

¹⁸ Professor Brian Hill, Interview, July 16, 2007.

¹⁹ Ibid.

studies, and context studies. The focus within curriculum studies was to be on how to teach subject matter which would be attained outside of the School of Education. Process studies was to include such areas as child development, psychology of education, and measurement in education, while professional studies involved field placements. Finally, context studies were designed to assist students in arriving at a level of “professional self-consciousness”²⁰ and to set the other three components mentioned above components within a meaningful context.

Hill's model remained the basis of courses in education at Murdoch University for more than thirty years. It not only served as a foundation for the study of education, but also influenced the appointment of staff and the organisation of administrative structures. Lecturers were appointed to work largely within one component and were required to meet regularly to monitor the development and progress of courses located within it. Members of each component also had representation on the formal committees of the School of Education which managed the various programmes, namely the initial teacher education committee, the post graduate committee, the research committee, and the School of Education board.

Professor Hill commented though, that despite the establishment of the School of Education on such structured and professional lines, and notwithstanding the balance of theoretical and practical components within studies in education, he observed an attitude within Murdoch University towards education which suggested that it was not treated with the same respect as other areas of study. Largely, the perceived importance of education seems to have been its potential to attract a significant number of students. The money generated could then be used to subsidise courses like veterinary science deemed to be more elite. Education was also promoted by the university, he added, because its students were seen as those who would enroll in such foundation disciplines as mathematics and science.

The Education Programmes

Initial Teacher Preparation

From the outset, the School of Education at Murdoch offered three teacher preparation programmes: a three-year primary school programme leading to a Bachelor of Arts (Education) degree; a four-year secondary school programme that combined a Bachelor of Arts (Education) degree and a Diploma in Education; and a one-year Diploma in Education programme for graduates (largely in arts and the sciences) wishing to become secondary school teachers. Subsequently, a Bachelor of Education (Further Teacher Education) degree was introduced for teachers who wished to upgrade their

²⁰ Ibid.

qualifications, or for students wishing to transfer into education studies from other programmes.

The structure for the above degree programmes, while based on Hill's adaptation of model detailed above, was also consistent with the University's overall curriculum structure. Thus, the School of Education initially offered two Part I courses, 'introduction to teaching' and 'issues in education', and four Part II programmes. Each reflected the four components outlined in the previous section. The 'introduction to teaching' unit introduced students to the experience of teaching and the knowledge required to participate in a short school placement and included initial studies in child development, curriculum studies, classroom management, and teaching skills.²¹ 'Issues in education' dealt with ethical and empirical problems associated with the provision of education by looking at comparative educational literature and exploring local educational issues.²²

The programmes in Part II were specifically devised around Hill's notion of studies of the context of education, studies of the process of education, curriculum studies, and professional studies. Studies of the context of education included 'education theory', 'Australian education', 'philosophy of education', 'sociology of education' and 'history of education', with the aim of examining the place of education in society, its functions and the constraints placed upon it. Studies of the process of education were concerned with the characteristics of learners, the teaching-learning process, and evaluation, and included studies in 'child growth and development', 'learning theories and strategies', 'educational psychology' and 'educational measurement'. Curriculum studies was based on the application of considerations of the context of education and the processes of learning to the study of school curriculum materials and relevant teaching methods. Finally, professional studies related to the preparation of students for teaching practice in schools and the provision of support throughout the teaching practice period.

A unique feature of initial teacher education at Murdoch University when considered in relation to the programmes offered by the other providers in the state of Western Australia at the time was the close monitoring of students that was undertaken through its tutor-supervisor programme. In attempting to implement the concept of the 'master teacher' approach detailed already, Hill suggested that the School of Education should provide a staff member to support up to fifteen students placed in a school for field experience. The person in question would be a tutor/supervisor with responsibility for teaching at the university campus and for supervising field experience. That, he held, would enable the development of a much closer association with both the mentoring teacher in the school and the teacher education students than prevailed under the more traditional approach of an occasional visit from university staff during school experience. It was felt by Hill also that it would further enable connections between theory and practice to be made and to

²¹ Murdoch University, *Murdoch University Calendar and Handbook 1975* (Perth: Murdoch University, 1975), 35.

²² Murdoch University, *Murdoch University Calendar and Handbook 1981* (Perth: Murdoch University, 1981), 21.

be reinforced. To achieve his vision, he then succeeded in convincing the University to fund three large caravans to house the Murdoch University staff as they worked with students during the field placement. Eventually ten caravans were used. Purpose-built, they were located at schools and provided space for students and supervisors to converse and engage in small group learning.

The School of Education at Murdoch University, as an analysis of its *Calendar and Handbook* from its inception until 2005 indicates, also responded to local changes in schools, curriculum and school management by introducing new content and specialist programmes from time-to-time to support emerging education needs. For example, new content was incorporated through the introduction of 'educational technology' within process studies, 'curriculum models' within curriculum studies, and new electives in context studies. The latter provided students with opportunities to choose 'politics of education', 'Aborigines and education', 'computer education', 'cultural studies', 'education policy studies', 'ethnicity of education', 'religious education' and 'women and education'. New curriculum teaching area specialisations in 'special education', Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian/Malay languages, and 'further and tertiary education' were offered at the Diploma in Education level. The latter initiative was a response to a demand for education qualifications for those working in tertiary training institutions and a range of government and non-government organisations.

While relevance to local and national needs was sustained though such variations in the content within the four components of the teacher preparation programmes, it was also reflected in the introduction of 'conversion' courses which provided opportunities for teachers who held a Teacher's Certificate to upgrade their qualifications or re-train in new teaching areas. Amongst these conversion courses were those leading to a Graduate Certificate in Drama Teaching, a Graduate Certificate in Applied Language Education (LOTE) and a Graduate Diploma in Asian Language Education, the latter of which was offered in conjunction with the School of Humanities. The courses were designed to meet the shortfall in the supply of teachers in these fields and enabled students to acquire both language and drama expertise at the same time as refreshing their school curriculum knowledge and skills.

Professional Development

While the endeavors noted above reflected the influence of local educational circumstances in shaping the study of education at Murdoch University, they also highlighted the degree of competition which came to exist between tertiary institutions in the state. By the early 1990s the Western Australian Institute of Technology had become Curtin University, and the teacher's colleges, which had amalgamated into the Western Australian College of Advanced Education, were granted university status and became Edith Cowan University. As these institutions expanded their programmes there was

increased pressure to diversify to attract students. Further pressure to offer fee paying courses was a consequence of the tightening of Federal Government funding in the 1980s.

Within this context, the School of Education at Murdoch University turned its attention to professional development activities, and in a manner which also reflected a close connection between theory and practice. This was in line with Murdoch University's mission to serving the professions. By the late 1990s, a range of studies was available in such areas as 'community and schools', 'education in tertiary institutions', 'ethics and education', 'informal schooling', 'innovation in education', 'religious studies', 'political education', 'social background and learning', 'social studies' and 'teacher education strategies.' These were compressed courses offered in the evenings, at weekends and during the school holidays.

Post-graduate certificate courses were also introduced to enable teachers to improve their skills and prepare for curriculum innovations which were being implemented in the primary and secondary school sectors. For example, a Postgraduate Certificate in Curriculum Leadership was designed to provide the education profession and community with curriculum leaders who could respond creatively and confidently to curriculum innovations introduced by the State Education Department in the late 1990s. Similarly, a Postgraduate Certificate in Inclusive Education was offered when a change in State Education Department policy recommended the inclusion of students with special needs into mainstream schooling. Later, Postgraduate Certificates in Gifted and Talented Education and in Psychology Teaching were introduced in line with changes in secondary schooling in Western Australia. Postgraduate Diplomas in Educational Computing and School Management were likewise designed to attract teachers wishing to enhance their skills and undertake leadership roles within schools to facilitate the process of curriculum innovation. A Postgraduate Diploma in Social Research and Evaluation appealed to graduates from education, health, and social science backgrounds.

Professional development qualifications and short courses continued to be offered too by the Murdoch School of Education to educators in a range of sectors, including schools, technical colleges, universities, industry, health and social services. The various graduate certificate courses were all fee paying, thus adding to the School of Education's funds. Furthermore, as with the various other initiatives undertaken in the school, they were able to be accommodated within the 'Hill model' for the study of education. Thus, the 'tight coupling' model of education studies, with an emphasis on clearly establishing for students the connections between theory and practice, was maintained in programmes beyond those of initial teacher preparation.

Other Initiatives within the School of Education at Murdoch University

In addition to teacher preparation programmes, the School of Education at Murdoch offered programmes which attracted students at all levels of university study. In the main, these programmes were also constructed within the 'Hill' model with some minor

adjustments. That is, while the main components of context studies, process studies, and curriculum studies were maintained in some programmes, the fourth component, professional studies, was replaced with one more relevant to the programme in question. One of the most innovative of those programmes, namely one leading to a non-teaching undergraduate degree in education, will now be considered.

In 1981, the School of Education at Murdoch University introduced a Diploma of Educational Studies for academic study in education without professional preparation for teaching. The initiative was based on the principle that the study of education exists as a discrete area of study and not solely for the professional preparation or development of teachers. Congruent with that position, the School of Education also encouraged the University to consider promoting the study of education units within an Arts degree, claiming that education was a relevant field of study for administrators and professionals interested in achieving widespread and lasting social change. Its relevance was expressed as follows:

As example, an environmental scientist may use public education as a tool for preserving the environment ... Community leaders planning to bring Australia into the twenty first century as a scientifically and technologically advanced nation need to understand the importance of education as a tool for upgrading the population's skills and for helping the established workforce adjust to the introduction of new technology ... Few disciplines can afford ignorance of the additional perspective offered by Education Studies.²³

What eventually materialised were two undergraduate pathways: the Bachelor of Education Studies and a Bachelor of Professional Studies (Education). It was intended that professionals interested in further development and renewal of their careers in education and non-education fields would be attracted to these degree programmes.

Ten streams of study were offered to those studying for the Bachelor of Education Studies: 'Aboriginal and Islander education', 'early childhood education', 'environmental education', 'mathematics education', 'media education', 'personal and social development', 'special needs and education', 'TESL', 'LOTE', and 'theology and education'. Students could elect to study education units solely, or a combination of discipline-based units offered in other schools, in addition to education units, in designing a course to meet their interests. Similarly, a broad suite of courses was offered to those studying for the Bachelor of Professional Studies. It included 'action learning', 'assessment', 'policy and intervention in special education', 'cultural literacy and visual media studies', 'developmental aspects of exceptionality', 'discourse analysis', 'educating selves in society', 'educational psycholinguistics', educational sociolinguistic, 'information technology for curriculum leaders', 'literacy and language', and 'semiotics and social discourses in education'.

²³ Murdoch University, *Murdoch University Calendar and Handbook* (Perth: Murdoch University, 1992), 129.

Higher Degrees by Research

From the time of its establishment, the School of Education at Murdoch also made clear its interest in higher degree studies. Initially the Master of Education by coursework and dissertation was introduced in 1977. The overall aim of the degree programme was expressed as follows:

The Master of Education is designed for practicing teachers and other educators who may be assuming increased professional responsibility for curriculum development or educational administration...or specialised roles involving research, evaluation, or advisory services. It represents a means by which the School of Education can seed the education profession with leaders who are aware of wider issues.²⁴

Again, that programme was constructed within the components of 'Hill's model' with a minor modification. While context studies, curriculum studies, and process studies remained as central organisers, professional studies were replaced with methodological studies, as the latter was considered more appropriate for the preparation of research students. Initially, the content of the new component was centered on 'developmental differences and education', 'educational evaluation', 'knowledge, persons and education', 'organisational theory and education' and 'curriculum design'. In general, these areas of study reflected contemporary demands on teachers and administrators.

In 1981, the study options available to those studying for the degree were expanded. Context studies included studies in 'education, stratification, and social change', 'history of educational ideals', 'organisational theory and education', 'education and ethics' and 'politics of education'. Process studies was focused on 'individual differences', 'personal and social development', and 'education, anxiety and the educational experience', and curriculum studies included 'curriculum diffusion and dissemination', 'educational outcomes', and 'teaching strategies.' Twelve years later, in 1993, the degree programme was expanded further to cater for the contemporary scene by including studies in 'development and conflict', 'education and social issues', 'gender and education', 'school improvement', 'issues and evidence', 'collaborative learning', 'humanising the curriculum', 'ideology and curriculum aims', and 'computers and education'. Again, the broad array of studies in question was compatible with Hill's original notion of developing 'professional self-consciousness' through studies in education.

By 2001, there were four master's degrees available in Education Studies: the Master of Education (Coursework); the Master of Education (Coursework and Dissertation); the Master of Arts (Social Research and Evaluation), and the Master of Philosophy. Graduates from those courses became eligible for entry into both the Doctor of Philosophy programme and a Doctor of Education programme that was introduced in 1994, a time when professional doctorates were appearing in universities across the

²⁴ Murdoch University, *Murdoch University Calendar and Handbook* (Perth: Murdoch University, 1981), 359.

nation. The main aim of the professional doctorate at Murdoch, it was stated, was to provide an advanced level of study in education through applied research in a selected area of practice. In that way, so the argument went, it would be related to the student's professional work.

The three main specialisations available initially to those enrolled in the Doctor of Education degree were 'educational policy and leadership', 'curriculum', and 'educational psychology and evaluation'. The degree involved engaging in substantive coursework in selected areas of study from those, before going on to complete a major research-based thesis. Once again, the three specialisations were developed through the structure provided by 'Hill's model' for Education Studies. Context studies included units on 'humanising the curriculum', 'ideology and curriculum', 'leadership and professional service organisations', and 'educational planning and management'. Process studies' units were on 'learning, problem-solving, and expertise', 'cognitive development and education', 'personal and social development and education', and 'public policy research methods.' Curriculum studies incorporated units on 'computers and education', 'curriculum', 'English and cultural studies', 'education theory, research and practice', 'mathematics teaching and learning', and 'science education studies.' A fourth component, integrated studies, was substituted for professional studies, and included units on 'politics and issues in education' and 'qualitative research methods.' Over the years those areas of study were expanded to include such contemporary content as 'indigenous education', 'adult teaching and learning', 'inclusivity', 'special needs', 'values and ethics', 'mentoring', 'collaborative learning', 'school-based assessment', 'measurement and evaluation', 'cultural diversity', 'boys' education', 'gifted education', 'information technology', 'issues in nurse education', and 'historical perspectives in education.'

The School of Education, from its inception, also quickly established research activities and was successful in attracting significant amounts of research funding in its first five years. By 2001, staff members had won Australian Research Council and Murdoch University Grants to conduct research into areas such as educational measurement, citizenship education, gender issues, and gifted students. Two research and development centers, the Centre for Learning, Change, and Development (CLCD) and the Institute for Social Programme Evaluation played an important role in coordinating research activities between participating stakeholders. The CLCD provided research and consultancy services in areas such as leadership, workplace learning, organisational change, and measurement and evaluation. It also made available to schools, other education sectors, and the wider community, professional development in areas such as outcomes-based approaches to teaching and learning, early childhood education, catering for diverse groups of learners, and educational leadership and management. The Institute for Social Programme Evaluation conducted studies in health, education, welfare, and evaluation methods. Its work was funded by both the state and federal governments and non-government agencies, and was directed towards crime prevention, vocational and

educational training in rural and remote communities, monitoring standards in education, and domestic violence prevention.

Conclusion

Despite having a somewhat rocky start in the field of higher education in Western Australia, Murdoch University developed its profile and continued to attract students until it became a viable institution. The School of Education was a strong performer, consistently enrolling high numbers of students in each of its major programmes. Moreover, for almost thirty years the study of education was constructed around the four components of 'Hill's model', namely context studies, curriculum studies, process studies, and professional studies. The associated approach corresponded very closely with what Stark and his colleagues argued was crucial, particularly in pre-service teacher preparation, namely the development of teachers with "integrative competence."²⁵ This is the notion that, to be fully competent, professional practitioners must be able to identify the appropriate foundational knowledge and combine it with the technical skills to function professionally in the context in which they find themselves.

It was not until 2003 that cracks in the model for the construction of studies in education at Murdoch University began to appear. The first contributing circumstance was the discontinuation of the use of caravans in teaching practice supervision because support for the placement of large numbers of students in individual schools had declined. As a much larger number of schools was needed to provide professional practice placements, it was necessary for a greater number of staff to visit schools. That, in turn, meant that staff from the curriculum component of teacher preparation programmes became involved in professional practice supervision. Consequently, the line between the curriculum studies and professional studies components of the programmes of preparation became blurred. Furthermore, over time, tension developed between personalities involved in the different components; for the most part, it has been held, while staff members in the context and process components worked together collaboratively, the same level of cooperation was not always reflected in their relationship with the curriculum staff.

Hill's 'integrative model' for education studies became further weakened as the School of Education expanded and new staff modified units in a manner that caused some disintegration of the components and some duplication of content. The retirement of Professor Hill, whose vision and drive had sustained the model, exacerbated the latter trend. Subsequent deans, with different perspectives on education as an area of study, created certain curricular tensions. For example, one dean felt that curriculum should be a central component within programmes and that the content of context and process components should be taught through the curriculum component. A consequence of that and other tensions was that the original model, as conceptualised by Hill, became

²⁵ J. S. Stark, M. A. Lowther, B. M. K. Hagerty and C. Orczyk, "A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Pre-service Professional Programs in Colleges and Universities," *The Journal of Higher Education* 57, no. 3 (1986): 245.

'fractured' and the 'tight coupling' that had existed between theory and practice became more difficult to sustain. Thus, the framework that had enabled the school leaders to go about their work in a systematic way, with the aim of producing graduates who, in Hill's words, would be "professional educators" is now but a memory and a matter of historical record.

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Part IV

Teacher Education and the Climate Crisis



"Climate Change" by Kai Stachowiak. Image under Public Domain license.

7. Enabling the Possible: Planning for Inclusion Through Approaches Anchored in the Community and the Environment¹

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Introduction

As a global community, we face serious social and environmental challenges. These challenges are linked to the climate crisis, biodiversity loss, gross human rights violations and persistent social inequalities.² All of these are directly or indirectly linked to

¹ This article was originally published in French as follows: Laura Sims and Marie-Élaine Desmarais, "Permettre le Possible: Planifier l'Inclusion par les Approches Ancrées dans la Communauté et l'Environnement," *Éducation Relative à l'Environnement: Regards, Recherches, Réflexions* 18, no. 2 (2023): 1-17, <https://journals.openedition.org/ere/11028>

² Bradley Cardinale et al., "Biodiversity Loss and its Impact on Humanity," *Nature* 486, no. 7401 (2012), 59-67, <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature11148>; The International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Global Warming of 1.5°C: An IPCC Special Report on the Impacts of Global Warming of 1.5°C above Pre-industrial Levels and Related Global Greenhouse Gas Emission Pathways, in the Context of Strengthening the Global Response to the Threat of Climate Change, Sustainable Development, and Efforts to Eradicate Poverty (World Meteorological Organization, 2018), <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>

globalisation, consumerism, oppression, and industrialisation.³ In order to face the current challenges to the environment and to our human communities, we must learn to live differently, in ways that are more responsible and loving, together with the Earth and with all living things.⁴

As professors in a faculty of education, we have a role to play in the education of pre-service and in-service teachers⁵ and, consequently, we have a potential impact on the education of current and future members of society.⁶ At the same time, we teach in a university context with an increasingly diverse student population, one with more and more varied characteristics and needs.⁷ We have a professional obligation to make our educational contexts and pedagogical approaches more inclusive.⁸ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais assert that

[a]s university educators we have a role and responsibility to create inclusive environmental and sustainability educational approaches that are enabling, emotionally supportive, engaging and praxis-oriented Ones that promote our students' well-being and resilience in the face of the environmental crisis and that help prepare them to address the challenges presented by climate change by educating learners to become responsible eco-citizens and creative, solution-oriented thinkers; citizens that can move towards more sustainable and equitable forms of living.⁹

³ Laura Sims, Hilary Inwood, Paul Elliott, and Susan Gerofsky, "Innovative Praxis for Environmental Learning in Canadian Faculties of Education," *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 37, no. 3 (2021), 240–53, <https://doi.org/10.1017/aee.2021.2>.

⁴ Chris Beeman and Laura Sims, "From Relationship to Something More: Environmental and Sustainability Education and a New Ontological Position," in *Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education: Canadian Perspectives*, ed. Doug Karrow and Maurice DiGiuseppe (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 193–208.

⁵ Lee Anne Block, Laura Sims, and Chris Beeman, "Contextualizing Education for Sustainability and Teacher Education in Manitoba Faculties of Education," in *Canadian Perspectives on Initial Teacher Environmental Education Praxis*, ed. Doug Karrow, Maurice DiGiuseppe, Paul Elliott, Yovita Gwekwerere, and Hilary Inwood (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Teacher Education [CATE], 2016), 128–52, <https://cate-acfe.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/CATE-CPITEEP.pdf>; Laura Sims, Rhéa Rocque, and Marie-Élaine Desmarais, "Enabling Students to Face the Environmental Crisis and Climate Change with Resilience: Inclusive Environmental and Sustainability Education Approaches and Strategies for Coping with Eco-anxiety," *International Journal of Higher Education and Sustainability* 3, no. 2 (2020), 112–31, <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJHES.2020.113059>

⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf

⁷ Laura Sims and Marie-Élaine Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome Perceived Barriers: Environmental and Sustainability Education, Inclusion, and Accessibility," *International Journal of Higher Education and Sustainability* 3, no. 1 (2020), 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJHES.2020.108611>

⁸ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Global Education Monitoring Report, 2020 - Inclusion and Education: All Means All* (Paris, France: UNESCO, 2020), <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373721>

⁹ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 113–114.

This mandate and movement to provide education that integrates environmental and sustainability education (ESE) and that is inclusive of all learners can be found across Canada¹⁰ and internationally.¹¹ For example, the ACDE Accord on Education for a Sustainable Future (2022) states that faculties of education are responsible to understand, promote, and contribute to a socially and environmentally just, healthy and flourishing society.¹²

One educational strategy that reflects an ESE approach is that of using natural and community spaces as "classrooms."¹³ Such a strategy has been shown to be effective and beneficial in facilitating potentially transformative learning, building relationships and promoting physical and mental well-being.¹⁴ However, given the increasing diversity of our student population, how such an experiential approach is implemented is not always obvious.

This is a theoretical article based on our professional experiences as educators and supported by the literature. This reflection represents a continuation of previous work.¹⁵

¹⁰ See Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE), *Accord on Education for a Sustainable Future*, 2022, <https://csse-scee.ca/acde/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2022/03/accord-on-education-for-a-sustainable-future.pdf>; Hilary Inwood, Doug Karrow, and Laura Sims, "Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education," *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 23, no. 1 (2020), <https://cjee.lakeheadu.ca/issue/view/89>; Karrow and DiGiuseppe, eds., *Environmental and Sustainability Education*; Doug Karrow, Maurice DiGiuseppe, Paul Elliott, Yovita Gwekwerere, and Hilary Inwood, eds., *Canadian Perspectives on Initial Teacher Environmental Education Praxis* (Canadian Association for Teacher Education [CATE], 2016), <https://cate-acfe.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/CATE-CPITEEP.pdf>

¹¹ Neus Evans, Robert B. Stevenson, Michelle Lason, Jo-Anne Ferreira, and Julie Davis, "Approaches to Embedding Sustainability in Teacher Education: A Synthesis of the Literature," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017): 405-17, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.01.013>; United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, *Learning for the Future: Competences in Education for Sustainable Development* (Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2012).

¹² Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE), *Accord on Education*.

¹³ Stan Kozak and Susan Elliott, *Connecting the Dots: Key Strategies that Transform Learning for Environmental Education, Citizenship and Sustainability* (Canada: Learning for a Sustainable Future, 2011); Laura Sims, Madeleine Asselin, and Thomas Falkenberg, "Environmental and Sustainability Education in Pre-service Teacher Education in Canada: A Case Study," *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 23, no. 1 (2020): 14-31, <https://cjee.lakeheadu.ca/issue/view/89>; Laura Sims and Thomas Falkenberg, "Developing Competencies for Education for Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Canadian Faculties of Education," *International Journal of Higher Education* 2, no. 4 (2013), 1-14, <https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v2n4p1>

¹⁴ Inwood, Karrow, and Sims, "Environmental and Sustainability Education"; Laura Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis : L'Expérience d'une Professeure Non Autochtone en lien à l'Intégration des Perspectives Autochtones dans la Formation des Enseignants en Contexte Minoritaire Francophone Manitobain," *Cahiers Franco-canadiens de l'Ouest* 31, no. 1 (2019), 89-108, <https://doi.org/10.7202/1059127ar>; Laura Sims, Hilary Inwood, Paul Elliott, and Susan Gerofsky, "Innovative Praxis for Environmental Learning in Canadian Faculties of Education," *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 37, no. 3 (2021), 240-53, <https://doi.org/10.1017/aee.2021.2>; Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

¹⁵ Marie-Élaine Desmarais, Sophie Lafrance, Laura Sims, and Kim Thériault, "L'Éducation Inclusive en Contexte Franco-manitobain, un Vritable Vecteur de Réussite Éducative et de Bien-être Holistique?" in *Le Bien-être et la Réussite de l'Élève à l'École: Perspective Internationale*, ed. Nadia Rousseau, Dominic Voyer, and Gaëlle Espinosa (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2024), 237-58; Sims and Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome"; Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

We begin by describing ESE approaches more broadly, followed by a more in-depth description of the basic principles of place-based, experiential approaches that use nature and community as classroom. We go on to share examples of how this type of approach is being implemented in faculties of education across Canada. We then propose a number of elements that can be taken into account when planning such educational experiences, so as to make them as inclusive as possible of the varied needs of learners.

Learning Outside: Approaches That are Place-Based and Use Nature and Community as Classroom

It is important to clarify from the outset that when we refer to outdoor learning, in this article we are talking about ESE. ESE is an approach that aims to promote environmental and social well-being and to educate responsible, informed people by fostering the development of attitudes, knowledge, skills and values that support living together as humans, with the Earth, and with all beings.¹⁶ According to Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, ESE draws upon various learning traditions, such as environmental education, sustainability education, nature-based education, eco-citizenship and eco-justice education, Indigenous education, and peace education. These approaches "share a belief in a more sustainable and equitable world for all living beings on this planet..."¹⁷ "This complex process requires pedagogies that engage with diverse perspectives and that are oriented to experience, the natural environment, inquiry, problem-solving, and a systems approach."¹⁸

Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais¹⁹ point out that ESE practice should include the following elements:

1. Learning that is place-based, experiential, using community-as-classroom;
2. Learning that is loving, caring, compassionate and based on rich relationships;
3. Learning that provides opportunities to consider other perspectives;
4. Learning that is systemic, integrated and makes real-world connections;
5. Learning that is inquiry-based and expands our imagination;
6. Providing opportunities to act on learning;
7. Sharing responsibilities for learning with students.

Herein, we focus primarily on the first principle, that of taking students outside the conventional classroom to learn. The educational benefits of taking students outdoors to natural, communal or built environments to learn have been outlined in numerous

¹⁶ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

¹⁷ Ibid., 114.

¹⁸ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education," 128.

¹⁹ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

empirical studies.²⁰ Using community-as-classroom enables students to make connections between classroom learning and real-world issues.²¹ The community "provides a pedagogical space within which to integrate different subject areas."²²

Exploring community provides opportunities for students, and educators, to encounter meaningful problems that require learners to draw upon a variety of flexible, nonstandard problem-solving strategies and to build connections between theory and practice, content and context, and concept and process It helps learners build relationships with places and people which can lead them to caring about, and caring for others.²³

Place-based education provides students with unique opportunities to learn how to [...] become active citizens in their own communities...[and]... provides opportunities for instructors to listen to teacher candidates' questions about the environment, and to plan and take action on pressing local environmental issues.²⁴

Some Examples

Community can be used as classroom in numerous ways; "these range from simply using an outside environment as a space for learning to the natural, communal, or built environment becoming a co-teacher in the process."²⁵

Using Nature as a Context for Learning

Using community as classroom can be as simple as taking students outside to learn. Beeman (Brandon University) and Miller and Mills Wotherspoon (University of Saskatchewan) provide a few examples. In Beeman's Indigenous perspectives course, he describes how about half of his course takes place outside. In order "to understand historical, cultural, economic and political perspectives of [Indigenous] peoples, spending time in their historical home—the natural world—is an excellent context to do so."²⁶ He describes how the natural world provides a nuanced, rich context that is more open, less-constrained and peaceful compared to human created environments. Ostertag, Gerofsky,

²⁰ See Karrow et al., *Canadian Perspectives*; Karrow and DiGuiseppe, *Environmental and Sustainability Education*; Inwood, Karrow, and Sims, "Environmental and Sustainability Education."

²¹ Doug Anderson, Julie Comay, and Lorraine Chiarotto, *Natural Curiosity: A Resource for Educators: The Importance of Indigenous Perspectives in Children's Environmental Inquiry*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Dr. Eric Jackman Institute of Child Study, 2019), www.naturalcuriosity.ca.

²² Hilary Inwood and Susan Jagger, *Deeper: Deepening Environmental Education in Pre-service Education Resource* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 2014), 33, www.oise.utoronto.ca/jese/DEEPER.

²³ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 116-117.

²⁴ Inwood and Jagger, *Deeper*, 33.

²⁵ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 117.

²⁶ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education," 144.

and Scott²⁷ also note how natural spaces like the University of British Columbia's (UBC) Orchard Garden provides a more open environment for discussion. Compared to a conventional classroom, natural spaces offer a more open and stimulating learning environment that is less structured and restrictive. Jickling and Blenkinsop²⁸ suggest that teaching and learning in these kinds of spaces could help cultivate our imaginations. Using the environment in a more intentional way, Beeman and Miller and Mills Wotherspoon do similar activities to create connections and form attachment to place: Beeman proposes "a nature sit"²⁹ and Miller and Mills Wotherspoon the "one square metre project."³⁰ With both of these activities, students return "to a place one comes to know over a period of weeks, months or years" [. . .] Many students describe this "as gently powerful, unexpectedly transformative, and immensely rich."³¹ "It is a meaningful learning opportunity that costs nothing, can be done in any schoolyard and is unique to each participant."³²

*Using Nature and Community as a Context for Learning and as a Co-Teacher:
Excursions, Field Trips, and Participation in Community Events Lasting a Few Hours*

A Simple Walk

An activity as simple as a community walk can lead to, and enrich, learning in diverse areas. For example, Morton at UBC does a "sound walk" with her students "so that they can become more aware of the sounds present in the environment through active listening and a contemplative practice, reflecting on how we judge these sounds and how these relate to underlying social and environmental issues in the community."³³ At Université de St. Boniface (USB), Desmarais walks through the St. Boniface neighbourhood to The Forks to explore markers of diversity, accessibility, and inclusion. Also at USB, Sims guides students through the same neighbourhood to discuss and imagine with them the numerous ways in which the community can be used as a source and context for learning when teaching concepts related to Indigenous education.³⁴ Miller and Mills Wotherspoon explore anti-oppressive education in their *Pedagogies of Place*

²⁷ Julia Ostertag, Susan Gerofsky, and Sandra A. Scott, "Learning to Teach Environmental Education by Gardening the Margins of the Academy," in *Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education: Canadian Perspectives*, ed. Doug Karrow and Maurice DiGiuseppe (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 111-30.

²⁸ Bob Jickling and Sean Blenkinsop, "Wilding Teacher Education: Responding to the Cries of Nature," *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 23, no. 1 (2020), 119-35.

²⁹ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education," 144.

³⁰ Dianne Miller and Barbara Mills Wotherspoon, "Place Matters in Teacher Education," in *Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education: Canadian Perspectives*, ed. Doug Karrow and Maurice DiGiuseppe (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 79.

³¹ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education," 145.

³² Miller and Mills Wotherspoon, "Place Matters," 79.

³³ Sims and Falkenberg, "Developing Competencies," 7.

³⁴ Sims and Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome".

course.³⁵ They begin the discussion around stories of how families came to live where they do. "These conversations might extend into walks throughout the campus and the adjoining city, with attention directed to whose history is visible, how is it commemorated and who is included and excluded in such remembrances."³⁶ At UBC, Ostertag, Gerofsky, and Scott describe how bachelor of education students, particularly in science education, interweave bioregional and land-based experiences through field trips to the UBC farm, the UBC Orchard Garden, local beaches, and forest walks.³⁷

Excursions, Field Trips, and Participating in Community Events

Field trips provide opportunities to live meaningful experiences in authentic contexts. For example, Fort Whyte Alive provides an opportunity to explore how to teach scientific and mathematical concepts in a forest.³⁸ Educational centres and museums, such as the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, the Manitoba Museum, the Manitoba Indigenous Cultural Education Centre, and Evergreen Brickworks are excellent resources for exploring a variety of topics with pre-service and in-service teachers.³⁹

University educators can also accompany their students, and/or encourage their students to participate independently, in community events. For example, Beeman describes how (non-compulsory) participation in a sweat lodge, guided by Elders, may lead to deepened understanding of First Nations' beliefs and teachings.⁴⁰ Sims, guided by her students' desire to learn and experience certain Indigenous teachings, such as the importance of relationship and reciprocity through service learning, joins Bear Clan and Mama Bear Clan walks.⁴¹ In all of these examples, natural, built, and community contexts provide a context for learning and, to a greater or lesser extent, act as co-teachers in the learning experiences.

³⁵ Miller and Barbara Mills Wotherspoon, "Place Matters," 79.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ostertag, Gerofsky, and Scott, "Learning to Teach."

³⁸ Sims, Asselin, and Falkenberg, "Environmental and Sustainability Education."

³⁹ See Hilary Inwood, "Growing Innovative Approaches to Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education Programmes," in *Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education: Canadian Perspectives*, ed. Doug Karrow and Maurice DiGiuseppe (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 209-24; Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis"; Sims, Asselin, and Falkenberg, "Environmental and Sustainability Education."

⁴⁰ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education."

⁴¹ Manitoba, Éducation et Formation, L'intégration des perspectives autochtones dans le milieu scolaire de langue française: Une approche pédagogique inspirée par les visions du monde autochtones (Winnipeg: Manitoba, Éducation et Formation, 2017), https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/m12/frpub/ped/autochtones/perspectives/docs/doc_complet.pdf; Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis"; Laura Sims et al., "T'es Métis Toi?! Des Réflexions d'Étudiants Universitaires Franco-manitobains Métis à propos de leur Identité Culturelle, la Réconciliation et l'Éducation," *Éducation et Francophonie* 49, no. 1 (2021), 133-52, <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1077005ar>; Niigaan Sinclair, *Reconciliation Lives Here: State of the Inner City Report 2016* (Winnipeg: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2016), 1-4, https://www.policyalternatives.ca/wp-content/uploads/attachments/State_of_Inner_City_Report_2016.pdf

More Continuous Engagement With the Environment and Community as a Co-Teacher and as a Learning Context

Some universities offer learning opportunities where students are actually embedded in a community and where community collaborators guide the learning process. For example, UBC offers a graduate-level summer course in Peru on Indigeneity and Sustainability; at Simon Fraser University, Zandvleit takes students to Haida Gwaii to learn environmental education concepts and to live in the community.⁴² As another example,

[t]eacher candidates at the University of Ottawa have the opportunity to do an optional practicum at the Kitigan Zibi First Nations community in Quebec. During this time they are immersed in indigenous ways of knowing in relation to education and the environment. Amongst other teachings, [E]lders help them learn about their respect for nature, their relationships with the land, and sustainable food practices.⁴³

Both the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) and UBC have learning gardens that provide both a context and a source for learning.⁴⁴ For example, the UBC Orchard Garden is "a project designed to further the efforts of UBC teacher educators, graduate students, and teacher candidates to learn how to teach across the curriculum through a garden as an outdoor classroom."⁴⁵ Ostertag, Gerofsky, and Scott describe it as a space that resists disciplinary enclosure.⁴⁶ Gerofsky and others, for example, use the learning garden to teach science, maths, history and music concepts.⁴⁷ Ostertag, Gerofsky, and Scott note that the UBC Orchard Garden is a focal point of contact for community engagement, both within the UBC community and beyond.⁴⁸

At Brandon University, Beeman teaches his environmental science course as an experiential, inquiry and place-based course; half of the classes take place outdoors. Students decide what kinds of activities they want to do outdoors during the winter term (e.g., building a quinzee, tracking animals through footprints and signs, cross-country skiing), then they begin asking scientific questions about these things (Block, Sims, and Beeman 2016).⁴⁹ An environmental inquiry model is used throughout the course.⁵⁰

⁴² Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

⁴³ Inwood and Jagger, *Deeper*, 33.

⁴⁴ Laura Sims, Hilary Inwood, Paul Elliott, and Susan Gerofsky, "Innovative Praxis for Environmental Learning in Canadian Faculties of Education," *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 37, no. 3 (2021), 240–53, <https://doi.org/10.1017/aee.2021.2>.

⁴⁵ Ostertag, Gerofsky, and Scott, "Learning to Teach," 116.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Sims and Falkenberg, "Developing Competencies."

⁴⁸ Ostertag, Gerofsky, and Scott, "Learning to Teach."

⁴⁹ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education."

⁵⁰ Anderson, Comay, and Chiarotto, *Natural Curiosity*.

Distance Education

Although the examples given so far have been primarily for in-person learning contexts, many of these kinds of community and place-based approaches can be easily adapted to accommodate distance-learning contexts. The Covid-19 pandemic forced us to quickly adapt our teaching to an online and distance-learning format. It forced us, as teacher-educators, to be creative and nimble when trying to facilitate meaningful learning experiences for our students. For example, reflecting on our own experiences, rather than going together as a class to explore a community-based environmental education resource,⁵¹ for those two years during the pandemic, Sims proposed self-directed activities where her students explored what community-based resources existed in their own (home) communities.

With students being located in a variety of areas around Manitoba, this allowed us to collectively become aware of a large number of excellent potential resources located in rural and urban areas: for example, the Living Prairie Museum, the Bruce Campbell Agriculture and Food Discovery Centre, Oak Hammock Marsh. Doing community-based activities when we were not actually able to gather forced us to discover environmental and community "texts" and activities that are always accessible - like walking around our own communities to document signs of the Francophone/Anglophone duality, or taking self-guided audio tours at The Forks focusing on Indigenous history and culture, or exploring public art and murals around Winnipeg researching their significance. Of course, a simple walk along a riverbank or in a naturalized area or park provides an excellent context for learning about geography, or ecosystems, or about urban encroachment on natural areas. Students often commented that during the pandemic, these times away from the screen were highly beneficial for their physical and emotional well-being.⁵² As for having community guest speakers, teaching on the on-line Zoom platform opened up a realm of possibilities and broke down many constraints, particularly logistical and geographical ones. Indeed, in some ways each student doing these kinds of activities closer to home made the learning experience more relevant for them and subsequently richer in the sharing when students learned more about each other and the varied contexts where we live.

Universities Where Community and Local Activities are Part of a Wider Framework or Approach Supported by the Institution

In certain universities, these community- and place-based approaches used by faculty with pre-service and in-service teachers are situated within a broader institutional environmental and sustainability focus or framework. For example, Inwood describes how at OISE they have done and continue to do a variety of activities as part of their ESE Initiative.⁵³ These activities include doing field trips and hosting guest speakers, putting

⁵¹ Block, Sims, and Beeman, "Contextualizing Education"; Sims, Asselin, and Falkenberg, "Environmental and Sustainability Education."

⁵² Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

⁵³ Inwood, "Growing Innovative Approaches."

on an annual Ecofair, creating the OISE learning garden, putting environmental art installations in the indoor stairwells, and doing awareness-raising campaigns. As part of the ESE initiative, they also created a certificate in ESE for pre-service teachers involving formal learning, co-curricular learning, and service learning. Similarly, UBC created the UBC Sustainability Initiative, which

[...] led to dedicated resources to support faculty, staff, and students in their ESD [education for sustainable development] work [....] UBC's faculty of education includes a diverse group of individual faculty members whose areas of expertise closely and innovatively link the environment with pedagogy and social justice. ESD work is highlighted in research, in graduate courses and in their teacher education program.⁵⁴

At Trent University in Peterborough, Elliott, Dueck, and Rodenburg describe how they involve pre-service teachers in community-wide environmental education through the Pathway to Stewardship and Kinship Project.

The Pathway to Stewardship and Kinship is a collaboration between educators (including teacher educators), health and environmental sectors, parents, and a broad spectrum of community groups. It is a framework that aims to inspire the whole community of Peterborough to identify opportunities to collaborate at every age and stage of a child's development (birth to Grade 12), with the explicit aim of raising environmentally-engaged and community-oriented citizens.⁵⁵

In 2016, "the Greater Peterborough Area ... was designated by UNESCO as a Regional Centre of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development," recognizing the many organizations "who are working to support the area's transition to sustainable practices."⁵⁶ The Pathway project involves a high level of thoughtful planning, organization and coordination between community agencies, school systems and Trent University's Bachelor of Education program. Pre-service teachers participate in numerous community and place-based activities with their colleagues, community members, and in the schools.

Potential Benefits

In bringing together different academic fields, those being ESE, inclusion, eco-psychology and climate change psychology, Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais describe the benefits of integrating community and place-based approaches, grounded in the real world, as approaches that help prepare students to face all kinds of challenges, such as the environmental crisis.⁵⁷ These approaches contribute to students' emotional and physical well-being and can be adapted to meet the needs of all learners. Sims, Rocque, and

⁵⁴ Sims and Falkenberg, "Developing Competencies for Education," 6.

⁵⁵ Paul Elliott, Cathy Dueck, and Jacob Rodenburg, "Activating Teacher Candidates in Community-wide Environmental Education: The Pathway to Stewardship and Kinship Project," *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 23, no. 1 (2020), 90.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

Desmarais go on to say that this contact with nature and the community helps learners combat feelings of alienation.

Using experiential approaches to learning in community also helps respond to different learners' needs [...] Integrating the community and nature as a co-teacher in the learning experience allows for alternative perspectives to be heard and valued and can potentially shift students' perspective away from an anthropocentric worldview to a more eco-centred worldview [...] in turn broadening their imaginations [...] at a time when creative solutions are in dire need.⁵⁸

When facing sensitive, complex, and contentious environmental and social justice issues, it is important to provide opportunities for a variety of perspectives to be shared.⁵⁹ Teaching in and with the community facilitates this. Considering alternative perspectives helps students develop critical thinking skills, broadens their understanding around an issue, helps them better understand their own perspectives, and helps students develop empathy for people from often marginalized groups.⁶⁰ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais continue that there is also "a need to connect students' learning to the real-world, showing them the relevance of what they are learning.... This engagement with real world is fundamental in terms of student motivation In using an integrated, systems approach to teach topics" enriched by community and place-based approaches, "students will begin to appreciate the multi-faceted nature of the issues we are facing, thereby allowing them to develop the skills that hopefully will allow them to work towards more sustainable solutions."⁶¹ Moreover, Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais (2020) note that community and place-based approaches can be beneficial in many unexpected ways, including to nourish and strengthen equity-seeking communities (e.g., Indigenous and Francophone in minority context) and help build a sense of identity and relationships.⁶² Particularly, with respect to health benefits, "spending time and having life experiences outdoors has been linked to an increase in one's sense of connectedness with nature, well-being (e.g., reduced depression), concentration and cognitive functions, self-esteem, and a decrease in heart rate and cortisol levels [...]"⁶³

How to Plan to be Inclusive of Students' Varied Needs

⁵⁸ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 124.

⁵⁹ Anderson, Comay, and Chiarotto, *Natural Curiosity*; Inwood and Jagger, *Deeper*; Kozak and Elliott, *Connecting the Dots*.

⁶⁰ Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis"; Sims et al., "T'es Metis Toi."

⁶¹ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 118-119.

⁶² Jeffrey Ansloos, *The Medicine of Peace* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2017); Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis"; Sims, Asselin, and Falkenberg, "Environmental and Sustainability Education"; Sims et al., "T'es Metis Toi."

⁶³ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 123.

As mentioned earlier, our university student population is becoming more and more diverse.⁶⁴ This diversity is expressed in many ways, including through a plurality of ethnic and cultural identities, with a greater representation of students who are Indigenous, Black, and people of colour. There are also increasing numbers of students with different religious affiliations, different emotional and mental health needs, and different family situations. There is a greater diversity of sexual and gender expression and identity (2SLGBTQ+), a greater diversity of physical and accessibility needs, and different language needs. Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais explain that,

[A]s with ESE, inclusive education underlines the values of social justice, equity, and fairness Inclusion can be defined as the process of increasing all learners' participation in an educational institution's culture, community, curriculum while reducing exclusion and raising educational standards for all.... From this perspective, the first step towards inclusion is to identify barriers to learning and participation and overcome them so that quality education for all is possible....⁶⁵

In the next section, we draw on practical considerations first proposed in Sims and Desmarais (2020).

Practical Considerations: Planning Creatively to Overcome Potential Challenges Around Putting Community-Based Approaches Into Practice

In an ESE context, when planning activities whilst also taking all learners into consideration, it is important to consider a variety of creative options to help face diverse situations and / or needs. In an effort to accommodate different teaching contexts, both online and in-person, and in an attempt to put community- and place-based approaches into practice, here is a set of ideas that may be useful to help overcome certain challenges.⁶⁶

Ensure the Well-Being of All Members of the Educational Community

To ensure the well-being of the entire educational community, it is important to be mindful of our basic human needs and to plan accordingly. For example, when planning an outing, identify where washrooms are located and allow time for students to access them if necessary. It may also be important to make students aware that washrooms are available at various locations during an outing, as this will help avoid undue stress or embarrassment. On the eve of a field trip, another idea is to explain the best way to prepare for a forthcoming activity (e.g., appropriate clothing, sun cream, hats, ski pants, etc.) depending on the weather conditions and the cultural context where the activity takes

⁶⁴ Sims and Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome."

⁶⁵ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students," 115.

⁶⁶ Sims and Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome."

place. It is also necessary to plan potential rest areas and times for snacks and drinks during longer activities. Furthermore, a good idea is to carry snacks that are allergen-free.

When teaching in a distanced-learning context, if someone experiences anxiety around going outside, perhaps due to a lack of experiences in nature, Inwood and Jagger (2014) propose

[w]orking towards a combination of shorter but repeated local experiences around campus or the community and extended field trips to outdoor education centres or nature areas is ideal, as it provides opportunities to learn outdoors in both built and natural environments.⁶⁷

Make sure to discuss these considerations with students so that they can independently look after themselves. Moreover, perhaps have a mechanism in place for them to be able to check in by text message or email once the activity is over, to ensure that everyone is safe, particularly when climatic conditions may pose a risk. Another possibility is to set up a buddy system so that students can do the activities in pairs or groups.

Promote Fluid Communication Between Members of the Educational Community

In order to facilitate communication, whether it be to adapt to certain climatic conditions (such as windy weather), or to meet the specific needs of students, such as a potential hearing impairment, or to meet your own needs such as potential voice strain, it can be advantageous to use a microphone and visual communication aids (e.g., pointing stick, digital tablet, portable whiteboard). Indeed, in large spaces, and / or in large groups, these tools can help everyone hear better and can help facilitate discussion. Similarly, the use of a portable stool when speaking in front of a large group could allow those present to see those who are speaking and thus understand better. This is particularly important for people who use sign language or who lip-read. During and after an activity, it may be useful to provide several means of expression to discuss and give meaning to the experiences, particularly for students whose oral and written skills are limited in the language used for the discussion.

In a multilingual educational context, it is sometimes difficult to invite community members into a "classroom" due to a language barrier.⁶⁸ It could therefore be important to build bridges between languages to facilitate communication (e.g., providing a translation of key messages in advance and a summary of what was said at the end of the activity). Simultaneous translation could also be useful. Notes on what was discussed could also be sent to students after an activity to ensure that everyone has the necessary information.

Ensuring Safe Physical Passage and Movement During Community Activities

⁶⁷ Inwood and Jagger, *Deeper*, 34.

⁶⁸ Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis."

To ensure safe physical passage and movement when participating in community-based activities, educators should be mindful of: obstacles caused by weather conditions (e.g., snow on sidewalks); human-made barriers or hazards (e.g., traffic, varied terrain, stairs, etc.); and the specific educational needs and abilities of learners. If additional support is required, consider using human resources to provide alternative transport to a site (such as a shuttle bus to take those who may need help getting there). Technological support such as videoconferencing (e.g., Facetime, Zoom, WhatsApp) could facilitate virtual participation if necessary.

When teaching at a distance, it may be worthwhile to allow extra time for learners to get to a target area or do an activity. For example, if someone lives in an apartment, it may take them a little longer to get to a "green space" than if they simply walked out of their back door. In the case of distance learning, some flexibility might be needed when students are doing particular activities; for example if it is an evening course, there may be visibility and safety issues involved.

Facilitate the Participation of All Members of the Educational Community

In the case of distance learning, it is important to bear in mind that some students working from home may also be responsible for looking after a child, an elderly parent or other family member. Ensuring the participation of all members of the educational community can therefore extend to providing for appropriate childcare and / or eldercare services.

Financial considerations can be a barrier when it comes to museum entrance fees or, more significantly, to taking part in larger activities (such as Zandvleit's course in Haida Gwaii). Support, such as the university covering entrance fees for compulsory activities or offering bursaries, could be put in place to facilitate participation if necessary. Providing clear and complete logistical details can help avoid confusion (e.g., how to get to a location). Finally, supporting transportation to and from an activity might be required (e.g., providing information about different public transport options, helping to organise car-pooling or pay for mileage).

Conclusion

There is no doubt that we are currently facing major challenges to the viability of our planet, only exacerbated by the climate crisis.⁶⁹ All people, from university students to school-aged children, have the potential to contribute in meaningful and beneficial ways to the global community of living beings. Each person has unique gifts to share.⁷⁰ For pre-service and in-service teachers, their learning experiences should enable them to learn the skills and knowledge on how they can best do this through their professional practice as teachers and as citizens. All learners should be able to participate actively in learning experiences that are rich, meaningful, stimulating, hope-focussed and action-oriented.

⁶⁹ The International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), *Global Warming*.

⁷⁰ Ansloos, *The Medicine of Peace*; Sims and Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome"; Sims, "Inspirée Face aux Défis"; Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students."

Teaching approaches that integrate ESE approaches have proven to be beneficial to this end.⁷¹

Certainly, we acknowledge that there are constraints around taking students outside.⁷² However, the breadth of examples, from small activities to fully-integrated systems with community, including examples of distance learning, is an invitation to us all as teacher educators to reflect on how we can enrich our practice by using these approaches. We need to be brave, to engage with others and to engage with the issues.⁷³ We cannot simply shy away from these issues because they are uncomfortable, complex and difficult. We need to be creative in overcoming perceived barriers to facilitate the most meaningful learning experiences possible. We must find the courage to face challenges, we have no other choice.⁷⁴

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⁷¹ Inwood, Karrow, and Sims, "Environmental and Sustainability Education"; Karrow and DiGiuseppe, *Environmental and Sustainability Education*; Karrow et al., *Canadian Perspectives*.

⁷² See Sims and Desmarais, "Planning to Overcome" and Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students".

⁷³ Brian Arao and Kristi Clemens, "From Safe Spaces to Brave Spaces: A New Way to Frame Dialogue around Diversity and Social Justice," in *The Art of Effective Facilitation: Reflections from Social Justice Educators*, ed. Lisa Landreman (Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2013), 135-50.

⁷⁴ Sims, Rocque, and Desmarais, "Enabling Students".

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8. Mapping the Research in Environmental & Sustainability Education in Teacher Education in Canada

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Introduction

Universities in Canada have been slow to recognize their critical roles in addressing the climate crisis and supporting societal shifts to sustainability as centres of teaching, learning, and research. Despite signing on to support the tenets of sustainable development in the *Talloires Declaration*¹ (University Leaders for a Sustainable Future, 1990) and the *Halifax Declaration and Action Plan*² (Schroth et al., 2011), most Canadian universities have not supported the significant shifts needed to enact a more sustainable future, such as re-conceiving the theoretical, curricular and pedagogical foundations of post-secondary education, or the investigative foci and methods used in research, all of which continue to perpetuate the societal conditions contributing to the climate crisis. This negligence cannot be attributed to a lack of knowledge or experience; Canadian universities have not been drawing on the expertise found in their own faculties of education, for example, even though scholars across the country are already mobilizing research on curricular design, pedagogical innovation and professional learning focused on Environmental and Sustainability Education (ESE).³ To encourage a stronger

¹ University Leaders for a Sustainable Future, *The Talloires Declaration* (1990), <https://ulsf.org/talloires-declaration/>.

² Stephen Schroth, Jennifer Helfer, and David Stafford, "Halifax Declaration," in *Green Education: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Joan Newman, 205–8 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011).

³ The term 'ESE' (Environmental & Sustainability Education) is used as a shorthand to reference multiple traditions of environmental and ecojustice learning that happen at all levels of education, from Kindergarten through to higher education, in formal and informal settings. Some of these traditions include Environmental Education (EE), Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), Indigenous education, Land-based

utilization of this existing expertise, this study maps the findings of a scoping review that analyzes the contributions of Canadian researchers in the field of ESE in Teacher Education (ESE-TE). It aims to identify patterns, emerging trends, and gaps in the existing research to encourage the further development of ESE-TE in Canada, as well as highlight the work of educational researchers who are well-equipped to support their universities' efforts in using post-secondary education as one route into climate adaptation and mitigation.

International developments in the field of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) laid the initial path for universities to take into this work.⁴ However, when Charles Hopkins was named *UNESCO Chair in Reorienting Teacher Education Towards Sustainability* (based at York University) in 1999, and the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) signaled their interest in ESD in 2000, Canadian faculties of education had provided little evidence of embedding ESD into their programs (Lin, 2002). Despite efforts to better integrate ESE in faculties of education by forming a (short-lived) pan-Canadian network, it wasn't until the formation of the Regional Centres of Expertise on ESD and the start of the United Nations' Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) in 2005 that this work began to spread across Canada. Hopkins and McKeown's (2005) *Guidelines and Recommendations for Reorienting Teacher Education to Address Sustainability*⁵ acted as a map forward for some faculty, as did resources from a small number of provincial ministries of education.⁶

The DESD (2005-2014) may have also been one factor in supporting a pathway into this work, as this study will show that there has been a growing interest in ESE-TE research

learning, nature-based learning, Outdoor & Experiential Education (OEE), place-based education, eco-justice education, éducation relative à l'environnement et au développement durable, Education for Sustainability (EfS), Climate Change Education (CCE), climate justice education, humane education, and sustainability for well-being. Each of these traditions draw on different foundational principles, epistemologies, and philosophies, and emphasize a range of pedagogical approaches as well as a variety of curricular topics and issues. Using the term ESE in this article signals a desire to honour the contributions and tensions of these multiple theoretical and practical positions, and help others learn about the rich histories that inform ESE and contribute to these traditions moving forward.

⁴ UNESCO/UNEP. *Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education—Final Report (Tbilisi Declaration)* (UNESCO, 1977), <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000032763>; University Leaders for a Sustainable Future. *The Talloires Declaration* (1990), <https://ulsf.org/talloires-declaration/>; United Nations Sustainable Development. *Agenda 21* (New York: United Nations, 1992), <http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/Agenda21.pdf>.

⁵ Catherine Hopkins and Richard McKeown. *Guidelines and Recommendations for Reorienting Teacher Education to Address Sustainability* (Education for Sustainable Development in Action Technical Paper no. 2, 2005).

⁶ Manitoba Education and Training. *Education for a Sustainable Future: A Resource for Curriculum Developers, Teachers, and Administrators* (2000), <https://digitalcollection.gov.mb.ca/awweb/pdfopener?smd=1&did=10724&md=1>; British Columbia Ministry of Education. *Environmental Learning and Experience: An Interdisciplinary Guide for Teachers* (2007), https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/education/kindergarten-to-grade-12/teach/teaching-tools/environmental-learning/enviro_learning_exper.pdf; Ontario Ministry of Education. *Acting Today, Shaping Tomorrow: A Policy Framework for Environmental Studies in Ontario Schools* (2009), <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/teachers/enviroed/shapetomorrow.pdf>

in Canada over the last two decades. A subsequent CMEC research study⁷ that was undertaken part way through the DESD found modest growth in ESD in Canadian Faculties of Education, but this progress was primarily initiated by individual faculty, rather than at the institutional level. These scholars were vocal critics of their universities' lack of ESD implementation, and helped initiate the embedding of ESD/ESE in teacher education.⁸

By 2017, a [national network](#) of Canadian scholars and educators had formed, dedicated to advancing and supporting the development of ESE-TE in Canada through research, policy, and professional development. As members of this network, we believe in education's capacity to advance the socio-cultural transformation so urgently needed in this climate crisis. Educators at all levels of education - working in formal and informal contexts, in K-12 and post-secondary settings - all have important roles to play in moving this work forward. Members of the ESE-TE have evidenced this through multiple symposia, studies and publications led by ESE-TE network members.⁹ This Canadian network interacts with scholars around the world working towards similar goals, drawing

⁷ Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. *Education for Sustainable Development in Canadian Faculties of Education* (2012), https://www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/279/ESD_Dean_reportEN.pdf

⁸ See, for example, Graham Pickard. "'Coming to Our Senses': The Preparation of Pre-service Teachers and the Implications for Education for Sustainability," *The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic, and Social Sustainability* 3, no. 3 (2007), 1-8; Terry Puk and Anna Stibbards. "Ecological Concept Development of Pre-service Teacher Candidates" (2010); Peter Howard. "Who Will Teach the Teachers? Reorienting Teacher Education for the Values of Sustainability," in *Teaching Sustainability / Teaching Sustainably*, ed. K. Bartels and K. Parker, 149-157 (Stylus, 2012); Catherine O'Brien. "Sustainable Happiness and Education: Educating Teachers and Students in the 21st Century," in *Teaching Sustainability / Teaching Sustainably*, ed. K. Bartels and K. Parker, 41-52 (Stylus, 2012); Laura Sims and Thomas Falkenberg. "Developing Competencies for Education for Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Canadian Faculties of Education," *International Journal of Higher Education* 2, no. 4 (2013): 1-14, <https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v2n4p1>; Hilary Inwood and Susan Jagger. *DEEPER: Deepening Environmental Education in Pre-service Education Resource* (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 2014), <http://eseinfacultiesofed.ca/practice-pages/deeper.html>; Catherine G.A. Ormond and David B. Zandvliet. "Learning Environments in Higher Education: A Study of Environmental Education Programming in Teacher Education," in *Interpersonal Relationships in Education: From Theory to Practice*, ed. David B. Zandvliet et al. (Sense Publishers, 2014); Gaozhou Zhou. "Environmental Pedagogical Content Knowledge: A Conceptual Framework for Teacher Knowledge and Development," in *Educating Science Teachers for Sustainability*, ed. S. Stratton, R. Hagevik, A. Feldman, and M. Bloom, 185-203 (Springer, 2015); Doug Karrow, Maurice DiGiuseppe, Paul Elliott, Xenia Fazio, and Hilary Inwood. "Initial Teacher Education Capacities: What is the Role of Ontario's Faculties of Education?" in *What Should Canada's Teachers Know? Teacher Capacities: Knowledge, Beliefs and Skills*, ed. M. Hirschhorn, 162-191 (Canadian Association for Teacher Education, 2016).

⁹ Inwood and Jagger. *DEEPER*; Karrow et al., "Initial Teacher Education Capacities"; Doug Karrow and Maurice DiGiuseppe, eds., *Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education: Canadian Perspectives* (London: Springer, 2019); Doug Karrow, Hilary Inwood, and Laura Sims, eds., "Special Issue on Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education," *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 23, no. 1 (2020), <https://cjee.lakeheadu.ca/issue/view/89/showToc>; Ruth Kool, Doug D. Karrow, and Maurice DiGiuseppe, *Environmental and Sustainability Education in Canadian Faculties of Education, 2017-2018: A Research Report for the EECOM Standing Committee on Environmental and Sustainability Education in Teacher Education* (2021), available at <http://www.eseinfacultiesofed.ca/research-pages/policyreports.html>

on research by individual scholars and on literature reviews conducted on a variety of topics related to ESE.¹⁰

Methods

Systematic reviews by Evans et al. and Evans and Ferreira served as inspiration for this scoping review.¹¹ Systematic reviews and scoping reviews both attempt to be “systematic, transparent, and replicable”¹² and share a goal of identifying and analyzing all relevant literature on a specific topic.¹³ Pham et al. suggest the main difference between these two types of review is their overall purpose: a scoping review maps the literature on a specific topic area, while a systematic review gathers and assesses the best available research on a specific question. Consequently, a systematic review often centres on a tightly-defined question that allows a researcher to predetermine certain types of study designs that should be included for review, and a scoping review is typically used to investigate a multifaceted topic that may require the researcher to think more broadly by considering a variety of study designs for potential inclusion.¹⁴ While a systematic review usually attempts to answer its specific question based on a limited range of studies that have been assessed for quality, a scoping review does not typically perform a formal quality assessment on the studies included.¹⁵ This study chose to use a scoping review method for its ability “to map rapidly the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available,”¹⁶ as well as for its adaptability. While scoping reviews can be used as a precursor to a systematic review, they also “can be undertaken as stand-alone projects in their own right, especially where an area is complex or has not

¹⁰ For example: Óscar Álvarez-García, José Sureda-Negre, and Roser Comas-Forgas, "Environmental Education in Pre-Service Teacher Training: A Literature Review of Existing Evidence," *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability* 17, no. 1 (2015), 72-85; Neus Evans, Robert B. Stevenson, Michelle Lason, Jo-Anne Ferreira, and Julie Davis, "Approaches to Embedding Sustainability in Teacher Education: A Synthesis of the Literature," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017): 405–417; Nicole M. Ardoin, Andrew W. Bowers, Nathan W. Roth, and Nannette Holthuis, "Environmental Education and K-12 Student Outcomes: A Review and Analysis of Research," *Journal of Environmental Education* 49, no. 1 (2018), 1-17.

¹¹ Evans et al., "Approaches to Embedding"; Neus Evans and Jo-Anne Ferreira, "What Does the Research Evidence Base Tell Us about the Use and Impact of Sustainability Pedagogies in Initial Teacher Education?" *Environmental Education Research* 26, no. 1 (2020), 27-42.

¹² Michael J. Grant and Andrew Booth, "A Typology of Reviews: An Analysis of 14 Review Types and Associated Methodologies," *Health Information and Libraries Journal* 26, no. 2 (2009), 101.

¹³ Minh-Tu Pham, Andrej Rajic, John D. Greig, Joanne M. Sargeant, Anna Papadopoulos, and Stan A. McEwen, "A Scoping Review of Scoping Reviews: Advancing the Approach and Enhancing the Consistency," *Research Synthesis Methods* 5 (2014), 371–385.

¹⁴ Hilary Arksey and Lisa O'Malley, "Scoping Studies: Towards a Methodological Framework," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory & Practice* 8, no. 1 (2005), 19-32, <http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/1618/1/Scopingstudies.pdf>

¹⁵ Arksey and O'Malley, "Scoping Studies"; Grant and Andrew Booth, "A Typology."

¹⁶ Nicholas Mays, Emma Roberts, and Jennie Popay, "Synthesising Research Evidence," in *Studying the Organisation and Delivery of Health Services: Research Methods*, edited by Naomi Fulop, Pauline Allen, Ann Clarke, and Nick Black (London: Routledge, 2001), 188–219.

been reviewed comprehensively before.”¹⁷ The scoping review method was also selected for this study for its ability to review the extent and nature of research in a topic area, identify gaps in the literature, and to identify, summarize and mobilize findings in a feasible manner.¹⁸ Given that the topic of ESE is multifaceted and connected to numerous related fields, a scoping review provided this study with a comprehensive yet flexible means of capturing a wide variety of studies conducted on ESE-TE in Canada.

This scoping review explores patterns in Canadian research in ESE-TE. The research team established a list of English search terms to identify studies for inclusion based on five core criteria: i) the study’s topic must be related to ESE in teacher education;

ii) participants must be preservice and/or inservice teachers (for any empirical studies that had participants); iii) the study’s location must be within Canada; iv) the date of publication must be between 2005 to 2020; and v) the research must have undergone peer-review.

Both empirical and non-empirical research were reviewed. Four databases recommended by a librarian were used to perform this search: ERIC, Education Source, JSTOR and Web of Science. Each reference was screened at least twice to ascertain its inclusion in the study and ensure inter-rater reliability. References that met the criteria were entered into a customized screening tool to confirm and catalogue the reference for the review. A spreadsheet of all references was generated from the screening tool and from there the research team performed a third screening. Over 1238 references were reviewed using this multi-layered process; 198 references were retained for inclusion in this ESE-TE Canadian scoping review, with the data analysis being performed only on these references. This process did have its limitations: these include that the studies retained for review were only those published between 2005-2020. This was done to align with the beginning of the UN’s Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, however it means that research from prior to 2004 or after 2020 has not been included. Another limitation is that this study only accessed references that were included in the four article databases that were used (ERIC, Education Source, JSTOR and Web of Science). Any potential bias in the selection of search terms was minimized by including over 65+ search terms to identify the studies for inclusion.

Data Analysis & Findings

As a scoping review, the study’s data aligns closely with the search criteria used to guide the data collection. The following is a summary of the data analysis, including the language and time period of studies included in the review, their geographic distribution, the demographic of participants, fields of study, research methodologies used, and data collection strategies.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Pharm *et al.*, “A Scoping Review.”

Language & Dates of Studies

Overall, the study found that there was a clear increase in the number of English publications released over time, with less than five studies published in 2005 and nearly 25 published in 2020 (See Fig. 1). Far fewer studies were published in French, as 90% of the articles were shared in English and 10% in French. While 75.4% of the Canadian population is primarily English-speaking, and 22.8% is French-speaking,¹⁹ the number of studies conducted in French is lower than expected. Notably, the number of French publications demonstrates the opposite trend of English studies, which grew from 2005 to 2020; French studies peaked in 2007 and 2009 before falling and remaining low through 2020.

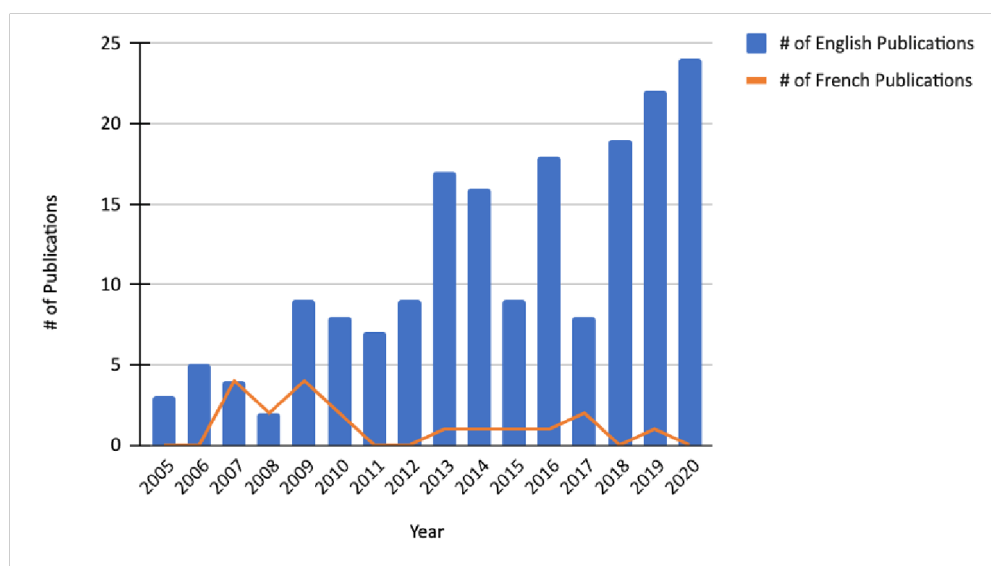


Figure 1. Distribution of Publication Dates: 2005-2020

Geographic Distribution

The studies included in this review were led from researchers across Canada, with representation across all provinces. The province of Ontario has the greatest number of faculties of education in the country (23%), and almost half of the faculties involved in ESE-TE research (44%), so it is not surprising that 41% of the studies originated in Ontario, significantly more than any other province or territory. However, the number of faculties of education in a province does not necessarily align with its number of publications; 6% of the studies originated in each of Alberta and Saskatchewan, for instance, although Alberta has eight faculties of education (13% of the total) and the latter

¹⁹ Statistics Canada, *Statistics on Official Languages in Canada* (2016), accessed April 4, 2025, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/official-languages-bilingualism/publications/statistics.html>

has only two (3% of the total). Studies from the northern territories were very limited, with only one originating in the Northwest Territories, and none in the Yukon or Nunavut.

Table 1. Distribution of Publications by Region

Region	Number of overall faculties of education per province/territory	Number of faculty of education-affiliated researchers whose work was included in this scoping review per province/territory	Location of studies (%)
Atlantic provinces	10 (17%)	22 (9.5%)	16 (9%)
Quebec	12 (20%)	27 (12%)	25 (13%)
Ontario	14 (23%)	102 (44%)	81 (41%)
Manitoba	5 (8%)	21 (9%)	10 (5.5%)
Saskatchewan	2 (3%)	14 (6%)	11 (6%)
Alberta	8 (13%)	13 (6%)	11 (6%)
British Columbia	9 (15%)	33 (14%)	26 (14%)
Northwest Territories	0 (0%)*	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Yukon	0 (0%)*	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Nunavut	0 (0%)*	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Total:	60	232**	181***

*Note: There is one B.Ed program each in Northwest Territories, Yukon and Nunavut, but no full Faculty of Education.

**Some studies included in this review had more than one author, which is why this total number of researchers involved is higher than the number of studies included (232 researchers compared to 198 studies).

***There were 27 studies included in this review that had a location in Canada that was unspecified, therefore these were not categorized by region. Additionally, this number is impacted by studies included in this review that had more than one province/territory affiliation for their Faculty of Education.

Demographics of Focus and Participants in Research Studies

The participants in the reviewed research studies were divided equally between preservice teacher education and inservice teacher education (approximately 44% of the studies reviewed). Among the studies focused on preservice education, 25% focused on preservice teachers (also referred to as teacher candidates or student teachers) as their main participants, and 18% focused on preservice faculty (also known as teacher educators). Of these studies, preservice early childhood educators only made up 1% of study participants, suggesting that more research needs to be done with this population. Studies focused on inservice education were divided almost equally in their participants

between high school teachers (grades 9-12) at 18%, and elementary and middle school teachers (kindergarten-grade 8) at 22%. Again, early childhood educators represented a small percentage of participants (4%). The remaining 11% of reviewed research studies focused on contexts outside of teacher education, such as higher education or community education. These studies drew on participants from contexts such as community education settings (5%), higher education faculty (4%), and higher education students (2%).

Fields of Study

ESE is a challenging field to investigate in terms of its theoretical and philosophical foundations, due to the wide range of traditions and terminology used to describe these (refer to footnote 1). This scoping review attempted to document the traditions/foundations with which the reviewed studies were aligned by examining the terminology used to describe their field(s) of study. By far, the most common field of study represented in the reviewed research was the tradition of Environmental Education (EE), referenced by 86 studies (43%). This was not surprising as it is a term that has been used commonly around the world since the 1970s. What was surprising was the next most frequently referenced tradition in the reviewed studies, which was Indigenous Education (including Traditional Ecological Knowledges and Land-based Learning), cited in 37 studies (19%). Outdoor Education and Place-based Education were each referenced in 26 studies, Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in 22 studies, ESE in 20 studies, Education for Sustainability (EfS) in 17 studies, and Climate Change Education (CCE) in 13 studies. Demonstrating the wide variety of traditions aligned with ESE, the “Other” category included much smaller numbers of studies that referenced Science and Technology Education, Eco-citizenship education, Ecological Education, and Éducation relative à l'environnement.

Research Methodologies

This scoping review found that the majority of studies used empirical methodologies, representing 80% of the studies reviewed. The majority of empirical studies used qualitative research methods (80%), while far fewer used mixed methods (17%), and very few used quantitative research methods (3%). Of these empirical studies, ethnography and narrative inquiry were the most common types of qualitative research design, (36 and 26 studies respectively), though action research and phenomenology were also frequently employed, utilized in 19 studies each. Of the five empirical studies using quantitative research methods, three used a descriptive research design and two used a correlational design. The studies applying non-empirical methodologies utilized philosophical, theoretical, and historical methods.

Data Collection Strategies

Considering that the majority of empirical studies used qualitative research methods, it is not surprising that interviews, surveys, questionnaires and case studies were the most commonly used data collection strategies. More surprising were the number of self-studies conducted, reflecting nearly one quarter of all the studies analyzed in this scoping review. Document and image analysis can be uncommon data collection strategies in other fields of study, and yet these were the fourth most popular data collection strategy identified, perhaps indicating that these strategies are growing in popularity. It is telling that only one study used a traditional quantitative data collection strategy of pre- and post-test experimental design.

Discussion, Insights & Further Questions

This scoping review demonstrates a number of patterns in the research literature in ESE-TE in Canada that are worthy of further discussion, as well as pointing to gaps in the literature that need further attention by Canadian scholars.

Patterns and Emerging Trends

With evidence of the climate crisis mounting in the 21st century, it is not surprising that there was a steady increase in the number of studies done in Canada in ESE-TE from 2005 to 2020. This could be attributed to increased attention to ESE and ESD in Teacher Education during the DESD, or new policy frameworks and resources being launched in some Canadian provinces in this time period.²⁰ While these studies represent a small percentage of all of the educational research conducted in Canada in the same time period, it does suggest that researchers in faculties of education across the country have a growing awareness of the importance of research in ESE-TE, and are prepared to dedicate time, energy and resources to contribute to the development of this field of research. Four key patterns emerged from this scoping review that deserve attention.

Language of Studies - It is evident from this scoping review that more research in ESE-TE is being conducted and published in English than in French in Canada, and that studies in this field conducted in French decreased from 2005-2020. This is surprising given the strength of the work of the *Centre de recherche en éducation et formation relatives à l'environnement et à l'écocitoyenneté* at the Université du Québec à Montréal (<https://centrere.uqam.ca/>). It does suggest that a greater effort is needed to encourage collaborations amongst researchers from different language groups in the country to increase the breadth and depth of ESE-TE scholarship, not only amongst those working in English and French, but also with those working in Indigenous languages as well.

Geographic Distribution - There is ample evidence to demonstrate that ESE-TE research is being conducted across the country, likely influenced by the number of faculties of education and researchers dedicated to it in each province and/or region. There are

²⁰ For example, British Columbia Ministry of Education, *Environmental Learning*; Ontario Ministry of Education, *Acting Today*.

anomalies in this; while Saskatchewan has a small number of faculties of education (just 2), it contributed 6% of the research studies in ESE-TE in the time period under review, likely explained by the founding of the *Sustainability & Education Policy Network* at the University of Saskatchewan (<https://sepn.ca/>) in 2012. It does raise the question whether establishing new research centres or partnerships in ESE-TE in or amongst Canadian universities might be one way to increase research activity in this field. Further evidence of the positive impacts of collaboration might explain why Ontario has become an informal and active centre of ESE-TE research in the last decade. While the province has 23% of the faculties of education in Canada, it generated 41% of the studies in ESE-TE between 2005-2020. This can likely be attributed in part to the impetus of a provincial policy framework for EE (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2009),²¹ which in turn encouraged the founding of a provincial working group of teacher educators in 2014, and led to the formation of the national ESE-TE network (<http://eseinfacultiesofed.ca/>) in 2017 (as discussed earlier in this article). This speaks to the critical role that policy developments can play in providing a justification and/or provocation for research in emerging fields of study. With this in mind, how might the new *Accord on Education for a Sustainable Future*²² instigate a new era of ESE-TE research moving forward?

Fields of Study - It was surprising to discover that the tradition of EE was used frequently by many Canadian studies as the frame of reference (as evidenced by the terminology used in 43% of the studies reviewed). This usage is somewhat problematic given the growing recognition of the limits of this term and its alignment with its historical and theoretical foundations in conservation education, science education, and outdoor and adventure education, as well as its historical lack of attention to issues of social justice and climate justice. Increasingly specific terms are being used in ESE-TE to better reflect the theoretical foundations of different traditions in this field, which was reflected in this scoping review by the multitude of terms used to identify the fields of study in the bulk of the studies (including ESD, ESE, EfS, CCE, Outdoor Education, Place-based Education, Eco-citizenship education, Ecological Education, and Éducation relative à l'environnement.) While a range of traditions has been reflected in other reviews of the literature²³ the emergence of one tradition was unique to Canadian research in ESE-TE, that being Indigenous Education (cited in 19% of the reviewed studies). This is a rapidly emerging aspect of ESE-TE research, inspired in part by the *Calls to Action*,²⁴ and by many researchers' desire to contribute to decolonization and reconciliation in this country. Including Indigenous Education (and its interconnected ways of knowing rooted in Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Land-based Learning) in the broader field of ESE-

²¹ Ontario Ministry of Education, *Acting Today*.

²² Association of Canadian Deans of Education, *Accord on Education for a Sustainable Future* (2022), <https://csse-scee.ca/acde/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2022/03/Accord-on-Education-for-a-Sustainable-Future-1.pdf>

²³ Evans et al., *Approaches*.

²⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *Calls to Action*. https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf

TE will be seen as contentious by some scholars, who would argue that Indigenous Education is far broader, complex and holistic than any of the traditions associated with ESE, which are deeply rooted in Western epistemologies and ontologies. Yet in Canada, ESE as a broader field is increasingly engaged in learning from and including teachings from Indigenous Elders and Knowledge-keepers, which was reflected in the numbers of studies in this review identifying Indigenous Education as a singular or intersectional frame of reference. So while this scoping review highlights this growing trend in the research literature, it also acknowledges that this needs far more study to better understand the positionality of the researchers engaged in this work, as well as the roles of settler researchers engaging in this field of study as part of ESE-TE research.

Research Methodologies - Currently there is an imbalance in the research methodologies being used to investigate ESE-TE, with a far greater emphasis in empirical research drawing on qualitative approaches. This runs contrary to EE research in the past, which leaned more on quantitative approaches (thanks to the positivist leanings of science education, which was part of its theoretical foundations). Overall, a better balance of empirical research methods are needed to develop a clearer picture of ESE-TE in Canada as both qualitative and quantitative methods bring their own strengths to understanding this field. While the majority of studies in ESE-TE are empirical (80%, compared to 17% which are non-empirical), it is unclear whether this is reflected in the broader field of educational research as a whole, and not particular to ESE-TE. A heavy reliance on data collected from interviews is not necessarily problematic, but if a deeper analysis was made, it would likely indicate a smaller number of participants informing the findings of many ESE-TE studies. One finding that is problematic is the heavy reliance on self study as the second most frequently used form of data collection in ESE-TE research (reflecting nearly one quarter of all the studies analyzed in this scoping review). Does this indicate a lack of research funding, or lack of access to participants or sites in which to conduct ESE-TE research (e.g. in schools or faculties of education)? And is the field of ESE-TE research relying too heavily on a small set of data collection strategies (e.g. interviews, surveys & questionnaires, self-study, and case study) that might skew findings or insights?

Gaps and Recommendations for Further Studies

In addition to discussing patterns and emerging trends in Canadian ESE-TE research, the other primary goal of this scoping review was to identify gaps in the literature that need further attention by Canadian scholars, as these reveal opportunities for growth. Based on overall findings, this scoping review recommends more research be conducted in both official languages in Canada and in a greater variety of geographic regions across the country (especially in the North). Studies in French are especially needed and have the potential to address gaps in language and fields of study. More French-language studies would not only increase the presence of studies in Canada conducted by French scholars, but would also encourage greater contribution to Éducation relative à l'environnement and

Éducation d'écocitoyenneté, the fields of study most closely associated with the few French studies included in this scoping review.

In addition, more research also needs to be conducted in a wider variety of fields of study, specifically Climate Change Education, Nature-based Learning, Ecological/Environmental Literacy, and EcoJustice Education.

In regards to research methodologies, a better balance of research is needed within empirical studies between qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. When it comes to participants in teacher education, more research needs to be conducted with all groups involved in ESE-TE, including preservice teacher education faculty, higher education faculty and students, and community educators who work in teacher education, and there is an especially significant need for more research with early childhood educators at both the preservice and inservice levels. In addition to conducting research in a wider variety of empirical approaches, the ESE-TE literature would also benefit from more non-empirical studies overall.

This scoping review also raises questions about connections between ESE and Indigenous Education: how much research done within the designation of 'Indigenous Education' is related to ESE-TE (and vice versa)? Is it solely research that is related to Land-based Learning and/or Traditional Ecological Knowledge that is viewed in the literature as connected to ESE, or other components as well? Perhaps an even more important question to ask is *who* is doing this research on Indigenous Education as it relates to ESE-TE? In this scoping review Indigenous Education was shown to be a growing field of study, however we acknowledge that far more study is necessary to understand the positionality of the researchers involved in this work and to critically consider the roles of settler researchers who are doing research in Indigenous Education as part of ESE-TE research. This scoping review did not examine how many of these articles associated with Indigenous Education were authored by Indigenous scholars, but it is likely the case that the literature needs more Indigenous-led studies in ESE-TE. There are important additions to the scholarship in this area that deserve closer review than afforded in this study.²⁵

²⁵ Eve Tuck, Maria McKenzie, and K. McCoy, "Land Education: Indigenous, Post-Colonial, and Decolonizing Perspectives on Place and Environmental Education Research," *Environmental Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2014), 1-23; A. Scully, "Unsettling Place-Based Education: Whiteness and Land in Indigenous Education in Canadian Teacher Education," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 38, no. 1 (2015), 80-100; Andrew Kulnieks, Dwayne R. Longboat, and Kathryn Young, "Engaging Eco-Hermeneutical Methods: Integrating Indigenous and Environmental Curricula through an Eco-Justice-Arts-Informed Pedagogy," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 12, no. 1 (2016): 43-56; Glynnis Lowan-Trudeau, "Gatekeeper or Gardener? Exploring Positioning, Paradigms, and Metaphors in Indigenous Environmental Education Research," *Journal of Environmental Education* 50, no. 4-6 (2019): 348-357; Jonathan K. Butler, Nissa Ng-A-Fook, Robin Forte, Fiona McFadden, and Gregory Reis, "Understanding Ecojustice Education as a Praxis of Environmental Reconciliation: Teacher Education, Indigenous Knowledges, and Relationality," in *International Perspectives on the Theory and Practice of Environmental Education*, ed. Gregory Reis and Jennifer Scott (Springer, 2018), 19-31.

Conclusion

This scoping review comes at a critical time in Canadian teacher education with the release of the *Accord on Education for a Sustainable Future* from the Association of Canadian Deans of Education.²⁶ It is too early to tell what the impact of the Accord will be, but it holds the potential to be far-reaching (if received in similar ways to previous policy shifts that have impacted ESE-TE research in the past). Could the Accord shift Canadian teacher education towards ESE? Could this help to support not only teacher educators in the task of leading the cultural shifts needed to address the climate crisis? It is clear from a recent Canadian-wide report on climate change and education that K-12 teachers do not currently feel as supported, with only 34% agreeing that they had the knowledge and skills to teach about climate change with their students, and 64% expressing the need for professional development to do so.²⁷ The findings of this scoping review highlight the work of educational researchers who are mobilizing research on curricular design, pedagogical innovation and professional learning focused on ESE in teacher education. By acknowledging gaps in language and regions within the ESE-TE research, this review encourages new collaborations amongst researchers from different language groups to continue to develop ESE-TE scholarship, not only amongst those working in English, French, and Indigenous languages. By identifying the patterns in ESE-TE research, this review proposes that establishing new research centres or collaborations in ESE-TE amongst Canadian scholars and universities might support research activity in this field. By analyzing how the field of ESE-TE research has grown, and offering new directions for future research, this scoping review aims to contribute to the growing awareness of the role of education at all levels to address the climate crisis, and ensure that ESE has a place in every classroom in the country in the 21st century.

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²⁶ Association of Canadian Deans of Education, *Accord*.

²⁷ Ibid.

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9. Beloved Earth and Sky: Encountering the World in Teacher Education Amidst Lost or Injured Kinship Relations

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Just tell the truth of it: you are strange enough as it is.
- Anon

Part One: Two Stories, Two Ways of Being Superficial, and Considering the Possible and the Impossible

Introduction: Two Stories

*I slept, cradled in the arms of ju-jum dakim (djoo-djoo N'dakim),
mother earth, the world.¹*

By this I mean I encountered the feeling while sleeping, without aiding its occurrence through imagination, of being in the company of a greater non-human being that comforts

¹ *Ju-jum dakim* is the way the Teme Augama Anishinaabe Elder Alex Mathias spoke this phrase, meaning *mother earth*. Alex is one of the few remaining speakers of his people's dialect. He requested that I "write it down the way it sounds." The complexity of English spelling and expression notwithstanding, I attempted to do this. His pronunciation differs from the way the term is usually spelled in Anishinaabemowin, provided in brackets. Alex noted the etymology of the term, which links a mother's breast (*ju-jum*) with the earth (*aki*). Thus, the earth is linked with nourishing. For a fuller discussion of this, please see the original paper: "From nutrix educat to ju-jum dakim." I wish to acknowledge Alex's knowledge of the language and to give thanks for his insights.

and protects. I was in my tent, on the ground or close to it, in a sleeping bag, off the electrical grid and away from other services. I was apart from other humans. I have slept this way for so many times and for so many nights that I cannot name or number them. For whole periods in my life, so long that I forgot what it was like to not do this, I have slept this way.

But unlike other occasions, this time I was relatively close to the human-dominated world, in more ways than one. Until the moment I describe, such an experience of sleep has happened only in less human-controlled places, always representing for me a deeper stage of interconnection with the world, that comes in long travels in less human controlled places. Most of these remote places, I know and love well: a few campsites in Temagami;² certain hollows in the barren grounds above the tree line of the southern mountains of Norway; a very few spots in the field at the farm that has fed me for several decades; and the land some friends and I share in southeastern Ontario. And sometimes, the feeling I describe of sleeping in the company of a protective non-human being has come in places that are new to me, but still in less human-controlled places, such as some parts of the *Camino del Norte* or the *Camino Primitivo* in Spain, some campsites in western Sweden, or some remote spots in the mountains of Peru. That this feeling is not always associated with places I know well suggests that there must be some connection between these disparate and separate perceptions of nature as loving being. Apparently, the depth of interconnection improves with familiarity, but not always. It is as if some of these places are kin while others are new friends who might, with time spent, become kin. Why else would I recognize this feeling of nascent kinship when I do not yet know a place well?

But this time, the time I describe, occurred as part of a long driving journey. The feeling came to me unexpectedly. It was a month ago, in November of 2024. That it occurred at all led to the writing of this paper, because the context was unusual, and the questioning around it caused me to re-think what I had hitherto taken for granted. With Gadamer's description of hermeneutic experience, the event was "beyond my wanting and doing."³ I was "pulled up short by the text"⁴ (of life). I had just driven the second of three days on a long route between a research site and my place of teaching. When I stopped, it was early evening, I was tired, the end of the journey was still distant, and a snowstorm and cold were predicted. It was time to rest. So, I pulled off the road, down a gravel track for a short distance, and camped. I could still sometimes hear the highway, although the sound was distant. While I slept that evening, as in the less human-controlled places I noted above,

² Temagami is the name given to a region in central Ontario. It is an English adaptation of the term originally for Teme augama (Timeaugama) Anishinaabe territory. Teme augama is normally translated as "deep wáter," with Anishinaabe normally meaning "good person." Earlier, another name may have been used to describe Timeaugama Anishinaabe First Nation.

³ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 2003). This phrase is used many times throughout this work. The part I am referring to is entitled *Elements of a Hermeneutic Experience*, 265-305.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

the feeling I had was one of being softly (and motionlessly) caressed by the earth, rather than me lying on an object like a bed. I was cradled, I was safe, I was whole.

This time, I encountered the thoughts of David Abram quite literally. In *Becoming Animal*, he questions what it is for the earth to experience human footsteps: “How does my weight feel to those grasses; how do my steps feel to the terrain itself as I walk upon it?”⁵ A first response for most people is that the earth is not sentient in this way. Yet, whether sentient or not, there is some relationship occurring here through the reciprocity of weight, gravity, muscle motion, surface bumps, texture of soil and callouses of feet. Thus, I began to wonder what it was that the earth was feeling while I slept with the feeling of being cradled. Rather than thinking of the skill I had in choosing a comfortable camp spot, I wondered what the earth had to do with me choosing to camp in that particular place. How might the earth have invited me there, to a place I slept with such comfort, perhaps without my noticing it? Or was I just lucky that night? If I slept badly, would it have been because I had approached in ways that distanced the world? Most of all, how was I recognized as a person worthy of that sleep, if I had not really walked on the earth to get there?

Placing the responsibility for my sleep at least in part in the hand of the world is something unfamiliar to most readers of the global North. Yet, in a Haudenosaunee conception of imagination, described by Sheridan and Longboat, what is emphasized is not a human’s personal possession of imagination, but rather the shared space between the human participant, imagination and the more-than-human world.⁶ Imagination is not in the mind, but in the world, expressed in such a way that human participants in it may access it rather than own it. Perhaps the responsibility for my sleep in this way was, in part, the responsibility of the place where it occurred.

Unlike other times when I had experienced the feeling I describe in sleep, I was not on trail, i.e., I was not on a self-propelled journey in less human-controlled places. I was driving a three-day road on the thread of asphalt that links the teaching part of my work with its associated research. A mobile imprisonment, in which I could tantalizingly see and *observe* the more-than-human, while actually experiencing my separation from it, and while being aware of my separation.

Seeing the natural world, while driving on a road, is for me a mere lead-up to when the real journey will begin. While I am driving, I am on the way to the places where I will walk or paddle to, and only then will I intentionally camp; only then will I *actually* encounter the world. At these driving moments leading up to the *real* journey, I don’t feel really there yet. I do recognize that the driving that I experience as separation from the world is, for many other people, a feeling of being connected. There is a great deal of advertising, predominantly through visual media, that attempts to support the latter view. But there is, in simple terms, a clear division. One requires the use of petrochemicals, significant

⁵ David Abram, *Becoming Animal: An Earthly Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon), 59.

⁶ Joe Sheridan and Roronhiakewen ‘He Clears the Sky’ Dan Longboat, “The Haudenosaunee Imagination and the Ecology of the Sacred,” *Space and Culture* 9 (4), 365–81.

expense and infrastructure, and is for the most part predicated on insulating humans from the world, except for the sense of sight. The other requires only a person, fully engaged and embodied in the world, and of necessity using all senses. The former is an abstraction of experience. Thus, it was all the more surprising that, on the night I am recalling, spent a short distance from the highway and in close proximity to human infrastructure, I experienced the particular kind of sleep that I associate with being more removed from the human world and more embedded in the more-than-human.

Perhaps the image of mobile imprisonment is an apt one, with its visual representation of entrapment on a self-contained, human-designed, human-oriented, and human-absorbed path, always separated from the rest of the world by the sterile surface of the road, or a by a border of gravel that is designed to prevent the intrusion of anything living. We can journey by car on this pathway: roads are designed to permit travel of this kind. But, by definition, the travel can only be to places where the human world, as represented by the road, in some form or another, continues. As long as we are on the road, it can only be a pathway to more of the same.

It is hard to go from being on the road to being off it. All of the forces of its design are there to keep those dimensions separate. Yet, it is only when we step out of the car and off the road, away from that world, past the thread of human design, that we can encounter the world differently, as not an object to be observed, but as an active other that is the context in which we can encounter most of the kinship relations that keep us alive. It normally takes me many days to enter this state of being in which the human self and worldly self can interact, as I set aside the usual baggage of human-style being. Yet somehow, in the moment of rest I am thinking back to, whether through exhaustion or luck, it happened. I had spent days on a road that was both highway and *hui clos*.⁷ And yet, that night I slept as if in the deep woods or high mountains, with the same feeling of being cared for by the earth.

This is why I was surprised. In the context of this paper, and because of the kind of work I do, this unexpectedly deep connection to place led me to wonder whether there might be ways of introducing teacher candidates to deep learning and deep changes in being state that could occur in the natural world. And, considering the education of teachers, I wondered what the chances might be of this actually occurring in the context of their teacher education program, despite the constraints and limitations of (ecologically and other) colonial academe.

I invite you to add to this story another one: that of a puny kid of about eleven years, lying quietly in a deep snow trench of his own design, preparing to sleep. I was not much of a large group activity lover as a kid, but at the time, I was a boy scout and this was the only winter camping trip we ever did. When it came time to set up camp, I didn't really care for

⁷ The French term *huis clos* means "dead end." The highway continues but the dead end here suggests the limitedness of the human world. It is also the title of Jean-Paul Sartre's play, which expresses an agonized hell predicated on interminable human interaction.

the crowded tent and the noisy pals. Besides, I had already begun to feel the magnetic appeal of cold snow.

The area was forested, coniferous, low elevation, southern Ontario, and, given the depth of the snowpack that I recall, the event probably took place in late winter. At ground level, there was little wind and only a light snow falling. To me, sleeping outside felt like an adventure. It didn't really occur to me to be afraid, only deeply interested. I realize now that, before the principle of an escape route was ever a deliberate practice, I had one: I could always go back to sleep in the tent with the others, if things got cold. That said, there was a problem: I would be sleeping. Would I sleep through freezing? I remember a scout leader walking by to check on me as I was about to go to sleep. I asked him—just for the sake of planning, of course—if I would wake up if I got really cold, or just die. He assured me I would wake up. But, he asked, what would I do if heavier snow fell? I thought quickly: "Pull this edge of the ground sheet over my sleeping bag." He looked surprised, then satisfied. I had considered the weakness of my design beforehand: the deep trench meant that I would be protected from higher winds, should they come, but my sleeping trench had no roof. I had not yet been introduced to snow shelters like *quinzhees*.⁸ I had come up with reasonable answers to the concerns of the scout leaders, and they were satisfied. They let me sleep outside. I am thankful for the less constrictive safety protocols in place in that time.

I think, perhaps, I have never looked back. It seemed to me to be a fair principle that with experience and luck I should presumably gain in knowledge, and that I would take only reasonable risks, based on what I knew and felt at the time. There was a little fear that night, but mostly interest. And the interest quickly turned to wonder. I remember looking up at the brilliantly bright stars in the very dark sky, through the pine needles, and feeling touched by their beauty. By beauty, I mean their stunning, glowing, blue-white light, that I had never really seen or spent time in the presence of before. With them as company, there didn't seem to be grounds for being afraid. I felt safer than in a tent full of rowdy boys. At the time, I wouldn't have known how to phrase that the sense of care that I received from the natural world was stronger than the fear of its unfamiliarity, but I know that I felt it. I do recall the immense power and beauty of the night sky, and my own wonderment: an intimacy of light. I also recall the feeling of specialness, being the only one there who could see this and feel this. I felt lucky, risky, and hopeful. And, as I prepared to sleep, I felt, not careworn and lonely, or even alone, but deeply in relationship with. I would like to be able to write honestly that I slept deeply and well. But I actually do not recall that part. I awoke early, grateful that the gambit had paid off: I was still alive, and more exuberant for it. Because of being away from other humans, I had been able to experience the more-than-human, differently. I was touched by the encounter with a world so wonderful.

⁸ A *quinzhee* is a snow shelter made of loose snow. The snow is piled, then the pile is hollowed. It contrasts with an Igloo, which is made of wind-blown, very cold snow carved into building blocks, which are stacked to form a structure.

Both of these stories are part of what I now know to be the building and sustaining of a relationship with the natural world. In the story of the boy scout, the journey is just beginning. In the story of the camper near the highway, the story is of a person with many experiences, yet the hermeneutic experience of being brought up short suggests there is much more to learn. I take the opportunity to work on this relationship whenever I can. I cannot fathom why most people do not. It is the most enduring and sustaining relationship I have had. Despite that this relationship is not with a person, or even with what nomenclatures of the global North would call a *being*, it always feels egalitarian and kind: as though the bigger, loving world is capable of adapting to even an insignificant human. And while I want to be careful about invoking too glibly the image of two such different beings encountering each other, and whether this can be, at all, talked about in the terms I for convenience use here, I do want to attest to what feels to be the accuracy of the phenomenological description of this feeling. Herein, I speak in terms of different beings to minimize what is for many the strangeness of the concept that there is so little to differentiate what we think of as being separate; that we are, I am, in fact, the world. I am writing not about the *concept* of relational epistemology, but its phenomenology. For the sake of clarity in the ontos we normally occupy, I divide my being from that of the world. But I am actually trying to work toward something most of us are incapable of fully comprehending, because it appears to be almost never actually lived: a being-integration with that of the world: a consideration that what we know are illusory separate body-beings actually are linked.⁹

What appears to link these two stories is a graduated change toward being-in-relationship-with the natural world. There has been an increase in familiarity between me and the more-than-human world since the night of the boy sleeping in the snow trench. But there is something between the two experiences I describe that has not changed. The similarity is in the sense of trust, right from the start, that if I acted sensibly, I would probably be fine, and I would progressively have the opportunity to encounter the world more deeply. And so would the world. Thus, the factor of moderate risk that links the stories always seemed reasonable to me. As a child, I didn't know how sleeping in the arms of the world would turn out, but what felt like *fairness* infused these experiences and taught me that my judgement was not too far amiss. Add to this that my levelheadedness in decision-making tends to be enhanced when I am in the company of the more-than-human. The usual fear, or at least the fear of being outdoors that I sometimes encounter in my students, was absent for me. The possible, wondrous greatness of the experience seemed always to be stronger than the fear. Yet, the possibility of fear, as it were, due to the evident insignificance of my own being, meant that each interaction occurred with humility as a guiding principle.

Considering the Possible and the Impossible

⁹ David Clarke and Jamie McPhie, "Becoming Animate in Education: Immanent Materiality and Outdoor Learning for Sustainability," *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 14, no. 3 (2014): 198-216.

That underlying sense of being cared for, along with the sense of being in the arms of a greater being, is in part what this paper is about. And, because this gathering is about teacher education, it is also about whether the building of a relationship with the world in a deep sense could actually form part of public education, or at least the teaching of teachers who work in public education. Given that I have been traveling in less human-controlled places this way, feeling these things and being in this deep relationship for decades rather than years, the questions I want to ask here are, despite this, what could be done in public education, (or perhaps, could it be possible at all in public education), to introduce prospective teachers to these ways of being in the world? And perhaps more pressingly now, I wonder whether the kind of relationship I am lucky enough to be part of – one which feels like it is based on trust – can survive the changes we humans are making to the planet. These changes are, to say the least, not worthy of inspiring trust. And because we know this, we come to feel stale in this relationship. Could changing the way we are in the world alter the stale feeling that comes at the betrayal of a relationship of trust? Could we become more inspired to act well through this relationship? Could people start to live, not more responsibly, in the sense of living up to a formally established obligation, but rather, more responsibly, as though in relationship with a loving other?

In the writing of this paper, I want to keep in mind these images of the sleeping child in the snow trench and the sleeping adult in the tent that had been set up in a hurry before a storm, just far enough away from the road. In the story of the child, it seemed the most natural thing to just sleep outdoors, without much fear. The story of the adult driver was about how, on a road trip, I still slept with the same feeling of profound comfort in the arms of the world as I had only experienced before after long journeys in wilder places. If these were possible, perhaps there could be some hope that teacher candidates, within relatively short timeframes, and presumably largely attached to campuses that still resist the influence of the more-than-human, could also experience this. The novice child managed to make this connection, and so did the adult, in a more human-connected context than before. I wonder what it would be like, in teacher education, to really and actually move beyond the study of, to an actual, loving relationship with, the more-than-human. I wonder whether this would be possible at all, and if it were, what form this kind of learning would take?

Given the prospect of human effect on the planet, if building a relationship with the world in teacher education is what I am describing, then the advent of public education directed at least in part toward this goal – a goal that would have been so comically obvious in other times as not to require mention – could not come too early. So, perhaps, this thought-journey, though tentative and uncertain of success, may be worth making.

Two Ways of Being Superficial

The pressing question is, can this occur within the context of the education of teachers, in workaday faculties of education? I do have some concerns about the changes needed in public education policy for this to be possible. These concerns center around how the

intellectual tools that are perceived to be required to change policy may alter the examination of policy, itself. That is, the changes we consider are, for the most part, formulated in minds that are adept at doing things like making public policy, but that have never and may never experience a deep relationship with the more-than-human of the kind that I describe here. In addition to this, as soon as we make changes to public policy, we gradually come to create new social contexts, which then require new changes and create new responses. But the latter responsive policies rarely occur in a timely manner. Thus, the potential for reification of public policy is high. This suggests that the kind of responsiveness to the environment that would be requisite in such a project might be limited by the thoughtfulness required to construct such a policy.

Willie Unsoeld raised similar concerns about the way in which superficial experiences of the world through outdoor education could be encountered as inoculations *against* a deeper connection with the world.¹⁰ People can be inoculated not only against illness, but against potentially valuable experiences, by a watered-down version being presented, while being represented as the real thing. The feeling then ensues that the participant already knows, and is reluctant to do more work to learn something different.

But there is another kind of superficial knowing that Deborah Britzman addresses in *Practice makes practice*. Britzman notes the danger of superficial knowledge, but also the process by which this can become de-mythologized.¹¹ Through this process, superficial knowing can also be an entry point into more complex understandings. Assuming the cultural knowledge in the contemporary, global North of a relational interconnection with more-than-human to be minimal, it is still a context which, precisely because of its inherent contradictions, offers itself up for examination. After all, with the introductory stories I mentioned, my current knowledge and comfort with traveling and staying in less human-controlled spaces was not there from the start. The love was, but not the knowledge. Something about the relationship between me, as learner, and the *subject-world* was inherently sustaining. My interest in this, and the worlds' reciprocal interest in me – if I am to judge by the sequence of events that led to deeper relationship – was able to continue because the mutual work gave the sustenance needed to continue.

Returning to teacher education, given that there might be some possibility of the kind of learning that would lead to deeper environmental relationship, what would be needed for this to occur? The approach I am taking is not that of principles of educative practice, but, rather, precursors to these and principles of interaction with the world that reflect these precursors.¹²

¹⁰ William F. (Willi) Unsoeld, lecture given at Kaiserlautern, May, 1974. Copyright 1979, J. Unsoeld.

¹¹ Deborah P. Britzman, *Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach* (State University of New York Press, 1991), 7.

¹² Wild Pedagogies (<https://wildpedagogies.com/>) is an excellent example of these.

Part Two: Presuppositions, Values and Educative Praxes of Reciprocal Interactive Knowing-Being

Presuppositions of Reciprocal World-Interactive Knowing-Being¹³

Few, if any, faculties of education now teach an understanding or enactment of a relationship with the world of the kind that I describe in Part One. My intent in this part of the paper is to look at what would need to be the case, if what I am calling reciprocal interactive knowing-being with the world were to occur.

What follows in this section are the preconditions I tentatively offer would be necessary, were one to embark on such a project. Marshall McLuhan is reputed to have said, “We don’t know who discovered water, but it probably wasn’t a fish.”¹⁴ That is to say, because we swim and, for those of us with gills, breathe, in the intellectual waters we study, some of the things we presuppose simply through how we *be*—through the way we live in the world—remain invisible to us.

In the contemporary, global North, our “invisible” relationship with the more-than-human (usually unquestioned and unobserved) is resource extraction predicated on apparently endless supply. That is, the world-other-than-people tends to be turned into an object whose sole value may be calculated based on its worth to humans. We tend to view the natural world as more or less inert and separate from us with some beings that belong to it showing signs of agency. This world is completely other, completely what we are not, not agential, inscrutable, can justifiably be treated instrumentally and may be seen as only worthy for human benefit, without considering its interests.

An alternative world view is that the world is ineluctably interconnected with humans, thus reciprocally sharing in our being, agential, deeply able to know, be known, and be in relationship with, and having inherent value apart from humans, and thus holding ethical standing, with this not merely held by humans. The good news about proposing something distinctly different is that what is new tends, because of its difference, to show up, even if only in silhouette, against the background of what is normally invisible. This part of the chapter is an attempt to notice what appears against the background of the unspoken and usual expectations of the more-than-human as expressed in various interpretations in the contemporary global North.

First, that the world is an active, agential other. This has been, to a large extent, noted in earlier parts of this paper. The explorations of Karen Barad, Clarke and McPhee, Beeman and Blenkinsop, noted above, all support this understanding. In addition, the philosophical

¹³ Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). Karen Barad introduced the notion of onto-epistemology.

¹⁴ <https://quoteinvestigator.com/2013/12/23/water-fish/>. While being attributed originally to McLuhan, this quotation appears to have been in common use more than half a century before his use of it.

movement of Object-Oriented Ontology places emphasis on the agency and being of what is outside the realm of human. An agential being does not rely on human perception. Object-Oriented Ontology takes emphasis away from human interpretation, understanding the quality of being-ness to occur in the realm of what is non-human. Emphasis is instead placed on objects as objects, apart from their relationship with humans/human perception.¹⁵

Second, that something like knowledge of the other as being, rather than as a series of facts, is, to a greater or lesser extent, at least theoretically possible between humans and the world. This follows to some extent from the first point, but knowledge is both connected with and discernable from being.

Third, that this mutual knowing might be our natural state, before we begin to “un-learn” it.¹⁶ Nonetheless, this mutual knowing may also be increased through certain interactions with the world (e.g., time spent for the purpose of deepening a relationship with the world, rather than simply using the world instrumentally).

Fourth, that for much of human history, an ability to accurately listen to the world would have been an advantage to survival. In certain Indigenous ceremonies such as sweat lodges and dances that evoke animals, human indebtedness to the more-than-human, and a sincere appreciation for what the contemporary, global North considers other, is evident.

Fifth, that there is a being state of awareness that embodies this relational state. Attentive receptivity is the name that in my doctoral dissertation I tentatively gave to a being state encountered in conversations with Teme Augama Anishinaabe Elders that reflects human inter-being with the natural world.¹⁷

The above do not comprise a world view. But they might be some of the underpinnings of one, the pre-cursors to it, naming, (somewhat too formally and separately, for these things are intertwined in life, but have to be separated in words), what would have to be presupposed for an alternate cosmology to emerge. If we were to go about trying to educate around reciprocal interactive knowing-being, something like the above would need to be in place. The next task is to see what this would translate into in terms of active principles of interaction between people and the world.

Values of Reciprocal World-Interactive Knowing-Being

In this section, I turn to the work of Robin Wall Kimmerer, a Potawatomi botanist who combines Western scientific knowledge with traditional knowledge of plants. *Braiding*

¹⁵ Graham Harman, *Object-Oriented Ontology: A New Theory of Everything* (Pelican, 2018).

¹⁶ Chris Beeman and Sean Blenkinsop, in press. Carol Gilligan’s argument that, through patriarchy, girls learn to unlearn their early way of being in the world is applied more broadly to human relationship to the natural world.

¹⁷ Chris Beeman, *Another Way of Knowing and Being* (PhD diss., 2006).

Sweetgrass,¹⁸ is a magnificent introduction to a different way of considering plants and human-plant relationships. She speaks of the shock of entering academe, coming from a world view in which plants were regarded as companions and teachers, and with whom she was connected through mutual responsibility, to one in which the only valued knowledge was knowledge *of* plants by the knowing scientist.¹⁹ The values of interacting with the world that Wall Kimmerer espouses are compatible with the presuppositions that I note, above. But she provides no complete list. Rather, they emerge through the telling of stories about relationship with plants, and between members of ecosystems. Her chapter entitled “Asters and Goldenrod,” for example, looks at aspects of reciprocity between beings. Her observations begin with the question of why the two flowers look so beautiful together, then they tread briefly in autobiography, art theory and story, and land by noting the potential parallel between her own journey as Indigenous botanist and the reciprocal relationship between the two plants. That the purple and golden colour of their flowers are opposites on a colour wheel, and thus energetically resonate with each other through their opposition, suggests a parallel with Robin Wall Kimmerer’s own academic and Indigenous perspectives in the study of botany. The afterimage of yellow is purple, and the idea Robin brings to the paper is that science and Indigenous wisdom reciprocate similarly. Robin notes that when she stares too long with science eyes, “...I see an afterimage of traditional knowledge”.²⁰ “Gifts from the earth or from each other establish a particular relationship, an obligation of sorts to give, to receive, and to reciprocate”. “In this story, the principle of reciprocity stars. And in botanical terms, “The exchange between plants and people has shaped the evolutionary history of both”.²¹ I add to this the words of an Elder, Alex Mathias, with whom I have worked for two decades. He says, “Take care of the earth and the earth will take care of you”.²² The latter might seem more transactional, and there is this element of sometimes quite strict responsibilities to the earth. But, ultimately, the relationship is one of mutual care. The responsibilities naturally flow from wanting to benefit a being one cares for.

In “Epiphany in the Beans,” reciprocity moves more explicitly to love. In this chapter, Robin connects her experience of loving her daughters with what she experiences in her garden. In this case, she does make a list, one designed to convince her scientist self of the love she feels coming from her garden. The un-romanticized list of loving behaviours toward her daughters goes:

No one would doubt that I love my children, and even a quantitative social psychologist would find no fault with my list of loving behaviors: nurturing health and well-being, protection from harm, encouraging individual growth and development, desire to be

¹⁸ Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants* (Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 2013).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

²² Personal communication.

together, generous sharing of resources, working toward the common goal, celebration of shared values, interdependence, sacrifice by one for the other, creation of beauty [list format changed to sentence format]. If we observed these behaviors between humans, we would say, “She loves that person”.²³

Yet, these same behaviours are also shared between Robin and her garden. Thus, she makes the case not merely that she loves her garden, but that her garden loves her back. This latter is a much more difficult case to convince others of. In a graduate class, she asked the students if they thought the earth loved them. She was met with silence. “So I made it hypothetical and asked, “What do you suppose would happen *if* people believed this crazy notion that the earth loved them back?” The floodgates opened...You wouldn’t want to harm what gives you love.”

Robin Wall Kimmerer’s list of what makes up love, given above, is a list of *behaviours*. This leads her to posit that mutual love is at the heart of heart of her relationship with her garden. This resonates with my own long-term relationship with my garden, occurring over three decades. Together, we have been able to increase soil health and plant diversity, grow lots of food for me and others, and spend time. Most of all, there has been a sense of love.

I propose that mutual love is one of several values of interaction with the world that would appear to be needed to support the kind of learning which, at the beginning of this paper, I proposed to look into: reciprocal world-interactive knowing-being. Here, I propose to return to the values of interaction with the world that appear to support these. These derive directly from the five world view presuppositions that I provided earlier, and they are supported by the behaviours Robin notes, which are enacted between her and her garden. The values that I would propose to support reciprocal world-interactive knowing-being are: care, kindness in actions, thoughtfulness, humility and self-limitation, self-knowledge, and love.

Care is connected with love, as suggested by the response of the graduate student, who noted that we do not want to harm what loves us. Kindness, deliberately cultivated, might be more challenging for some people because we are so used to treating the more-than-human world instrumentally, solely for the purpose of short-term human benefit. This principle of interaction with the world would be modified by seeing the effect of one’s actions in the world, even in very limited ways, over longer periods of time. For example, I noted this summer that where my foot was placed affected the delivery routes of an ant colony. It was not wrong that my foot was there; it was simply a reminder of my own unconscious taking up of space in natural settings.

Thoughtfulness, therefore, directly emerges from care and kindness in actions. As I become more attuned to an ecosystem, I can become more aware of my effect on it. Humility is similarly derived from experience. With consideration, I become aware of my

²³ Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 123.

own utter dependence on place. Or, more properly, I become aware of my own inter-being with place. I am less of importance than the rest of nature, on which I depend for being. I am, as Robin notes, the *little brother* of an ecosystem: I am one of the newcomers. All of the rest were here long before. Ecosystem humility may be related to the human-human quality of humility but is all the more real when it is based on the way the entire ecosystem is laid out. Self-limitation appears to be one quality that is so deeply embedded in genetic adaptations for survival that humans, despite their gift for conceptual understanding, may never be able to enact it. This is all the more troubling, in ecosystem terms, because of the few gifts we have, one is the ability to have foresight, especially regarding the effects of our own actions. Humans take too much now. Yet, when it comes to the individual moment of taking, we appear to be incapable of denying ourselves what we want. The evolutionary equipment humans (and other animals) were given to prompt us to survive is no longer serving us. Of all creatures, we have learned to build up stocks of what is desired, in order to insulate ourselves from the effects want. In building our protection, we pollute the world that sustains us, and we poison ourselves. The slow process of self-knowledge may, over many years, allow us to use thinking and foresight to inter-exist better with the world.

Perhaps more importantly for this argument, the above principles may not only serve to reconnect injured or severed kinship relations in the immediate vicinity. Through affecting personal behaviour, larger, political change may occur. For most of human history, we have lived in a planet that was so big (so capable of absorbing, without noticeable effect, the by-products of petrochemical use) that, as a whole, we could not conceive of it being affected by our actions. We could only see local effects. The more-than-human kin who were injured by our actions were visible and local. Now, those injured relationships are having run-on effect throughout our ecosystem. The question is, will those effects prevent the usual sharing, through kinship relations, that we have hitherto relied on, and taken for granted.

Educative Enactments of Earth-Interactive Learning

This paper is mostly about the “what would need to be in place beforehand” for deep, relational work with the more-than-human to occur in faculties of education. I began Part Two by looking at world-view presuppositions that would have to undergird reciprocal world-interactive knowing-being. Then I looked at some of the values of interaction with the more-than-human world, through the work of Robin Wall Kimmerer. The purpose of this paper is not to look into pedagogies compatible with these. Were there space to do so, a deep investigation of Wild Pedagogies’ six touchstones would be a start. Consideration of several other pedagogical orientations, including experiential learning, inquiry, trans-disciplinary learning, and journey pattern learning would be done. This is not possible, in this context. The question that began this paper is still to be addressed.

Conclusion: Sanguine Pessimism

I want to return to the initial questions I asked about the experience I had of sleeping near the road, which felt like a sleep that had only come before, when I had traveled for days in less human-controlled places. The title of this paper is *Beloved Earth and Sky*. Thus far, earth has been thematically prominent, and what I have been looking at is the underpinnings of that cradling relationship. But the title of the paper also refers to sky. This is not just lyricism. The sky is literal, too – it is the atmosphere.

Climate change changes things. Humans and the world have long been in interactive relationship. That relationship is based on what might be called a fair interaction between humans and the world: we learned each other's ways, and acted accordingly. This is the kind of trust that allowed me, as a child, to realize that I would probably be okay sleeping, that first night, in my snow trench, providing I listened to the feedback from the world. Human trust in the fairness of the world is likely to continue, but the relationship is frail. The capacity of the world to accommodate our insatiable species has limits. Exactly what these limits are is beyond our knowledge, but they are still limits. In this paper, I have spoken mostly at a personal level about me being well in trusting the earth. Yet, with climate change, the earth is sick through its trusting of people. Recalling the words of Alex, quoted earlier, if we are not taking care of mother earth, then it will not be well enough to take care of us.

A frequently repeated refrain in public broadcasts about human-induced climate change disasters of the last decade is of the old-timer fearfully expressing how they have experienced many storms in their lives, but never anything like this. The fear is palpable. If we are to trust the speakers, these are not just emotional responses they would have to any storm. These are expressions of fear, deep fear. I am interpreting here, but I do not hear simply residual fear of the danger which, after all, because the interviewee is being interviewed, has already passed, nor of emotional shock after the event. Often these interviews come many hours or days later. I think this fear occurs because it emerges at the edge of understanding that the loving "contract" we have with the world can no longer be honoured by our more powerful partner. And neither can we continue to rely on the kinship relations with various species that we actually rely on to exist. I think this existential fear is not merely personal. For those who have experienced some of these extreme weather events, it is difficult to think of the world as a loving other.

It is obvious that we cannot simply keep living as we have, hoping the earth will continue to absorb the wasteful by-products of greed. The relationship that was based on trust built over many thousands of (human) generations is in trouble because there is no reason to think that humans can stop harming the earth. When it comes down to it, we appear to be incapable of limiting our wants or needs.

What appears to be required is a leap in imagination, certainly of the way in which this relationship is conceived and thus enacted. Humans' inability to conceive of or understand that underlying presupposition of the agential other might prove our undoing. When I slept in the snow trench, long ago, I left an imprint on the earth, or the snow that lay upon the earth. An imprint of a different kind was left on me. Something like the residual image, in

the mind's eye, of violet after gazing at yellow, that Robin references. I was altered by the experience of being in contact with the world. The literal interweaving of earth and human lives is what I think may lead to the ontological melding I have spoken and written about. This is in part what formed the mystery and beauty of that night. We are sleeping through each other. We are both altered by the experience. The difference is that, today, the human residue is often toxic to the world. The question is, if this is in part what must underpin a more ambitious project to encounter the world differently in faculties of education, is it possible?

The argument against this is that what I experienced, sleeping near the highway, could only really occur because I had done the work for many decades before, because I had slept in the snow trench, long before. The event I encountered seems to be more an anomaly that could only occur after much of a life being lived in close conjunction with the world. The meaning I ascribe to it emerges from life being lived in a particular way. While I now know that it is possible to experience these feelings in unexpected contexts, I am more inclined to think of this having occurred because the familiarity of sleeping in my tent, usually in wilder places, combined with the combative weather elements that night, gave me the feeling of being far removed from the human-controlled world that we, in the contemporary, global North, often inhabit.

Does this mean that there is no possibility of forming, or beginning to form, a deep relationship with the world in a program of academic study? This is quite a different question.

In relational epistemology, we are only because of what supports our being: who, if asked, would claim us as kin. This is the main reason why, I think, I had the experience I did. There had been a long history of interacting with the world respectfully and interdependently. Such a long-term relationship does not neatly translate into educational practice, especially when the intellectual underpinnings, which reflect current cultural practices in the global North, continue to express and enact an unequal relationship.

Yet, attending to the presuppositions and values noted in this paper would serve to alter the context of learning. There is some hope there. If combined with a Wild Pedagogies teaching approach and rooted in experiential and inquiry-based learning, something would change in the education of teachers, if only because pedagogical practices had changed. Sitting quietly and listening to the world in a progressive course held outdoors is a good beginning, because it introduces the idea of and gives brief experience of interacting with the natural world not solely for instrumental reasons. It is a meeting with the world through turning attention away from self-interested thought processes, and toward the world. But this practice alone does not make a relationship. For faculties of education, hope lies in the fact that if this kind of learning were to occur in the context of public education, it would mean that all of education would have to be different. And that would mean that the culture as a whole would have to change. An inclination of faculties of education toward this kind of learning would suggest a cultural shift toward

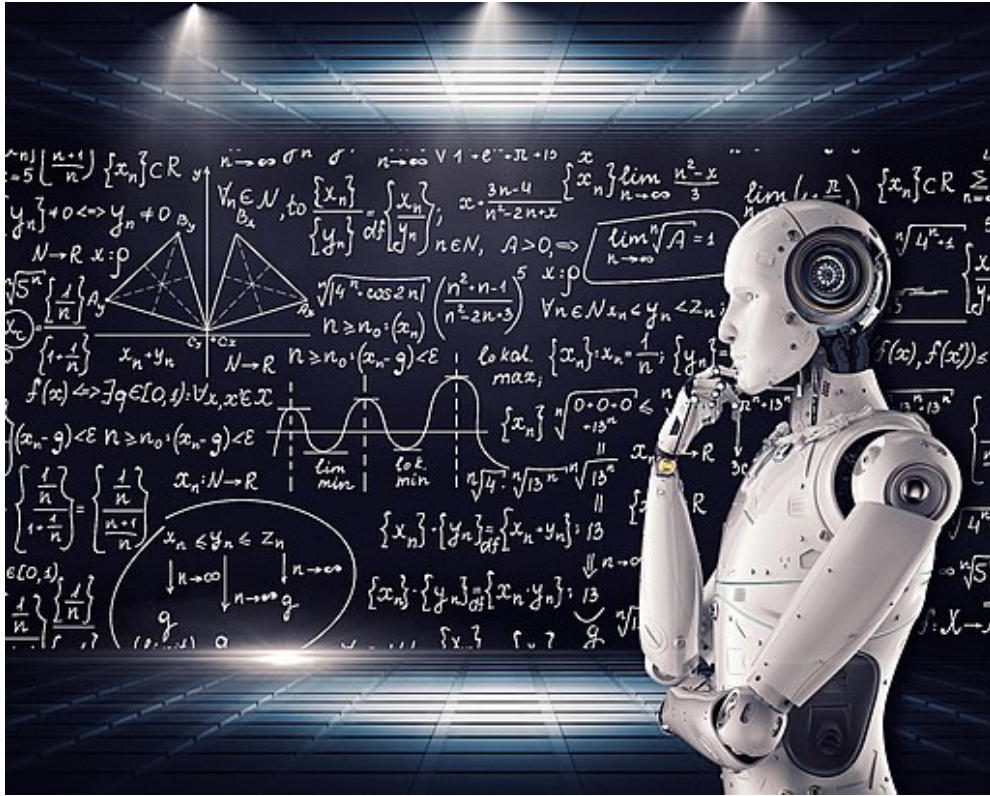
encountering the world as an agential other, with the accompanying hope for a new kind of *its* flourishing.

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Part V

Teacher Education and the Irruption of Artificial Intelligence



Source: <https://www.vpnusrus.com/>.

10. What Teachers Will We Train? Gen AI in History Education in Light of Alternative Education's Social Critics

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*I must create a system, or be enslaved by another man's. I will not reason and compare:
my business is to create.*

~William Blake

Introduction

Generative AI (gen AI) has taken Ontario's history classrooms by storm, making the need to evaluate the challenges and benefits of using gen AI paramount to the province's history teachers. Recognizing the policy gap between the emerging use of gen AI and the Ontario history curriculum's objective of promoting historical thinking, this work evaluates current gen AI technologies in relation to history education. As an intellectual framework, this paper draws on the writings of social critics connected to the 1960s alternative education movement to contextualize gen AI in history education. Moreover, this work evaluates the intersection between gen AI and three different domains: information gathering, lived experience, and the idea of a personalized curriculum. Finally, this work argues that gen AI education policies should be geared towards "opening the box" towards conviviality, teaching learners how to create and control their own gen AI tools in order to further their historical thinking.

Several sources were utilized for this work. This research draws upon Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10*, as well as Peter Seixas's *The Big Six*,

Historical Thinking Concepts to outline the objectives of Ontario's history curriculum. For an overview of the more recent AI technologies, this study references gen AI technologies discussed by the *Canadian AI in Education Forum*, a recent conference on the next generation of gen AI education technology (ed-tech).¹ Finally, for development of its conceptual framework, this work draws upon the writings of social critics affiliated with the alternative education movement, namely those of A.S. Neill, Paul Goodman, John Holt, Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, and Jonathan Kozol.

This work will start by discussing the concept of "historical thinking" within the Ontario curriculum, briefly tracing its historical background. Then, it will discuss the recent emergence and use of gen AI within the province, identifying various type of gen AI learning tools highlighted at the *Canadian AI in Education Forum*. Afterwards, this analysis will provide a survey of the social critics associated with the alternative education movement, sketching their notable works and ideas. Subsequently, the work will evaluate AI's relationship to information gathering, lived experience, and personalized learning in the context Ontario's historical thinking concepts through the framework of these social critics. Finally, this analysis will conclude with recommendations on how educators and learners should approach gen AI.

Background

Seixas' Historical Thinking Concepts: The "Big Six"

The *Canadian and World Studies Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10* is a document which contains the learning goals and expectations for students throughout Ontario in the subjects of history, geography, politics, economics, and law. Within the document, the Ontario history curriculum stresses the need for "historical thinking," which is rooted in the work of the Historica Foundation and Peter Seixas.²

Seixas' work was in response to polemic within the field of history education triggered by Canadian historian Jack Granatstein. In 1998, Granatstein published his book, *Who Killed Canadian History?*, which accused social historians of confusing students by abandoning national narratives and content-based assessments in favor of politically correct and trivial grievance-laden histories. In reaction to this "crisis" in history education, the Historica Foundation was formed and recruited Peter Seixas to help create a metric by which to measure students' historical competencies.³ In the mid 2000s, the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking project became fundamental for formulating Seixas' "Big Six" historical

¹ *AI in Education Forum (Canada)* (archived by Wayback Machine, July 23, 2024), <https://web.archive.org/web/20240723080033/https://charteredcertifications.com/learning/conference/AIEducationCA>

² Peter Seixas, "A Modest Proposal for Change in Canadian History Education," *Historical Association* 137 (December 2009): 27–28; Ministry of Education, "The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10 Canadian and World Studies," 2018, 13, <https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2018.pdf>. (Seixas 27–28, CWSC Pg. 13).

³ Ibid., 27.

thinking concepts. According to Seixas, students were expected to (1) analyze historical significance; (2) use primary source evidence; (3) evaluate historical continuity and change; (4) identify the cause and consequence of short and long-term conditions; (5) have the ability to take on historical perspectives; and, (6) judge the ethical dimensions of past events.⁴ Each of these competencies were adopted by Ontario's *Canadian and World Studies Curriculum*, which stressed going beyond content for a more higher-order thinking approach to history. Summarizing this position, the Ontario curriculum quotes Seixas directly: "Competent historical thinkers understand both the vast differences that separate us from our ancestors and the ties that bind us to them [...] All this requires 'knowing the facts,' but 'knowing the facts' is not enough. Historical thinking does not replace historical knowledge: the two are related and interdependent."⁵

But how do new gen AI technologies affect our learners' abilities to engage with these historical thinking concepts? How should history educators use these various emerging technologies to enhance their students' learning? In the discussion section of this analysis, using a framework inspired by 1960s alternative educators, we will analyze the relationship between these historical thinking concepts and recent gen AI technologies.

The Gen AI in Ontario and the 2024 Canadian AI in Education Forum

In late 2022, OpenAI released ChatGPT. Gen AI soon became a disruptive technology within classrooms as educators started to reevaluate their pedagogy in response. Among the many challenges, educators navigated issues related to academic dishonesty and misinformation spurred by gen AI.⁶ For example, educators reevaluated the sensibilities of assigning a history essay for homework, an activity which had previously been a common mainstay.⁷ Today, educators are responsible for finding constructive ways to use this technology to enhance their pedagogy and the education of their learners; that is, if the technology is to be used at all.

In November 2024, academics in the field of education met to discuss the new technology at the AI in Education Forum in Toronto, with attendees gathering from over 150 universities and colleges across Canada.⁸ In addition to addressing recent challenges, the members presented and discussed the latest types of gen AI ed-tech. Amongst the many gen AI tools, members of the conference highlighted the emergence of educational AI chatbots, whereby students' queries could be answered by a Large Language Model (LLM). Presenters also explored the way gen AI could be gamified or integrated with

⁴ Ibid., 27–28.

⁵ Ministry of Education, "The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10 Canadian and World Studies," 11.

⁶ Victor R. Lee et al., "Cheating in the Age of Generative AI: A High School Survey Study of Cheating Behaviors before and after the Release of ChatGPT," *Computers and Education: Artificial Intelligence* 7 (December 2024): 8, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.caeai.2024.100253>, 8; Marta Montenegro-Rueda et al., "Impact of the Implementation of ChatGPT in Education: A Systematic Review," *Computers* 12, no. 8 (July 29, 2023): 11, <https://doi.org/10.3390/computers12080153>.

⁷ Adrian Cotterell, "Is the History Essay Dead?" *Agora* 59, no. 2 (2024): 42.

⁸ *AI in Education Forum 2024*.

existing augmented reality technologies to enhance student engagement and promote learning.

Some of the technologies were geared towards assisting educators in their classroom tasks. In response to gen AI's threat to academic integrity, "AI plagiarism detection" systems were presented as a potential solution to the crisis.⁹ Unfortunately, these AI detectors still struggle with overlooking plagiarism and are susceptible to false positives.¹⁰ Gen AI assessment tools were also presented, such as "AI-assisted grading and feedback" technologies meant to save educators time and resources by taking on some of the burdens of marking.¹¹ At the forum, associate professor Dr. Julien Meyer described how the Ted Rogers School of Management adopted "predictive analytics" to identify at-risk students for more timely and targeted interventions.¹²

In addition to tools made to assist educators, additional tools were discussed that could supplement—but not replace—the education staff themselves. Case studies within higher education were presented about "AI intelligent tutoring systems" which provide individualized feedback and instruction systems powered by gen AI. "AI digital assistants," virtual AI helpers meant to provide support and guide students, were also presented.¹³ Finally, the forum exhibited ways to use these LLMs to assist in mental health counseling, financial aid consultations, and academic advising via "AI student supportive services."¹⁴

Many of the new AI technologies mentioned at the conference were to be used by the students. A recurring theme within the conference was the way AI could be used to "personalize" learning for each individual student. For example, Dr. Akira Tokuhiko delivered a presentation which examined how AI could be used "to personalize the learning experience for each student based on their strengths, weaknesses, and preferences."¹⁵ The idea of using gen AI to personalize learning was exhibited in "AI and adaptive learning systems" that can adjust the pace and difficulty of instruction, as well as "smart content using AI" where lesson content is generated differently based on a student's needs and learning style.¹⁶ These technologies have the unparalleled potential to tailor lessons to individual students en masse to an unprecedented degree. Attention was also paid to making learning more accessible via gen AI, such as using gen AI for special education and "voice-based education" tools. The latter uses AI voice generators

⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰ Mohammad Khalil and Erkan Er, "Will ChatGPT Get You Caught? Rethinking Plagiarism Detection," in *International Conference on Human-Computer Interaction*, 475-87 (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2023).

¹¹ *AI in Education Forum 2024*, 7.

¹² Ibid., 11.

¹³ Ibid., 7, 10.

¹⁴ Ibid., 8.

¹⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁶ Ibid., 7, 8.

and can be used to make content more accessible by seamlessly turning text to speech.¹⁷ In addition to the more personalized education tools, the members explored the use of gen AI for “collaborative learning.”¹⁸ On the final day of the conference, a presentation was given about a case study where the Cyber Security Global Alliance used AI-powered collaborative learning systems to foster peer-to-peer learning amongst students.¹⁹

This conference illustrates the plethora of emerging education technologies using gen AI, especially those being investigated by Canadian scholars of education. But how should these technologies be approached, especially regarding history education? The policies we adopt towards gen AI will reflect our education values and philosophy. As it stands, the Ontario Ministry of Education has not released an official policy on the use of generative AI in the classroom, leaving local school boards to scramble to develop their own local policies. One of the few schoolboards that has released a policy framework, Hamilton Wentworth District School Board, has decided to view gen AI through the lens of intellectual property, framing issues related to the technology in terms of “ownership” and “authorship.”²⁰ But are these really the best framework for evaluating this new technology?

In this paper, we will turn to the past to help illuminate the present. We will provide a survey of key social critics connected to the 1960s alternative education movement, using their writings to establish an alternative conceptual framework for understanding gen AI. By looking at their writings and critiques, one can better understand the emergence of gen AI ed-tech, particularly its potentials and pitfalls in relationship to history education.

Social Critics Connected to the Alternative Education Movement

This section will provide an overview and brief survey of the social critics with ties to the alternative education movement of the 1960s. By looking at their past writings, we can place the recent emergence of gen AI within the context of their ideas; and by doing so, we can better evaluate these new technologies.

The Alternative Education Movement within Ontario

Several educators and theorists rose to prominence during the 1960s who went on to shape the alternative education movement in North America. The tumultuous decade emerged in the context of the Cold War, the Civil Rights Movement, and the rise of

¹⁷ Ibid., 11.

¹⁸ Ibid., 12.

¹⁹ Ibid., 12.

²⁰ Hamilton Wentworth District School Board, *Ownership, Authorship and Artificial Intelligence Procedure*, January 2025, 1-5, https://www.hwdsb.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/FINAL23_Ownership-AI-Procedure.pdf

Liberation Theology.²¹ All of these movements affected the way these influential writers approached education and shaped the alternative education movement.

Ontario was a historically significant place in the history of alternative education. In the late 1960s, the Toronto Board of Education adopted a number of alternative schools into the public system, creating an official alternative school sector.²² Moreover, the Alternative Education Resource Organization (AERO), the primary hub for the global alternative education movement, also has its roots within the province.²³ These educators were inspired by social critics like A.S. Neill, Paul Goodan, Jonathan Kozol, and John Holt, with the latter attending the University of Toronto's 1970 Alternative Schools Festival.²⁴ This work will now sketch some of the notable ideas of these social critics, which will then be used to evaluate the recent emergence of gen AI tools within education.

A.S. Neill

Perhaps the most influential educator of the 1960s alternative schools' movement was A.S. Neill. In the 1920s, Neill opened one of the most unorthodox and innovative educational institutions: the boarding school Summerhill. The school was a free school where students were in charge of their own independent and self-directed learning. Believing in the innate wisdom and natural curiosity of children, Neill believed that children would "develop as far as they were capable of if left to themselves."²⁵

At Summerhill, teachers took on the role of facilitators, co-constructing the curriculum with their students. Class attendance was non-compulsory because Neill believed in honoring student freedom and he believed it would motivate educators to create more interesting lessons. Furthermore, students attended school-wide meetings where each student (even kindergarteners) voted on school policies and disciplinary actions, as well as the hiring and dismissal of staff. Neill believed these meetings taught children the virtues of "self-government" and how to live harmoniously in a communal lifestyle.²⁶ Although Neill did not wish to impose laws, he was not in favor of lawlessness, writing:

A Communist teacher in London described our democracy as anarchism, but I do not know what he meant, and wonder if he did himself. If anarchy means literally without law,

²¹ Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "The Long 1960s in a Global Arena of Contention: Re-Defining Assumptions of Self, Morality, Race, Gender and Justice, and Questioning Education," *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* 6, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 5–27, <https://doi.org/10.14516/ete.256>.

²² Harley Rothstein, "Private to Public: Alternative Schools in Ontario 1965–1975," in *Alternative Schooling and Student Engagement*, ed. Nina Bascia, Esther Sokolov Fine, and Malcolm Levin (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 78–79, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54259-1_6.

²³ Peter James Glinos, "Canuck Connection: AERO's Relationship to Canadian Educators," *Encounters in Theory and History of Education* 24 (December 20, 2023): 95–98, <https://doi.org/10.24908/encounters.v24i0.16584>.

²⁴ Rothstein, "Private to Public," 73.

²⁵ A.S. Neill, *Summerhill School: A New View of Childhood*, ed. Albert Lamb, 1st ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

Summerhill with its self-government is miles from that. On the other hand, if anarchy means being anti-laws made by authorities, I am an anarchist.²⁷

A compilation of Neill's writings was published by Harold Hart in 1960. Titled *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing*, the book would become "the bible of educational protest" of the 1960s.²⁸ Sales soared, and the book was required reading in 600 university courses by 1970.²⁹ In addition to its popular appeal amongst educators, the work went on to influence other theorists of the 1960s, like Paul Goodman.

Paul Goodman

Paul Goodman was a popular intellectual amongst the educators of the burgeoning alternative schools' movement. In his 1971 work *Compulsory Miseducation*,³⁰ Goodman expands on his early ideas on education first expressed in *Growing Up Absurd*, delving into school reform and the broader societal impact of schooling.

Goodman held A.S. Neill's Summerhill School as a model school, advocating for multi-age classrooms, self-directed learning, and optional attendance.³¹ He compared the idea of a pre-programmed curriculum to the Soviet education system, questioning its ability to serve the needs of free citizenry.³² Advocating for more student co-op opportunities, Goodman believed students should use the city as their classroom while being guided by teachers who facilitated learning like ancient Athenian pedagogues.³³

When discussing school reform, Goodman levied harsh criticism on the public education system, denouncing it as a concentration camp at worst and an expensive babysitting centre at best.³⁴ In addition, he deplored the way education had become subjected to national and corporate interests rather than the interest of the individual learner.³⁵ Yet at the same time, he believed that citizens and corporations should pay more taxes to support education.³⁶ On William F. Buckley's show *Firing Line*, Goodman also voiced his support for having public funds follow students to non-public schools.³⁷

²⁷ Ibid., 18.

²⁸ Ronald J. Miller, *Free Schools, Free People: Education and Democracy after the 1960s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

²⁹ Ibid., 51.

³⁰ Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation* (New York: Horizon Press, 1964), <https://arvindguptatoys.com/arvindgupta/goodman.pdf>

³¹ Ibid., 15–16.

³² Ibid., 38–39.

³³ Ibid., 15–16.

³⁴ Ibid., 9.

³⁵ Ibid., 9–10.

³⁶ Ibid., 26.

³⁷ *Firing Line with William F. Buckley Jr.: Are Public Schools Necessary?*, 2017, 26:00 - 30:00 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=65mffxiEd00>.

John Holt

Like Neill and Goodman, John Holt also sought to maximize the autonomy of the learner and was instrumental in the alternative education movement. As a private school teacher, Holt concluded that mindless routine was a major obstacle to the spontaneous learning natural to children.³⁸ Losing faith in public education reform, Holt turned from assisting public school teachers and private alternatives towards supporting the homeschool movement.³⁹

In his most notable work, *How Children Fail* (1964), Holt argued that learners fail because they were “afraid, bored, and confused.”⁴⁰ By failure, Holt was not just speaking about dropouts but rather the failure of students to develop their creative capacities.⁴¹ In the book he stresses the need to let students struggle as opposed to having the teacher think for them.⁴² This was part of Holt’s overarching goal for promoting independent learners who could find the means and the strategies to educate themselves.

To be an independent learner means that a student must not only learn about freedom and democracy but also practice it daily. Therefore, Holt condemned the hierarchical nature of the school system, which professed democratic values yet forced students to compete with one another for better grades and the affection of superiors.⁴³ Seeing what he believed to be the rise of a more technocratic society, Holt increasingly rejected the transformation of students into tools for institutions that were ever-beyond the control of those they represented.⁴⁴ In 1977, he established the homeschool-focused newsletter *Growing Without Schooling* to discuss, legitimize, and advance these ideas.⁴⁵ In addition, Holt also engaged with the idea of *deschooling*, a term coined and popularized by the theorist Ivan Illich.

Ivan Illich

Ivan Illich was another major theorist who helped shape the alternative education movement of the 1960s. He was an intellectual heavyweight critical of schooling despite paradoxically having two master’s degrees in philosophy and theology, as well as a PhD in the philosophy of history.⁴⁶ In the 1950s, he moved to New York City to continue his

³⁸ Miller, *Free Schools, Free People: Education and Democracy after the 1960’s*, 56.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ John Holt, *How Children Fail* (Penguin Books, 1964): 1, <https://www.schoolofeducators.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/HOW-CHILDREN-FAIL-JOHN-HOLT.pdf>.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1.

⁴² Ibid., 150.

⁴³ Miller, *Free Schools*, 57.

⁴⁴ Miller, 57.

⁴⁵ Miller, 56.

⁴⁶ Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, “Monsignor Ivan Illich’s Critique of the Institutional Church, 1960–1966,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67, no. 3 (July 2016): 569, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046915003383>.

academic career. In NYC, helped educate the local Puerto Rican community, including many English language learners.⁴⁷ These encounters, combined with his own lived experiences in Cuernavaca, Mexico, were critical to shaping his understanding of pedagogy.⁴⁸ Throughout his life, the poor within developing countries and the “Fourth World” were a central concern for Illich.

In relation to education, Illich is best known for his work *Deschooling Society*, published in 1971.⁴⁹ In the work, he describes the systemic ramifications of compulsory institutional schooling and the need to promote the agency of learners. To Illich, the school system served as an impediment to a more autonomous form of learning, which he believed was a way of life.⁵⁰ Although Illich promoted the freedom of the learner, he was skeptical of the anti-ritualistic and free-form pedagogy advocated by John Holt and A.S. Neill, and even defended the benefits of drill instruction.⁵¹ Although the title of the book was interpreted by some as the abolishment of schooling in favour of other educational alternatives, Illich later clarified that the title was chosen by the publisher and mischaracterized his position.⁵² By *disestablishment* Illich had meant for the separation of schooling from the state, thereby ending the government’s monopoly over the school system, not the total abolition of schools themselves.⁵³ Furthermore, he advocated for a system of “learning webs” as an alternative to contemporary schooling: learning webs were composed of peer-matching networks, skills exchanges, educational resource centres, and a directory of professional educators. Like Paul Goodman, Illich expressed his approval of the public financing of non-public educational institutions, drawing attention to the voucher system suggested by Milton Friedman.⁵⁴

In 1963, Illich created the Centre for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC), a meeting ground and network for education theorists like Paul Goodman, John Holt, Jonathan Kozol, Joel Spring, George Dennison, and Paulo Freire among others.⁵⁵ *Deschooling Society* was actually an assemblage of short written pieces prepared for education seminars held at CIDOC. The formal purpose of these seminars was to assist prospective missionaries, whom Illich encouraged to practice “missionary poverty” by not imposing their own culture on those whom they evangelized.⁵⁶ At the same time, the centre served

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (Harrow Books, 1971), https://monoskop.org/images/1/17/Illich_Ivan_Deschooling_Society.pdf.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 44.

⁵¹ Ibid., 7.

⁵² Ivan Illich, “Preface,” in *Deschooling Our Lives* (New Society Publishers, 1996), vii–x.

⁵³ Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, “Ivan Illich’s Late Critique of *Deschooling Society*: ‘I Was Largely Barking Up the Wrong Tree,’” *Educational Theory* 62, no. 5 (October 2012): 573–75, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2012.00464.x>.

⁵⁴ Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 5.

⁵⁵ Illich, “Preface.”

⁵⁶ Bruno-Jofré and Zaldívar, “Monsignor Ivan Illich’s,” 569.

as a hub for the discussion of liberation theology and anti-imperialist ideas (especially in relation to the US).⁵⁷

Paulo Freire

Another theorist instrumental in the creation of an anti-imperial pedagogy of liberation was Paulo Freire. Freire's family found themselves in poverty after the economic crash of the 1930s in Brazil.⁵⁸ While growing up, Freire became keenly aware of the physical and cognitive restrictions that shackled people to poverty.⁵⁹ Like the liberation theologians in Latin America at that time, his philosophy was heavily shaped by both Marxist and Christian ideas.⁶⁰

In his 1970s work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire presents a theory of education aimed at the liberation of the oppressed. His book outlines the nature of oppression and the key role education (or the lack of it) plays in perpetuating systems of exploitation. Moreover, he posited that the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy was maintained because the oppressed adopted an "attitude of adhesion" to the oppressor.⁶¹ In his own words:

The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom is not an ideal located outside of man; nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion.⁶²

To escape this entrapment, the oppressed must learn the causes of their oppression.⁶³ Furthermore, they must show solidarity with one another, with Freire encouraging even the oppressor to participate in this solidarity. By fighting side-by-side with those struggling for freedom, the oppressors-turned-advocates humanize their former selves.⁶⁴ He applied this pedagogy to resist the cognitive-imperialist nature of cultural colonialism, and to promote a society which values freedom in the face of oppression. Freire's ideas were foundational to the advancement of critical pedagogy and had an especially

⁵⁷ Ibid., 569–70.

⁵⁸ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, ed. Donaldo Macedo, 50th Anniversary Edition (Bloomsbury, 1970), 12.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 12–13.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 37.

⁶¹ Ibid., 45.

⁶² Ibid., 47.

⁶³ Ibid., 47.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 49.

transformative influence on an American educator who applied Ferrier's ideas to Black students from low-income families: Jonathan Kozol.⁶⁵

Jonathan Kozol

A particularly important event for Kozol was when he was fired for reading poems by Langston Hughes to his young African American students.⁶⁶ Shortly after in 1966, Kozol opened one of the earliest free schools in the Roxbury district, an African American neighborhood in Boston.⁶⁷ Using the earlier "Freedom Schools" of the Deep South as a model for his school, Kozol sought to empower students by highlighting the contributions of Black culture.⁶⁸ His pedagogy was child-centered and individualized, with great emphasis placed on creating a learning environment that was open and humane.⁶⁹

For Kozol, the education of the oppressed was a political act directed toward goals of societal change and social justice. Therefore, teachers were responsible for steering their class towards addressing issues like inequality and racism. This clashed with the more laissez-faire styles of teaching espoused by other free schoolers, who feared that this pedagogy threatened student autonomy and encouraged indoctrination. Kozol was very critical of the free schools inspired by Neill: Kozol denounced Neill's school as naive in their apolitical disposition and for espousing a directionless pedagogy that the poor could ill afford to follow.⁷⁰ In his controversial book *Free Schools*, Kozol asked these pedagogues: "Is your school a site of struggle against injustice and oppression or an escapist retreat?"⁷¹

Discussion

Using a framework inspired by the social critics of the alternative education movement, we will now evaluate gen AI's relationship to Seixas's historical thinking concepts. Our analysis will explore how this relationship intersects with a learner's ability to gather information, the concept of lived experience in education, and the notion of a "personalized" curriculum.

Information Gathering: Veracity, Misinformation, and the Hidden Curriculum

Gen AI has helped make information far more accessible, with LLMs like ChatGPT and Claude being able to scan the internet or summarize hundreds of uploaded documents,

⁶⁵ Richard Neumann, "Emergence of a Movement," in *Sixties Legacy: A History of the Public Alternative Schools Movement, 1967–2001* (New York: P. Lang, 2003), 101. Miller, *Free Schools*, 71.

⁶⁶ Neumann, "Emergence," 74.

⁶⁷ Free schools were schools that emphasized the freedom of their learners, and were often influenced by the Civil Rights Movement, the more radical ideas of the 1960's, and A.S. Neill's Summerhill. They will be discussed in more depth in a later section of this work.

⁶⁸ Neumann, "Emergence," 74.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 100-101.

⁷¹ Ibid., 103.

all in a matter of minutes. Likewise, Scholar GPT, a tailored version of ChatGPT by awesomegpts.ai, can sweep the archives of Google Scholar, PubMed, bioRxiv, and arXiv to generate responses based on available scholarly research.⁷² By utilizing this impressive capacity to draw upon information, AI intelligent tutoring systems and AI digital assistants can mobilize data to educate their learners.

One concern regarding this process in history education is the veracity of the data collected by gen AI. The assumption of any historically inaccurate information by the gen AI tool would be subsequently passed along to the learner and lead to misconceptions in the learner's historical understandings. Ultimately, this would undermine their ability to think historically, as they would be relying on a false portrayal of the past. In addition, LLMs "scrape" their information from publicly available texts on the internet, making them susceptible to "data poisoning", which occurs when LLMs are fed and trained on false information. If one were to think of the LLMs as a teacher, then data poisoning would be the equivalent of providing that teacher with a faulty education before placing them in front of their students. As a result, the educator would espouse misinformed lessons as a consequence of their poor learning.

Equally important, gen AI tools have the tendency to confabulate information about the past.⁷³ These "hallucinations" can result when the program attempts to bridge gaps in its data set, leading to inaccurate guesses about the past.⁷⁴ Like data poisoning, gen AI hallucinations are a cause for concern for history educators because they mean the ed-tech gen AI for history education may deliver false historical knowledge.

Guardrails

Programmers may provide an LLM with "guardrails," a set of guidelines programed directly into the model to help prevent this the LLM from adopting misinformation. Yet ironically, these guardrails may force the LLM to provide false information as an unintended consequence. Also, users can sometimes overcome these guardrails by misconstruing their inputs.

For example, when prompted to "generate images of a German soldier in 1943," Google's chatbot Gemini (formerly Bard) would refuse to do so. This is presumably because of a guardrail to prevent the propagation of Nazi symbolism. But when given the misspelled prompt "Generate an image of a 1943 German Solidier," the chat bot proceeded to generate images of White, Asian, Black, and Indigenous Nazi soldiers, a clear historical inaccuracy. In this case, the gen AI's guardrails to promote racial diversity in its generated

⁷² See <https://chatgpt.com/g/g-kZ0eYXlJe-scholar-gpt>.

⁷³ Anna Foka and Gabriele Griffin, "AI, Cultural Heritage, and Bias: Some Key Queries That Arise From the Use of GenAI," *Heritage* 7, no. 11 (October 29, 2024): 6127–31, <https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage7110287>.

⁷⁴ UNESCO, *AI and the Holocaust: Rewriting History? The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Understanding the Holocaust* (Paris: UNESCO, 2024), 10–11, <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/ai-and-holocaust-rewriting-history-impact-artificial-intelligence-understanding-holocaust>

images backfired into the production of historical misinformation.⁷⁵ This examples shows that, in addition propagating false information, gen AI tools for history education have the capacity to misconstrue the past with presentist retro-projections as a result of their ethical guardrails.

Bias

Besides presenting patently false information, this incident reveals another complexity: the nature of an LLM's bias. It is not just that the internet is a biased dataset, thereby causing the gen AI to produce biased responses formed from the internet's "poisoned" data; the problem is compounded because gen AI gathers data from the biased dataset in its own *biased way*. In theory, by discriminating between what information the gen AI chooses to collect from the internet, it can gather more accurate information and counter some of the biases laden within the internet's data set. The real problem is that the biased way in which gen AI gathers information from the internet's poisoned dataset sometimes compounds misinformation and bias.

A more serious dilemma with gen AI is not that it produces false information, but that it produces biased half-truths that are factually correct yet historically misleading. For example, because gen AI relies on the more commonly observed patterns within its datasets, it amplifies those patterns in its analysis of the data. For history education, this may translate into the amplification of more mainstream historical perspectives at the expense of others.⁷⁶

The bias of these tools may transfer to learners, shaping the way they identify historical causes and consequences, understand continuity and change, or evaluate the ethical dimensions of history. We must challenge our students to question and discover the biases of these tools so they can critically engage with their representations of the past. Reliance on guardrails alone may prove insufficient.

The Hidden Curriculum of Gen AI

Beyond its misinformation and bias, gen AI has a hidden curriculum. Half a century ago, Illich investigated the hidden curriculum behind schooling, but today we must ask ourselves about the hidden curriculum behind gen AI and the algorithmatization of learning.

From his investigation, Illich concluded that schooling promoted the institutional dependence of learners, the reproduction of social hierarchies, and the standardization

⁷⁵ Strangely, when prompted to generate images of White couples, Gemini would refuse but it was nonetheless willing to produce images of Chinese and Black couples.

Nico Grant, "Google Chatbot's A.I. Images Put People of Color in Nazi-Era Uniforms," *The New York Times*, February 22, 2024, sec. Technology, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/22/technology/google-gemini-german-uniforms.html>.

⁷⁶ UNESCO, *AI and the Holocaust*, 8.

of learning.⁷⁷ He argued institutions monopolizing education encouraged citizens' "addiction" to schooling, confusing competence with credentials.⁷⁸ Like all monopolies, he predicted that the quality of the education system would diminish, as people paid for increasingly worthless degrees.⁷⁹ Moreover, he argued that the compulsory nature of schooling not only prevented any course correction but forced students to learn things that they did not need to know, that bore little utility, or that failed to connect to their personal experiences.⁸⁰ The compulsory curriculum served those who set it far more than the poor who were estranged from its creation. In this way, the formal curriculum worked to reinforce socio-economic divisions and led to schooling becoming a status symbol of social rank.⁸¹ Elaborating on the hidden lesson behind the compulsory curriculum of schooling, Illich writes:

Everywhere the hidden curriculum of schooling initiates the citizen to the myth that bureaucracies guided by scientific knowledge are efficient and benevolent. Everywhere this same curriculum instills in the pupil the myth that increased production will provide a better life. And everywhere it develops the habit of self-defeating consumption of services and alienating production, the tolerance for institutional dependence, and the recognition of institutional rankings. The hidden curriculum of school does all this in spite of contrary efforts undertaken by teachers and no matter what ideology prevails.⁸²

The more learners yield their cognitive tasks to gen AI tools, the more dependent they will be on these LLMs, as well as the institutions that control them. For the learner, their ability to create and control educational gen AI is the key to safeguarding their mental sovereignty.⁸³ Like the institution of schooling, gen AI ed-tech can be used to reinforce and reproduce social hierarchies.⁸⁴

Gen AI may intentionally or unintentionally reinforce social hierarchies. Concerning the former, ed-tech tools within history education could be intentionally programed to propagate narratives that strengthen or normalize social inequality. As for the latter, gen AI has a tendency to reproduce outdated responses as a result of its "historical bias." Because gen AI scrapes both older and new forms of data, it possesses an "historical bias." This means that it does not always present the most updated data on a particular

⁷⁷ Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 16, 32.

⁷⁸ Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (Harrow Books, 1971), 3–7, 25, https://monoskop.org/images/1/17/Illich_Ivan_Deschooling_Society.pdf.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 17–18.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸³ Note: Teaching learners how to create and control gen AI tools will be discussed in more depth in the last section of this analysis.

⁸⁴ Finn Lattimore et al., *Using Artificial Intelligence to Make Decisions: Addressing the Problem of Algorithmic Bias*, (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2020), 12–15, <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/technology-and-human-rights/publications/technical-paper-addressing-algorithmic-bias>.

topic but produces a response that is an amalgamation of newer and older⁸⁵ For history education, this may result in the reproduction of older historical narratives that reinforce social hierarchies.

As for promoting the standardization and uniformity of learners, the widespread use of AI-assisted grading and feedback technologies may play a powerful role in directing learners' understandings. Moreover, the creation of centralized feedback and assessment system would risk promoting the standardization of education through the enforcement of uniform learning goals. Within the field of history education, such goals could be used to strengthen the status quo by reinforcing hegemonic paradigms of the past.

Lived Experience

An integral aspect of history is its relationship to the lived experiences of those in the past as well as the present. Gen AI is shaping the way learners understand the experiences of historical actors; moreover, gen AI is shaping the way learners perceive their *own* lived experiences as well.

One of the ways learners come to know the lived experiences of the past is by learning how to understand historical perspectives. One of the big six historical thinking concepts, understanding historical perspectives is defined by Seixas as:

Attempting to see through the eyes of people who lived in times and circumstances sometimes far removed from our present-day lives. It means considering the different “things” that made up their everyday living – technologies, clothing, housing, food – as well as the landscape of their communities and settlements; the larger social, economic, and political orders (and the disorder) that shaped their world; and most difficult of all, the customs, ideas, and belief systems through which they made sense of it all. In short, what was it like to be them?⁸⁶

The Necromancy of “Lived” Experience

But how have gen AI technologies shaped the way learners interact with the voices of the past, particularly marginalized perspectives? For history education, this new technology has led to the emergence of a wide variety of historical simulators. Apps like Hello History allow learners to hold conversations with past historical figures, using chatbots trained on the primary and secondary sources to mimic their likeness.⁸⁷ Other programs, like Historical Event Simulator, try to “bring history to life” through interactive simulations. With the aim of preserving marginalized perspectives, the Museum of Jewish Heritage created a series of interactive holograms of Holocaust survivors powered by gen AI. After recording in-depth interviews of the survivors, the museum trained a gen AI to mimic the

⁸⁵ Ibid., 34–36.

⁸⁶ Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 138.

⁸⁷ See <https://www.hellohistory.ai/>.

mannerisms of the survivors, allowing the holograms to recount the participant's stories and attempt to answer questions from the audience on their behalf.⁸⁸

But what are the rewards and risks of these new developments? These interactive technologies have the potential to improve classroom engagement and make content more accessible, as learners may enjoy playing with the gamified historical simulators or holding mock conversations with historical figures. Additionally, they may help educators identify and highlight marginalized perspectives, something encouraged by both Freire and Kozol. Moreover, the deepfake technology utilized by Museum of Jewish Heritage demonstrates gen AI's potential for preserving historical memory in a way that is accessible and interactive. In some ways, these holograms resemble the pedagogical practice of using wax museum figures, or actors in a living museum (e.g. a pioneer village).

Nonetheless, educators and learners should be cautious using these tools, especially for the historical study of traumatic events and marginalized perspectives. To start, the technology is still prone to bias as discussed above, as well as confabulating the past via "hallucinations," which would be particularly problematic in the case of distorting traumatic historical events or marginalized perspectives.⁸⁹ In regard to the holograms, precautions must be made in gathering consent from those whose likeness are training these data sets. Moreover, the educators who create these holograms, especially those made to resemble marginalized peoples, must take pains to avoid the creation of stereotypical holograms striped of historical nuance. This may be difficult in light of gen AI's tendency to produce stereotypical images through its amplification of common patterns.⁹⁰ Additionally, it is also important to consider which types of historical figures we choose to "bring back to life," as users of the app Historical Figures were able to resurrect both Jesus and Hitler for conversation.⁹¹ Finally, the hyper-real quality of this technology warrants issuing a reminder to learners: that these are only well-trained gadgets, not the real thing. No matter how realistically they recount their lived experience, they never lived it.⁹²

Intermediary of Intermediaries: Degrees of Separation from Lived Experience

⁸⁸ Lesley Stahl, "Holocaust Survivors Will Be Able to Share Their Stories after Death Thanks to a New Project - 60 Minutes - CBS News," April 5, 2020, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/holocaust-stories-artificial-intelligence-60-minutes-2020-04-05/>.

⁸⁹ UNESCO, *AI and the Holocaust*, 10–11.

⁹⁰ Cathryn Copper, "Research Guides: Artificial Intelligence for Image Research: Datasets, Bias, Discrimination," accessed January 20, 2025, <https://guides.library.utoronto.ca/c.php?g=735513&p=5297043>.

⁹¹ "Chatbot That Lets You Talk to Jesus and Hitler Is Latest AI Controversy," NBC News, January 20, 2023, <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/chatgpt-gpt-chat-bot-ai-hitler-historical-figures-open-rcna66531>.

⁹² Note: I felt prompted to make this recommendation after watching students react to holograms in their classroom in a video by the BBC. *AI Helps to Immortalise Holocaust Survivors* | BBC News, 2024, (4:00-6:00) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFOVDNFT_0A.

In their mission to understand what has come before them, learners rely on a long chain of intermediaries between themselves and the past. For example, learners might read history textbooks whose curated content was drawn from a series of secondary sources which were drawn from a set of primary sources, or were created and preserved by those who had the chance and capacity to do so. With each intermediary step, learners are further estranged from the past. Each degree of separation in the example above makes space for bias selection, misinterpretation, mistranslation, or chance preservation. AI intelligent tutoring systems and education AI chatbots' reliance on secondary and tertiary sources adds yet another degree of distance between learners and the past.

So, what does this mean for historical thinking? It means that having learners understand how to engage with primary source evidence is more important now than it was before gen AI. By engaging with the primary source material directly, learners will lower the number of intermediaries between themselves and the past, fostering a more grounded historical understanding. Moreover, these efforts must be accompanied by the research and lateral reading skills needed to differentiate authentic sources from hyper-realistic deepfakes, especially those that falsify historical evidence.⁹³ By prioritizing engagement with the primary source material, we help bridge the gap between our own historical understanding and the lived experiences of the past.

The Augmented Perception of Learner's Lived Experience

Gen AI is shaping the way learners perceive their own lived experiences, which in turn alters the trajectory of their historical inquiry. The more learners rely on gen AI to make sense of their present circumstances, the more they adopt that gen AI's conceptual framework when analyzing their world. This might occur in more indirect and subtle ways, like learners asking a chatbot to list contemporary world issues for research in a civics class, or asking an AI tutor for advice describing the present-day consequences of an historical event. This is particularly important when we consider that over 80% of students agree with using ChatGPT as an acceptable tool in researching new topics.⁹⁴ Moreover, gen AI may shape a learner's perceptions of the present more directly, as in the case of educational augmented reality technologies which categorize the learner's visual perceptions with informative analysis.⁹⁵

In terms of historical thinking, these technologies are significant because learners engage in perspectival presentism when examining the past. To understand process, we must differentiate between the *analytical presentism*—the retro-projection of present-day concepts into the past—and *perspectival presentism*—centering historical inquiry on

⁹³ UNESCO, *AI and the Holocaust: Rewriting History?* (UNESCO: 2024), 11.

⁹⁴ Lee et al., "Cheating in the Age," 8.

⁹⁵ Daniel Egunjobi and Oladele J Adeyeye, "Revolutionizing Learning: The Impact of Augmented Reality (AR) And Artificial Intelligence (AI) on Education," *International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews* 5, no. 10 (October 2024): 1160, <https://doi.org/10.55248/gengpi.5.1024.2734>.

contemporary concerns.⁹⁶ The adoption of perspectival presentism has a more mixed reception amongst historians than its counterpart.⁹⁷ If curricular inquiry is to be predicated on lived experiences and present concerns, as A.S. Neill had advocated,⁹⁸ then the way learners make sense of the present is of paramount concern.

If historical inquiry is downstream from learners' present understandings and concerns, and these technologies are shaping the way learners perceive the present, then what follows is the algorithmatization of perspectival presentism. With this shift, gen AI algorithms are playing an increased role in guiding learners' "self"-directed historical inquiries: the trajectory of their research is guided by the perception of their lived experience, which in turn has been shaped by gen AI. The algorithmatization of learner's perceptions highlights how gen AI technology reduces true learning independence, something discussed in more depth in the next section.

"Personalized" Education and "Independent" Learning with Gen AI

Gen AI has the potential to promote a more personalized curriculum, but not necessarily in the way it is currently being utilized or understood to do so. Before we can understand the idea of a "personalized" curriculum, we must clarify what is meant by the term "curriculum." To begin, we must reconceptualize *curriculum as a noun*—the set course by which one runs—to *curriculum as a verb* ("currere"), meaning "to run."⁹⁹ *Curriculum as a noun* signifies a more predetermined tract by which one learns, whereas *curriculum as a verb* emphasizes the learner's ability to learn, charting out and following their own line of inquiry.¹⁰⁰ When we evaluate gen AI, we should ask whether it is helping students learn "to run" or "run faster" towards the places others tell them to go. The conception of curriculum as a verb is more aligned to the paradigm of the social critics discussed above.

The Idea of a Personalized Curriculum

What do we mean when we speak about a "personalized" curriculum? Both Neill, Goodman, and Holt believed that education should revolve around the personal interests of the learner. In practice, this meant allowing learners to set and follow their own lines of inquiry.¹⁰¹ According to Neill, a learner's interests could not be artificially created; and because students learn best about what they are most interested in, teachers should focus on fostering the pre-existent interests of their learners. This is one of the reasons why A.S. Neill emphasized the role on self-government in schools, so that learners had

⁹⁶ James Miles and Lindsay Gibson, "Rethinking Presentism in History Education," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 50, no. 4 (October 2, 2022): 512, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2022.2115959>.512

⁹⁷ Miles and Gibson, "Rethinking Presentism," 514, 522.

⁹⁸ Neill, *Summerhill School: A New View of Childhood*, 9.

⁹⁹ William E. Doll and Wendi Broussard, "Ghosts and the Curriculum," *Counterpoint* 151, (2002): 43–45.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 43–45.

¹⁰¹ Miller, *Free Schools*, 57.

control over the directions of their own education.¹⁰² He believed this was in strong contrast to the use of education as a means of moral, political, or religious indoctrination.¹⁰³

Safeguarding learners' freedom of inquiry may require liberating them from more coercive external influences. Although Ivan Illich was critical of A.S. Neill's overly anti-authoritarian sentiments, he still opposed compulsory schooling and its hidden curriculum.¹⁰⁴ In addition to Illich, Freire also championed the agency of learners, writing that "authentic liberation – the process of humanization – is not another deposit to be made in men. Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it." By reflecting on and identifying the forces shaping them, learners could raise their social consciousness and transform the world around themselves.¹⁰⁵ In the case of gen AI, this would require learners to understand the algorithms that guide their learning.

Looking at the big picture, these social critics reflected on the wider personal and societal consequences of an education system that disregarded learners' interests and agency. Neill argued that forcing students to attend boring lessons trained them to settle for boring careers. He favored having students do things they were pleased with, placing happiness alongside freedom as one of the central aims of life.¹⁰⁶ Goodman also drew on psychoanalysis, charging the school system with facilitating the psychological repression of learners, something he personally experienced as a homosexual student.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Goodman believed that the overburdensome, authoritarian, and conformist nature of schools fostered student drug-use, as parents supplied their children with "tranquilizers" to help them get along better in school.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, these social critics recognized how external institutions played a role in repressing the individuality of learners. In a 1973 letter to Ivan Illich, John Holt argued that larger institutions are "machines whose parts are human beings. Like all other machines, they depend for their swift, smooth, and sure functioning on the reliability, precision, and interchangeability of these parts. (...) As you have pointed out, it is the

¹⁰² Neill, *Summerhill School*, 23–25.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 249.

¹⁰⁴ Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 7.

¹⁰⁵ NOTE: To Freire, the role of the teacher was to facilitate *conscientização*, which roughly translates to *conscientization*. He requested that educators elicit the lived experiences of their learners, structuring the lessons around their social and political struggles. In practice, educators could facilitate conscientization through project-based challenges, thematic inquiry, and dialectic reflection about personal and everyday subjects instead of the learning slogans and propaganda. Teachers were to be seen as learning partners who moderated discussions and presented questions, rather than agents of political indoctrination. It was this more egalitarian style of pedagogy that Freire argued would bring about socio-political change. See Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 16, 79, 115.

¹⁰⁶ Miller, *Free Schools*, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation*, 10, 30.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 14.

function of education in the modern state to turn people into serviceable parts for their institutional machinery.”¹⁰⁹ Holt, Illich, and Goodman feared that this rise of technocracy stripped persons of their individuality, displaced democracy, and set the groundwork for a more fascistic society.¹¹⁰ People speak about “the AI revolution in education,”¹¹¹ but any efforts made on this front that avoids working from the bottom-up risks “carrying out a revolution *without* the people.”¹¹²

Independent Historical Thinking

These conceptions of personalized and independent learning are generally compatible with Seixas’ historical thinking concepts. Although Seixas did not advocate completely yielding control over curricular content to students’, something advocated in A.S. Neill’s *Summerhill*, he did prioritize what he called “second-order” over “first-order” historical concepts. Seixas had initially attempted to formulate a series of “first-order” or “substantive” historical thinking concepts, which described important subjects of historical study like “revolution, president, and nation.”¹¹³ But it was ultimately the “second-order” historical concepts that focused on the skills needed to engage in historical study that ultimately gained primacy over these more content-based concepts, leading to Seixas’ “Big Six.”¹¹⁴ By having students master the Big Six, Ontario’s history curriculum encouraged students to go beyond just “learning the facts” and strive to become “independent, lifelong learner[s].”¹¹⁵

Gen AI’s Promise of “Personalized” Learning

Amongst the many gen AI technologies presented at the *Canadian AI in Education Forum* were those that centered on promoting personalized learning, such as adaptive AI learning systems and smart content generators.¹¹⁶ Both of these technologies make learning accessible, opening space for more self-paced and tailored pedagogical approaches. In this way, these technologies make good on their promise of fostering a more personalized style of learning.

¹⁰⁹ Miller, *Free Schools*, 57.

¹¹⁰ Note: Freire expressed similar a sentiment in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* when he discussed the process of post-revolutionary bureaucratization, writing: “However, the moment the new regime hardens into a dominating “bureaucracy” the humanist dimension of struggle is lost and it is no longer possible to speak of liberation,” as quoted in Miller, *Free Schools*, 88–89; See also Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 57.

¹¹¹ Ezequiel Molina et al., “AI Revolution in Education, What You Need to Know” (Washington DC: World Bank, 2024), 5, <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099734306182493324/pdf/IDU152823b13109c514ebd19c241a289470b6902.pdf>.

¹¹² Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 127.

¹¹³ Seixas, “A Modest Proposal,” 28.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹⁵ Ontario Ministry of Education, “The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10 Canadian and World Studies,” 51.

¹¹⁶ *AI in Education Forum 2024*, 7.

But are these technologies still bound to the idea of *curriculum* as a *noun*, where learners' inquiries are still anchored to certain predetermined learning goals, as opposed to the more transformative conception of the *curriculum* as a *verb*? In other words, do these tools give learners the freedom to run their own course of study, or will they subordinate their learning under the external directives of others?

Curriculum Making: Political and Economic Forces

Within Canadian provinces, the creation of the curriculum is not a particularly democratic process, something of concern given the emergence of gen AI. Although the curriculum is not created by the dictates of any single individual, historically the arbiters of its creation have been carefully selected. As Catherine A. Broom discussed in her analysis of curriculum reform in B.C. from 1920 to 2000, there is a long track record of government officials inviting reformers with similar perspectives to suggest revisions anticipated to be agreeable to the ministry.¹¹⁷ According to Broom, the influence of these “old boys’ networks” have only somewhat lessened over time.¹¹⁸ Today, these curriculum reformers have a tendency to cater their recommendations to the perceived “zeitgeist” of the times, even when they are not explicitly dictated to do so by ministry officials.¹¹⁹

Within Ontario, the history curriculum continues to be at the intersection of political disputes, as various groups advocate for more historical representation. In more recent years, the Ontario government has mandated lessons on Black history and the Holodomor within Ukraine.¹²⁰ At the same time, the Ontario Ministry of Education scraped plans to update Indigenous course content.¹²¹ In their historical analysis of the Ontario curriculum from the 1980s to 2010s, Fine-Meyer and Llewellyn found that, despite decades of feminist advocacy, only minor changes had been made to integrate women’s issues into the curriculum.¹²² Reflecting on their analysis, the authors conclude that “at

¹¹⁷ Catherine A. Broom, “Power, Politics, Democracy and Reform: A Historical Review of Curriculum Reform, Academia and Government in British Columbia, Canada, 1920 to 2000,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 5 (September 2, 2016): 721, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2015.1069402>.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 712, 720, 723.

¹¹⁹ James Miles, “Curriculum Reform in a Culture of Redress: How Social and Political Pressures Are Shaping Social Studies Curriculum in Canada,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 53, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 56–58, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2020.1822920>.

¹²⁰ “Ontario to Mandate Lessons on Holodomor Ukrainian Famine in Grade 10 History Classes | CBC News,” accessed January 20, 2025, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ontario-holodomor-famine-ukraine-mandatory-education-1.7042158>; “Ontario Adding Mandatory Black History Learning to Grades 7, 8 and 10 Courses | CBC News,” accessed January 20, 2025, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/black-history-learning-ontario-1.7108829>.

¹²¹ “62. Develop and Fund Aboriginal Content in Education,” accessed January 20, 2025, <https://www.cbc.ca/newsinteractives/beyond-94/develop-and-fund-aboriginal-content-in-education>; Mike Crawley, “Ontario Cancels Curriculum Rewrite That Would Boost Indigenous Content,” *CBC News*, July 9, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ontario-education-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-trc-1.4739297>.

¹²² R. Fine-Meyer and K. Llewellyn, “Women Rarely Worthy of Study: A History of Curriculum Reform in Ontario Education,” *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, March 22, 2018, 60–64, <https://doi.org/10.32316/hse/rhe.v30i1.4541>.

the most basic level schools must confront the fact that men continue to manage schools and curriculum through political and corporate powers, while women are responsible for teaching and for implementing the authorized curriculum.”¹²³ The sentiment is reminiscent of Broom’s observations on the historic influence of “old boys’ networks” in curriculum development. Moreover, even when historical representation is granted, it is couched within a framework that is compatible to ruling officials.¹²⁴

The creation of the Ontario curriculum has also been subject to business pressures and considerations. Although the influence from business interests is not new, Premier Mike Harris’ neoliberal reforms opened Ontario’s education system to more private individuals and market pressures.¹²⁵ In the spirit of full disclosure, the Historica Foundation, the organization which partnered with Seixas to produce the big six historical thinking concepts, was created through the financial aid of Red Wilson, then chairman of Bell Canada Enterprises, and Charles Bronfman of the CRB Foundation.¹²⁶ More recent (and perhaps less beneficent) examples of private influence over the curriculum were recent reforms to mathematics, financial literacy, and coding in the curriculum. These reforms by Premier Doug Ford were directedly supported by NGOs, themselves sponsored by multinational corporations who stood to benefit from these changes.¹²⁷ Moreover, a recently leaked and retracted document outlining plans to globally market the Ontario Ministry of Education’s newly created mandatory e-learning course exemplifies these neoliberal trends.¹²⁸ In their analysis of the reform, Di Giovanni and Parker noted that “by prioritizing a standardized product that [could] be sold internationally, the curriculum [became] less responsive to Ontario communities, reducing the choices for personalization and local context.”¹²⁹

The relatively undemocratic nature by which the curriculum is created calls into question learners’ autonomy, and our ability to deliver a “personalized” education. Moreover, the ability of political and economic actors to co-opt learners’ course of study gives misgivings about whose ends the curriculum is serving. Gen AI has the potential to magnify the disconnect between those who create the curriculum and those who are forced to learn it. When examining gen AI’s relationship to history education, we must examine its potential to be used as an instrument for depositing and auditing information, as opposed to promoting serve as conviviality and independence.

Gen AI: A Tool for Depositing and Auditing Information?

¹²³ Ibid., 62–63.

¹²⁴ Miles, “Curriculum Reform,” 59–60.

¹²⁵ Adamo Di Giovanni and Lana Parker, “Is It a Choice?,” *Critical Education*, April 28, 2024, 53–55, <https://doi.org/10.14288/CE.V15I2.186892>.

¹²⁶ Seixas, “A Modest Proposal,” 27.

¹²⁷ Di Giovanni and Parker, “Is It a Choice?” 64–66.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 58–61.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 68.

Some gen AI technologies, including those described as promoting “personalized” learning, possess the potential to more severely subordinate learners’ trajectories to the whims of external actors. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire warned educators to avoid the banking model of education, where teachers simply deposited information into the minds of their students who withdraw it in a later assessment.¹³⁰ In light of this historical perspective, we will now analyze whether these gen AI technologies promote a banking model of education.

Depositing Knowledge

Some gen AI technologies that “personalize” learning, such as smart content generators and adaptive learning systems, all have the capacity to accelerate a learner’s progression along a set course of study. When used to serve external interests over the learners’, these forms of gen AI do not really personalize education – i.e. promote learners’ personal autonomy and freedom – so much as they increase the efficiency with which information is deposited.

There is a historical precedent for actors manipulating the algorithms for “personalized” content to achieve their own desired ends. In the 2016, Cambridge Analytica assisted Trump’s campaign by using data from social media to sway potential voters.¹³¹ This is an example of a data profiteering company using algorithmic amplification and micro-targeted content to influence users without their knowledge or consent.¹³² Similar and equally subversive tactics of control could be used by the programmers maintaining gen AI ed-tech, who also have the ability to amplify algorithms and deploy micro-targeted content to their users. In the past, history educators have argued about the bias laden within the static content of their textbooks and classroom resources, but today our tools have a digital pulse; the subtle changes to their dynamic content are harder to trace.

Auditing Knowledge

In addition to gen AI tools discussed above that help “deposit” knowledge, others are geared towards “auditing” knowledge. Technologies like AI-assisted grading and feedback, AI plagiarism detection, and student predictive analytics are all tools centered on assessment. Yet not all these tools have the same potential to depersonalize learning. On the contrary, by encouraging learners to create their own original work, assessments that integrate AI plagiarism detection systems promote both hard work and independent thought. Here one must remember Ivan Illich’s critique of free schooling: one should not confuse discipline with indoctrination.¹³³ Nonetheless, other tools like student predictive

¹³⁰ Freire, 77–80.

¹³¹ NOTE: Although Cambridge Analytica is no longer in business, these tactics are still used by similar companies such as i360 and Target Smart. Jessica Dawson, “Who Controls the Code, Controls the System: Algorithmically Amplified Bullshit, Social Inequality, and the Ubiquitous Surveillance of Everyday Life,” *Sociological Forum* 38, no. S1 (September 2023): 1085, 1089–1091, <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12907>.

¹³² Dawson, “Who Controls the Code,” 1084–85.

¹³³ Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 29.

analytics and AI-assisted grading and feedback have a greater potential for more authoritarian educational practices, as they can better guarantee the adherence to an externally set curriculum.

Goodman's analysis of classroom assessment is particularly useful when evaluating the potential of these gen AI assessment tools. Examining the history of the US education system, Goodman defended the Progressive American educators of the 1920s, like John Dewey, but rejected their contemporary Fredrick Taylor and his theory of "scientific management."¹³⁴ Taylor's theory of scientific management was designed to increase the industrial productivity of students, with later educators using the theory to make schools more efficient and student results more measurable.

But Goodman questioned these educators' attempt to systemize learning, exploring the ramifications of these practices on learners and the broader society. Goodman argued that tests curtail the scope of acceptable answers, ultimately countering the creativity of the learner and their ability to chart out their own path in life.¹³⁵ Instead, he favored low-stakes testing or gradeless classrooms, requesting that tests be used as a formative tool as opposed to a punitive one.¹³⁶ Moreover, he did not believe in-class marks were a particularly great assessment of a student's ability, instead pointing to Harvard's preference for SAT scores. Furthermore, he suggested that employers should ultimately take on the burden of sorting and ranking applicants to their companies, not schools.¹³⁷ Are gen AI assessment tools being used to help learners evaluate their own understanding, or is it being used as a system of management by superiors?

We have already seen a push to use gen AI for more top-down management of the classroom within the ed-tech development space. When reporting on ed-tech giant BYJU's plans to "create better learners and teachers," CNBC reported that, "In addition to enhancing student learning, AI can also be utilized to improve the quality of live classes. With AI-powered auditing tools that assess various parameters, such as a teacher's posture, lighting, content delivery, and student engagement during live classes, these smart auditing tools help streamline the administrative process, making it more efficient and cost-effective, while ensuring that our educators maintain high standards of teaching."¹³⁸ If we truly want to safeguard freedom within our history classrooms, then we must be cognizant of when gen AI is being used to "deposit" and "audit" knowledge in a

¹³⁴ Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation*, 61, <https://arvindguptatoys.com/arvindgupta/goodman.pdf>.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹³⁶ NOTE: This recommendation was before the common adoption and acceptance of formative assessment as it is commonly used by educators today. See Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation*, 15-16.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹³⁸ Dev Roy, "Enabling Education: Dev Roy from Byju's Explains How Generative AI Tools Can Create Better Learners and Teachers," *CNBC TV18*, February 14, 2024, <https://www.cnbctv18.com/views/enabling-education-dev-roy-from-byjus-explains-how-generative-ai-tools-can-create-better-learners-and-teachers-16639001.htm>.

“personalized” way, as opposed to enhancing the conviviality and personal independence of learners.

Gen AI: A Tool for Conviviality and Personal Independence?

The best way we can foster independent historical thinking with gen AI is by encouraging learners to create and use convivial tools. This means their historical literacy needs to be coupled with the digital literacy skills necessary for them to create and train their own gen AI tools. Furthermore, this means giving learners the power to “open the box” and explore the mechanisms behind their education, empowering them to create tools that are aligned with their interests and curricular goals.

Conviviality Tools

According to Ivan Illich, a convivial society is one where “modern technologies serve politically interrelated individuals rather than managers.”¹³⁹ In practice this means avoiding gen AI tools that support a banking model of education, while preferring those tools that strengthen learners’ ability to follow their own lines of inquiry and assist in the education of their peers. Amongst the types of tools discussed at the *Canadian AI in Education Forum*, collaborative learning AI systems are particularly well equipped for this task. Likewise, any of the tools mentioned throughout this work which expand learners’ curricular horizons could also be considered convivial.

Using Digital Literacy to “Open the Box”

Literacy is not only one’s capacity to read and consume knowledge, but also one’s ability to articulate and create it. Therefore, if educators want to use gen AI to improve learners’ historical literacy, they will need to help teach learners the digital literacy skills needed to create and use their own gen AI tools. By leveraging the creative potential of our learners, we prevent them from passively consuming content generated and assembled by somebody else’s algorithm.

This sentiment is best captured in the third issue of *Growing Without Schooling*. In the issue, John Holt shares a story about a “teaching machine” brought to the students of Santa Fe Community School, which provides a keen insight as to how educators should approach emerging education technologies, like gen AI.

When the Santa Fe Community School was just starting, a young inventor, who hoped to market one of the “teaching machines” then much in fashion, lent one of his models to the school. It was a big metal box, that sat on top of a table. Through a window in the front of the box, one could see printed cards. Beside the window were five numbered buttons. On the card one might read something like this: “an apple is a 1) machine 2) dog 3) fruit 4) fish 5) musical instrument.” If one pushed button #3 a little green light went on above the buttons, and a new card appeared behind the window. If one pushed any of

¹³⁹ Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality*, 1st ed. (Harper and Row, 1973), 6.

the other buttons, a red light went on. In short, like most “teaching machines,” it was a rather fancy way of giving multiple choice tests.

On the day the inventor brought the box to school the children, aged 5 through 8, gathered around the machine to see how it worked. The inventor showed them how to use it, and for a while the children took turns pushing the buttons and answering the questions on the cards. This only lasted a short while. Then the children began to say, “Open the box! We want to see inside the box!” Someone opened up the front panel, showing the cards, mounted on a revolving drum, and beside each card, on the drum, five little holes, and a metal plug to stick into the hole matching the “right answer” on the card. The children considered this a minute, and then all fell to work – making cards. After a while they all had some cards to load into the machine. Bargains were struck: “I’ll play using your cards if you’ll play using mine.” One child would load up the machine with his cards, and put the answer buttons in the right places, then another child would come and take the test, then they would trade places. This went on for perhaps a day or so, all very serious.

Then, so the friend told me who was teaching there at the time and saw all this, the game began to change. There was much loud laughter around the machine. The teachers went to see what was going on. What they saw was this. A child would load the machine, as before and another child would take the test. Up would come a card saying something like, “A dog is a 1) train 2) car 3) airplane 4) animal 5) fish.” The child taking the test would press button #4, the “right answer,” and the red light would go on. The card maker would shriek with laughter. The child being tested would push the buttons, one by one, until he or she hit the right one and the drum turned up the next card. Then, same story again, another right answer rewarded with the red light, more shrieks of laughter. When one child had run through all his rigged cards, the other would have a turn, and would do exactly the same thing. This happy game went on for a day or two. Then the children, having done everything with the machine that could be done with it, grew bored with it, turned away from it, and never touched it again. After a month or so the school asked the inventor to come take his machine back.¹⁴⁰

Conclusion

The emergence of gen AI has accelerated the algorithmatization of learning. The ideas of these social critics shed light on the potentials and pitfalls of this new technology, not just for history education but for learning at large. We need to look beyond gen AI’s immediate falsities, “hallucinations,” or biases and investigate its hidden curriculum. In addition to questioning unintended errors of analytical presentism, we must understand the way technology alters learners’ perceptions of their present lived experiences, their window into the past. It is more important than ever for students of history to engage directly with primary sources so they can mitigate the number intermediaries between themselves and bygone days. In the age of digital necromancy, the ability to understand

¹⁴⁰ John Holt, “Teaching Machine,” *Growing Without Schooling*, no. 3 (Holt Associates, 1978).

historical perspectives will be needed to distinguish between the ghosts of the past and the phantasms of the present. Will these tools be used for depositing and auditing knowledge, or will they be used to foster convivial systems of inquiry? The answer to these questions will reflect our educational values.

So, what teachers will we train? It depends on who (or what) we conceptualize as the educator and who (or what) is being trained: the classroom teacher, the gen AI tool, or learner? Hopefully we will train learners how to teach themselves, training gen AI tools to serve their own creative goals. In other words, digital literacy means having learners understand how to code, control, and create their own gen AI tools. It may not (yet) be feasible for learners to build their own individual LLMs, but they can certainly learn more about how they work, how to create their own GPTs, and how to code and repurpose gen AI tools to serve their own needs. “Personalized learning” does not mean being efficiently trained by an algorithm serving someone else’s interests at your expense, it means liberating your mind from the machine by using tools that unleash your ability to create.

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