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Editorial: Imperios y Educación

Robert Cowen*

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First, I should like to thank María José García Ruiz and Javier M. Valle López, Editors of the *Revista Española de Educación Comparada* (REEC) for the invitation to take up the theme of 'education and empire'. The invitation was a surprise and a great privilege. I accepted immediately; knowing I would worry later. What I worried about later, of course, was what to propose to colleagues who might be potential authors.

The problem —granted that anyone I chose to approach would already have an interest in the theme of empire– is immediate: there have been quite a lot of empires in the world in the last few thousand years. I did not push the idea hard with myself, but one list could begin: the Abyssinian, the Belgian, the Cambodian, the Danish, the Egyptian... and so on. The second obvious possibility was to choose more recent but neglected empires (such as the Imperial Japanese and Nazi empires) and ask what kinds of education were distributed to whom, and why, inside those empires. The third instant answer was to concentrate on, say, four of the big empires created by European powers as they expanded on a world stage, maybe setting in tension two different interpretative perspectives on one particular Empire (such as the French or the British).

I then realised that anxiety had edged me into a cliché: that the approach of the project should be historical. Clearly there would have been advantages to insisting on an historical approach for all of the contributions: the amount of historical material easily available is enormous. Solid, well referenced, articles could have been read side-by-side giving a traditional 'comparative' perspective. Putting side by side, for example, what the French did to create educational systems in Algeria with descriptions of how the British 'built' educational systems in Ghana, India, Kenya, Nigeria would need steady scholarship and good narrative skills, but such a project was clearly possible. However, the cost would have been high. There are a lot of implicit assumptions if that strategic approach is the only one used for all articles: for example, time is linear, the space which is described is the space of the imperial actor, and comparative education describes 'the educational system'.

Thus gradually a view of the possibilities of the project emerged. Some historical papers, certainly. But perhaps ask for some articles which were not informed principally by an historical perspective? Maybe a sociologist or an anthropologist, thinking comparatively, could offer a distinctive perspective on the theme of education and empire? And —speaking of 'education'— why the 'education system': what about identities, traditions, rituals, cultures and resistances captured in tensions in education; what about childhood or adolescence, gender and race?

And above all, what about the big words: Empire and Imperialism and Colonialism and 'education-as-it-changes' within such forms of power? Rather surprisingly, comparative educationists have given very little attention to classic forms of the flows of international power and educational shapes within 'Empires' and, while the word colonialism has been used in the title of some books within comparative education, the word 'Imperialism' is rare (even if post-colonialism has now a considerable literature).

There are at least two obvious reasons why the words 'Empire' and 'Imperialism' are relatively rare. One is that comparative education (in the form of what is called in English 'international and comparative education') has spent a great deal of time 'developing' *le tiers monde*; without emphasising that what many people used to call the third world was once part of 'old-fashioned' Empires before international politics shifted into new forms of *imperium* within the ideology of 'development'. Hence the new excitement about post-colonialism; albeit before Empires have been fully studied.

The second obvious reason why classical Empires –such as the Austro-Hungarian, the French, the Ottoman, the Roman, the Spanish– have been relatively invisible is that comparative education, notably English-language 'comparative education', has tended to lose its historical gaze. However, the question of what was done to children in the name of 'Empire' needs to be retained along with a nervousness lest we are doing the same sort of things now under new names.

By 2018, therefore, it is timely to rescue historical perspectives which 'bear witness' and to stress the ways in which international political and economic power re-shape educational systems, but to do this, on this occasion, with maximum flexibility and openness of approach.

Of course, there needed to be some general alertness among the authors to simple questions. Some were sketched in an introductory letter to authors: what kinds of 'education' were distributed within Empires and why and to whom; did the forms of education shift over time and were they different in different parts of 'the Empire'; what were the unifying political ideologies, and perhaps religions, that underpinned the distribution of education in which language(s) and, within 'an Empire', what were some of the rituals and the symbols and pedagogic styles which shaped educational transmission? Those are big questions. However, the note to authors finished with the suggestion that "perhaps the point would be to keep our initial analyses as simple as possible this time; not as complex as possible. There is so little work on classical Empires-and-education that bringing some essays about Empires together and juxtaposing them in the same publication is a perfectly proper and sensible first step for us".

And that is more or less what has happened. A wide range of intellectual perspectives has been brought to bear: Anselmo Paolone uses anthropology as his main perspective; Ron Goodenow whose main books were written in his capacity as an historian, takes a view of changes over time; Iveta Silova and Garine Palandjian come close to starting their thinking from their own biographies. Similarly, there is marvellous counterpoint: analyses of two empires —the American and the Soviet— that tended to avoid calling themselves 'empires' can be read next to two empires which were very self-consciously Empires: the Spanish, thoughtfully analysed here by Alberto Martínez Boom and the British, for which Les Bash offers a complex analysis. We are also privileged here to have permission from the author Ana Isabel Madeira (and the publishing house, Springer) to reprint a fascinating analysis of colonial educational discourses in the French and Portuguese empires in Africa, which opens up yet another way to think about 'education and empire'.

And that is the point of the articles taken together. They do not cohere; they are not written to a common formula; they cannot be read as if they are traditional narratives about the 'educational system' that can be juxtaposed, termed 'comparative', and thought of as having provided an abc of education and empire. The articles are not even intended to cohere. The articles, as a group, explode like fireworks in the sky rather than, nailed to a post with the label 'empire' on it, whirr around and around themselves until the small flame burns out.

The articles can be read and understood with a growing sense of excitement that there is something complex worth exploring here, with no Stanley bringing the project to a rather abrupt halt by saying 'Dr Livingstone, I presume?' These articles permit an old and rather neglected topic —but one of major contemporary relevance, given new 'empires of the mind'— to be seen in fresh ways. Soon, next time, in the future, we might

take up some of the theoretical complexities of writing comparative and transnational histories of education, we should worry about what historical sociology as a field of study might suggest as an approach, we could wonder if the Austro-Hungarian or Ottoman Empires suggest different ways to think about the theme of 'education and Empire'. (They do.) However, for the moment, let us simply watch the fireworks and enjoy their variety and complexity. Tomorrow we can ask ourselves why we enjoyed the display.

2

*Comparative Education and Empires**

Educación comparada e imperios

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Abstract

There is a very large literature on Empires. There is a large literature on education and empires. However, there is only a small literature within comparative education on empires. Why? Given the numbers of people whose education was affected by Empires, given the stated intentions of those who created empires and imperial education systems, given the harmonies and tensions in most empires between politics and religion which played out in educational systems, and given some of the obvious differences between, say, the British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Soviet Empires and their discourses and practices in education, the silence is loud. This article will, first, reflect on the ways in which changes in 'comparative education' helped to construct that silence. Second, it will trace a more recent change in comparative education which opens up the possibility to re-assess Empires as a core theme of work, not just in the 'history of education' but in comparative education. That argument is pursued fully in the third section of the article. The conclusion notes yet another change in the political positioning of comparative education as a university subject and suggests that, despite new obstacles, empires ought to be a topic in our future and not just in our past.

Key Words: comparative education; empires; politics of knowledge

Resumen

Hay una gran cantidad de literatura sobre imperios. Hay una gran cantidad de literatura sobre educación e imperios. Sin embargo, solo hay un poco de literatura dentro de la educación comparada sobre imperios. ¿Por qué? Dado el número de personas cuya educación se vio afectada por los imperios, dadas las intenciones declaradas de quienes crearon imperios y sistemas educativos imperiales, dadas las armonías y tensiones en la mayoría de los imperios entre la política y la religión que se desarrollaban en los sistemas educativos, y dadas algunas de las diferencias obvias entre, por ejemplo, los imperios británico, holandés, francés, portugués, ruso, español y soviético y sus discursos y prácticas en la educación, el silencio es llamativo. Este artículo, primero, reflexionará sobre las formas en que los cambios en la «educación comparada» ayudaron a construir ese silencio. En segundo lugar, se trazarán los cambios más recientes en la educación comparada que abren la posibilidad de volver a evaluar los imperios como un tema central de trabajo, no solo en la «historia de la educación», sino en la «educación comparada». Ese argumento se persigue de lleno en la tercera sección del artículo. La conclusión señala otro cambio más en el posicionamiento político de la educación comparada como una materia universitaria y sugiere que, a pesar de los nuevos obstáculos, los imperios deberían ser para nosotros un tema de futuro y no solo del pasado.

Palabras clave: educación comparada; imperios; políticas del conocimiento

1. Introduction

This article is about 'comparative education' and empires although, obviously, there are difficulties in analysing their relationship. What is loosely called 'comparative education' has developed a number of forms which are embedded in different political agendas and have different epistemic assumptions. The second problem is the reciprocal one: 'empires' change over time, and 'empires' can be very different in time and in place. Thus tracing, narrating, and analysing the relationships between comparative education and empires is like following a very complex dance which has an ambiguous, obscure, but culturally significant past. As in the tango, both partners shift shape, both partners sometimes seem to hear different music, and one partner seems to move rather more nimbly than the other ... yet the dance is meaningful only if they stay together. The theme of this article like the struggle in the tango becomes complicated and, as with the tango, the beginning is a loud silence.

How is it, why is it, that within comparative education there has been a silence about empires? And, when we do start to think about 'empires', what should we be looking at? What should we be looking for? Clearly, empires are not 'policy-problems-to-be solved' – our traditional concern for the last fifty years. Empires are of the past; they are for historians, are they not, and so what is it we ourselves should get to know about empires that would useful? Knowing about patterns of post-colonialism, a contemporary problem, might be useful; but Empires?

Clearly the answers to such questions depend heavily on a judgment about what comparative education is; and, by extension, what it does. Thus, before attention turns to 'empires', to clarify or to discipline the concept of comparative education is a sensible first step.

The structure of this article is simple although the themes, because of their inter-relationships, gradually become complex. First, there is an analysis of comparative education itself, in two of its modalities. The argument is that academic comparative education (as it changed) created silences, which included a silence about empires. The second section of the article analyses another change in the identity of academic comparative education, a change which opens up coherent possibilities for discussion of the theme of empire. Accepting that possibility, the third and final part of the analysis asks: what is it in empires that is of great interest to comparative education – and why is that of great interest? The conclusion asks about the future and our responsibilities to it.

2. Ways to think: comparative education

There is not one comparative education but several. For example, there are different epistemic traditions, within educational studies, which affect how scholars in Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, the United Kingdom and the USA construct comparative education (Biesta, 2011; Palomba & Cappa, 2018). Even the professional academic Societies have different names. Some people who make excellent contributions to comparative education, such as Tom Popkewitz in the USA, are based in departments of curriculum. Others who think comparatively such as Daniel Troehler in Vienna are, by self-definition, historians. The situation is confused and confusing.

How then to define 'comparative education'? There are three basic ways.

One, the self-evident version, is irritating. There was, for a time, a fashion for judging which articles published in specialist journals were 'really comparative'. The definition of 'comparative' was juxtaposition. In other words, if a description of some aspect of education and society in Greece was placed next to a similar description of education and society in Greenland, then that article was 'comparative'. This child-like translation of the two words ('comparative' and 'education') did surprisingly little harm; it was a sort of party trick at family celebrations (e.g. in anniversary issues of journals such as *Comparative Education Review* or *Comparative Education*). It showed how much 'progress' had been made since last year's party trick. However, the party-trick was irritating: any bits of 'nationally-juxta-posed' research (e.g. measuring the happiness of teachers in Argentina and Andorra, or in Bogota and Brasilia) could be counted - literally – as comparative education. Nowadays, that simplistic concept of comparative education needs dismissal. That definition of comparative education, in its fixation with the surface 'form' of articles, distracts attention from questions of intellectual quality, theoretical power, problems of 'methodological national-ism' and the politics of knowledge in the social sciences.

More generally, the anxiety to assess 'the state of the art' of comparative education was a symbol of the academic nervousness of the field in the late 1970s. The damage done by the mid-Atlantic 'methods wars' in the mid-1960s had been considerable. Worse, the disaster was assumed to be about method, and it was not recognised for what it was: an ontological struggle, and a political re-positioning of the field as a policy science. Hence questions about 'the state of the art' were unintentionally quite sensible. By the mid-1970s there was indeed a strategic and historically significant question about 'the reading of the global' (Cowen, 2000a; 2009a) which was beginning to come into focus. Which aspects of the international world was the field of study seeing, which aspects had it not been seeing, and which aspects of the global did it now want to emphasise?

Thus the second basic way to define comparative education is to re-define it and call it 'international and comparative education' which, in the United States, included intervening in development and education in 'the Third Word.' This gradual political re-positioning of comparative education is also visible in the names of some of our profes-sional Societies. The American comparative education society, as the first comparative education professional society, refused the localism 'the American'; but used the word 'comparative'. It was CES; then it changed its title to The Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). The Japanese continue to have a Society called the Japan Comparative Education Society. Within Europe, the British (in retrospect rather ironi-cally - the Brexit British?) left the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) and became BAICE – the British Association for International and Comparative Education Society. The Italian Society, SICESE, retained its formal link with the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) as a regional branch of the larger grouping. The Spanish Society having initially included the word 'pedagogical' in its title became SEEC (in English, the Spanish Comparative Education Society).

The crucial fulcrum for the decision of both the American and the British to use the word 'international' in the naming of their professional Societies was the theme of inter-vention in the third world and 'developing' it. That, indeed, finally became the title of a department in the Institute of Education within the University of London. Originally, from the late 1920s, one department – which predated the later, separate, department of comparative education by 20 years - had been named 'Education in the Colonies'. Clearly over time that title became both historically inaccurate and politically embarrassing.

The new version, 'Education in Developing Countries' (EDC) combined a moral vision and an action programme – but was clearly also relevant to foreign policy and attracted resources from a range of agencies and networks, including the British Government's Department for International Development. In other words, the politics of knowledge of 'international and comparative education' are affected by its liaisons outside of the university with non-governmental aid agencies and governmental sources of funding in Washington and London; the political intent to reform the educational systems of other countries; and an academic agenda heavily influenced by the concept of 'gap' and theorisations of that gap: for example the gap between the former policy vision 'Education For All' and the failure to achieve it.

So where did that leave 'comparative education? Traditionally comparative education (in the UK) as a university-based academic study had used the perspective of history, and had written its descriptive narratives and done its academic thinking by reflecting on the political spaces which George Bereday called 'the northern crescent': initially Europe and North America (notably the USA); Russia and the USSR; and China and North Asia.

Three things came together to change academic comparative education.

First, the mid-Atlantic comparative education of the 1960s and 1970s reacted strangely to the Cold War. Steiner-Khamsi (2009) has traced the shift brilliantly for US comparative education, emphasising the creation of 'Sovietology' (and the subsequent lurch into 'Japanology'). More broadly, there was journalistic American anxiety about 'why Johnny cannot read but Ivan can'. Within academe and comparative education, there were books about the USSR and education, including Bereday, Brickman and Read (1960) and Harold Noah's doctoral thesis (1966) on the financing of Soviet schools. There was research, reported in the specialist journals, by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) about levels of achievement in the 'cold war' subjects of mathematics and the exact sciences. In the UK, there were small books by Janusz Tomiak (1972; 1983) and by Nigel Grant (1964; 1969) which provided accounts of what might loosely be called 'schools, society and progress'[1] in the USSR. And there were big books by the Americans (DeWitt, 1955) describing such themes as Soviet policies for education in science and scientific manpower. But there was no major effort by academics in comparative education in the 1960s to theorise revolution (in this case, the revolution of 1917), Marxist-Leninist ideology as a form of modernisation, Stalinism as a form of socialist mobilisation, and their consequent educational practices. Grant's book mainly described; it normalised Soviet society and its educational system. There was no comparative analysis of the USSR of the brilliance of R. H. Turner's "sponsored and contest mobilities" paper (1960) on the USA and the UK. A book that came close to moving beyond narrative - later - was by Ron Price (1977) on Communist China and the USSR; at least that began with Marx. However, the basic pattern was narration – an accumulation of area studies of the USSR. This non-theorising of the Cold War was one of the disasters that the 'methods wars' of the mid-1960s helped to create.

Thus the second major change was that the epistemic vision of the field of study narrowed: through an insistence (quite explicit in the writings of Noah and Eckstein) on positivist social science; and – through King and Holmes - an insistence on pragmatically useful forms of knowledge. The price of the hubris of the over-confident 1960s

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1   The phrase is taken from a book series commissioned and edited by Edmund King. The books were written by area experts and had the common title 'Schools, Society and Progress'; and then 'China'; 'Eastern Europe'; 'France'; 'Israel' and so on.

'scientists' of comparative education in the 1960s - such as Brian Holmes (1965) who actually claimed later that he had, himself. created a paradigm shift (1986) and Harold Noah and Max Eckstein (1969) and the fixation with policy of Holmes and Edmund J. King (1968) - was remarkably high. The price included a break with the historical gaze of comparative education, embodied by authors who had begun their academic writing in most cases in the 1930s: Nicholas Hans (1950; 1959; 1963), Isaac Kandel (1933; 1955), Friedrich Schneider (1961) and Robert Ulich (1964; 1968). Confirming and complaining about this break with history has been a motif in the writing of Andreas Kazamias (1963; 2001; 2009) for over fifty years.

The result, the third major change in academic comparative education, was a retreat from 'reading the global' (Cowen, 2018a). There was a retreat into domesticity. Comparative education began to fiddle with 'problem-solving', writing and advising on the fine-tuning of educational policies, and aspiring to be close to governmental power to do this. The embracement of a practical-reformist stance and a wish to work with politicians to 'improve' educational systems defined a very pragmatic orientation to academic work and meant that mid-Atlantic comparative education tended to pursue highly visible policy topics. This domestication of comparative education produced some very strange silences – strange, because a situation had developed in which:

> "We silence history – and peoples. There are multiple silences, some of which are huge in human terms, notably silences about revolution; war; and Empires. Given we live in a period marked by the work of Theda Skocpol on revolutions, Tony Judt on the post-war period (after 1945) and excellent historical writing on Empire (such as Elkins on Kenya, Elliot and Thomas on the Spanish Empire, Hochschild on the Belgian Congo, Hoskin and Lieven on Russia, and Lawrence James on India) why has the comparative education literature been relatively silent?". (Cowen 2014a, p. 6)

In a simple sense, we know. The 'international' bit of international and comparative education was developing 'The Third World' – so it had no particular interest in looking backwards. And the tradition in academic comparative education had altered: it had lost its historical gaze. Instead it had turned inwards, taking its definition of relevance (and its definition of itself as useful to politicians) from domestic problems.

The irony is that comparative education was about to be rescued by that most domestic of persons, Mrs Thatcher, whose nationalism was obvious and aggressive, whose tolerance of the foreign was somewhat limited, and whose domestic political reforms were extremely courageous. Another shift, the third shift, in the nature of comparative education was about to occur.

3. Ways to think: comparative education and Empires

Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan remain excellent symbols of two important political changes which became more and more visible in the 1980s. One international form of economics and political ideology attracted the label 'globalisation' and the other, a change in domestic political formations, attracted the term 'neo-liberal state', oddly enough at a time when supra-national States were evolving.

By and large, the challenge was recognised and there were major changes in the comparative education literature. One obvious effect was that books began to have the word 'globalisation' in their titles. There were a lot of such books – and there were some new words invented, like 'glocalisation'. Of course some of the books and some people (e.g. Bob Arnove, Carlos Torres) attempted to re-think seriously, for the purposes of comparative education, the major literature in historical sociology and political theory on globalisation; but many books merely had the word 'globalisation' in their titles, with the name of a sector of the educational system (e.g. secondary education, or teacher education) and … offered juxtaposed descriptions of educational reform of that sector in many countries contemporaneously. It was 'old comparative education', re-wrapped.

The second effect within the literature of comparative education was major attention to the new political formations, the new kinds of States. In many countries, not least in northern Europe, the welfare State was being redefined and reconstructed as a neo-liberal state within a new vision of an economic world. In the same period, another new kind of state, the European Union, had helped to make the theme of the governance of education very salient (Lawn and Grek, 2012; Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002; Ozga, Seddon & Popkewitz, 2006). The literature was finally become interesting again.

There was a third effect: new statements about 'reading the global' began to be made.

Of course there had been earlier attempts to 're-read the global' (Arnove, 1980; Schriewer, 1990) but, from around 2000, the work picked up speed and intensity (Arnove, 2009; Beech, 2011; Carney, 2010; Cowen and Kazamias, 2009; Cowen & Klerides, 2009; Larsen, 2010; Ninnes and Burnett, 2003; Ninnes and Mehta, 2004; Paulston 2009; Rappleye, 2012; Schriewer, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi, 2000; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Troehler, 2011; Welch, 2001). All of these authors, in different ways, were attempting a new 'reading of the global' which avoided the increasing imprecision of the concept of globalisation as it moved (from the analyses of writers such as Held and Roberston and Wallerstein) into 'educational studies'

The challenge was clear. Redefinitions of academic comparative education began to be generated. They all tended to be confident that 'an era' was coming to an end (Carney, 2010) but whether the way forward was via Bourdieu or Foucault or Luhmann or via a number of 'posts' (post-foundationalism, post-structuralism, post-modernity, and so on) were points of disagreement. However, there was a renewed emphasis on 'transfer': i.e. the movement of educational ideas, principles, policies and practices across national borders; albeit within an increasing level of agreement that such a concept was too unsubtle (Phillips, 2004; Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Phillips & Ochs, 2004). There was a new interest in 'shape-shifting' (Cowen, 2009b) to which Cowen and Klerides (2009) devoted a whole Special Issue of a journal.

At the same time, the growth of consultancies, and increased contract-funded research by all sorts of academics claiming they were 'doing comparative education' was becoming professionally embarrassing: it was clear that efforts needed to be made to distinguish various forms of 'applied' comparative education from academic forms of comparative education (Cowen, 2006). There was by no means a consensus on what the new academic form of comparative education should be. Steiner-Khamsi, for example, was thinking about a 'science of policy transfer'. Schriewer pursued 'horizons', 'externalisation', and 'meaning constellations in a world society'. Popkewitz analysed 'travelling libraries' and 'the indigenous foreigner' and (in an extremely interesting step forward) has began to discuss the concept of 'transnational history' (2013). Phillips (2014) created

and discussed a new concept: 'comparatography'. The discussion continues with some energy, partly because of PISA and its visibility. It is often assumed (by politicians and the media) that PISA is 'good comparative education', despite a growing literature which suggests that the PISA project has a special identity as a form of politics and as a form of research (Grek, 2009; Meyer & Benavot, 2013; Simola & Risto, 2011); even if its empirical work is conducted in many countries and its results are certainly juxtaposed and 'inter-national'.

Thus it is becoming possible to suggest, within the last decade or so, that 'academic comparative education' has begun to reclaim its theoretical and intellectual identity; more precisely to claim a new one. That is, as a field of study based in universities, its task is to understand the mobility and the shape-shifting of 'education' as it moves transnationally amid the interplay of international and domestic politics.

Unfortunately, this cannot be a *definition* of a field of study. Why is 'the economic' not mentioned, where is the word 'cultural'? Who *acts* in this social world? At the point of 'interplay', is there a hierarchy of power, with the international being more important that the domestic? What *mode,* what kind of 'understanding' is being sought – what does 'understanding' mean? What does 'education' mean? As academics, we know that such a 'definition' would not survive two minutes in a university seminar.

However, as academics we can also instantly see the point of the aphorism (for educational ideas, principles, institutions, and so on): 'as it moves, it morphs'. The ideas of John Dewey travelled to a remarkable number of countries which included Brazil, China, England, Japan, Mexico, Russia, South Africa and Turkey. Simply telling the story of such events – the narration – is hard enough. Interpreting what happened to Dewey and his ideas – or to Protestantism moving internationally - requires some concept of shape-shifting (Popkewitz, 2008; Troehler, 2011).

And, of course, the principles and the questions apply to empires. If we are 'to understand the mobility and the shape-shifting of 'education' as it moves transnationally amid the interplay of international and domestic politics', then the classical political Empires are an obvious theme. The aphorism 'as it moves, it morphs' has room to play…

The literature on empires is remarkably large. On the history of the British Empire alone, for example, Oxford University Press has published five volumes (Louis, 1999) and the work keeps coming. Niall Ferguson (2003), being of a certain age, was able to link his major book on the British Empire to named members of his family and relatives whose lives had taken them to different parts of the Empire, for different reasons. Brendon (2007), less enamoured of the Empire, concentrated on its decline and fall. As might be expected, very interesting work has also been done by historians of education in the United Kingdom on the theme of Empire (Mangan, 1986; Mangan, 1988; Mangan 1993). The theme of much of that work – also as might be expected - has been elites and elite formation. Local elites (e.g. in Canada or India) were often educated in schools which imitated Scottish or English traditions, and for many families in the United Kingdom, the Empire was both a career and a life. Some schools in Britain - typically 'private' schools, with their 'preparatory' sector (Leinster-Mackay, 1988) and then the so-called 'the public schools' - offered an approximate socialisation for imperial leadership; though training for colonial leadership in India was particularly selective (Whitehead, 2003). Rupert Wilkinson (1964) has offered a brilliant comparison of training for leadership in the public schools, in counterpoint with the Chinese *literati*. Overall, again as might be expected, the bibliography on education in imperial India – that, is just on India and just on education - is impressively large (Whitehead, 2005).

It is clear, from journals such as *Paedogogica Historica* and a basic bibliographic search, that similar literatures are available in a range of other languages for a range of other Empires (as the articles in Portuguese and Spanish in this monograph section also illustrate). Thus, there is a great deal of existing material against which to put basic questions, such as what kinds of 'education' were distributed within Empires, to whom, and why and how were these forms of education distributed?

Answers to those questions very rapidly offer an orientation to the ways in which Empires confirmed or contradicted local stratification systems, such as caste; aimed at inclusion of all in an educational process that stressed a common identity (such as Christianity; or accepted (or even sought) the subordination or marginalisation of a minority group in a newly occupied territory such as the USA or Australia. Clearly a crucial discussion in Empires is whether those conquered should be offered education at all. The decision in Spain that the indigenous inhabitants of the New World had souls was one direction. Within the Nazi Empire, the decision to distribute education in accordance with the principles of Nazi race theory led in a different direction.

Answers to those questions very rapidly confirmed the range of mixtures of State and religious power which framed imperial projects. At one extreme, the Catholic Church was a partner with the Spanish and Portuguese States in Latin America. At the other, the Soviet State was prepared, at best, to make some educational concessions to a powerful organised religion (but rather more for example in Poland and in the Muslim Republics of the USSR, than in Mother Russia itself).

And of course the Church-State balance was not a policy that was always universalised for a whole empire. Within the British Empire for example, missionaries were not warmly welcomed in India at the time of the East India Company (partly because of the political dangers of upsetting large religious groups within the Indian population); whereas in the West Indies and in much of those parts of Africa that the British colonised, the missionary was symbolised by David Livingstone whose visibility was considerable, who was useful as a anti-slavery symbol, and who was not always effective in practice. The point perhaps is to note that there was a mix of State and religious power within Empires in Africa, including in the Belgian, French, German and Portuguese empires. This mix of secular power, commercial interest, religious belief, and ideologies about 'civilisation' was extraordinarily complex (as in South Africa); but by the time of 'The Scramble for Africa' (say 1880 onwards until World War One) an extra layer of answers could be sketched to the questions: what kinds of 'education' were distributed within Empires, to whom, and why were these forms of education distributed?

There remain other crucial questions, such as how the Muslims and Hindus of the Indian sub-continent – male and female - used such education as the British offered, or the Malays, Chinese and Indians within what was at that time Malaya took advantage of the educational patterns of the period, or the Turks and Greeks in Cyprus and so on – and for other Empires also. Who among the colonised completed their education in French, or indeed in French and in Paris?

However, amid the sketches of the kinds of work which historians have already done and amid sketches of the considerable narrative complexities needed to answer some basic questions about the distribution of education within empires, two other questions have been marginalised. One of those questions was about shape-shifting and Cowen's aphorism: as it moves, it morphs? And the second question asked much earlier was: 'what is it in empires that is of great interest to comparative education – and why is that

of great interest?' Answers to those questions create ways to think about Empires in comparative education. However, the point is not to indicate two or three themes which define a job list. The last thing at the present moment which comparative education needs is a set of sensible job lists. Rather, along with the other articles in this monograph section of the journal, the core purpose remains: to open up perspectives on new ways to think about empires.

4. Ways to think: Empires

Empires come and go. However, something extra can be said which turns that banality into an interesting idea: empires come and go and as they come and go they create 'transitologies' (Cowen, 1999; 2000b). A transitology is – in a period of about ten years - the rapid destruction or collapse and reconstruction of state apparatuses; economic and social stratification systems; political visions of the future; and the deliberate use of the educational system to move such visions forward.

One illustration would be the England of Mrs Thatcher. Part of her electoral appeal was the intention to create 'a small State'; to discipline the trade unions and to favour entrepreneurship and small-scale capitalism, to reassert Britain's international position, and prepare it for an economically globalised world. The agenda she promised in her first election manifesto was followed. The nationalised industries – such as coal, steel, the railways, energy industries, aviation - were sold into private ownership. There was the famous struggle between the Government and the coal miners' trade union, and the beginning of a shift in wealth – which continues up to the present: in England, the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer. The rhetoric about economic globalisation has – forty years later – only just begun to diminish. (In part, Brexit can be understood as a rejection of it, by much of the British electorate.) In particular, in the 1980s there was a flurry of educational reform – designed very much to construct a new future. In England (Scotland controls its own educational system) there were changes in the system of governance of education: an interesting shift in which many aspects of educational control were centralised in London and other aspects were located at school level – intentionally weakening control by local education authorities, not all of which shared the visions of the Conservative Party about 'effective and efficient' schools. There were reforms of school curricula, the introduction of standardised tests for all children at particular ages, the publication of school league tables, reforms of teacher education (which became more and more school-based), and the beginnings of the disciplining of universities by measuring their output as if they are economic units, rather than a part of civic society and – for that reason - vital to the cultural and political public life of the nations within the UK.

Transitologies, then, are political events which are not limited to Empires. Nor do they have an axiomatic connection to revolutions, oddly enough. While revolutions are intended and actually may achieve many of the same things (altering state apparatuses, redefining social and economic stratification systems, and offering visions of a new future), revolutions can take years. Exactly how long 'the Chinese Revolution' took can be debated. However, one definition would be to say that it was a number of revolutions which began even before 1911 and that it took until 1949 when the Chinese State was formally re-stabilised. However, China did have a transitology: the remarkable Cultural Revolution of the mid-1960s which redefined State apparatuses (including inventing the Red Guards); which dramatized ('learn from the workers, soldiers, and peasants)

extreme policies for re-shaping social and economic stratification systems; and which with the Little Red Book painted a very Maoist (and not merely a Marxist-Leninst) view of the future. In contrast, the Cuban Revolution was that – and also a transitology. Within a period of about ten years, Fidel Castro tackled each of the motifs of a transitology – reconstructing State apparatuses, redefining social and economic stratification systems, confirming the vision of the future in interminable speeches, and he used the educational system to support all of these initiatives.

What is very noticeable in the Cuban case is that the transitology redefined Cuba's international political relations. In the example of China and the Cultural Revolution there was a refinement of international political and economic relations with the USSR – the links became less enthusiastic, but they survived. Similarly with Mrs Thatcher: there was no abrupt redefinition of international political relations, but the links with continental Europe became more acrimonious, and those with the USA more harmonious. Changes in international political and economic relations are not an axiomatic part of a transitology.

In contrast, Empires, as they 'come and go', are themselves huge changes in international and political and economic relations – *and* they create transitologies. Among contemporary examples, the 'exit' transitologies of central and Eastern Europe are striking (Silova, 2010). The eastern European post-imperial patterns meet all of the criteria of a transitology – as well as being marked by major changes in international political relations. The transitology for 'East Germany', after the symbolic and actual collapse of the Wall, is perhaps the most extreme example given its absorption into an existing State ('West Germany') and the reversal of its international political relations.

Thus Empires tend to create what Alistair Horne (1978) called 'savage wars of peace' – and transitologies on exit (Algeria, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Laos, Pakistan, 'Palestine', Tanzania, Vietnam, Uganda) and as Empires advance they create transitologies. This - apart from classical political conceptions of an inter-national balance of power and of a geo-political 'buffer zone' of satellites – was the point of the expansion of the USSR into central and eastern Europe in the first place. Visions of the future were being exported; and, with that, visions of a 'good educational system' and the proper purposes of education. This for the Spanish, early, was part of empire building in southern America and, rather more slowly and gradually, a definition of the proper purpose of 'good education' for indigenous peoples emerged in northern America. The social and cultural destruction inflicted on indigenous peoples in the name of 'good education' has created a large literature offering to us disturbing historical and comparative counterpoint.

We – as 'indigenous peoples', local peoples in our national tribes - are now faced with the enthusiasms of PISA and the World Bank for the educational future of our grandchildren.

However, as disturbing as such historical memories and visions of the future might be, they should not be permitted to distract attention from the core academic question: in addition to noting some of the tragedies of empire and in addition to the excitement of noting the remarkable number of exploding stars (i.e. transitologies) that occur as the waves of empire advance and recede – what is the point of transitologies and Empires for comparative education?

The point is a theoretical point very relevant to comparative education. I did not invent the concept of transitology to count exploding stars, or political black holes, or

to prove that social universes begin with a Big Bang. The theoretical point is that transitologies, in a very compressed form, might contain a key to the codings of educational systems: 'coding' here means the ways in which social power (economic, political cultural) is compressed into specific educational shapes, such as curriculum, or concepts of universities, or educated identities. In a transitology, we see intense moments of social creativity: we are offered new visions of societies. And we are offered even more: we are seeing new definitions of 'the State'; we are seeing new conceptions of 'an educational system', and new definitions of 'educated identity'.

We *may* be seeing new 'codings'; but we cannot read them yet.

Combine this theme, then, with 'Empires' – which are themselves new forms of State with remarkable variation between the Austro-Hungarian, the so-called Brazilian Empire, and the British, French, German, Ming, Ottoman, Roman, Russian and Soviet forms of empire.

And combine these two themes with the display - in empires - of most of the 'unit ideas'[2] of comparative education. The 'unit ideas' of comparative education are: transfer; the educational system; the State; educated identity; space; time; social context; and praxis (Cowen 2002; 2009a). What I am calling unit ideas are 'our' unit ideas – specific mixtures of these ideas run throughout the history of comparative education as a field of study and hekp to hold it together as a field of study.

Quite remarkably – the theme of 'Empires' cuts to the heart of unit ideas and to the theoretical concerns of comparative education.

The State? Empires themselves are new forms of State as they expand clash with earlier forms of State and earlier forms of 'education.' *Transfer*? The insertion of French educational institutions into Algeria is embedded (obviously with different educational results) in a very different politics compared with the insertion of English educational patterns into Ghana. In turn, Ghana was a very different example of the 'transfer' of education compared with the even more complex situation in South Africa. *The educational system*? Which 'parts of' an educational system would be 'exported' was also a decision that needed to be taken – for example whether, in the imperial period, 'a university' or a college for the applied social sciences should be created in twentieth century Malaya was discussed within an Advisory Commission in London. There were similar debates over the provision of academic secondary school education or vocational-technical education at school level (e.g. in Ghana). There was in Victorian England a famous debate about whether English or languages and literatures indigenous to India should be encouraged. *Context*? The insertion of 'English' educational forms into India involved a careful assessment of what comparative educationists have been fixated about for at least 120 years: the very slippery concept of 'social context' which as a concept has posed an almost intractable problem for comparative education for over one hundred years.[3]. *Praxis*? All these decisions, interventions, and exportations were remarkable acts of imperial praxis.

As usual, the unit ideas most difficult to illustrate – and among the most interesting – are space and time (Cowen, 2018b). These ideas still need to be worked out (for comparative education) within the theme of 'empire'.

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2   The term 'unit ideas' comes from Robert Nisbet and his impressive interpretation of sociology as a field of study defined, over the generations, by a small number of ideas. He calls those the 'unit ideas' of sociology.

3   The phrase has just about reached the point where it has become analytically useless, though fresh insights into the concept (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2018) will at least prevent the word 'context' being used as a professional mantra.

However, the unit idea of '*educated identity*' is also fascinating and relatively easy to illustrate quickly. Indeed, there are examples in this monograph section of the journal. Iveta Silova and Garine Palandjian show how the concept of educated identity includes ceremonies and rituals and uniforms in the socialisation offered within State-dominated youth groups in the Soviet empire. The theme of 'socialised identity' in empires is also illustrated superbly by Ann Stoler (2001) who has shown how the concept of 'educated identity' in empires very rapidly extends beyond formal education and includes sensibility to the rules of empires in the physical gestures, sexual relationships and 'tender ties' and intimate relationships (including in the play and leisure of children) between the colonisers and the colonised. Funie Hsu (2013) has also argued, brilliantly, to show how the maternalising and caring identity of those American females teaching English, following Public Law 74 in 1901 in the Philippines, helped to "erase" the fact that colonisation of identity was occurring. Rupert Wilkinson's work (1964) on the 'educated identity' of those headed towards imperial rule has already been indicated but another of his classic essays – on the education of Janissaries within the Ottoman Empire - has not; nor has the pattern of reforms of Kemal Atatürk which included injunctions against the use of the fez in male attire been mentioned as part of the transitology at the end of an Empire.

The examples of reforms aimed at the definition of 'educated identity' in Empires could be extended. Major work on gender and race and educated identity has not been traced. The range of empires which has been mentioned, never mind properly analysed, has been limited. No effort has been made to utilise a theme recently popular among British historians of education – the effects of Empire on education in Britain (under the general rubric 'the empire strikes back') or rather more charmingly, the effects of Empire on themselves as historians (Burton & Kennedy, 2018).

However, perhaps enough has been said to hint at a flurry of 'shape-shiftings' necessarily associated with education and empire and in particular to sketch an answer to the question, what is it in empires that is of great interest to comparative education – and why is that of great interest? The short answer is that both transitologies and changes in 'unit ideas' are very visible amid the political, cultural, economic and ideational struggles which go on within Empires, as they come and go... and that both transitologies and real-life changes in unit ideas are important parts of what our academic work in comparative education seeks to understand.

So what happens next? There is, surely, a happy ending?

Perhaps not. As any old-style imperialist will tell you, happy endings – even if one can survive the beginnings of Empire - do not always come to those who think they deserve them.

5. A Happy Ending?

> *First comes one Englishman, as a traveller or for shikar; then come two and make a map; then comes an army and takes the country. Therefore it is better to kill the first Englishman.*
>
> *Afghan proverb*

There are some stabilities, in addition to the irritation of Afghans after four wars with the 'English'; though that is an insult, *en passant*, to the Northern Irish, the Scots and the Welsh, some of whom were excellent imperialists (Allen, 2001). There are continuations,

epilogues, post-scripts. When the imperial flags are lowered, the plangent tones of the trumpets die, and the armies march away, the 'Empire' does not end. It begins to become... for example, a brilliant outburst of writing talent: Achebe, Fanon, Gordimer, Rushdie, Said. The empire also becomes memories carried harshly in stone, in cathedrals and graves, memories captured in archives in Bombay and Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, in bits of broken bombers in Vietnam and monuments to the martyrs of Independence in Algeria and in terrifying museums in Shanghai about the Japanese occupation. The memories and meanings of 'empire' are also rewritten in a range of academic discourses with different intellectual histories and, no doubt, different intellectual futures: *dependencia*; Orientalism; and post-colonialism (Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell, 2016). There are other ironic stabilities close to home too: comparative education, an academic subject traditionally linked to the training of teachers and to MA and PhD programmes and academic qualifications, is changing yet again. In one identity - as funded research, as consultancies, and in advisory roles in fragile States and post-conflict struggles for peace - it is rapidly taking up a role akin to medicine: the role of an applied science; albeit a rather unreliable one at the present moment, even though, as an academic subject, comparative education is now under severe pressure to offer research that is 'robust and relevant'.

The current politics of knowledge in the UK stress the importance of a certain kind of research training (Cowen, 2016) and in the UK and and increasingly in Europe, there is an assertion that the research of academics should have rather rapid social and economic impact (Cowen, 2012; Gunn & Mintrom, 2016). Those definitions of 'quality' do not encourage theory work (Cowen, 2012). This does not mean that theory work is not being done; but not a lot of it is done in England. New ideas created in Europe, and the United States, and Australia and Japan are visible: Carney, Rappleye and Silova (2012); Paulston (2009); Schriewer (2012); Troehler (2011) and McLeod, Sobe and Seddon (2018). In England, more typical from senior management in universities is the plea for the kind of relevance which might appeal to politicians, for example, Patricia Broadfoot's remarkably explicit advocacy of 'learnology' (2009). The pressure is towards the useful and measurable, a return to time-past. Once again, the vision of comparative education is being narrowed. Having epistemically uprooted itself from concerns with the domestic and its obsessions with 'critical points of decision' and 'problem-solving' in the 1960s and 1970s, comparative education is now, under national and university managerial pressures, being disciplined (Cowen, 2007; 2013). In earthier language it is being expected, like a chicken, to come home to roost.

That is extremely unfortunate. The World Bank or OECD or PISA are not merely sources of 'solutions' to educational problems but are also part of the construction of a new problem: a new vision of new inter-national ways of re-shaping and governing educational systems, and transmitting ideologies of positivistic performance and economic efficiency, in which education is reduced to skill acquisition (Cowen, 2014b). These are the new forms of empire; subtler empires, neo-empires, empires of the mind.

Indeed, it is here that I would like to acknowledge the significance of the comments of one of the external reviewers of this article.[4]

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4   The reviewer pointed out that the article could have given greater stress to the theme of 'empires' and the future. I agree. My essay in its present form, like most of the other essays in this monograph section of the journal, emphasises the historical implications of empires for comparative education per se. In particular, my essay tried to interpret when and why comparative education 'shape-changed' and when and why it was silent about empires. And why it should not be silent about empires. The external reviewer

Given those proposed themes which are excellent, what is ironic, here, is that the theme of the domination of 'the economic' is precisely the theme which is re-domesticating comparative education – along with the relative quiescence of new cadres of academic leadership in universities (in a range of neoliberal states) about political propositions that stress that the crucial role of the university is to drive 'the knowledge economy' forward; that agree it is the proper role of the university to behave as-if it is a profit making economic institution; and that accept that models of research training should be defined and academic quality regularly and routinely measured by administrative agencies external to the university which emphasise the 'social impact' of university research. In this messianic vision of economic success and efficiency - while there is indeed recognition of the new importance of 'identity politics'- there is a disturbing silence over the emergent patterns of 'knowledge *societies*' and silence over the classic and historical question of the relationships of economies to new forms of social stratification, educational discrimination, and social injustice. In other words, as with the Industrial Revolution, the huge historic questions of the relationship of economies to new forms of society.

It is our proper concern as educationists to investigate these new forms of *imperium* that shape and re-shape 'educational systems', exactly at the intersections of international and domestic power. It is our responsibility to look outwards and upwards and critically; not merely to support the Minister in his wish to import Chinese teachers from Shanghai. This is the worst possible answer to the famous question of Sir Michael Sadler: 'what can be learned from the study of foreign systems of education'. Ministers come and go. We do not, and we have read things and understood things that the Minister has not. We are not chickens that come home to roost.

Our proper position is to be separated from power and critical of it. Our voice, our responsible voice, is that of Cassandra. Our intellectual puzzle remains: 'as it moves, it morphs'. Our moral responsibility, our professional moral responsibility, is unvarying: as best we can, to the maximum of our academic, analytical and scholarly talents, we bear witness to what is done, in many places and in many times under the impact of multiple forms of power, to human beings in the name of education. Thus, among other things, we study Empires of the past, empires in the present, and, yes, the emergent empires of the future.

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sketched an extra set of excellent ways for comparative education to move forward, in terms of modes of domination on at least four dimensions: the economic; space (including electronic space); the image (rather than 'word'); and language (and its automatic construction of 'others' who become 'minorities').

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3

Empires, Rituals and Ceremonial Pedagogy, Old and New

Imperios, rituales y pedagogía ceremonial, lo antiguo y lo nuevo

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Abstract

In the Roman Empire, the function of creating part of the common culture needed for citizenship was carried out by institutions different from what we call today a "school system". It was the ancient society in its entirety, via its vast ritual apparatus, which provided an equivalent of what we call today "civic education". In the universal Roman Empire all citizens were educated by the means of such "ceremonial pedagogy." It was a form of collective education, based on symbols and actions that could "talk" a universal language to the varied ethnic identities of the citizens. Similarly the Roman Catholic Church (heir to the universality of the Roman Empire) also uses art, architecture, rituals and symbols to educate the universal crowd of the faithful. There is one group of Roman rituals in particular (adventus, amburbium, lustrum), based on the stately procession, whose ties with the education of citizens are evident. The paper will explore such educational dimensions of the rituals, in what it is believed to be one of their surviving forms of today, the Roman Catholic procession of the patron saint, which was studied ethnographically in a village in central Italy. In Castelfiocco, a village noted for its *campanilismo* (strong sentiment of local membership) a ritual system based on the cult of saints conveys to the population values which are survivors of an older political order in which the modern, comprehensive nation-state had not yet appeared. In this traditional system the dialectic is not between locality and nation-state, but between local membership and the universality of the Church. The understanding of some aspects of such traditional dialectic, and especially the understanding of the way in which it is conveyed to the population by rituals used as ceremonial pedagogy, is of renewed interest in our age of globalisation.

Key Words: Comparative Education; Rituals of the Roman Empire; Roman Catholic Rituals; Ceremonial Pedagogy; Ethnography of Education; Informal education

Resumen

En el Imperio Romano, la función de crear parte de la cultura común necesaria para la ciudadanía, fue llevada a cabo por instituciones diferentes de lo que hoy llamamos «sistema escolar». Fue la sociedad antigua en su totalidad, a través de su vasto aparato ritual, la que proporcionó algo equivalente de lo que hoy llamamos «educación cívica». En el Imperio Romano universal, todos los ciudadanos eran educados por medio de esa «pedagogía ceremonial». Era una forma de educación colectiva, basada en símbolos y acciones que pudiesen «hablar» un lenguaje universal a los ciudadanos de diversas identidades étnicas. Del mismo modo que la Iglesia Católica Romana (heredera de la universalidad del Imperio Romano) también ha utilizado el arte, la arquitectura, los rituales y los símbolos para educar a los fieles de todo el orbe. Hay un grupo de rituales romanos en particular (adventus, amburbium, lustrum), basados en majestuosas procesiones, cuyos vínculos con la educación de los ciudadanos son evidentes. El artículo explorará tales dimensiones educativas de los rituales, en lo que se cree que es una de sus formas supervivientes hoy, la procesión católica romana del santo patrón, la cual fue estudiada etnográficamente en un pueblo del centro de Italia. En Castelfiocco, un pueblo famoso por su *campanilismo* (fuerte sentimiento de pertenencia local), un sistema ritual basado en el culto a los santos, transmite a la población valores que sobreviven de un orden político más antiguo en el que el estado-nación moderno y global todavía no había aparecido. En este sistema tradicional, la dialéctica no es entre la localidad y la nación-estado, sino entre los miembros de la localidad y la universalidad de la Iglesia. La comprensión de algunos aspectos de tal dialéctica tradicional, y especialmente la comprensión de la forma en que se transmite a la población mediante rituales utilizados como pedagogía ceremonial, es de renovado interés en nuestra era de globalización.

Palabras clave: Educación comparada; Rituales del Imperio Romano; Rituales católicos romanos; Pedagogía ceremonial; Etnografía de la educación; Educación no formal

1. Rituals as "informal education" in the Roman Empire

In this paper I will try to show how some aspects of the rituals of the Roman Empire[1], which have been studied from many different points of view (political, religious, anthropological, etc.) are in fact relevant to comparative education studies. There is one group of rituals in particular, based on the stately procession: the imperial *adventus*, and two older rituals (the *amburbium* and the *lustrum*, which have elements in common with the former) whose ties with the education of citizens are evident (Paolone 2014, 2016; MacCormack 1972, 1995). In this paper I will try to explore such educational dimensions of the rituals, both in their original form, (back in the days of the Roman Empire), and especially in what I believe to be one of their surviving forms of today, which I have studied through fieldwork, in a village in central Italy. In fact, this paper is also about social memories of rituals and their retention and re-location within new meaning systems. The discussion of such themes can show us that in today's world several elements from empires of the past are still surviving and that, by studying their relationship to the new context, we can deepen our understanding of today's world (in this specific case: of today's education).

If the school system (one of the bases of what we call today: *formal education*) seems to be a characteristic of the modern nation-state (Soldani and Turi 1997, Archer 1979) then it appears to be a less important and systematic feature in some older forms of sovereignty, including the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire for instance had no state school system (with the exception of a few smaller institutions, at least until Vespasian[2]) (Marrou 1948).

As I have already shown (Paolone 2014, 2016) in Rome the function of creating the common culture needed for citizenship, was carried out by institutions different from what we call today a "school system".

It was the ancient society in its entirety, via its vast ritual apparatus, which provided an equivalent of what we call today "civic education".

In particular, the ritual apparatus of the Roman Empire was huge, magnificent, sophisticated, and articulated in terms of a sort of ancient intelligence (Jaynes 1977) which leans towards myth and the unconscious (rather than the scientific rationality of Enlightenment -which dominates modern schooling).

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1   By Empire I mean the post-republican period of the ancient Roman civilization, characterised by government headed by Emperors, and large territorial holdings in Europe, Asia and Africa, (over 5 million sq km at its greatest extent, around 117 AD). When in 27 BC the Roman Senate formally granted Octavian overarching power and the new title of *Augustus*, the 500-year-old republican institutions (which had assured constant territorial expansion to the Roman state and, for at least three centuries, political stability and the steady cultural assimilation of conquered or allied cities), began to lose their power. Progressively the Emperors assumed for themselves the powers and prerogatives of the ancient republican magistrates and institutions, including some of those pertaining to the Senate. Under many aspects, there is a substantial continuity between the late Republic and the first period of the Empire, at least until the second century AD. In AD 395 Emperor Teodosius divided the Empire in two parts: the Western, which lasted until 476 AD, and the Eastern, which ended in 1453 AD.

2   Emperor from 69 to 79 AD, in his military career he had played an important role in the Roman invasion of Britain in 43 AD and in the subjugation of Judaea during the Jewish rebellion of 66 AD. In his ten-year rule, he reformed the financial system at Rome and initiated several construction projects, including the building of the Flavian Amphitheatre, better known as the Colosseum.

The impressive width and scope (and pageant) of such a ritual apparatus is evident in comprehensive descriptions such as Ovid's[3] *Fasti* (The Book of Days*).*

Rituals of the Roman Empire where "total social facts" which involved the whole of society not only in terms of the citizens and their behaviour (conscious or unconscious), opinions and values, but also in terms of the physical infrastructures and spaces of the Roman cities. As has been shown (Zanker 1989), architecture and city-planning were functional elements of this ritual apparatus.

Most public spaces were built with an eye to the functions they played in the complex and endless sequence of Imperial rituals. This ritual/visual/architectural communicative effort of the Emperor was also aimed at maintaining that *consensus* on which Roman political life was based and which assured the loyalty to Empire of local communities (Ando 2000)[4].

In my judgement, this was not "spectacle" in the same meaning that some post-foundational and critical authors have exposed today, talking about contemporary society (Hardt and Negri 2000, Novoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003). This was rather "ceremonial pedagogy" (Schriewer 2009).

In fact, the postmodern logic of spectacle as an instrument to manipulate the masses is tied to the dislocation of the organisational dynamic of sovereignty from the ancient and medieval terrain of hierarchy to that of modern discipline, from command to function. Max Weber and Michel Foucault have insisted on these metamorphoses in the sociological figures of power.

But in the Roman Empire, which was in many ways a holistic, hierarchical society[5], sovereignty was rooted in transcendence, and the form of belief which citizens had in such rituals (as the processional ones we will describe in this paper) was in my judgement different from the "belief" of citizens, which modern powers manipulate.

The ancient belief which was implied in participating in imperial rituals was in fact shared by most of the hierarchical degrees of command in society (social orders) including the Emperor[6] (Zanker 1989: 159-167).

Furthermore, as we shall see in the following pages, the different social actors involved in these kinds of rituals added (and add) their own modifications and symbols to them, which shows that they are active parts in them, and contribute to the final meaning of the rites, which are thus "living collective creations", constitutive of various aspects of society.

Thus in the Roman Empire, citizens were participating in rituals within another form of belief and devotion, which went beyond the ways by which modern powers subjugate and condition individuals.

In ancient *holistic* societies, the rituals overlapped with everyday social life, as ancient individuals were not morally autonomous, unlike their modern counterparts (Constant 1819). They had no "private life" in the modern meaning, and all they did was, in a sense,

3   Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC–17 AD), was a Roman poet who lived during the reign of Augustus. A contemporary of Virgil and Horace, with whom is portrayed by some as one of the three greatest poets of Latin literature, at the peak of popularity Ovid was sent by Augustus into exile in a remote province, until his death. He is today best known for the *Metamorphoses*, a 15-book mythological narrative, and for works in elegiac couplets such as *Ars Amatoria,* and *Fasti*: the latter is a vast description of Rome's rituals.

4   C. Ando especially dedicates chapter 6 of his book to elucidate the "social dramas" that implicitly or explicitly invoked the *consensus* of provincials, while chapter 7 explores some of the symbolic aspects of Roman power, both visual and ritual.

5   I use here the terms *holistic society* and *hierarchical society* in the meaning of Louis Dumont (1966)
6   Augustus re-established the *mos majorum* (morality of the forefathers) in the Empire, not as a cynical and detached modern ruler would do (e.g. Putin restoring Orthodox religion in Russia), but because he truly believed in it, he shared with his citizens the belief in those values.

public. The modern concept of "private life" (as the realm where the morally autonomous individual is "master of himself") did not exist, and in the ancient city-state (the "building block" of the Empire) (Foustel de Coulanges 1864) citizens lived mainly as dedicated members of their community. In Rome in particular, the *censors*[7] (magistrates elected every five years) were constantly peering into the life of citizens and their families (the realm of the *res privata*, which at the time was the closest existing thing to what we call today *privacy*- very different from it, though) to asses if their dedication to the well-being of the *res publica* (the state) was sufficient. If not, the culprits would be publicly blamed and demoted in Rome's social hierarchy (Paolone 2014, 2016).

All this helps us to understand why the Imperial rituals had an "educational" impact on the population. The rituals themselves (with their "total social fact" apparatus which included architecture and city-planning) forged and shaped the lives of people, which were mainly "public" lives, devoid of that sort of "private backstage" where modern men can take a distance from society (like Guicciardini or Montaigne) and "find themselves", or dissent, as morally autonomous individuals.

2. Universality of the Empire and of Christianity: a look into the *Pauline Epistles*

Another important element in the discussion on the Imperial and Christian rituals and their educational aspects, which will follow, is the circumstance that the Roman Empire and Christianity share the concept of *universality*.

St. Paul of Tarsus, who had a deep understanding of the Roman Empire, its laws, its functioning, its meanings and values, was especially aware of one key aspect of Roman citizenship (which he himself had been awarded.) He was born a Jew, and had been educated according to the rules and values of his ethnic/religious group.

Coming from a *religion of the book*, he had also been educated formally.

Therefore he had received from the clergy of his ethnic/religious group (which he would call a *nation*) the kind of formal education that we associate today —*mutatis mutandis*— with a national culture,

But St. Paul was at the same time a Roman citizen, legally and formally the subject of a wider, all-encompassing universal sovereignty, which awarded him some fundamental rights, such as that of being judged directly by the Emperor, in case he appealed to him. (This prerogative of Roman citizenship he was particularly fond of, and he took advantage of it when in need.)

What especially fascinated St. Paul was the possibility for Roman citizens to maintain their varied ethnic (national) identities and at the same time to be subjects of the universal Emperor.

Until his time, religions like Judaism had been strictly tied to the nation to which one belonged; to be a Jew you had to be circumcised, and the child of a Jewish woman.

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7   The censors were magistrates in ancient Rome who were responsible for maintaining the census (which included the distribution of citizens in the social orders), overseeing certain aspects of the government's finances and supervising public morality. Established in the virtuous days of the early Republic, the censorship continued in existence for 421 years, from 443 BC to 22 BC. From Augustus onwards, it was the Emperor who discharged the duties of their office (with some historical discontinuities).

But this new religion which he was helping to establish —Christianity— couldn't that be conceived in the same universal terms as Roman citizenship? St. Peter (and other members of the early Church) initially thought that you had to be circumcised in order to become a Christian. St. Paul had a different vision (Galatians:5,6): no circumcision was needed to be a Christian (no need to belong to a particular ethnicity). You could be born a Jew and become a Christian, but you could be as well a Greek, a Gaul, a Briton… and at the same time be a member of Christianity (Galatians: 3, 28) . In the vision of St. Paul, the latter had to be a *universal* religion. As people from the various nations and ethnic groups within the *limes* could become Roman citizens[8], and at the same time maintain their original "ethnic" identity[9], the same could happen with Christianity. This is one of the reasons why the new religion quickly spread in the Empire and, after Constantine,[10] progressively but almost naturally became the new Roman state religion. In some ways Christianity was the heir to the universality of the Roman Empire. In the *Lex Rhodia*, Antoninus[11] had stated that the Roman Emperor was the *dominus totius orbis* (master of the whole World). In the same way, a few centuries later, Pope Gregory VII[12] in the *Dictatus Papae* stated that the Pope was exercising universal sovereignty over souls.

One of the consequences of this kinship is that the Roman Catholic Church is not iconoclastic. Images, symbols, rituals are a pillar of its tradition, as they were in the Roman Empire. Since its origins, the Church educates the universal crowd of the faithful also through art, architecture and rituals (the so-called *Biblia Pauperum*: the "Bible for the humbles"), exactly like the Roman Empire had done before, with its mullti-ethnic citizens.

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8   Roman citizenship would be automatically extended to all inhabitants of the Empire only after AD 212.

9   In the typical hierarchical perspective of the Ancient, allegiance to the two co-existing identities cannot be equivalent. In the *incipit* of the book II of his *De legibus*, Cicero is discussing with Atticus about the concept of *patria* (fatherland), which elicits a question from his friend. In spite of his patriotism, Atticus says, Cato was not born in Rome, but in Tusculum. Then he had two *patriae*? Or is our *communis patria* the only one? And Cicero responds that he thinks that he and all municipal men (born in cities of the Empire different than Rome) have two *patriae*: one by birth and one by citizenship. Thus, he claims, we consider as our *patria* both the place were we were born and the place by which we are adopted. But that *patria* must be pre-eminent in our affection in which the name *res publica* signifies the common citizenship of us all. This *patria* is the one that most deserves our allegiance (Cicero, *Leg*. 2,5).

10   Constantine the Great was Emperor between 306 and 337 AD. He played an influential role in the proclamation of the *Edict of Milan* in 313 AD, which declared religious tolerance for Christianity in the Roman Empire. He joined Christianity on his deathbed and was the first Roman Emperor to convert and be baptized. Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire with the *Edict of Thessalonica*, jointly issued by Theodosius I, Gratian and Valentinian II, in 380 AD.

11   Antoninus Pius was Emperor from 138 to 161 AD. He was a good administrator, who expanded free access to drinking water throughout the Empire, encouraged legal conformity, and facilitated the enfranchisement of freed slaves. He built the Antonine Wall in Scotland: the northernmost border of the Roman Empire.

12   Ildebrando da Soana was Pope, with the name of Gregory VII, from 1073 to his death in 1085 AD. He is known for the part he played in the "Investiture Controversy", his dispute with Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor. Pope Gregory affirmed the primacy of papal authority and the new canon law governing the election of the pope by the College of Cardinals.

3. Ceremonial Pedagogy: a universal approach to education

In the days of the Pagan Roman Empire, neither the universal Roman citizenship, nor its religious side (Roman state religion) were tied to a formal education of the book (Bayet 1957), like for instance Judaism. The Empire had chosen another form of "civic education" for its citizens, based on rituals and images (Zanker 1989), and it never considered the need for an equivalent of today's national school systems. (However, from Vespasian onwards, the function of "primary teachers" operating in the public streets was recognized by the Emperor, who was ready to pay them a salary in case of need -and this was still very different from a state school system) (Levick, 1999).

In my mind, modern national school systems derive from a *religion-of–the-book* type of formal education. It all started when Luther decided that the faithful must be able to read (in German: a national idiom, and in general, in their vernacular language) in order to interpret the Holy Books. Compulsory primary education partially derives from the consequences of this, and the national school systems of Prussia, Sweden, etc. are partially a secular/nationalist derivation of this concept.

In the universal Roman Empire (which was composed of many different ethnicities, and whose Pagan state religion was not a religion of the book) what was needed to educate all citizens (rich and poor, literate and illiterate) in order to make them subjects of the Emperor was rather another form of collective education. The latter should not be tied to "partial" ethnic cultures or languages, but rather on symbols and actions that could "talk" a universal language to the varied ethnic identities of the citizens, in order to integrate them in this wider universal system, notwithstanding their cultural differences. Of course, various —and sparse— types of formal education were already at work within the Empire (Mohler, 1937), but they were not systematic and organic as they are in modern nation-states.

This universal vocation is one of the reasons why the Roman Empire developed its "educational system" in terms of a ritual apparatus rather than in an academic format. After all, even in the days of its foundation Rome had never been "ethnically homogeneous" but rather composed by at least three distinct ethnic groups, very different from each other: the Latins, the Sabines and the Etruscans (*Ramnes, Tities, Luceres*). The Etruscans even used a different alphabet! But the three groups could live, thrive and fight (as their neighbor cities learned at their own expense) as one. One of the secrets of such unity and strength was a very effective ritual system, which was educating them to become dedicated and well-organized citizens (Paolone 2014, 2016).

And this is one of the reasons why the Roman Catholic Church made the same choice as that which the Empire had made, over the centuries. The Roman Catholic Church kept speaking to the entire World, persisting with the Imperial idea of teaching the masses through "universal" images, rituals and symbols. For centuries, millions of illiterate people all over the World learned the contents of religion also from paintings, sculptures and by performing rituals (the so-called *Biblia Pauperum*). The development of the Baroque, in the aftermath of Counter-Reformation, is testimony to the long haul of this concept (Sallman 1996). Even the Encyclical Letter *Miranda Prorsus* by Pope Pious XII (1957), discussing the mass media, still functions on those same principles.

4. From the Roman Empire to an Italian village of today. The implicit educational relevance of a ritual deriving from the past

Some studies have shown that modern patron saint processions could derive from the Roman imperial ritual of *adventus*, because the latter inspired successive rituals where Popes, bishops or the relics of saints were transported, or exposed to the worship of the faithful (MacCormack 1972: 747).

This is exactly what happens in the village of Castelfiocco (in Central Italy), where once a year the relics of Pope Alexander I (the fifth Pope after St. Peter, reigning from 105 to 116 AD) are followed by a stately procession in a tour of the village, during which the gathered inhabitants pay him tribute and worship him. I have studied this ritual ethnographically, in order to understand (as it is somehow derived from the Roman Empire) the meanings of universality/locality it can still convey today. One of the questions of my research was if this procession was a contemporary form of the older imperial ceremonial pedagogy, in order to understand, if possible, its re-location within new meaning systems. Does this sort of ritual still have an "educational" function?

In fact, as we shall see in the following pages, in my fieldwork I have realized that the festival in Castelfiocco is a display of the local hierarchical system of worship which, in the opinion of the interviewed villagers, tells a tale of the conflictual (or at least problematic), relationship between local identity and a wider form of identity, tied to the universal sovereignty (on the souls) of the Roman Catholic Church which, as we have seen, is a form of universal Empire.

In the ritual system that was studied, the perception by the villagers of the relationship of relics of the patron saint brought in procession, to some form of universal sovereignty, seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that the saint carried around in Castelfiocco is a Pope. Not only is the Pope the head of the universal Church, but there is also historical evidence that the *adventus* of the Roman Emperor, beyond the decadence of the Western Roman Empire, gave way to and was survived by the *adventus* of the Pope (Montaubin 2009, Meyer-Roux 2011). This creates a phylogenetic tie between the original meaning of the *adventus* as manifestation of the universal sovereignty of the Emperor (on the bodies) and that of the Pope (on the souls), a tie which is inscribed in the wider context of the power fight between Papacy and Empire in the Middle Ages to affirm themselves as the main universal power, especially after the *Dictatus Papae* by Gregory VII, in AD 1075 (Rocquain 1872)[13] .

5. Adventus

The imperial *adventus* was a ceremony by which the people of the cities in the Roman Empire represented themselves in a "sensuous way" (MacCormack, 1995), and formalised and aestheticised their social elements via a spatial and visual representation, in a form of ancient "ceremonial pedagogy", which was in fact a form of ritual education (Schriewer 2009).

13   The Pope's claim to some of the universal powers of the Roman Emperor (and the theological/political disputes on this problem) constitute one of the main themes of medieval Italian history (See: Rocquain 1872, Edwards 2005, Sistrunk 1987, etc.)

By the act of welcoming the Emperor in a provincial town (but also in Rome, when he came back from war or from a long absence), and by following the stately procession by which he was touring the city, this ceremony was meant, among other things, to create a moment of *consensus* between the assembled population (Brown 1996: 127-136). It was also meant to display visually, by the physical disposition of the citizens gathered together, some of the values on which the Roman state (and later the Christian society) was based. In this sense, this complex ritual system could be considered as a form of *ceremonial pedagogy*, but its impact on the attending human groups was much deeper than one could conceive in modern societies.

The main part of the ritual consisted of a stately procession, which has elements in common with two older rituals called *amburbium* and *lustrum*, two defensive circular processions (Paolone 2014, 2016). It has also elements in common with the successive processional —and educational— rituals, involving the relics of saints (Brown 1996: 127-136, MacCormack 1972: 747): it was a sort of historical "bridge" between the former and the latter.

By attending the *adventus*, (and later, the procession of the patron saint) youth in particular was being educated into some of the values which were structuring society (MacCormack 1995). At a time when a national school system did not exist, this could be considered a ceremonial form of civic education. But, as we have seen (Paolone 2014), the meaning of these ceremonies went far beyond this "educational" vision which is more suited for modern societies. The impact of this "ceremonial education" on the Ancient was of a different kind: less rational and more collective and unconscious. It derived mostly from the sensuous impression that it made on the crowd that attended, rather than on the rational solicitation of the individuals (which is instead at the centre of today's educational practices). It made all participants feel part of a community and the catalyzer of this feeling was the physical presence of the Emperor, and later of the Pope or of the relics of the saints (Brown 1996: 127-136).

6. The premises and structure of the ritual

In today's Italy, sentiments of national or other forms of universal belonging seem to be weak, compared with other sentiments of local membership. In Central Italy, the village membership seems still to be a strong element of identity. Political studies have been already done on some of the historical reasons of this circumstance (Romanelli 1991: 711-720). My fieldwork took place in Castelfiocco[14], a village of about 9,000 people located in the border area between Marche and Abruzzi (historically, the border between the *State of the Church* and the *Kingdom of Naples*).

The study aims at assessing the informal settings of ceremonial pedagogy, where the local population is exposed to values linked to -or promoting- the sentiment of local (as opposed to universal) membership.

The keystone of this local ideology is the festival of St. Alexander, Martyr and Pope[15], one of the two main patron saints of Castelfiocco. The festival takes place on August 26, a day entirely devoted to rituals, at a time when usually people are enjoying their summer holiday. August 26 marks the end of this period and it is a sort of final burst of leisure for local people. Of course this is a modern interpretation. In fact the festival of the patron

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14   On the demand of fieldwork informants, I have changed the name of the village.

15   The other main patron saint, St. Michael, officially has no procession in Castelfiocco.

saint has a historic and educational function in the local society. It depicts the local *cosmos* to the people who participate, it publicly shows the sets of values linked to each of the two main patron saints of the village. These values apparently do not contemplate the intermediate dimension of the nation-state, and locate the village community either in the universal space of Christendom, or they separate the community from the rest of the world in terms of a localist vision which in Italy goes by the name of *campanilismo* (Palumbo 2003).

As in the *adventus* ritual from which it derives historically, the procession of the patron saint, where the relics are exposed to the villagers, creates a feeling of general *consensus* (Brown 1996, MacCormack 1995) during which all members of the community feel part of that community, with an emotional, almost bodily involvement that finds no equivalents in other contemporary social facts.

7. Mars/St. Michael: the heathenish local hero

Castelfioccans told me that the local ritual system (the part of the ritual system expressing genuinely local values) has survived for centuries, because it was able to avoid being censored by powerful value systems coming from the outside, such as that of the Church. By using deception, it had managed to transmit to the population the symbols of local belonging, and ideas divergent from the Roman Catholic dogma, by concealing them under devious forms. In this sense, the present study considers especially the way in which Castelfiocco rituals partially conceal the figure of Mars/St. Michael the Archangel, armed guardian, protector of the village and symbol of uncompromising localism. He appears in armour on the crest of the commune, brandishing a sword and a shield. His portrait is posted in most houses and his sculpted effigy stands on the main church's embattled bell tower, since the time of its construction.

Notoriously he is tied to the stubborn local character, which has great affection for the village, is very cautious with strangers, and which is resistant to all forms of power imposed from the outside. To mention a few anecdotes, drawn from field interviews and confirmed by the study of documents, it is known that in the 70s, while Italy was living a season of virulent strikes, the local communist administration of Castelfiocco kept national trade unions out from the local factories, in order to protect production. The then very centralised Italian Communist Party (which conveyed the universal ideology of Marxism) was unable to overcome this resistance, and the local administration kept following its own policy on this and other matters. Besides, emigrants from Castelfiocco, compared to emigrants from other villages in the area, are known to leave home very reluctantly and come back as soon as they can, as fast as they can. The villagers proudly tell the anecdote of a local painter, living in poverty, who in the early 1900s was eventually appointed director of an important art museum abroad, but refused the job, not to leave his beloved Fatherland.

In the mind of the villagers, this local attitude is embodied by St. Michael, which is also the symbol of an ancient, heathenish form of religious cult which is still incarnated by one of the two brotherhoods still active in the village: the Rosario brotherhood. This ancient brotherhood resides in the Church of the Rosary, but in fact worships the pagan god Mars in the shape of St. Michael (in a way that has some resemblances with the Roman hero worship) (Spaeth 1925). When they parade in processions, the brethren wear an ancient light armour called *kardiophylax* (because they are warriors). One of the

archaic attributions of Mars was "god of the surface"; in other words, not only of borders and war, but also of agriculture, and vineyards. At the time of vintage, the brethren buy the best available grapes on the local market and, in their canteen, produce their own superior quality wine (which is used to celebrate mass, but not only that).

The Rosario brethren are the symbol of a different way of living with religion, heathenish and very much centred on the local community, and not very respectful of the universal principles and rules of the Roman Catholic Church.

8. The cult system of the village

In fact, the cult system of the village is based on a diad of saints, which are worshipped *intra-moenia* (within-the-walls). They are the actual protagonists (one officially, the other undercover) of the processional ritual which, like its ancestors in the Roman Empire, is tied to the village topography and monuments: the spaces where the ceremonial pedagogy takes place. In the local perception, even if they have partially disappeared, the walls with which these two saints (and especially St. Michael) are associated are still a very important symbol. In former times, Castelfiocco was strengthened by ramparts, punctuated by seven conspicuous towers, some of which are still visible. Around the beginning of the XIX century the walls had already partly disappeared or had been absorbed into the residences, some of which were built exploiting pre-existing pieces of wall. Castelfioccan families consider it an honour to have a piece of the ramparts incorporated in their houses. The greatest honour is to live inside one of the ancient towers. One of my informants, Mr. Fausto, spent a fortune to restore the tower in which he lives with his extended family, and he proudly stands on its balcony on the occasion of village rituals such as the patron saint procession. The walls are associated with the concept of self-defence. Being a border village, Castelfiocco has been constantly hit by invasions, the transit of armies, sieges and raids. The remains of a labyrinth of tunnels and secret passages are still accessible from the cellars of local homes. Historically, it often happened that Castelfioccans had to retreat inside the ramparts, and leave the land outside of the walls at the mercy of invaders. They thus developed a sort of cynical attitude towards that land. Traditionally, villagers living inside the walls consider with a slight disdain peasants living in the nearby countryside (sometimes they still call them *sharecroppers*). The ramparts are a structural element of the processional ritual: exactly like in the Roman *amburbium*, the procession encircles the walls in a rite of protection, in which Mars is "invoked" on the boundary, to defend the Fatherland (Dumézil 1947: 138).

9. The conundrum of the date: a substitution of saints

Therefore, the Castelfiocco procession is encircling the ramparts like in the *amburbium* of the Roman Empire. But in this case, where is Mars? In fact, the village procession is officially dedicated to St. Alexander, Martyr and Pope, but the day of its celebration (August 26) is evidently mistaken. According to the liturgical calendar, his onomastic falls on May 3. August 26 instead is tied to the name of St. Alexander of Bergamo (Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense 1961-69: *item* St. Alexander). I have asked to the informants why they think there is this incongruity. The answer was that "St. Alexander is St. Michael in disguise."

This answer of the popular wisdom has acquired greater intelligibility after I investigated St. Alexander of Bergamo. According to the Christian tradition, he was a Roman legionary, member of the Theban legion, commanded by St. Maurice, martyred for his faith in the fourth century AD. He is represented in armour, and his images are surprisingly similar to those of St. Michael the Archangel, especially in the eighteenth-century engraving I found frequently in the houses of Castelfiocco.

Therefore St. Alexander of Bergamo has the same name of St. Alexander Martyr and Pope, but has the same aspect of St. Michael the Archangel.

We now return to the statement according to which "St. Alexander is St. Michael in disguise" and try to understand it more in depth.

The procession involves two churches *intra-moenia*. The first one is the main church, dedicated to St. Michael. Its earliest construction probably dates back to the IX century, but excavations have shown that it is on top of a more ancient building built on the area in which in the Roman age a temple was dedicated to Mars (Palma 1832). According to the locals, the ruins of the latter are still visible in the basement of the bell tower. In the Middle Ages, the main church had the function of being the central building or *mastio* of the fortified system of Castelfiocco. As can still be seen, the bell tower of the main church has battlements, built according to the rules of military architecture.

The procession has its beginning and end in the main church where, to the right of the altar, the statue that is brought in procession, that of St. Alexander, Martyr and Pope, is guarded. In the church, the relics of the saint, which constitute a central element of the procession, are preserved. There is a mummified arm, dressed in silver, fixed in the action of pointing out the sky in a blessing gesture. In the procession the relic comes ahead of the statue, but it does not seem to be the principal object of the popular veneration. To the left of the altar instead another wooden statue, representing St. Michael in armour, is guarded, opposite to that of St. Alexander.

The other church involved in the procession is that of the *Rosario*, built in the XIX century on the initiative of the eponymous brotherhood. No particularly important relics are guarded in it. A great fresco in the apse reproduces the functional characters found in the main church: St. Michael and, to the opposite side, the Pope, this time with the semblances of Pius XII.

10. Highlights of the ritual

In the church of the *Rosario*, secondary in importance after the main church, on the morning of the feast of St. Alexander, the confirmands are assembled, and they listen to the last teachings on the sacrament that they are about to receive.

Then, they process to the main church following the bishop who then celebrates the mass, in which youth receive the Confirmation. During the celebration, the bishop sprinkles incense on the wooden statue of St. Alexander. After the ceremony the families disperse and go to celebrate the Confirmation, in their private homes, with a ritual family lunch. One must consider that in the central hours of the day temperature is hot (it is the end of August) and it is better to wait for the cool, around the evening, to be able to follow a procession which lasts over one hour. But this means also that each family celebrates the patron saint in a private banquet (Brown 1996: 55).

Around six o'clock the main procession begins, with a mass in honour of St. Alexander. The bishop does not participate in this celebration, which is focussed entirely on the local

community (he usually leaves Castelfiocco after the Confirmations). At the end of the mass the relic and the statue of the saint are brought out of the church and the ritual begins, followed by the whole population.

The procession is opened by a boy who carries a small cross. In his group other choir-boys march along two lines. Then a deacon brings the relic of the saint, escorted on each side by a town policeman. Finally the wooden statue of the saint, supported on a cart, preceded by the priest and escorted by the local policemen, is propelled by members of the Brotherhood of the *Rosario* and the Brotherhood of *Addolorata*. The latter brother-hood, still vital, has its seat near the main church, and for centuries has been in rivalry with the Brotherhood of the *Rosario*, that instead has its seat in the homonymous church.

The procession makes a complete tour of the village, and ideally following the old village boundaries. The most recent buildings, built in the peripheral zones, are left out.

The whole population takes part to the procession. Many take an active part in follow-ing the statue of the saint, others assist from the side of the roads or from the windows and balconies of their houses, decorated for the occasion with special red and yellow cloth.

At the end of the procession, the statue of the saint is brought into the piazza of the *belvedere*, built above a piece of the old fortifications. From that position the saint attends, together with the assembly, a firework session. The saint, eventually, returns to the main church. Before reentering, the statue is shortly exposed to the believers on the piazza. The priests bless the bystanders, shaking the silver arm of the saint towards them. At this point the band plays a military march and, while local policemen salute and the villagers watch, the statue is brought inside the main church. Then the crowd disperses along the streets of the village, decorated for the festival and filled with fair stands.

11.Spaces, symbols, and informal education

Why do Castelfioccans bring in procession St. Alexander instead of the "patron" that the village is celebrating, and which is St. Michael? A possible explanation comes from the consideration that St. Michael is an archangel and therefore has no relics: physical remains of his mortal body that can be worshipped by the believers and from which descend those powers usually associated with relics (Brown 1996: 121).

The Christian procession, of the type that takes place in Castelfiocco, seem to derive from the imperial *adventus* (MacCormack 1995 : 97-102). In the *adventus*, the Roman Emperor paraded along the streets of the visited city, followed by a stately crowd of nota-ble and military. In the Christian procession, what is paraded are the relics of a new (in comparison to the Emperor) type of *patronus*, the patron saint (Webb 1996: 3), with the purpose to create a moment of general *consensus* among the population (Brown 1996: 128-130). The physical presence of the *patronus* being needed, a saint with relics seems to be the appropriate choice for the procession.

But, behind the circumstance of the substitution of the two holy patrons, there is also another, deeper symbolic meaning, linked to the perception of the local community in political terms.

As I have already mentioned, in Castelfiocco each of the locally worshipped saints repre-sents a set of values linked either to the universal or to the local, and the public representa-tion in ritual form of the cult of these saints, serves to confirm to the local population and to transmit to the new generations the way that the community has symbolically to relate itself to political spaces: local space and universal space. It is a sort of ritual system of civic education.

The school system instead teaches youth the affiliation to the nation-state. The Italian school system in particular is born with the unification of the Country (in the second half of the XIX century) with the purpose of "making the Italians" (Soldani, Turi 1993).

The rituals of Castelfiocco transmit values that go back to a more ancient conception. When Italy as a nation did not exist, there were only either various forms of local membership or the universality of the Church, which was modelled on the universality of the Roman Empire. Some of these archaic forms of local membership had their roots in the pagan epoch.

As in the Middle Ages every free city had its patron, often an imported martyr whose relics were preserved in the main church and was regarded as the patron not merely of the church and the diocese, but of the city conceived as a social and political community (Webb 1996: 4), in ancient Italy every community had its local gods. In Castelfiocco there was the cult of Mars, whose altar was probably built under today's main church. It is not our task to prove here if there is a real continuity between the two cults (Warde Fowler 1922: 215-218). What we know is that in Castelfiocco the cult of St. Michael is today still linked to the *campanilismo,* which is a strong localist vision.

In the pagan epoch, Mars was invoked on the occasion of the processional rituals that encircled the borders of the inhabited area –like the procession called *amburbium*- to help the community to defend herself from foreigners and enemies (Dumézil 1947: 148-149). This action of ritual procession around the community, invoking Mars to protect it, also happened on the occasion of the periodic distribution of the population in the social orders, the *census* followed by the *lustrum* [16]. On that occasion the magistrates called *censores,* officially welcomed the 17 year-old boys into the group of the citizens –and therefore soldiers, by imposing[17] their hand on them. Today the bishop does something similar with the confirmed: he welcomes them in the adult community of the believers. There is then the procession, but in which St. Michael -another guardian and patron, equivalent to what Mars was in the ancient processions- for some reason cannot openly be invoked.

In his place, another patron saint is officially worshipped: St. Alexander Martyr and Pope.

The relics of the latter were sent to Castelfiocco at the time of the Counter-Reformation. The version orally transmitted is that the saint was given by the Church to the village as patron to save the community from an epidemic of unspecified nature. Why should Rome deprive herself of such a precious relic for the sake of a few remote believers in Castelfiocco? The patron saint they already had was not enough? A hypothesis is that the Church of Rome wanted to replace one cult with another. The principles of Counter-Reformation included a vision of the cult of saints (Sallmann 1996), in which every pagan-like residual was to be reconsidered. In this sense St. Alexander, being a martyr of the Church of the origins, was a perfect candidate for replacing the heathenish cult of St. Michael.

But above all, St. Alexander was a Pope, symbol of the universality of the Church: an antidote therefore to the local Armed Guardian, protector of the local borders and

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16   In the days of the Roman Republic, once every five years the citizens were distributed in the five hierarchical classes which constituted the social orders. In a ritual called *census*, two magistrates, the censors, decided which class each citizen had to be allocated to, on the basis of his patrimony and of his virtue and patriotism. After that, a sacrifice to Mars and a procession around the community (*lustrum)* would complete the ritual.

17   Here the term "imposing" is pertinent to the formal management of a ritual; it does not have the connotation of something unwelcome.

expression of a localist popular religiousness. This is why the relics of St. Alexander were sent to Castelfiocco, exactly like an Emperor or a Pope (in Italian history, two equivalent figures in terms of their universal sovereignty -and this is how they are still percieved by Castelfioccans) in a ritual which was mimicking the imperial/papal *adventus*: his arrival in the "heathenish" village would re-establish the pre-eminence of the universal over the local, of the imperial authority of the Church over the pagan involution of the enclave.

12. Conclusion

Castelfiocco has a ritual system in which some essential values for the community are transmitted to the new generations in an informal and traditional way. These values are not those of the modern Italian nation-state, which are conveyed (as anywhere else in Italy) by the school system and by formal education. On the contrary, in this informal and traditional ritual system the values, tied to local saints, are used as a tool for transmitting something very old but still lively, to the population. The dialectic here seems to be more ancient than that of the locality *vs.* the nation-state -a topical subject in contemporary Italy (Diamanti 1996; Diamanti, Ceccarini 2006: 21-32; Romanelli 1988: 13-24). We have instead a dialectic between the local community (and its constitutive pagan traditions) and the universality of the Church/Empire. This traditional dialectic between the local and the universal is a topic of renewed interest in our age of globalisation (Paolone 2009: 69-91).

In Castelfiocco, elements of the local geography are used to express the traditional values in a way that speaks effectively to the population in symbolic terms. The procession encircles the ancient boundaries of the village, exactly like the pagan ritual called *amburbium*. The latter, ancestor of the aforementioned *adventus*, was a processional ritual under the patronage of Mars, its meaning being that of keeping all external forces, foes and strangers, out of the village (Dumézil 1947: 138). In today's Castelfiocco, the stratification of the two rituals -the older heathenish procession involving Mars/St. Michael and conveying local values, and the *adventus* involving the Emperor/Pope (his relics) and conveying universal values- is possible because the two rituals are historically tied and one derives from the other. But it is evident that in today's ritual, they intertwine in a way that brings together the two sides of the dichotomy. The universal Pope is welcomed in town with the ritual of *adventus*. At the same time, the local hero Mars/St. Michael is worshipped with the *amburbium* ritual, which is (historically and structurally) contained in the *adventus*.

Mars/St. Michael is today brought in procession disguised under the more acceptable form of St. Alexander, a Pope representing the universality of the Church. In the main church, his statue is kept on the right side of the altar, which in biblical terms means that he is or should be the preferred one. St. Michael, on the contrary, is kept on the left side, and even behind a glass door. On the morning of August 26th, under the supervision of the bishop (representative of the Church of Rome) youth receive the sacrament of Confirmation and are thus accepted in the adult community of believers —a universal one— (become "soldiers of Christ"), therefore they do not parade around the local community as pagan youth, newly awarded with adult status, did in the Roman *lustrum, o*r Roman citizens/soldiers did in *amburbium*. No circular movement here (the pagan circular vision of time, as with St.Augustine), no mimicked circular border-tracing[18],

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18   Both *lustrum* and *amburbium* were processions around the community, during which Mars was invoked as protector. The circular, stately procession mimicked the act of ploughing a furrow, which was the

just a straight procession from the smaller church to the main church. A non-circular procession, modeled on the Christian linear, eschatologic conception and more similar to the *adventus*. It is there that the universality of the Church is actually celebrated, in a lively, contemporary sacrament such as the Confirmation, which ties the local youth to a universal community. It is a lesser procession, though, if we compare it to the main event, attended in the evening by the whole local population (and without the bishop -not an indigenous power) that proceeds along a wide, all-encompassing, circular path, thus reproducing the traditional pagan scheme of the defensive processional ritual. It is an archaic scheme representing values of closeness and exclusiveness that are in contrast with those of universalism, expressed by Catholicism.

But in the final system, the two dimensions are brought together in a stratified, complex ritual that can be read from different perspectives and which speaks differently to different sorts of audiences. Foreigners (and the official Catholic hierarchy) may just see the part where the Pope, in the form of relics, is welcomed by the villagers as a symbol of the universal Church. Local *campanilisti* instead use all this as a cover for perpetrating, undisturbed, the worship of their patron Mars/St. Michael, and for showing to young generations what this cult means and how it should be performed.

The Castelfiocco procession, with its images, symbols, rituals, testifies to continuity from the Roman Empire, to the Roman Catholic Church of what I have called (in the beginning of this paper) the "non iconoclastic" tradition of symbolic action. Still today (at least in processions), the Church teaches the faithful by using those same tools and instruments which, already in the Roman Empire, had shown they were able, among other things to transmit, to culturally heterogeneous masses, a sentiment of universal belonging. It is similar to the sentiment which allowed the long lasting internal cohesion of the Roman Empire which positively impressed historians like Gibbon[19], and which was not to be repeated in subsequent Empires. Therefore, the secret of the cohesion of an Empire can be looked at also by studying its ritual system where, in the stratified rites of ceremonial pedagogy, we may find hints about the crucial dialectic between its universal and local dimensions.

13. Appendix: a few notes on fieldwork

My field research in Castelfiocco spans three festivals, from 2014 to 2017. The fieldwork was preceded by preliminary research, and was completed by periods of residence in the village, as a guest of informants and their families, for a total of over six months. I not only observed the rituals, their preparatory stages and their aftermath, but I regularly attended the meetings of the two brotherhoods (including one "winemaking" session by the Rosary brotherhood). I also attended catechism sessions before the sacrament of Confirmation. My main research tool was participant observation. But I systematically interviewed villagers involved in the festival, transcribed the interviews (Levy, Hollan, 1998) and indexed some recurrent themes and terms, which I then analysed and clarified in the light of socio-historical knowledge (from bibliography and from documents) on what I believe to be the "parent forms" of the studied rituals (Dumont, 1987).

basic protection of the Roman military camp and of the Roman city (the foundation ritual of the cities started with the ploughing of a furrow).

19   Gibbon observed that the provinces scarcely considered their own existence as distinct from the existence of Rome (Gibbon 1776). Furthermore, it was the admirable longevity of the Roman Empire, not its caducity, that demanded inquiry. In spite of this, he entitled his work: *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.*

In my fieldwork, I tried to unearth aspects of the traditional social order of the village community, and my intent was somehow that of making cultural persistence visible, at least in terms of the displacing of traditional forms in a new set of meaning. On the other hand, I did not study the dialectic between the local and the global only for its own sake, but in the first place because it is embedded in the ritual, and has ties with the theme of cultural persistence (or better: the relationship between the present, with living forms from the past) and ceremonial pedagogy.

Speaking about the relationship of my research to the work of other ethnographers, some of the features I have mentioned until now can be found in what has been named "Mediterranean ethnography" (Peristiany 1965; Goddard, Llobera & Shore 1994, etc.).

In this sense, like early "Mediterraneanists" I am (at least in this research) less prone than other ethnographers to abandon the community study approach, and rather inclined to hold on to a focus on rural village communities, conceptualized as microcosms of traditional culture. In other words, the ritual system in Castelfiocco is, under some aspects, a bounded field-site (Candea, 2007).

Like some early Mediterraneanists (du Boulay, 1974:3), my aim in the village was partially that of studying the rituals, values and attitudes which could be derived from a long tradition and which, even in present times, sustain Castelfioccans in a sense of purpose and destiny.

But Castelfiocco is not immune from "globalisation", and therefore the debates on ethnography which have exposed the limits of bounded fieldwork, are relevant to my research (Marcus, 1995; Hannerz, 1998). The village has a small number of immigrants from non-European countries. But, at the moment, their presence has not yet affected the system of brotherhoods and processions. Neither has the integration of the village into the bureaucratic nation-state (and consequently into the EU) and in regional/national/global economy, weakened the tightness of the rites. On the contrary, the studied ritual system seems to survive properly because it is a symbolic vindication of locality against other forms of sovereignty.

Nevertheless, in my research there is also an implicit element of "multi-sitedness", which is somehow embedded in the ritual system itself: the procession is composed of different symbolic layers, tied either to a local or to a universal dimension, or to some intermediate positions (e.g. the "compromise" resulting from the intertwining of the previous two). The layers (and their different symbolic values) intertwine within the structure which is being studied. By trying to de-structure and analyse it, I am implicitly doing a sort of multi-sited study[20] (a form of the comparative approach "within" the field and not across cases, that we can infer, *inter alia*, from Clifford Geertz) (Geertz, 1973: 26). Here the different "sites" are not intended in mere geographical terms, but they coincide with different historical actors implied in the ritual (intended also in terms of the "vantage point" tied to each of them: the Roman Empire, the Roman Catholic Church of Counter-Reformation, the Church of today, the heathenish local community, etc.).

What is being presented in this paper is only a part of the research, which will be soon published in its entirety.

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20   Considering that the main focus of the research is that of comparative education, I have already experienced this "embeddedness of multiple sites within one system", when I have researched on *returnees* from international study exchanges (Paolone, 2013). In that case, the biographical experience of the *returnee* (intended as a case-study) contained the encounter of two different cultures, which could be conceptualised in terms of multi-sitedness of the research (even if the physical fieldwork had been limited to the homecoming of students and its implications).

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4

*Evangelización e instrucción pública en el orden colonial español**

Evangelization and public instruction in the Spanish colonial order

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Resumen

La ocupación de los territorios conquistados por el imperio español alcanzó mediante las prácticas de doctrina y evangelización la sustitución de unos elementos culturales por otros, esta implantación de nuevas formas de vida supuso además de la fuerza el despliegue sistemático de labores educativas. El tiempo de la Colonia con sus instituciones políticas, sociales y religiosas fue también el tiempo de la encomienda, la manumisión, el regalismo borbónico y la gestación de algunas de las condiciones que hicieron posible la emergencia de la escuela pública en el Nuevo Reino de Granada. Rastrear este acontecimiento exige detenerse en la función del plan de escuela como documento privilegiado en la distinción analítica entre escuela y otros modos educativos.

Palabras clave: Doctrina; evangelización; encomienda; plan de escuela; catecismos; escuela pública

Abstract

The occupation of the territories conquered by the Spanish empire was carried out through practices of doctrine and evangelization for the substitution of cultural elements by others, this implementation of new forms of life also meant the systematic deployment of educational labors.The time of the Colony with its political, social and religious institutions was also the time of the encomienda, the manumission, the Bourbon regalism and the gestation of some of the conditions that made possible the emergence of public school in the New Kingdom of Granada. Tracing this event demands to stop at the function of the school plan as a privileged document in the analytical distinction between school and other educational modes.

Key Words: Doctrine; evangelization; encomienda; school plan; catechisms; public school

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1. Introducción

La descripción del orden colonial español en Hispanoamérica ha sido narrada desde enfoques metodológicos diversos. Los historiadores asumen posiciones estratégicas al momento de privilegiar un archivo o de optar por un punto de vista; de esta manera la historiografía ha propuesto paisajes generales, análisis casuísticos, caracterizaciones institucionales, entre otras. El resultado ha sido un conjunto importante de trabajos muchos de ellos en favor del imperio español y de su articulación a los distintos niveles administrativos de la América colonial. Esta experiencia historiográfica conecta –en líneas generales– lo histórico con lo jurídico y lo institucional (Pietschmann, 2001, p. 669) bajo el pretexto de reconstruir lo que creen fue la realidad cotidiana en los territorios de ultramar. Se destacan así los trabajos de Enrique Ruiz Guiñazú (1916), Rafael Altamira (1924), Guillermo Lohmann Villena (1947), Juan Manzano (1950), José Miranda González (1952), Charles Gibson (1964), José María Ots Capdequí (1965), Lilian Estelle Fisher (1966), Silvio Zavala (1972), John Lynch (1976), Magnus Mörner (1979), Richard Konetzke (1982), Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañe (1983), Alfonso García Gallo (1987) y Mario Góngora (1998), por mencionar algunos de los más conocidos.

En relación con la Escuela de los Anales y otras propuestas de la historiografía anglosajona circulan trabajos dirigidos a reorientar la perspectiva imperial hacia problemas socioeconómicos regionales, específicamente por el empleo de archivos locales. Abarca este espectro los estudios historiográficos de Juan Friede (1963), Marcelo Carmagnani (1963), Sergio Villalobos (1965), Jaime Jaramillo Uribe (1968), Germán Colmenares (1975), Federico Brito (1978), Margarita González (1979), Pilar Gonzalbo (1985), Dorothy Tanck (1999), Anne Staples (2005), Estela Restrepo Zea (2011), Bohumil Badura (2013), entre otros. Las variantes regionales y el recurso de otras fuentes documentales introducen complementos y tensiones en el significado político de la dominación española.

El periodo de dominación española en América Latina recoge dos momentos: la conquista como una experiencia excesivamente violenta basada en relaciones de sometimiento y sumisión casi absolutas y las prácticas de ordenamiento colonial las cuales abarcaron procesos de institucionalización precarios, ambivalentes y dudosos explicados en parte porque los reinos castellanos de ultramar no fueron asumidos como colonia española, pero también porque existía un constante elemento de desconfianza que dificultaba gobernar con mayor criterio y certeza.

2. Población y territorio

La organización de los territorios americanos y de la población indígena se inició a partir de la dádiva recibida por los Reyes Católicos de parte del papado a través de la bula Inter-Caetera I de 5 de mayo de 1493 por medio de la cual Alejandro VI le otorgó a la Corona el poder y dominio sobre los territorios descubiertos y sobre los pobladores americanos con la condición de cristianizarlos o, en otras palabras, con el pretexto de expandir la religión y la Fe católica:

> *Por la autoridad del Omnipotente Dios* [...] *y del Vicariato de Jesucristo que ejercemos en las tierras, con todos los señoríos de las ciudades, cercas, lugares, villas* [...] *y todas sus pertenencias, por el temor de las presentes, las damos, concedemos y asignamos perpetuamente a vos y a los Reyes de Castilla y de León, vuestros herederos y sucesores. Y hacemos, constituimos* [...] *absoluto poder, autoridad y jurisdicción* (Solorzano, 1776, p. 14)*.*

A partir de entonces la conquista de los inmensos territorios trasatlánticos fue breve en el tiempo y compleja en su ejecución pese a la participación de empresas particulares en los costos demandados por la empresa. Para poner ejemplo, puede mencionarse la conquista de México y Perú en las que intervinieron un número minúsculo de españoles: la expedición de Hernán Cortes contó con 415 hombres y la de Francisco Pizarro en su avance hasta Cajamarca alrededor de 170. El ritual de la conquista, dispuesto desde sus inicios en las Capitulaciones, tuvo, desde 1514 aproximadamente, la formalización del «requerimiento» redactado por Juan López de Palacios Rubios, jurista de la corte de Fernando el Católico, el cual debía leerse a los indios del Nuevo Mundo.

> *En él comenzaba por explicar sumariamente la doctrina cristina, a fin de que los infieles supieran quién era Cristo, quién el Papa, y qué derechos tenían los cristianos para exigirles la sujeción a su poder. El último párrafo revela el sentido coactivo de esta demanda: cuando ya se ha dicho a los indios que todos los hombres son prójimos y descienden de Adán, se les pide que reconozcan a la Iglesia y al Papa, y al Rey y a la Reina como superiores de estas tierras por donación papal. Si quieren someterse, se les recibirá con todo amor y caridad, se les dejará sus mujeres, hijos y haciendas libres, y no se les compelerá a que se tornen cristianos, salvo si informados de la verdad desean convertirse, y el rey les hará muchas mercedes; si se niegan a obedecer, el capitán, con la ayuda de Dios, les hará guerra, y tomará sus personas y las de sus mujeres e hijos, y los hará esclavos y como tales los venderá* (Zavala, 1972, pp. 28-29).

Convertir y ganar para la religión y reducirlos para extraer de aquellos débiles pobladores la mayor cantidad posible de beneficios fue a la larga el objetivo nodal de la conquista. El cronista Gómara testimonia estos motivos usando las palabras de Hernán Cortés: «la causa principal a que venimos a estas partes es por ensalzar y predicar la fé de Cristo, aunque justamente con ella se nos sigue la honra y provecho, que pocas veces caben en un mismo saco» (Zavala, 1972, p. 25). Hubo, por supuesto, otras valoraciones del proceso; el franciscano André Thevet no puede menos que lamentar la suerte de aquellas «pobres gentes» diezmadas, reducidas a esclavitud e incitadas al suicidio por los efectos de una barbarie «inaudita» y una codicia eminentemente condenable (Daviols, 2001, p. 491).

La organización eclesiástica en el Nuevo Mundo formalizó el entendimiento entre Papado y Corona. En 1508 el Papa Julio II mediante bula *Universalis Eclesiae* le confirió al Estado Español la facultad de presentar candidatos a la Santa Sede para la provisión de todos los arzobispados, obispados, dignidades y beneficios eclesiásticos americanos.

Esta delegación de potestad recibió el nombre de patronato. Su ejercicio se encomendó en América a los virreyes y audiencias. En virtud de ello el poder civil intervenía en casi todos los asuntos del poder eclesiástico: nombramiento de párrocos y doctrineros, distribución de 10s diezmos y pago de estipendios en el ceremonial de las catedrales, e incluso el recurso de fuerza para hacer que las sentencias eclesiásticas pudieran tratarse en tribunales laicos, lo que fue causa de distintos conflictos. La práctica del patronato generó múltiples controversias entre autoridades civiles y eclesiásticas frente al proceso de evangelización; particularmente entre el clero regular y secular. Con esta legislación y posteriores provenientes del Papa a favor de los Reyes de España se estableció

> *La práctica del patronato* [que] *fue llevando a los juristas hispanos a formular la teoría del vicariato regio, según la cual el rey desempeñaba las funciones de vicario o delegado pontificio para todo el complejo misional de la América Hispánica* (Pacheco, 1964, p. 77).

Gracias a ella los poderes civiles obtuvieron los recursos jurídicos para cumplir con el ejercicio de la palabra y, en el caso de la evangelización y catequización, la autorización y las facultades para realizar la conversión de los naturales.

En 1511, la bula *Romanus Pontifex* permitió la creación de las primeras diócesis en el nuevo mundo, mientras las Leyes de Burgos de 1512 ordenaban la construcción de templos por doquier. (Gutiérrez, 1992, p. 274). La diócesis representaba la unidad territorial máxima desde el punto de vista religioso y la facultad para efectuar en las Indias concilios y sínodos diocesanos en los cuales se abordaban las vicisitudes de la evangelización. Solo hasta mediados del siglo XVI se dispuso la organización de las diócesis en arquidiócesis; en 1546 se eligieron las primeras de ellas en Santo Domingo[1], México[2] y Lima[3]. El arzobispado de Santafé[4] se constituyó el 22 de marzo de 1564 con tres obispados sufragáneos: Santa Marta, Cartagena y Popayán.

A partir de la segunda década del siglo XVII la Corona Española en cabeza de Felipe III asumió por Cédula Real los mandatos del Concilio de Trento y ordenó a la Iglesia de América su adopción, aunque en la práctica ya habían entrado en ejercicio. En virtud de los mandatos emanados de la célebre asamblea, la evangelización de los infieles se regiría por el catecismo tridentino cuya circulación fue promovida en el Nuevo Reino por los concilios Limenses celebrados en 1583 y 1587. Las normas salidas de Trento dieron nuevo rumbo a la evangelización por legitimar las lenguas nativas como instrumento de enseñanza y comunicación religiosa entre doctrineros y naturales.

El trabajo de adoctrinamiento fue desde entonces una práctica civilizatoria por considerar a los nativos futuros vasallos del rey. No obstante la común iconografía del indio se movía entre la inocencia y la animalidad (Daviols, 2001, p. 490). Los naturales seguían considerándose «pueblos niños», salvajes y bárbaros incapaces de acceder a la civilización, equiparados a rústicos y menores y, por tanto, necesitados de tutela.

> *No tienen ni ley ni fe ninguna, viven de acuerdo a la naturaleza, no conocen la inmortalidad del alma. No tienen entre ellos bienes propios, porque todo es común; no tienen límite de reinos ni de provincias; no tienen rey ni obedecen a nadie: cada uno es señor de sí mismo. No administran la justicia, la que no les es necesaria, porque no reina en ellos codicia* (Vespucci, 1951).

Para la población indígena la llegada de los españoles fue un desastre rotundo; de proporciones inauditas porque a las prácticas de sometimiento se sumaron las epidemias, soldado invisible de la expansión ibérica, la cuales causaron estragos en la población de América por la falta de inmunidad. La mayor mortandad ocurrió en México central, Nueva Granada y Alto Perú. Como señala Alfred Cosby (1972, p. 37), las enfermedades

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1 De esta arquidiócesis dependía San Juan, Santiago, Jamaica, Coro, Santa Marta, Cartagena y Trujillo.

2 Comprendía Puebla-Tlaxcala, Antequera de Oaxaca, Michoacán, Guatemala, Chiapas y Nueva Galicia.

3 De la que dependían Cuzco, Quito, Popayán, Panamá y Nicaragua.

4 La arquidiócesis de Santafé comprendía las ciudades de Santafé, Tunja, Vélez, Pamplona, San Cristóbal, Mérida, Tocaima, Ibagué, San Sebastián de Mariquita, Victoria, Santa María de los Remedios, La Palma, Trinidad de los Muzos, San Juan de los Llanos y San Vicente de los Paeces. En: AGI, Audiencia de Santafé, Legajo 1249, fol. 25.

mortales del Viejo Mundo lo eran aún más en el Nuevo y los males relativamente benignos de Europa resultaron asesinos en América. En el siglo que siguió a la conquista, la viruela, el sarampión, la varicela, la tos ferina, la gripe, la difteria, la disentería amebiana y el tifus mataron un número asombroso de habitantes reduciendo hasta un 95 % la población indígena en algunos territorios.

> *A partir de 1492 y durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI la nación indígena fue víctima de enfermedades* […] *En efecto, en 1496 se presentó en la Española una epidemia de gripe que acabó con una tercera parte de los indígenas. En 1518 llegó la viruela, que se propagó luego por el Caribe y poco tiempo después entró a México. De la Nueva España, territorio en el cual terminó con la mitad de los habitantes, pasó a Centroamérica y siete años después de su introducción a la América Hispánica hizo su arribo al virreinato del Perú* (Restrepo, 1997, p. 63).

Otros trabajos historiográficos exploran distintas causas sobre el descenso de la población indígena en la primera centuria de la conquista, entre ellas las acciones bélicas de los conquistadores cuando se topaban con resistencias; la dureza del trabajo en minas y obrajes a los que no estaban acostumbrados los naturales; la disolución de rutinas de la vida cultural, sexual y familiar por las prácticas de reducción. Las distintas agrupaciones tuvieron a menudo un carácter artificial por haber sido fundadas por huestes de conquistadores que no habían tomado en cuenta los diversos factores medioambientales. De ahí que en el siglo XVI muchas de ellas se convirtieran en poblaciones ambulantes trasladadas dos o tres veces antes de encontrar un asentamiento definitivo[5].

La disminución constante de los aborígenes dio oportunidad de ascenso social de otras poblaciones, en particular, negros y mestizos. La población negra comenzó en la Nueva Granada desde los primeros años de la conquista y a mediados del siglo XVI eran numerosos. Cartagena, principal puerto en Tierra Firme fue «asilo de viajeros y posada de comerciantes». Con motivo de las expediciones de reconocimiento realizadas en las Antillas, llegaban a la plaza empresas de guerra y de comercio, hombres de mar y gentes de trabajo que compartían el puerto con tratantes y esclavos (Restrepo, 1997, p. 69). En virtud de la súplica que hiciera el padre De Las Casas al emperador Carlos V para que cada colono pudiese traer a América dos pares de negros con el fin de contrarrestar la despoblación indígena que ya se había sentido en las Antillas, el puerto fue lugar de convivencia de españoles, esclavos y nativos.

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5   El periodo de 1560 a 1579 fue de expansión y consolidación social en Hispanoamérica. Mörner nos dice que buena parte de la migración española llegó principalmente a Nueva España y Perú. Indica además que cerca del 42 % de la población peninsular era andaluza y con un fuerte componente de migración femenina. Para un castellano la vida urbana era la única forma cristina de vida por eso la fundación de las ciudades implicó incorporar los trazados urbanísticos que se reiteraron en cada ciclo fundacional de pueblos. Se impuso así el trazo de cuadrícula con una plaza mayor en el centro del pueblo, en torno a la cual se erigía la iglesia principal, el ayuntamiento y las residencias principales. *Esta disposición espacial resultó eficaz, entre otras cosas, porque permitió un crecimiento demográfico considerable, sin necesidad de realizar grandes cambios. Al mismo tiempo, la cuadrícula iba a reflejar fielmente los valores de una sociedad profundamente jerárquica. En el centro vivirían los vecinos principales, inicialmente casi todos encomenderos, a mayor distancia, los de categoría mediana, y en la periferia, las capas populares, por lo general de piel más oscura. Según el principio vigente de las dos repúblicas, de españoles y de indios, respectivamente, estos últimos deberían vivir en pueblos propios, trazados de la misma forma, pero sin otros pobladores extranjeros que el párroco o el misionero* (Mörner, 2001, p. 424). Santa Cruz de Mompox (Bolívar) conservó incluso hasta el siglo XX la organización de sus calles reales: la calle del oro, la calle de la plata y la calle de bronce como expresión de una división estratificada del espacio físico y social. Posteriormente aparecieron las Reales Ordenanzas de población, en 1573, cuando las principales ciudades Hispanoaméricas ya habían sido fundadas.

En virtud de los acuerdos entre la monarquía y particulares desde 1517 llegaban anualmente a la ciudad entre tres y cuatro mil negros; esta suma llegó a ser mayor entre 1595 y 1615 cuando la ciudad fue el único puerto de América autorizado para recibir cargamentos de asentistas y tratantes (Restrepo, 1997, p. 69). América se convirtió en el gran mercado de esclavos africanos, y fue en el Nuevo Mundo y bajo dominio europeo donde más prosperó la esclavitud. Era tanta la población negra en Cartagena que el cabildo de la ciudad en 1552 decide: «por cuanto es esta ciudad había muchos negros, los cuales andan de noche después de tañida la queda, y a horas no lícitas, y hacen muchos hurtos y robos, y de ello pueden redundar daños e inconvenientes, para ello es justo poner remedio; por lo tanto se manda que después de tañida la queda ningún negro pueda andar por esta ciudad, sino fuese yendo a una casa que convenga, con un cristiano que lo lleve» (Jaramillo, 1968, p. 8).

3. Encomienda y doctrina

Con el fin de compensar a los beneméritos de Indias por los servicios prestados en las actividades del descubrimiento y conquista, desde comienzos del siglo XVI la Corona adoptó a través de las capitulaciones el repartimiento de tierras y de la población indígena presente en ellas, a través de la encomienda. Con esta forma de organización paralela a la conquista temprana, los naturales entraron al servicio de los conquistadores mediante la prestación de servicios personales en el cultivo de las tierras, la guarda de los ganados, el laboreo de las minas, la ejecución de obras públicas y en general toda clase de actividades económicas (Ots-Capdequí, 1965, p. 25).

> *La encomienda permitió la consecución simultánea de dos logros: la sujeción de la población indígena para su inmediata explotación por parte de los conquistadores y la toma de posesión, en nombre del rey, de los territorios nuevos. Se sabe que la encomienda recrudeció su potencial violencia en los territorios de México y Perú. Esto obedecía a la existencia, en ambos lugares, de importantes civilizaciones indígenas, cuya densidad demográfica abría la posibilidad de elevar enormemente la masa de tributación para cada conquistador* (González, 1979, p. 17).

Inicialmente, la encomienda tuvo carácter temporal. Al vencer el plazo de tiempo por el cual habían sido concedidas o a la muerte del encomendero, los indígenas se incorporaban a los repartimientos de la Corona. No obstante, en la primera mitad del siglo XVI se hizo costumbre consentir -por vía de *disimulación*- que la viuda y los hijos del encomendero siguieran disfrutando de los indios a la muerte de su causante. La Real provisión de 25 de marzo de 1536 sancionó dicha práctica y desde entonces las encomiendas se repartieron por *dos vidas* –al mayor de los hijos varones; en su defecto a la hija y en último término a la mujer- (Ots-Capdequi, 1965, p. 26). La encomienda duro hasta la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII[6].

Esta primitiva forma de agrupamiento y reducción de la mano de obra indígena fue el nicho fundamental de la evangelización. Es decir del proceso de cristianización de los infieles el cual pasó por varias etapas marcadas por las acciones de la conquista, la adopción de distintas formas administrativas, la reducción de la población indígena y las deliberaciones

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6   Por Real Cédula de 8 de abril de 1629 se concedió una vida más en el disfrute de las encomiendas, mediante el pago de una composición. Y todavía el 10 de octubre de 1704 se permitió una *cuarta vida*, mediante el pago de dos *annatas* para los gastos de guerra (Ots-Capdequi, 1965, p. 27).

de la teología sobre el carácter racional de las poblaciones nativas. Entre ellas merecen destacarse la ocupación del territorio por nuevas conquistas, la esclavitud y extinción de las poblaciones nativas; las medidas de protección de los naturales como las Leyes de Burgos de 1512, los debates sobre el tratamiento a los nativos, las disposiciones para proteger la mano de obra indígena y, particularmente, las Leyes Nuevas de 1542[7].

En el marco de las muchas disposiciones para mantener la encomienda, el clero Regular especialmente, se hizo cargo de la cristianización de los indios en las doctrinas establecidas dentro de la dicha organización territorial, con los privilegios para ejercer como curas de almas. La enseñanza del evangelio tuvo un papel fundamental en la administración de la población nativa mediante la formación de hábitos y costumbres de acuerdo con la organización social y política española. Para cumplir con este precepto los españoles que poseían un repartimiento de indios deberían mantener un clérigo o religioso que enseñara a los indios la doctrina cristiana.

> *Luego de que se haya hecho la pacificación dice la ley 1ª, título VIII, libro VI el adelantado, gobernador y pacificador, reparta los indios entre los pobladores, para que uno se encargue de los que fuese de su repartimiento y los defienda y ampare, proveyendo maestro que les enseña la doctrina cristiana y administre los sacramentos* (Bohórquez, 1956).

La acción del cura doctrinero en las llamadas escuelas doctrinales encargadas donde la catequización y enseñanza de la Fe sentó las bases de una nueva cultura entre la población nativa de América. Pese a que su experiencia no constituye un antecedente en el surgimiento posterior de la escuela pública, fue instrumento de gobernación y disciplina política.

El cura doctrinero fue un personaje central en la organización de la «nación de los indios», «por cuanto el estar los indios congregados en pueblos es cosa tan necesaria para vivir política y cristianamente que sin este fundamento no se hace cosa, mándesele al sacerdote o religioso que no consienta que se despueble indio alguno y al que se huyere lo reduzcan por ministerio de los alcaldes del pueblo y alguaciles» (Pacheco, 1959, p. 166).

Las doctrinas, como las parroquias y misiones, estaban adscritas a las diócesis; pero a diferencia de las parroquias cuyo propósito era congregar a la población blanca mediante la atención del párroco perteneciente al clero secular, las doctrinas, constituidas en territorio de las encomiendas o como resultado de las misiones estaban a cargo de un religioso quien ejercía su labor entre los nativos. Incluso, con la facultad para administrar los sacramentos cuya competencia era de los clérigos formados en los Seminarios. El doctrinero como el misionero gozaba de amplias facultades por la importancia de su cometido. Si bien parroquia y doctrina dependían del obispo lo particular del trabajo de estas últimas, dependió –durante varias décadas– de las particulares disposiciones de cada Orden (Gutiérrez, 1992, p. 276).

Para cumplir con las labores asignadas por la Corona a los regulares en 1529 llegaron a Santa Marta un grupo de frailes de la Orden de Predicadores acompañando a los conquistadores; en 1541 se hicieron presente 1os mercedarios; en 1550 arribaron a Santafé algunos franciscanos con los primeros Oidores; posteriormente agustinos y desde 1575 los jesuitas.

Llegada una Orden religiosa al Nuevo Reino de Granada trataba, no sin oposición (ya fuera de encomenderos, autoridades, otras Órdenes religiosas o el clero secular), de establecer un convento al lado del cual levantaba escuela donde los indios debían ser

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7   «Las Leyes Nuevas se referían en particular a la encomienda, la esclavitud y la administración. [Ellas] prohibían que se utilizara el concepto de *guerra justa* como excusa para la esclavitud y declaraban además que había que liberar a cuantos habían sido esclavizados ilegalmente».

enseñados de acuerdo con los principios doctrinales. Las ordenanzas para la doctrina y enseñanza de la religión de los indios de la Provincia de Cartagena en 1555 y 1as ordenanzas de Tunja en 1575-1576, por ejemplo, son una muestra de la legislación producida por las autoridades locales para organizar dichas escuelas doctrinales.

> *1º que en todos los pueblos de su Magestad y encomenderos de esta provincia de Cartagena haya escuelas en partes principales y a donde concurran e acudan los indios de pueblos pequeños en que cada cual de ellos buenamente, no se sufre haber escuela. 2º ítem, dijeron que conviene que para solo efecto de decirse e oírse la doctrina se haga una iglesia en 1os dichos pueblos. 3º ítem, que sean persuadidos y atraídos que vayan a misa e doctrina los domingos y primeros días de Pascua los trabajadores, sino dieren alguna excusa competente al de la doctrina. 4º ítem, que los hijos de los caciques e principales, que han de suceder en los estados, que los que tengan consigo el sacerdote para los doctrinar, y mostrar y encaminar en las cosas de la fe y policía* (Mesarza, 1955, pp. 69-74).

Las ordenanzas de Tunja establecieron para esa provincia la obligación de que encomenderos e indios debían tener para con el cura doctrinero relativo a estipendio y otras obligaciones y en general a las formas de organización de las doctrinas como de las escuelas donde se impartiría la enseñanza de la religión y la lengua española.

a) Primeramente ordenaron y mandaron que los encomenderos de indios de dicha ciudad de Tunja, en cumplimiento de lo que son obligados, tengan doctrina competente de sacerdote que doctrine e industrie los indios, sus encomendados, en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica, cada uno conforme a lo que se le repartiere.

b) Y porque todo intento de los dichos señores es que los evangélicos se plante en los indios, se ordena y manda que los caciques, capitanes e indios, todos exhiban ante el religioso o sacerdote todos los niños y niñas y muchachos hasta diez y seis años... Estos acudan siempre a la doctrina y en esto no haya falta y tenga de ello especial cuidado en que los hijos de los caciques y de los principales sean bien doctrinados y enseñarles a leer y a escribir (Friede, 1968, pp. 140-162)

El cura doctrinero elaboraba el padrón de los pueblos de indios que tenía bajo su jurisdicción en el cual registraba el nombre de los nativos agrupados por caciques, discriminándoles por sexo y edad con el fin de contribuir a la contabilización de los tributos de los indios y cerciorarse de su asistencia los días de doctrina, a la misa dominical y días de fiesta. A los indios que faltaban se les castigaba físicamente mientras el cacique debía pagar multa representada en especie. *En la misa después del evangelio, debía hacer el doctrinero una breve homilía; en ella debería insistir en aquellas doctrinas en que menos firmes están los indios como la integridad y efectos de la confesión, inmortalidad del alma, premio y castigo eterno y temporal del purgatorio y la real presencia de nuestro salvador en la eucaristía* (Pacheco, 1964, p. 494).

El procedimiento de la doctrina consistía en reunir los indios en el bohío donde funcionaba la escuela doctrinal o en el atrio de la iglesia o capilla y allí, a viva voz los indios repetían las palabras del cura doctrinero o sacristán quien iba rezando las oraciones o diciendo los mandamientos o misterios de la Fe. En las escuelas doctrinales el objetivo

del saber religioso era «romper la idolatría de los naturales y reemplazarla por la creencia en un nuevo Dios» (Martínez-Boom, 1982).

> *Lo primero que se hace, dice el padre Asencio al tratar de 1ª provincia de Santafé, es poner por memoria y sacar todos los niños y muchachos varones y hembras y estos han de ir cada día a hora de misa a la iglesia, donde después de haber dicho la misa el sacerdote, dice la doctrina cristiana, rezada o cantada como mejor se amañe o le parece, y después de haberlas rezado se van a la casa hasta la tarde y vuelven a la hora de víspera, y se les dice la doctrina que es dicho* (Romero, 1960, p. 464).

El fiscal a su vez, durante una o dos horas por la mañana se encargaba de repasar la doctrina señalando a cada uno lo que debía aprender de memoria; a los que no respondían en alta voz o se equivocaban se los castigaba con una vara o azote. Los sábados el doctrinero verificaba el adelanto de los neófitos. Repetir y memorizar eran las formas típicas del trabajo de evangelización. El éxito de esta instrucción fue tal que Pilar Gonzalbo cuenta como se intentó aplicar entre otras comunidades étnicas.

En busca de una solución más duradera –dice la autora– se pensó en realizar una intensa labor evangelizadora, similar a la que tan buenos resultados había dado para lograr la sumisión de los indios. Reales cédulas recomendaron que se fomentasen las buenas costumbres de negros, mulatos y zambaigos, mediante la instrucción religiosa y la sujeción al trabajo. Los jesuitas fueron agentes eficaces en esta tarea, hasta el punto de que muchos dueños de haciendas reclamaban la presencia de los misioneros de la Compañía como el mejor sustituto de látigos y cadenas. En 1586, el prefecto del colegio de Veracruz informaba:

> *Han salido los nuestros en misiones por esta tierra y comarcas; y en las partes donde han ydo se ha visto notable fructo en la gente humilde, como son sclavos y otros deste xaez. Que siendo antes indómitos, que destruyan a sus amos, assi en ser fugitivos como en robarles sus haziendas y haxer otros insultos, sus propios amos confiessan que después que han ydo a tratarlos los nuestros los hallan quietos y domésticos* (Gonzalbo, 2001, pp. 436-437).

Con fin de establecer la disciplina eclesiástica entre Regulares y Seculares el Concilio de Trento, celebrado entre el 13 de diciembre de 1545 y el 4 de diciembre de 1563, se ocupó particularmente de la formación de unos y otros en los llamados seminarios conciliares. En consonancia con sus disposiciones la Asamblea determinó que los aspirantes a cumplir con el oficio de doctrineros, además del saber necesario para enseñar las verdades dela Fe, debían «tener en cuenta el linaje para acreditarlos como hijos de cristianos viejos, libres de toda mancha de moros, judíos y penitenciados por el Santo Tribunal de la Inquisición, de legítimo matrimonio y de salud perfecta» (Restrepo, 2010, p. 72).

A partir de la fundación de la arquidiócesis de Santafé sus dos primeros arzobispos, fray Juan de los Barrios y fray Luis Zapata de Cárdenas, iniciaron la aplicación de las medidas dispuestas por Trento y Lima en lo relacionado con la formación de los eclesiásticos. No obstante fue Trento el encargado de establecer los mecanismos más contundentes para la acción pastoral.

La historiografía tradicional suele conectar el proceso de colonización como una descripción dual según la cual al lado de la espada conquistadora estaba la cruz del

cura doctrinero que venía a evangelizar[8]. La imagen no es precisa porque el proceso de colonización fue realmente ambiguo y azaroso. En otras palabras, lleno de claroscuros. Predicación, evangelización y catequización fueron instrumento y razón para la penetración, control y dominio de las tierras como de los hombres del nuevo orbe.

4. Modos educativos. Los catecismos

Desde comienzos de la evangelización los religiosos doctrineros, generalmente provistos de los rudimentos de la Fe pero sin la formación suficiente en los principios de la moral y de los dogmas, ejercían su labor de acuerdo con los principios doctrinales del Orden. La diversidad de ideas y normas para llevar a cabo su labor se reflejó por varias décadas en el desconocimiento de la Fe por parte de los nativos pese a las recomendaciones de las diócesis y las normas dictadas por los pocos concilios llevados a cabo. La distancia de los conventos mayores y las largas jornadas impedían además la comunicación con los pocos letrados llegados a sus propias doctrinas.

Frente a esta situación advertida en la América española por parte de las autoridades eclesiásticas de Lima y México, ciudades donde se concentró la gobernación de eclesiástica dirigida desde la diócesis de Sevilla, el Concilio de Trento – cuyo objeto fue restablecer el orden eclesiástico, definió que todos los infieles debían ser instruidos en la Fe a través del mismo manual: el Catecismo de Universal traducido inicialmente del latín a lenguas romances y, posteriormente, mediante las disposiciones conciliares en las distintas regiones, a las lenguas de los indios.

El trabajo iniciado tímidamente desde finales del siglo XVI en la América Hispana cobró importancia a partir de la definición propuesta por la Compañía de Jesús y aprobada por Trento sobre la teoría de la Gracia. En suma la decisión de que los indígenas en razón de sus prácticas podrían como la población blanca recibir el sacramento de la confesión.

La decisión del Concilio, definió no solo la traducción del catecismo a las lenguas de los indios, acreditó la práctica de la confesión e hizo de ella el principal instrumento de conocimiento sobre la vida y moral de los infieles en todo el Orbe.

En consonancia con la importancia de la lengua en calidad de vínculo entre la enseñanza del evangelio en las doctrinas, la producción y el trabajo de los indios, la corona española adoptó en 1550 el castellano como la lengua oficial de la evangelización «debido a la diversidad de lenguas y dialectos indígenas»; no obstante seguía considerando «*difícil aun en la perfecta lengua de indios explicar bien y con profundidad los misterios de nuestra santa fe, [hecho] que no es posible sin cometer grandes disonancias e imperfecciones* (Leyes de Indias, 1841). Es decir, los errores que pudieran cometerse por la dificultad para expresar misterios tan elevados [y] cosas tan altas (Lee, 1964).

En el mismo año por medio de una Real Cédula al Provincial de la Orden de San Francisco mandó y «*encargó que proveáis como todos los religiosos de nuestra Orden que en esa provincia residen, procuren por todas las vías a ellos posibles, de enseñar a los indios de esta tierra nuestra lengua castellana* (Friede, 1955, t. X, p. 275).

Desde 1575, Fray Dionisio de Sanctis obispo de Cartagena elaboró un primer catecismo. Se trató de una breve suma de demandas y respuestas para mayor retención en la memoria y más aprovechamiento de los nuevos en la Fe[9]. En 1576 Fray Luis Zapata

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8   *Con el soldado y el colono iba el capellán, con Jiménez de Quezada, que trepa hacia la sabana de Bogotá en busca del Dorado, va el Padre Domingo de 1as Casas que catequiza y bautiza* (Mesa, 1973, p. 305).

9   Breve y muy sumaria instrucción de utilidad para enseñar los nuevos en la fe, de lo que creer y

de Cárdenas segundo arzobispo de Santafé elaboró el catecismo para curas el cual tuvo poca difusión por la disolución del Seminario de San Luis de Francia donde el vicario aspiraba darlo a conocer entre los diez y nueve colegiales que se formaban. Según Fray Alonso Zamora el compendio fue mandado a escribir al bachiller don Miguel de Espejo *y traducido por nuestro religioso, según 1as lenguas de cada gobernación* [...] *sirvió mucho para la enseñanza* (Zamora, 1701, p. 328).

Pese a los esfuerzos desarrollados por varias Órdenes religiosas como a los mandatos de la Arquidiócesis, entre 1580-90 las autoridades constataban que después de tres décadas de la acción evangelizadora el sometimiento y la organización de los indígenas no se había cumplido aunque la disminución de los nativos –como dijera Germán Colmenares (1978)- alcanzaba un 80 %. Según los informes el proceso de la evangelización considerado superficial solo garantizaba la adhesión nominal de los nativos a la religión católica porque su compromiso estaba sujeto a las sanciones impuestas (Martínez-Boom, 1982). En este mismo sentido las costumbres no habían cambiado en lo fundamental, todas las formas de vida y de trabajo preexistentes a la conquista se conservaban.

Antes de concluir el siglo XVI arribó a la capital don Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero como tercer arzobispo quien convocó al análisis de la situación sobre la enseñanza de la lengua y la actividad de los doctrineros, el relajamiento y la falta de moral de los clérigos empeñados especialmente en actividades lucrativas mientras los indios y pobladores se hallan –según su opinión– en estado de ignorancia y desconocimiento de los fundamentos de la religión católica.

Muchas provincias por ejemplo la de Tunja, no habían tenido curas doctrineros durante una década (1570-1580); la Real Audiencia no había cumplido con la organización de la catequización ni la sujeción de clérigos y religiosos; las constantes confrontaciones por el poder entre la iglesia y los encomenderos desvirtuaba el papel de la primera.

> *Según informaba al Rey el Licenciado Pedro de Zorrilla oidor de Santafé, los indios estaban tan ignorantes como al principio de la conquista. Los religiosos descuidaban las doctrinas y muy pocos habían aprendido las lenguas indígenas, por esto se veían obligados a enseñar la doctrina en castellano, y los indios la repetían sin entenderla, como papagayos. Algunos clérigos y frailes además daban mal ejemplo a los naturales, conviene añadir que los provinciales seleccionan a los religiosos que han de venir a los indios, pues sucede que los reclutan como hacen los capitanes con los soldados y así no vienen sino los que no quieren sujetarse a la regla o pretenden hacer fortuna* (Pacheco, 1959, p. 42)

La Real Audiencia denunciaba que muchos indios ladinos no tenían de cristiano sino el nombre. Como argumentaran Jorge Juan y Antonio Ulloa en las Noticias Secretas de América, el relajamiento moral de las costumbres de las Órdenes religiosas particularmente, dominicos y franciscanos, era notable.

> *Los conventos están sin clausura, y así viven los religiosos en ellos con sus concubinas dentro de las celdas... Todo esto, que parece mucho, es nada en comparación de lo demás que sucede... Lo que se hace más notable es que los conventos están reducidos a públicos burdeles, como sucede en las poblaciones cortas, y que en las grandes pasan a ser teatro de abominaciones inauditas y execrables vicios* (Liévano, 1973, p. 303).

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obrar y de que se han de apartar para ser buenos cristianos (De Sanctis, 1962). En la parte final del catecismo se incluye una cartilla para enseñar a leer y la doctrina cristiana, abecedario y silabario que abarcan todas las combinaciones principales de silabas, para llegar al conocimiento y lectura de las palabras. Contiene además las oraciones que deben ser aprendidas por los indios.

Ante el relajamiento moral de las comunidades religiosas y el estado en que se hallaba la catequización, el vicario, respaldado por la Compañía de Jesús celebró en 1602 la junta a través de la cual impuso el catecismo mosca como manual obligatorio de los doctrineros de la Provincia[10]. Como lo advirtieron las autoridades presentes, la traducción del Catecismo de Trento, a través de su versión Limense, realizada por el Padre José Dadei, era fiel a las verdades de la Fe y a los fundamentos de la moral como lo confirmó el III Concilio Limense organizado por la Compañía de Jesús (Romero, 1960, p. 254).

Autorizado el compendio, la Arquidiócesis convocó a examen a los curas doctrineros quienes debían demostrar la solvencia necesaria para aplicar el manual, mientras dos religiosos jesuitas de camino a las doctrinas probaban –en la práctica– la competencia de los evangelizadores sobre los fundamentos del catecismo en la lengua de los indios. De esta manera Lobo Guerrero garantizaba la enseñanza del catecismo en las provincias de Tunja y Santafé y la Gobernación de Popayán.

5. Regalismo borbónico

A partir de la segunda mitad del sigo XVIII se registra un cierto movimiento de reorganización institucional que toca diversos lugares de la vida política y social del mundo colonizado por España. Después del ascenso de Carlos III se pone en marcha un conjunto de orientaciones tendientes a reordenar la economía y la administración. John Leddy Phelan utiliza una expresión que se podría considerar como afortunada al momento de describir esta dificultad, y lo hace a propósito del programa económico y fiscal de Carlos III, la llama *modernización defensiva*, es decir, una forma de introducir cambios modestos y cautelosos en favor de los intereses peninsulares sobre sus gobernados.

> [...] *después de 1763, el primer intento de modernización defensiva en gran escala se efectuó en el virreinato de México* [...] *A fines del decenio de 1770 y a comienzos de 1780 José de Gálvez trato de aplicar el modelo de su experiencia mexicana a los virreinatos de Nueva Granada y Perú. Si José del Campillo y Cossío fue el principal diseñador del programa de modernización defensiva de Carlos III, Gálvez constituyó su principal ejecutor* [...] *Los objetivos y las tácticas empleadas por Gálvez en México fueron imitados, con pequeñas variaciones, por el funcionario que nombró un decenio después para la Nueva Granada. Creación de un monopolio de tabaco rentable, administración directa de la monarquía del sistema fiscal, expulsión de los criollos en los cargos públicos y restricciones al poder del virrey: todo esto se había ensayado ya en México* (Phelan, 1980, p. 21).

La experiencia del regalismo borbónico significaba introducir formas de gobierno algo más liberales, buena parte del tiempo colonial estuvo destinado a una economía de extracción, principalmente de metales preciosos que fueron embarcados hacia España, fue tarea central del regalismo incorporar nuevos elementos de gobierno económico cuya *modernización* hizo evidente los discursos de la economía política y de la ilustración que clamando por el cambio justificaban a su vez la represión a quienes se oponían a actualizarse, en particular cuando implicaba remover prácticas tradicionales de gobierno y trabajo.

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10   De acuerdo con la reseña del padre Zamora, un catecismo del sacerdote dominico Pedro Francisco de la Cruz es utilizado para la *enseñanza de nuestra santa fe católica dispuso un breve catecismo, en donde en pocas hojas comprendió la más alta teología, dándola a beber tan clara como el agua para la instrucción de los pequeñuelos. Se hicieron muchos traslados que se repartieron por todo el reino* (Zamora, 1701, p. 434).

Por supuesto que estos procesos no se pueden leer de manera lineal se trató de ejercicios gubernativos algunas veces estrictos[11] y muchas veces abordados con amplia laxitud dada la distancia geográfica entre soberano y súbditos, atravesados siempre por urgencias, azares y tensiones de todo tipo. España y América se encontraban sumidas en el letargo de una vida sedentaria y una mentalidad llena de creencias calificadas como *torpes alucinamientos propios del vulgo*, al respecto Benito Jerónimo Feijoo decía que España estaba atrasadísima, al tiempo que en la Provincia de Antioquia el visitador José Antonio Mon y Velarde comparaba su precariedad con las regiones africanas. Consideraciones que ponen en tensión la idea convencional de que los procesos ocurrían primero en Europa y en España antes de acontecer en las periferias.

En todo caso a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII podemos percibir un cierto movimiento de reorganización institucional que toca diversos lugares de la vida política y social del conjunto de las colonias españolas. Después del ascenso al poder de Carlos III, se pone en marcha en la metrópoli y en la periferia un conjunto de orientaciones tendientes a reordenar la economía y la administración de la vida en su conjunto. El propósito de esta modernización «era convertir los reinos de ultramar en verdaderas colonias que produjeran el máximo de ingresos para la metrópoli convirtiendo a los reinos de Indias en un verdadero imperio económico» (Phelan, 1980, p. 33).

En las primeras filas de esta preocupación encontramos a intelectuales pragmáticos y políticos ilustrados que hicieron las veces de consejeros y asesores del rey. Los nombres de Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, Bernard Ward, el Conde de Aranda (Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea), Francisco Cabarrús Lalanne, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Antonio José Cavanilles y Palop, José Bernardo de Gálvez y Gallardo, José del Campillo y Cossío, entre otros, hicieron parte del selecto grupo que fue calificado como de denodada voluntad y amor desmedido por la patria, responsables de arrancar al hombre de la ignorancia, de la indigencia material, restituyendo el sentido de su dignidad y devolviendo a cada región la felicidad pública y la prosperidad económica.

En el *Nuevo sistema de gobierno económico para la América* (Campillo, 1789) se define el gobierno económico como «la buena policía, el arreglo del comercio, el modo de emplear civilmente a los hombres, el de cultivar las tierras, mejorar sus frutos, y en fin, todo aquello que conduce a sacar el mayor beneficio y utilidad de un país» (1789, p. 3). La principal máxima para cumplir ese programa, era la reducción de los indios a la vida civil y, con «benignidad y dulzura», el fomento de la industria y la agricultura en esas poblaciones. Según este ilustrado los remedios para llevar a los indios a la vida civil eran dos: la unificación del vestido y del idioma. Con la introducción entre los indios del «traje español entero» esperaba no solamente un «mejor orden del nuevo establecimiento de Gobierno Económico», sino un aumento considerable del comercio por el consecuente crecimiento del consumo (1789, p. 124). Igualmente, la extensión del uso de la lengua española debía permitir que los indios se parecieran «en todo españoles, así también aficionándose cada día más a la Corona y patria de quienes son vasallos» (1789, p. 138). La enseñanza del castellano formó parte del sistema diseñado por Campillo y Cosío en clara alusión a objetivos de promover y dirigir la utilidad de los indios para toda América.

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11   Fueron particularmente estrictos con los jesuitas, con los libros, con la clasificación de pueblos, villas y ciudades.

> *No es menester en una monarquía que todos discurran ni tengan grandes talentos. Basta que sepa trabajar el mayor número, siendo pocos los que deben mandar, que son los que más necesidad de luces muy superiores* [...] *la muchedumbre no ha de necesitar más que fuerzas corporales y docilidad para dexarse gobernar; y así lo que se acumula como una gran nulidad en los indios, no lo miro yo como tal, sino antes bien como una especialísima ventaja, útil y provechosa para muchas cosas* [...] *en el supuesto de que los indios tengan las potencias tan limitadas como se dice, me parece que esta es la circunstancia más feliz que puede haber para los fines políticos del gobierno; pues de este modo se podrá con toda facilidad hacer de ellos aquello que se quiera, habiendo hombres que sepan y alcancen oportunamente valerse de esta ventaja para dirigirlos al bien suyo y al del Estado, que es únicamente lo que proponemos, promovemos y tratamos* (Campillo, 1789, pp. 91-92).

Lo que estaba en juego era el impulso de un horizonte práctico que insistía en desperezar la economía de España, por lo menos es la expresión que usa Rodríguez de Campomanes para referirse al cambio de las costumbres a favor de una vida que posibilitara mayores producciones del erario regio. Una clara alusión al mercantilismo de la época que funcionó como una racionalidad capaz de colocar a la Corona en el centro de la relación entre súbditos y rey con el objeto de aumentar el poderío y riqueza del soberano. Esta política propone no solo aumentar y reordenar los impuestos existentes hasta el momento, sino también aumentar la producción económica mediante la introducción de cambios tecnológicos, entre ellos: «la inclusión de la ciencia nueva en los estudios universitarios, las expediciones mineras a México, Nueva Granada y Perú, la expedición botánica de la Nueva Granada en 1780, la creación de ramos de la sociedad económica de Amigos del País en diversas capitales de las indias, y la rápida introducción de la vacuna contra la viruela» (Phelan, 1980, p. 33).

De las instituciones existen dos representaban la jerarquía tradicional que requería modernización: la institución del virreinato y el papel estratégico de la iglesia. Dos virreinatos gozaron de especial importancia, el Virreinato de Nueva España que existió entre 1535 y 1821, y el Virreinato del Perú entre 1544 y 1824; y otros dos se erigieron durante el gobierno de la casa Borbón, el Virreinato del Nuevo Reino de Granada en dos periodos entre 1717-1724 y 1739-1819, y el Virreinato del Río de la Plata entre 1777 y 1811.

La economía virreinal era realmente precaria, no había mercado de trabajo sino un sistema coercitivo para procurarse trabajadores. El mercado de tierras era también una utopía, la tierra era del rey quien la cedía a terceros (conquistadores, municipios, religiosos o las retenía como propiedades realengas dándola en usufructo a los indios). La monarquía era propietaria de todo (suelo, subsuelo, mano de obra indígena, comercio, etc.), y en esa posesión residía su potestad interventora. Cedía sus derechos a los particulares por vía *de graciosa merced* pero conservaba todos los derechos pecuniarios (Lucena, 1992). Había también poco circulante monetario porque España realizaba una extracción constante de oro y plata. El dinero que circulaba era escaso para la población existente. No había grandes capitales y los ricos lo eran por su patrimonio, no en dinero sino en propiedades, minas, cabezas de ganado, piezas de esclavos, en fin. Si alguien requería hacer transacciones recurrían a prestamos con un interés anual del 5 %, hasta el punto de que casi todos los terratenientes tenían gravadas sus posesiones con censos y capellanías[12].

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12   *Exteriormente la capellanía consiste en la afectación de una suma de dinero o la vinculación de un bien para que con sus intereses o su renta se remunere a un capellán encargado de decir misas por el alma*

> *El crédito proporcionado por el sistema de censos y capellanías posee características institucionales demasiado rígidas y estas apoyan, a la vez que condicionan, un marco tradicional de sociedad agraria [...] El estudio de los censos como fuente de crédito permite comprender el mecanismo más íntimo de esta formación de las haciendas, lo mismo que las limitaciones del sector agrícola colonial frente al de los comerciantes y los mineros* (Colmenares, 1979, p. 130).

El dinero no servía para adquirir alimentos y los tenderos usaban frecuentemente vales o señales convencionales para el cambio, las vueltas o el sencillo. El reformismo borbónico fue la nueva forma que asumió la política del imperio español cuyos lineamientos políticos, económicos y sociales pueden definirse en los siguientes términos: la introducción de la economía en el nuevo ejercicio político de la Corona, la redefinición del estatuto de las colonias americanas que se consolidan como unidad territorial, la definición de una nueva imagen del Estado que modificó la índole de la monarquía haciéndola aparecer como régimen despótico ilustrado y la aparición de la población como problema específico del gobierno. El despotismo es, claramente, un gobierno económico.

6. Una señal de partida. La expulsión de la Compañía

Antes de la expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús, en agosto de 1767, existían prácticas de enseñanzas dispersas y restringidas. La instrucción doctrinal, por ejemplo, se ejecutaba en las doctrinas que hacían parte de la encomienda; la enseñanza doméstica en la casa del discípulo que podía pagar un preceptor particular; el artesano utilizaba su taller como lugar de enseñanza al igual que el peluquero o el sastre, es decir, enseñanzas llevadas a cabo en diversos lugares sin que ningún espacio en particular fuera identificado como predominante. Y enseñanzas restringidas en el sentido de estar dirigidas a ciertas capas sociales denominadas como «gentes principales y beneméritas» principalmente en Colegios y Seminarios a cargo de órdenes religiosas.

Por esta razón, los hijos de Loyola habían alcanzado a regentar en la capital del Nuevo Reino de Granada y en las capitales de las Provincias de Tunja, Popayán, Cartagena y Antioquia, además de las cabezas de partido, el caso de Mompós, Pasto, Buga, Vélez, Pamplona y Honda algunos Colegios y Seminarios. El acontecimiento político de la expulsión produjo por tanto un vacío que era necesario suplir y su impacto abarcó a todos los reinos de América Hispánica, fue de hecho un gesto visible de ejercicio del poder soberano frente a una de las instituciones representativas del establecimiento español durante la colonia. La estrecha colaboración de los poderes temporal y espiritual y la subordinación de la política a los fines religiosos se tradujeron en ventajas tangibles para la monarquía (Krebs, 1992, p. 68), que la expulsión puso en tensión a favor de otras prácticas que en principio podemos nombrar como más seculares. En todo caso el extrañamiento fue claramente un acontecimiento cosmopolita que demandó capacidad de

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del fundador, sus deudos y las almas del purgatorio en general [...] En algunos casos la imposición de una capellanía servía para mantener intacta una propiedad que de otra manera se habría visto fragmentada innumerables veces por la concurrencia, de los herederos [...] Podía servir también para procurar un medio de vida para un pariente próximo o inducirlo a recibir las órdenes sagradas. Pero en cualquier caso las capellanías no eran otra cosa que una institución crediticia con ropaje canónico (Colmenares, 1979, p. 137-138).

reacción frente a una contingencia común. Las consecuencias del extrañamiento abarcan un amplio espectro de efectos políticos, pastorales, económicos, culturales, misionales y educativos.

No es exagerado valorar la expulsión como una señal de partida que sirvió de impulso a la aparición de la escuela pública. De hecho, la legislación posterior al extrañamiento estuvo dirigida para todos los reinos de España y dio origen a un andamiaje jurídico-administrativo capaz de reglamentar el «magisterio de primeras letras». Se inicia una injerencia directa del monarca en la provisión de cátedras de maestros de primeras letras, en particular, disponiendo la transferencia de temporalidades a «la merced y libre disposición del Soberano».

> [...] *En 1770 el Cabildo de Montevideo −a pocas décadas de fundada la ciudad− se enfrentó a la necesidad de instalar una escuela pública, ya que la escuela que existía por entonces −a cargo de la orden de los jesuitas− había sido clausurada* [...] *Por tal razón, las autoridades determinaron que en el local de la Residencia se instalase una escuela municipal* (Bralich, 2014, p. 239).

La educación doméstica deja de estar en manos de la familia o de la iglesia y pasa, progresivamente, a la intervención pública. Si bien la escuela es quizá la primera institución estatal del saber, sus conexiones con la iglesia fueron desde sus inicios muy visibles e incluso difíciles de separar. Con ello se ratifica que en sus comienzos dicha institución no tuvo como tarea fundamental la educación, el conocimiento o la ilustración de los individuos sino el amoldamiento, especialmente de los niños pobres. Una escuela diferencial y unificada con la que inician los procesos de escolarización social.

7. La emergencia de la escuela pública

La aparición de la escuela pública en la sociedad Hispanoamericana es un acontecimiento reciente, de algo más de dos siglos, cuyas huellas podemos encontrar entre un inmenso y desordenado arsenal de documentos. Su emergencia no fue fruto de los impulsos borbónicos, ni de las reorientaciones republicanas después de la independencia, aunque estas circunstancias sirvieron de condiciones de posibilidad para la articulación entre lo público y lo escolar. Su aparición fue el resultado del cruce de líneas de fuerza entre pobreza, prácticas de policía, la figura del niño y la utilidad pública.

Comparto con Hunter, la impresión acerca de una escuela pública que surge «a partir de la interacción imprevista de dos sistemas diferentes de problematizar y gobernar la vida, principalmente, a través de cambios en las prácticas disciplinares y en los procedimientos administrativos, en las disposiciones de espacio y de personas, en la inspección de las instituciones en el macronivel, y en la vigilancia de las almas en el micronivel» (Hunter, 1998, p. 104). Así lo que surgen son prácticas propias de la disciplina escolar y decisiones políticas del nivel gubernamental. Prácticas en doble dirección que dotan la escuela de funcionalidad al convertir lo múltiple en unidad formando, por ejemplo, lo común (unidad de lengua, religión y método), y de la misma manera, definen parámetros de comportamiento para las poblaciones con miras a la conformación futura de una sola nación y de unos fines patrióticos. Si bien la Corona contribuyó a la formación de la escuela, la aparición de esta es un punto nodal en la consolidación del Estado, así la contingencia de la escuela funcionó como una urgencia que luego se hizo necesaria.

La atención de la Corona española y los cabildos por estas actividades y la proliferación de planes de enseñanza mostrarían una nueva preocupación del Estado por los procesos escolares, con lo cual se hacía evidente además la urgencia por resolver la cuestión de la educación luego de la expulsión de los jesuitas. La insistencia inicial decía que al fundarse casas de educación o pupilaje «estas deben hacerse con total separación de las iglesias» (C.P. 1, p. 138), a partir de aquí se abre paso una legislación, que con mayor o menor acento, vinculará al poder, en cabeza del soberano, con los dominios e intereses que antes eran privativos de la iglesia o la familia.

> ¿Quién *podrá dudar que la enseñanza pública deba estar baxo la protección del príncipe, a quien incumbe el cuidado y superintendencia de la educación de la juventud, y baxo de cuyo patronato están todos los estudios del Reyno?* […] *Un simple preceptor no puede enseñar, sin ser dotado por la autoridad Real y del Consejo, y mucho menos ninguna comunidad religiosa* (Real Cédula del 14 de agosto de 1768, C.P. 2, p. 66).

La escuela que surge para esta época, no es la escuela parroquial, no es la escuela conventual, tampoco podemos asociarla a la enseñanza clandestina ni a la doméstica, mucho menos a la escuela doctrinal. Es la escuela pública de primeras letras. Una escuela que unifica lo que antes estaba disperso: las letras, la escritura, el canto, las manualidades y la vida en policía. Esta insistencia ilustra claramente la conexión que se va a consolidar entre la instauración de prácticas de policía y la institucionalización de la enseñanza de primeras letras. Al respecto, el personero de los vecinos de Soatá, en el expediente sobre el establecimiento de escuela de primeras letras, recogiendo en una breve síntesis el sentimiento y la idea generalizada de la época sobre la función de la educación señalaba:

> *La enseñanza de la juventud es el más principal ramo de la policía, el objeto más interesante de las sociedades políticas, y el que ha merecido toda la atención de los legisladores. Sin educación no pueden felicitarse los pueblos, el vicio cundiría por todas partes, las leyes, la religión, la pública seguridad y la privada, serían violadas sino se procurase desde el principio inspirar a la juventud las sanas ideas y obligaciones propias del cristiano y del vasallo* (AHNB, Instrucción pública, anexo, t. IV, f. 354)

La escuela entra entonces en el orden del gobierno de la población. En lo sucesivo este se hizo posible porque empiezan a surgir gobiernos específicos sobre los niños, las almas, las familias y los territorios que comprendían la totalidad de virreinatos y audiencias de Indias. Tanto los discursos sobre la utilidad pública como la configuración de la población como problema gubernativo fueron determinantes en la delimitación de la naturaleza de la institución escolar y sus funciones «*una buena policía relativa a estos asuntos, el alivio de los pobres, el destierro de la holgazanería, y la extinción de la mendicidad, la introducción del espíritu de la industria en la nación; y un nuevo sistema de gobierno económico en aquella preciosa porción de la monarquía española*» (Ward, 1782).

La escuela pública fue también un espacio de reclusión y encierro de niños pobres que fueron recogidos de la calle para imprimirles máximas morales, vida en policía y rudimentos de oficios en busca de hacerlos útiles. En los estudios sobre la escuela Anne Querrien afirma que: «Si estos niños no pueden trabajar, es preciso asegurarse de que lo harán mañana. Las primeras escuelas de caridad no recogen más que a los expósitos, a los huérfanos, a los niños cuyos padres se benefician de la caja de los pobres, de la limosna

(...) La escuela de caridad está pues destinada a los niños pobres. Muy pronto se hace obligatoria para ellos y se abre a niños no pobres, atraídos por sus métodos pedagógicos, y por la reunión de enseñanzas que generalmente era necesario buscar en estructuras diferentes» (Querrien, 1994, p. 23). Los niños pobres y no la infancia en general fueron el objeto y centro de la escuela pública, en la medida en que se descubre que son más fáciles de gobernar y dirigir ya que son la apuesta a salvaguardar.

El número de ignorantes y supersticiosos es enorme y la vida cotidiana parece signada por hábitos desoladores: «*repiten lo que han hecho sus abuelos. Cultivan las tierras como se han cultivado siempre. Piensan como siempre se ha pensado. Los agobia una punzante miseria material, una total aridez espiritual, un vacío que confina con la nada*» (Sarrailh, pp. 67-68), el anhelo de un género de vida distinto del acostumbrado impondrá poco a poco el pedido de que se abra una escuela pública en cada pueblo. Su carácter lo podemos definir como eminentemente público, no porque fuera gratuita o financiada por la Corona, sino porque el rey reclama como «derecho suyo» su establecimiento, la definición de sus límites y usos, es decir, disponer de la instrucción requerida para hacer más gobernables a sus súbditos.

Este establecimiento tendrá una existencia práctica a través de actos jurídicos como el proferido por el Virrey José de Ezpeleta en 1789 por el que se ordenaba la fundación de cinco escuelas elementales en Bogotá o los informes provenientes de Ibagué y Neiva que informaban sobre el funcionamiento de sendas escuelas «acogiendo a la superior declaratoria en orden a la nueva creación de escuelas de niños» (AHNB, Fondo Colegios, t. II, f. 1008r), sin embargo, estaba por resolverse la cuestión del auspicio económico para su funcionamiento, aspecto central en la delimitación de su carácter público. La educación de primeras letras desde su surgimiento como cuestión pública, hasta el fin de la dominación española, se sostuvo con los fondos municipales o de propios, de las temporalidades confiscadas a los jesuitas y, de las donaciones de particulares.

> *Las expresiones «instrucción pública», «educación pública» y «enseñanza pública» se volvieron etiqueta común en la administración y la legislación española* [...] *para referirse a la constitución de ese nuevo ámbito de intervención del gobierno en la sociedad* [...] *Al abolirse los gremios, la implementación de esta noción fortaleció además el papel de los ayuntamientos en la conducción de las escuelas elementales* (Roldán, 2014, p. 77-78).

El carácter público de la escuela y de la instrucción derivada de ella pondrá en escena un conjunto de criterios activos: utilidad, incitación y disciplinamiento, asuntos cercanos a un nuevo espacio social para la educación. Eugenio Roldán recuerda que en lenguaje de la última década del siglo XVIII e inicios del XIX las expresiones «instrucción pública» y «educación pública» no son sinónimas: «*instrucción pública» remite a la instrucción general que posee el pueblo mientras que «educación pública» tiende a referirse a la enseñanza que se imparte en los establecimientos escolares y no en el ámbito doméstico* (2014, p. 75).

Las «Bases para la formación de un plan general de instrucción pública» propuesta por Jovellanos como asesor del monarca en 1809 reitera el carácter público de la instrucción referida al avance de una educación supervisada por quien gobierna sobre ámbitos tradicionalmente domésticos: *Esta buena dirección dada en la educación pública no solo perfeccionará las facultades físicas en los ciudadanos, sino que corregirá los vicios y malos hábitos que se hayan contraído en la educación privada* (Jovellanos, 1858, p. 267).

8. Planes de escuela y los intentos de unificación

Los primeros intentos de regular y unificar estatalmente la práctica de la enseñanza pública pueden describirse desde tres fuentes discursivas complementarias: los planes de escuela, los requerimientos sobre los maestros delimitados desde ámbitos jurídicos, y el impulso al método mutuo de enseñanza, acompañado del interés por las Escuelas de la Patria y por el uso de manuales a comienzos del siglo XIX. Cada uno de estos aspectos implicó un esfuerzo regulatorio por parte de la Corona que más allá de lograrse o no puso en marcha la función estratégica de la instrucción pública.

La escuela como escenario privilegiado para la enseñanza fue apareciendo esporádicamente en los discursos de quienes recomendaban la instrucción de los menores pobres como el mejor paliativo de las miserias y las necesidades del Estado. En este proceso de edificación del espacio escolar, aparece lo que se conocerá como «Planes de Escuela» (Martínez-Boom, 2011), documentos que contribuyeron enormemente a la objetivación de este nuevo lugar. La forma documental de la época fue el expediente que en términos generales alude a un trámite formal gubernativo, judicial, eclesiástico, militar, hacendatario o inquisitorial, que podía comenzar y concluir en una misma oficina, o en su defecto pasar por muchas; algunos expedientes circulaban en una misma región otros viajaban de lugar en lugar a centenares de kilómetros de distancia; algunos duraban un día otros, decenas de años. Desde el punto de vista diplomático el elemento distintivo que fija la naturaleza del expediente es el asunto jurídico que le da existencia, de ahí que lo integre un conjunto de pasos protocolarios que comprometen a diversas instancias administrativas.

A la luz del estudio documental se comprueba que el espacio o superficie de emergencia en donde por primera vez se anudaron unas precisiones fundamentales sobre la escuela y la enseñanza fue el plan de escuela para muchos países de la América. En él se recortó, individualizó, reguló y delimitó una práctica específica: la práctica pedagógica. Escritos casi siempre por curas párrocos, los planes de escuela –generalmente contenidos en un expediente– evidencian la compleja relación entre los poderes civiles y eclesiásticos en el establecimiento y la administración de la enseñanza de las primeras letras. Ahora bien, esta escuela de la que hablan los planes, no es la escuela parroquial, no es la escuela conventual, tampoco podemos asociarla a la enseñanza clandestina ni a la doméstica, mucho menos a la escuela doctrinal. Se trata de la escuela pública que emerge –lentamente por cierto- como forma tangible y real, disímil a otros espacios tanto públicos como privados, en particular, la iglesia, la casa, el taller y el hospicio.

En el momento en que aparecen las prácticas y los discursos que posibilitaron la irrupción de la escuela pública, varias voces empezaron a clamar por la separación de la instrucción de primeras letras de las demás actividades y escenarios de la vida ordinaria en donde eventualmente se realizara un acto de instrucción. Simón Rodríguez, por ejemplo, criticaba a los padres que fiaban la educación de sus hijos a cualquier vecino medianamente instruido, decía escuetamente: «basta para conocerlo fijar un poco de atención en las peluquerías y barberías que sirven de escuela; y sin detenerse en examinar su método, ni la habilidad de sus maestros, pásese a averiguar con qué autoridad se han establecido, quiénes son sus discípulos y qué procesos hacen» (Rodríguez, 1999, p. 204). Semejante crítica era a la vez una solicitud a favor del nombramiento de maestros públicos, regulados por el virreinato, para que se ocuparan de la enseñanza de los niños, al tiempo que se hacía necesario que hubiese un espacio propio para esta labor.

Los planes hablaban de: cómo agrupar niños pobres, cómo hacer el contrato de aprendizaje, qué se les ponía a hacer, en qué lugar sentarse, a qué horas iban a misa, a qué horas descansaban, de qué fecha a qué fecha debían asistir a ese lugar, qué tenían que llevar, con cuanto se podía pagar lo que un sujeto misterioso hacía, cómo se debían ordenar, dónde se debían inscribir, ante quien se oponían esos sujetos públicos, qué preguntas se les hacían, para qué servía el título, las indicaciones de cómo tomar la pluma, etc. En ellos quedó atrapada, como en una red, una serie de nociones que fueron conformando aquellos objetos que convocaban la reflexión acerca de la enseñanza, y por lo tanto, aquellos primeros objetos del saber pedagógico.

Tabla 1

Expedientes y planes de escuela

#	Año y lugar	Nombre del documento	Interviniente	Ubicación
1	1774 Santafé	Método provisional e interino de los estudios que han de observar los colegios de Santa Fe, por ahora, y hasta tanto que se erige universidad pública o su Majestad dispone otra cosa	Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón	AGN, Archivo General de la Nación: Anexo Instrucción Pública, folios. 219-ss.
2	1781 Popayán	Fundación y establecimiento de la Escuela de Christo que fue de la Compañía	Juan Mariano de Grijalba	AEP: Seminarios y Colegios. 1780-1789. Carpeta s. f.
3	1782 Sogamoso	El Corregidor y teniente del partido de Sogamoso sobre la necesidad de que en la parroquia cabeza de él se establezca escuela de primeras letras, como la hay en otras más civilizadas, y asigne suficiente dotación	Juan de la Cruz Gastelbondo	AGN: Colegios. Tomo 4, folios 296r a 353v
4	1785 Lenguazaque	Método que deben seguir los maestros del pueblo de Lenguazaque formado por su cura Don Josef Duquesne	Domingo Duquesne de la Madrid	AGN: Instrucción Pública. Miscelánea. T. 118, fol. 45-49, doc. 12.
5	1785 San Gil	Autos sobre el establecimiento de escuela de primeras letras en la villa de Santa Cruz y San Gil y fundación de cátedra de gramática	Josef Ignacio Hortegat de la Rocha	AGN: Instrucción Pública. Archivo Anexo. Tomo 2, folios 302-374.
6	1787 Turbaco	Plan de Universidad y Estudios Generales que se propone al Rey Nuestro Señor, para establecerse, si es de su Soberano Real agrado, en la ciudad de Santa Fe, capital del Nuevo Reyno de Granada	Antonio Caballero y Góngora	AGN: Instrucción Pública. Tomo 2, folios 198-218v.
7	1789 Santafé	Expediente sobre la fundación del Convento y Colegio de la Enseñanza de Bogotá	María Clemencia Caicedo	ACE, Archivo Convento de la Enseñanza: Libros 1 y 2. s. f.
8	1789 Girón	Plan de una escuela de primeras letras para la ciudad de San Juan de Girón, presentado por el Dr. Don Felipe Salgar	Phelipe de Salgar	AGN: Fondo Colegios, Tomo 2, 1ª Parte, folios 948-1018.
9	1792 Ubaté	Plan y método que se ha de observar en la escuela, que según establecido por las leyes, ordenado novissimamente por nuestros catholicos, monarcas y mandado observar por la Real Audiencia, y superior Gobierno de este Reyno; se establece en este pueblo de San Diego de Ubaté	Fray Antonio de Miranda	AGN: Fondo Colegios. Tomo 3, folios 821-827r.

#	Año y lugar	Nombre del documento	Interviniente	Ubicación
10	1793 Popayán	Fco José de Caldas, Padre general de menores del Cabildo de Popayán, propone al Gobernador y comandante general de la Provincia, se promueva el estudio de artes y oficios, bajo la dirección de maestros artesanos idóneos, para salvar de la ociosidad y de la perdición a los jóvenes nobles y plebeyos de la ciudad	Francisco José de Caldas	Hernández, G. (1983) *Documentos para la historia de la educación en Colombia.* Tomo V. Bogotá: Editorial Nelly, pp. 333-344.
11	1794 Caracas	Estado actual de la escuela y nuevo establecimiento de ella	Simón Narciso Rodríguez	AAC, Archivo del Ayuntamiento Caracas: Expediente Nº 19.
12	1798 Maracaibo	Instrucción práctica para el gobierno económico de las escuelas de Maracaibo, con arreglo a las circunstancias del lugar y demás que debe tenerse presente para el mejor método y orden que debe de observarse a fin de hacer más fácil la enseñanza	Andrés María de Manzanos	AGI, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla, España): Audiencia de Caracas. Legajo 148, folios 653-714v.
13	1800 Mompox	Expedientes de la fundación de un hospicio y hospital, escuela y colegio en las villas de Mompox, por Don Pedro Martínez de Pinillos y su mujer	Pedro Martínez y Manuela T. de Nájera	AGI: Audiencia de Santafé, legajo 1020.
14	1801 Santafé	Ordenanzas para la dirección y gobierno de la escuela que instituyó y fundó en esta ciudad de Santa Fe Don Pedro de Ugarte y doña Josefa Franqui su legítima mujer, formados por sus sobrinos y patrones Don Antonio y Don Nicolás de Ugarte	José Antonio de Ugarte	BNC: Sala de Libros Raros y Curiosos. Protocolos. Instrucción Pública. Folios 347-352v.
15	1804 Cartago	El bachiller don Joseph Gregorio Vásquez de Piedrahita sobre la provisión de la escuela de Cartago	Joseph Gregorio Vásquez	AGN: Colonia, Colegios. Tomo 1, folios 656-839
16	1805 Caracas	Expediente sobre la aprobación de una escuela de primeras letras para la enseñanza de los pardos en la ciudad de Caracas	Juan José Mora, Felipe Piña, *et al.*	ACMC, Archivo del Consejo Municipal de Caracas: Expediente sobre Escuelas. s. f.
17	1805 Santafé	El doctor don Nicolás Cuervo, sobre creación de escuelas en los barrios de esta capital	Nicolás Cuervo	BNC: Fondo Antiguo, Instrucción Pública. Libro 352, f. 388r-393r.
18	1806 Arma de Rionegro	Expediente Arma de Rionegro: oposición de maestros a la escuela de primeras letras	Manuel Bravo y José Miguel Álvarez	BNC: Fondo Antiguo. Protocolo. Instrucción Pública. Vol. 421r-445v.
19	1806 Soatá	Expediente sobre la solicitud de creación de escuela de primeras letras en Soatá	Luis de Ovalle	AGN: Colonia. Instrucción Pública. Ar. Anexo. t. 4, f. 308-359.
20	1807 Lloró	Expediente formado para el establecimiento de una escuela de primeras letras en el pueblo de Lloró y el de Quibdó	Antonio Vivas y su esposa	AGN: Anexo. Instrucción Pública. T. 4, folios 289-295.
21	1807 Quibdó	Expediente formado para el establecimiento de una escuela de primeras letras en el pueblo de Quibdó capital de la provincia del Citará con el objeto benéfico de conseguir la civilización de los indios de su corregimiento	Luís José de Etayo y Luisa Herrera	AGN: Anexo Instrucción Pública. T. 4, folios 299-304v.

(Continua en la siguiente página)

#	Año y lugar	Nombre del documento	Interviniente	Ubicación
22	1808 Santafé	Miguel Jerónimo Sierra y Quintano solicita se le libre título de maestro para poder instruir a la juventud de esta capital	Miguel Jerónimo Sierra	AGN: Instrucción Pública. Tomo 2, folios 375-379.
23	1808 Santafé	Plan de una Escuela Patriótica	El Amigo de los niños	Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada. Nº 11-15, pp. 87-146.
24	1809 Novita	El Teniente Gobernador de Nóvita y el Cura Vicario sobre establecimiento de escuela y arbitrio para el sueldo del maestro	Narciso Hurtado	AGN: Colonia. Colegios. Tomo 1, folios 61-63v.
25	1809 Santafé	Ordenanzas que han de regir la escuela, que va a fundar en Las Nieves su actual cura interino, Don Santiago de Torres	Santiago de Torres	AGN: Instrucción Pública. Anexo. Tomo 4, folios 380-397v.
26	1816 Coro	Expediente sobre la formación de una casa de estudios y escuela de primeras letras en la ciudad de Coro (AEM, Archivo Eclesiástico de Mérida)	Narciso de Cereceda	Leal, I. (1968). Documentos para la historia de la educación en Venezuela, pp. 379-388.
27	1818 Popayán	Plan de enseñanza para la escuela de primeras letras de esta Capital sujeta a la dirección del Rector del Real Colegio Seminario de San Francisco de Asís	Andrés Marcelino Pérez de Valencia	AEP, Archivo Eclesiástico de Popayán: Libro 67, s. f.
28	1819 Medellín	Reglamento para las escuelas de la provincia de Antioquia formado por orden del Gobierno	Manuel María Viller Calderón	B.N: Sala de Investigadores. Sala 2ª No. 12767, pp. 155-179.
29	1820 Rionegro	Decreto sobre establecimiento de escuelas públicas en La Gran Colombia	Estanislao Vergara	AHA, Archivo Histórico de Antioquia, s. f.
30	1821 Caracas	Reglamento de las escuelas de educación cristiana y civil de la ciudad de Caracas	Ayuntamiento de Caracas	AGN (Venezuela): Actas Ayuntamiento. Sesión enero 11, f. 24.

Nota: Esta documentación hace parte del Archivo Pedagógico de la Colonia, y fue editado por Alberto Martínez Boom en el año 2011 con un estudio introductorio titulado: «El plan y la individualización de la forma escuela». Fuente: Memorias de la escuela pública. Expedientes y planes de escuela en Colombia y Venezuela, 1774-1821.

En los planes encontramos también escenas que ejemplifican las pedagogías pasivas, por ejemplo, la normativa del bachiller don Joseph Gregorio Vásquez de Piedrahita quien buscaba la provisión de la escuela de Cartago:

Los discípulos han de ver al maestro tomar la pluma y como la maneja, para que aprenda la verdadera colocación de los brazos sobre la mesa, el buen aire y gesto con que se debe escribir. La cabeza ha de estar medianamente inclinada, el pecho apartado de la mesa, la mano izquierda ha de sujetar el papel y volverle lo preciso, la esquina izquierda del papel que cae debajo de la mano que la sujeta ha de mirar a la mitad del pecho y la derecha ha de cuatro dedos más alta que la otra. El que le pone de otro modo va fuera del camino del verdadero arte (AGN, Colonia, Colegios, tomo I, f. 683).

Estas operaciones multiformes y fragmentarias repletas de detalle, desprovistas de ideología, formalizan una práctica que terminará constituyendo toda una manera de hacer y de vivir. En la misma dirección podemos observar concepciones de la época

sobre lo que los propios personajes exponen que es la escuela. Don Manuel Bravo dirá en Arma de Río Negro cuando le preguntan por su definición de escuela: «es la junta y congregación de los niños que estén bajo la dirección de un maestro»[13]; don José Miguel Álvarez quien se presentaba ante el Cabildo para cumplir con el examen que le permitiría hacerse cargo de una escuela de primeras letras contestará ante la misma pregunta: «que es escuela el primer principio de la religión»[14]. Bien visto, entramos con ellos a otra constelación conceptual.

La afinidad de la escuela con otras prácticas de recogimiento y encierro le permitió adquirir una espacialidad inmanente. Aislar, preservar y proteger se fue asociando sutilmente a las funciones de la instrucción, lo que delimitaba la escuela como un espacio que mantiene de cierta manera alejada a los infantes de los vicios, los ruidos, las tentaciones o la corrupción. Tal era el pedido de Juan Luis Vives al afirmar que «lo más conveniente [era] establecer la escuela fuera de la ciudad, sobre todo si [esta era] marítima o habitada de comerciantes; no siendo tampoco a propósito el paraje donde [salieran] a pasear los ociosos, ni cerca de caminos frecuentados» (Vives, 1923, p. 40). De este modo, se fue perfilando un «adentro» que tras los muros infranqueables de la escuela, debía mantener a los infantes protegidos de los peligros del «afuera». El espacio sería claramente cercado pero no solo constituyéndose como un espacio físico sino también como un espacio social y diferenciado al interior de la escuela.

La paulatina configuración de sus límites permitió a su vez la aparición de unos sujetos identificados como sus habitantes naturales: el maestro y los alumnos. El lugar común destinado a la enseñanza de los infantes fue ganando en estabilidad así en principio no siempre se erigiera un lugar propiamente construido para este fin. De todas maneras, con edificio propio o no, la escuela –aún como mera denominación– disputó y ganó al resto de lugares la primacía de la enseñanza.

La ordenación interna de la escuela en un límite segmentado y acotado, en el que hay una coordinación cronométrica de las principales actividades, con cuerpos conscientemente ubicados en el espacio para ritualizar sus actividades, cada una de ellas regulada y vigilada permite considerar, siguiendo a Antonio Caballero y Góngora, «a los niños separados ya del seno y de la disciplina de sus padres»[15]. El niño ya no estaba en su cálido hogar sino en otro lugar que supone una separación, del mundo de los adultos como en una especie de «cuarentena», este largo periodo de reclusión de los niños, en cierto modo equiparable al encierro que empezaron experimentar los locos, los pobres y las prostitutas, se conoció como escolarización (Ariès, 1987, pp. 11-12), en otras palabras, la escuela es una etapa que se diferenció claramente de la casa.

Se produce, entonces, la definición de lo que en adelante fue considerada la primera edad, susceptible de intervención, modelaje y seguimiento, produciéndose también la segregación de los menores (minoridad) mediante los procedimientos de alojar a dichos sujetos en lugares ad hoc bajo el cuidado de ciertos sujetos (el cuerpo del enseñante), por varias horas al día, durante cierta porción del año. Espacio de encierro que en su propio límite produjo unas formas específicas de subjetividad: escolares, alumnos, cadetes, niños, decuriones, aprendices, empollones, discípulos, etc., hechos a la medida de cada modelo y de cada lugar.

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13   BNC, Fondo Antiguo, Protocolo, Instrucción pública, Vol. 1, f. 441.
14   BNC, Fondo Antiguo, Protocolo, Instrucción pública, Vol. 1, f. 436v.
15   AGN, Instrucción pública, tomo 2, f. 206v.

Felipe Salgar proponía en su plan que los infantes de todas la clases sociales debían acudir a la escuela a aprender los primeros rudimentos, sin embargo, es enfático en establecer que las diferencias de estirpe debían estar claramente trazadas en el aula de clase: «se hará en la sala más grande de la casa del maestro una división, que consistirá en separar los bancos o escaños de la testera superior de los de la inferior, dejando entre unos y otros una media vara de intermedio. Servirá esto para denotar que los niños nobles ocupan las bancas de arriba y los plebeyos y gentes de castas las de abajo»[16]. Los niños aprenderían desde su tierna edad que en el ordenamiento espacial –incluso el escolar- debían conservarse las relaciones de poder, tal como sucedía con la distribución espacial al interior de la iglesia, pues los poderes de la ciudad estaban claramente diferenciados allí; al celebrarse los actos litúrgicos los neogranadinos prestantes se debían ubicar más cerca al atrio, mientras que los de castas inferiores debían ubicarse hacia a la salida de la iglesia. En el aula de clase, tanto los niños nobles como los plebeyos debían aprender que en el espacio cada uno debía tener un lugar diferenciado en el que ambas castas sabían cuál era la privilegiada.

Así lo señala el expediente sobre la aprobación de una escuela de primeras letras para la enseñanza de los pardos en Caracas:

> […] *que dará reglas [al maestro] a la moderación y compostura con que los discípulos deben conducirse de sus casas a la escuela, y de este a aquella, y cada cuando salgan a la calle, corrigiendo con prudencia y tesón lo que los haga entrar en no causar incomodidades a los vecinos con juegos y arrojamiento de piedras en la calle, con perjuicio de las fábricas, o edificios* (Martínez-Boom, 2011, pp. 87-88).

Las fronteras de la escuela constituyeron también un lugar de encierro, aunque no hubiese barrotes, las paredes de las aulas no podían ser franqueadas. Encierro infantil que podemos asociar a la imagen conventual pero en dirección muy diferente, importaba formar en la vida tanto civil como cristiana bajo prácticas de policía a fin de formar vasallos obedientes, leales al soberano y útiles al reino tal y como lo dice el plan de escuela del padre Miranda:

> […] *la educación de los primeros años es la piedra angular sobre que carga todo el peso de las obligaciones del hombre así es que debe precisamente dividirse en la doctrina que mira la religión y en poner aptos a los jóvenes para seguir el camino de la vida civil siendo útiles al Rey, a la patria, y a los conciudadanos* (AGN, Colonia, Colegios, tomo 3, f. 823v-824r).

En los planes también se disponía la repartición del tiempo escolar. El tiempo determinaba en primera instancia una fracción general: «todos los vecinos que tengan algún hijo, que manifieste alguna habilidad desde dicho día lo mandarán a la escuela, desde las siete de la mañana hasta las once del día y por la tarde desde las dos hasta las cinco»[17]. En lo específico determinaba también una rutina que debía seguir cada niño en el transcurso del día en la escuela, es decir, que se producía un régimen donde el maestro sabía lo que estaba haciendo su discípulo como lo expresa el plan de estudios generales de Caballero y Góngora:

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16   AGN, Colonia, Colegios, tomo 2, f. 950r-950v.

17   AGN, Colonia, Colegios, tomo 3, f. 821r.

> [...] *las lecciones diarias deben tenerse desde las siete y media de la mañana (en que ya los niños habrán oído misa y desayunado) hasta las once, y desde las dos y media hasta las cinco: dándoseles un rato de diversión según lo propuesto en el estudio general* (AGN, Instrucción pública, tomo 2, f. 212).

No deja de sorprender constatar como las rutinas de los menores, abarcan tanto el interior como el afuera de la escuela: «antes de la seis se recogerán todos los niños en la escuela para ir en comunidad a oír misa de seis en la iglesia del colegio [...] a las once se irán a sus casas y cuidará el maestro que salgan con silencio y compostura [...] se enseñará también el andar a misa y les instruirá reglas de política y buena crianza»[18]. Lo cotidiano se inventa en esos detalles de articulación espacio-temporales y se enuncian en el plan para reglamentar las prácticas como una acción constante, ininterrumpida, interesada en la minucia de la actividad y en la retícula de los movimientos más que en el resultado.

Además de la escuela aparece también el maestro al interior de un proceso precario, errático e indefinido. Esta figura, que surgió a grandes tumbos en medio de una multiplicidad de prácticas aparejadas a la enseñanza, fue en principio endeble y maleable[19]. Sus atributos y su posición en la jerarquía de los funcionarios y autoridades implicaron permanentes acomodos. Si bien los discursos filosóficos y políticos ponderan al maestro de escuela como un engranaje vital para la prosperidad de los pueblos, como el custodio de la moral y la civilidad, como el fiador del orden y la paz de la sociedad. En contraste, sus misivas constatan las miserias que soportaba en su vida cotidiana[20], sus «urgencias lloradas» en la consecución de «un socorro de limosna».

Sin embargo, el cuerpo del enseñante público no es cualquier cuerpo, en él recaen requisitos y exigencias. En la regulación de la Congregación de San Casiano por la Corona en 1743, aparecen por ejemplo la certificación del Ordinario Eclesiástico sobre sus conocimientos en doctrina cristiana, la declaración juramentada de tres testigos sobre su vida, costumbres y limpieza de sangre (cristianos viejos, sin mezcla de mala sangre u otra secta), y la aprobación de los exámenes en el arte de leer, escribir y contar.

El interés de la Corona de formar un cuerpo enseñante secular que respondiera a las necesidades del Estado llevó a Carlos III a extinguir la Congregación en 1787 y erigir en su lugar el Colegio Académico del Noble Arte de las Primeras Letras, un instituto que aunque prácticamente desempeñaba el mismo rol de la extinta cofradía, supuso el primer intento de regular el trabajo del enseñante público para todo el reino. En la provisión sobre los estatutos del Colegio, el monarca aseveraba que el objeto de este establecimiento era:

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18   AEP, Seminarios y Colegios. 1780-1789. Carpeta s.f.

19   En Crónica del desarraigo, describo uno de esos rostros emblemáticos de los primeros maestros públicos: Don Agustín Joseph de Torres (citado en Martínez-Boom *et al*, 1989, p. 126), y sus comunicaciones con la burocracia virreinal suplicando angustiosamente un «socorro de limosnas» como designaba su asignación anual.

20   Recordemos también al maestro Gastelbondo quien permaneció más de 15 años sin recibir salario alguno y sin embargo se mantuvo «sin faltar incesante al exercicio diario», o al maestro Ramírez quien después de dos años de trabajar en una escuela de Popayán no encontraba "razón ni motivo" para que se le retuviera su salario por ser «legítimamente ganado» con su «sudor y trabajo».

> [...] *fomentar con trascendencia á todo el Reyno la perfecta educación de la juventud en los rudimentos de la Fé Católica, en las reglas del bien obrar, en el exercicio de las virtudes, y en el noble Arte de leer, escribir y contar; cultivando á los hombres desde su infancia y en los primeros pasos de su inteligencia, hasta que se proporcionen para hacer progresos en las virtudes, en las ciencias y en las artes, como que es la raiz fundamental de la conservación y aumento de la Religión, y el ramo mas interesante de la Policía y Gobierno económico del Estado* (Carlos III, 1846, Libro octavo. De las ciencias, artes y oficios. Titulo primero. De las escuelas y maestros de primeras letras, y educación de niñas. Ley III).

Aunque autores como Juan Huarte de San Juan y Juan Luis Vives habían puntualizado desde el siglo XVI las características que debían tener aquellos que se dedicaran a la enseñanza, solo hasta mediados del siglo XVIII tal preocupación se convierte en regulación por parte de la autoridad pública. La investidura de la educación como objeto público ejerció profundas repercusiones sobre la figura que hasta ese momento había cumplido el rol de enseñante. La legislación, como expresión de las estrategias de poder estatal, determinó con suficiente énfasis que si la instrucción correspondía al terreno público, es decir, controlado por el Estado, ese mismo carácter debía recaer sobre todos aquellos que ejercieran el oficio de maestros. De esta forma se abrió paso la determinación de separar al funcionario religioso de cualquier actividad que implicara la enseñanza de la población civil, o por lo menos de diferenciar educación para eclesiásticos y educación para civiles.

Al énfasis colocado en el ejemplo magisterial Jovellanos agregará la importancia del método como tecnología regulatoria del oficio, de hecho definía al maestro como: «un buen cristiano con tal de que supiera el método», es decir, que si los métodos de enseñanza eran buenos se necesita saber muy poco para ejercer el oficio de enseñante, los maestros se encontraban en cualquier parte donde hubiera «un hombre sensato, honrado y que [tuviera] humanidad y patriotismo» (Jovellanos, 1962, p. 571). De aquí procede históricamente el estigma de que el maestro solo necesita poseer el método, en este caso, asignándole el papel esencialmente moral de ser el labriego de la virtud y la civilidad entre los hombres. Formar un cuerpo enseñante implicó constituir al maestro en un estabilizador social[21].

En todo caso a finales del siglo XVIII, la relación del maestro con el saber que enseña adopta con el manual una forma de trabajo singular. Al respecto, la remisión al manual de Palomares en el plan de Caballero y Góngora en 1787, y más adelante a los manuales de Díaz Morante y Torcuato Torio –cuyos moldes para escribir se empiezan a reproducir en algunos planes, como el caso de la escuela de Cartago–, evidencian la irrupción en el interior del saber sobre la enseñanza de nuevos objetos de discurso, nuevos procedimientos, pero sobre todo la trasformación del estatuto del maestro, proceso que afecto casi todas las latitudes de los reinos de ultramar.

9. A modo de cierre

El análisis que se ha podido ofrecer acerca de la relación imperio-educación se circunscribe a un corpus documental de instituciones y prácticas que en la mayoría de los casos fueron motivados por intereses económicos y sociales en cuya materialidad se entrecruzan

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21   El cuerpo enseñante modela el cuerpo social (Querrien, 1994, p. 148).

fuerzas locales, regionales y de ajuste centralista o imperial. El término «imperio» en el sentido en el que aquí se utiliza no implica una descripción exclusivamente política, hace referencia también a un predominio económico o cultural (Cipolla, Elliott *et al.*, 1973, p. 14). He realizado este recorrido historiográfico y documental bajo la expectativa de describir y rastrear algunas de las condiciones de posibilidad que permitieron el surgimiento de la escuela pública y del modelo de escolarización asociado a ella que terminó por extenderse a todos los territorios de lo que hoy conocemos como América Latina además de generalizarse modos de educación definidos mediante la forma escuela.

En torno a estos procesos de expansión de lo escolar ¿es posible encontrar trabajos cotejables en distintas regiones del imperio español? Considero que sí y no solo por tratarse de un ejercicio de corte institucional sino por los enclaves que articulan documentos singulares con movimientos globales en torno a la evangelización, la irrupción de la escuela y la proliferación de sistemas de instrucción pública en toda la región de lo que hoy se nombra como América Latina.

En todo caso la reflexión sobre los modos como la escuela surge como acontecimiento político supone trazar ejercicios de educación comparada de las que podemos desprender consecuencias teóricas y metodológicas que afectan la manera como entendemos nuestra propia cultura.

Esta introducción de una idea de civilización, vinculada a prácticas de instrucción y buen gobierno adquirieron formas singulares y específicas que no corresponden con las condiciones de posibilidad de la escuela española y europea sino que pasaron por procesos de apropiación y adecuación que, para el caso del Nuevo Reino de Granada, y muy seguramente para el resto de colonias Hispanoamericanas, vincularon educación con vida en policía y conducción y gobierno de la pobreza.

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Siglas empleadas en el texto

AAC	Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Caracas.
ACE	Archivo del Convento de la Enseñanza, Bogotá.
ACMC	Archivo del Consejo Municipal de Caracas.
AEP	Archivo Eclesiástico de Popayán.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá.
AHA	Archivo Histórico de Antioquia, Medellín.
AHNB	Archivo Histórico Nacional de Bogotá.
BNC	Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.
CP	Colección de Provindencias tomadas sobre el extrañamiento.

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The Foundations of American Imperial Education

Los fundamentos de la Educación Imperial Estadounidense

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Abstract

The evolution of American educational imperialism is presented, beginning with colonialism in territories obtained from Spain in the early 20th century through the US occupation of Germany and Japan after the Second World War and then through the Cold War and post Cold War periods. A selection of examples will discuss basic foundations of American educational imperialism, including values and ideals, international exchanges, philanthropy, education in select Muslim countries, business education, and collaboration between 'hard' and 'soft' power aspects of imperialism. It is noted where this collaboration has either failed or led to catastrophic outcomes. Major shifts are noted to correspond to changes in US public, political and popular attitudes. Conclusions regarding the shape of and shifts in educational imperialism are provided. It will be seen that much of what is observed is a 'mix' of politics and practicalities which produced a mix of outcomes.

Key Words: soft power; colonial; occupation; philanthropy; exchanges; educational progressive

Resumen

Se presenta la evolución de la educación en el imperio estadounidense, comenzando con las colonias en los territorios obtenidos de España a principios del siglo XX, pasando por la ocupación estadounidense de Alemania y Japón después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial y luego durante la Guerra Fría y los períodos posteriores a la Guerra Fría. Mediante una selección de ejemplos se discutirán los fundamentos básicos del imperialismo educativo estadounidense, incluyendo los valores e ideales, los intercambios internacionales, la filantropía, la educación en determinados países musulmanes, la educación empresarial y la colaboración entre los aspectos del *hard power* y el *soft power* del imperialismo. Se señala dónde esta colaboración ha fallado o ha llevado a resultados catastróficos. Se observa que los cambios principales corresponden a cambios en las actitudes públicas, políticas y populares de los Estados Unidos. Se brindan conclusiones sobre la forma y los cambios en el imperialismo educativo. Se verá que gran parte de lo que se observa es una «mezcla» de política y aspectos prácticos que producen una combinación de resultados.

Palabras clave: soft power; colonial; ocupación; filantropía; intercambios; progreso educativo

1. Introduction

American education in possessions and areas of influence from the late 19th century until the late 20th century has expanded from its place in somewhat limited colonial control, to post-war occupation to participation in an extremely diverse, constantly changing and vast set imperial initiatives known to create 'The American Century' or, given the overwhelming power of the US, a 'Pax Americana'.

This road to imperialism went through growth stages and follows decades of European colonial practice in various North American geographies, and United States ones in the conquest of Native American territories in the 19th century.

This essay, however, chooses to dwell on a period after the United States assumed status as the world's largest economy and in the early years of the 20th century focused on its consolidation of colonial power in Asia and the Caribbean as a precursor to expanded economic power.

In the sections on acquisitions from the Spanish may be seen the building of bureaucratic, knowledge transfer, relationship building and training mechanisms to give schooling a firm and formal location in the growth of what would become the full-blown cultural/educational imperialism discussed in the article. This said, it should be recognized that the emphasis among those responsible for this phenomenon were primarily concerned with setting the parameters of the colonial relationship the paper considers, even if in the North American homeland there were those supportive of colonialism as a necessary first step to imperialism.

This was followed by a brief period of isolationism and America First motifs brought on by the First World War and strengthened by depression. Subsequently, the Second World War led to a period in which the occupation of Germany and Japan, and efforts regarding that, turned into Cold War strategies and investments. This led in the last fifty years to a vast set of military, economic and cultural engagements, some of which may be seen as 'soft power' and a foundation of educational imperialism, with others seen as a blending of the two.

A concept which emerged openly in the 1980s by the work of Harvard political scientist Joseph Nye (2004), 'soft power' as a complement to 'cultural diplomacy' (a sometimes interchangeable term), referred, often very generally, to programs and initiatives which complemented, strengthened and masked imperialism by the US or other imperial nations. Whether sponsored by the government or NGOs, the idea is they supported American democratic and civic values without visibly promoting US foreign policies per se, making US involvement abroad more palatable internationally and at home where students, academics and members of the public acted in part out of idealism, or in some cases support for expansion of the American Dream to other populations at a time of US invasions and anti-terrorist warfare. Logically, given the opposition of many Americans to wars in Vietnam and the Middle East, many who formed or engaged in these programs did so out of opposition to imperialism, as did others who wished to defeat enemies of the US. For many students it was simply a chance to travel and see the world.

The shifting nature of this shaping of American imperialism means not only that new educational and other efforts emerged, but that there is considerable continuity. It must also be noted that foundations embedded in imperialism may contain laudable objectives and outcomes, including literacy, the education of girls, agricultural assistance, and disease eradication that represent highly visible tips on the imperialistic iceberg, which is a

veritable mix of tools and processes which contributed to US cultural diplomacy by players both witting and doubtless unwitting. It is not the purpose of the essay to study the continuity of policies related to 19th Century US educational practices for Native Americans, Afro-Americans and recent immigrant populations, save some mentioned with regard to the Philippines and Puerto Rico. This said, ideas assuming cultural and racial superiority, vocational and practical education, elite formation, 'community education' and other characteristics morph, change and are applied throughout the 20th century.

The subject is a challenging one, and two examples suggest its size. The US based Institute for International Education (2017) has 16,000 higher education partners, 700 staff world wide, 700 study abroad partners and 27,000 program participants. The United States Agency for International Development in the years 2011-2015 supported 151 basic education programs in 45 countries, benefiting approximately 42 million children and youth (USAID, 2017). In FY2016, combined US. Agency for International Development USAID and Department of State education programming alone amounted to about $856 million (Tarnoff, 2016).

At its core the evolution discussed below was rich with ideas, which can be seen as marketing America's new responsibilities at home and abroad to be different from that of the 'greedy', e.g. traditional European imperial powers (to be kept out of Latin America by the Monroe Doctrine, enacted in the early 19th century), or later, the remnants of empire and Soviet imperialism. As put by one commentator and will be illustrated in forthcoming discussion of many US programs, there was one common theme, closely related to 'soft power', at the core of much US educational imperialism:

> "Ideology would play an important role in the US. imperial enterprise, far greater than it did with the European colonial powers where *mission civilatrice*, as in the case of France, was an afterthought, an obvious fig leaf for economic interests. Imperialism had to be legitimized to the American people" (Bello, 1998, p.367).

What follows is not program detail or insights into classroom practices, but examples which illustrate foundations in the shifts and shapes in the role of American education in select empire related times and places…a huge and complex topic. Their selection was made to provide a picture of the foundational components of an increasingly complex educational imperialism. No effort is made to compare them, or to suggest their ultimate weight, success or failure, except where they are highly visible. The essay also notes that educational imperialism and imperialism itself did not always run on parallel and successful tracks. In one case noted below it very possibly led to a devastating war that taxes America to this day. In another, a prominent philanthropy aided and abetted intelligence services which destroyed a democracy.

2. Colonial Foundations – 1898-2017

A brief perspective on the US role in the Philippines and Puerto Rico is therefore instructive because it illustrates the foundation of many educational ideas and practices on which subsequent policies emerged in non-colonial environments (Goodenow. 2018).

Key US strategies in the Philippines included, after a highly destructive rebellion at the beginning of colonial occupation, using the US military to staff and build new schools that reflected practices in the US, the military coming to play an important educational

role in countries the US occupied after WWII as well. Subsequently, as a model going forward, the 1903 Pensionado Act, named after a ship which had taken students to the US, supported sending large numbers of Filipinos to the US for training as teachers and, eventually for some, administrators. Many of these 'Pensionados' stayed in the US or later returned to it, setting the stage for the large Filipino migrations of the 20th century. Though not precisely an 'exchange' this program set in process a practice that was to be emulated over the next hundred years, albeit in many different forms, to introduce students and educators to America on a first hand basis.

Philippine schooling therefore incorporated ideas and features of American education that brought into play a visible mix and sometimes contradictory ideas and practices. Some of these were <u>announced</u> in public rhetoric to foster equality, secularism and modern practices...leading eventually to an independent democratic nation and support in the US. More likely to be <u>used</u> were philosophies derived from the education of Afro-Americans and Native Americans that were outside the domestic American mainstream, such as those incorporated the industrial 'working with one's hands' ideas of Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute, Native American boarding and day schools managed by missionaries.

This stew of pedagogy and Anglo-Saxon Protestant values which disdained "brown brothers", Catholics and "the natives" was applied commonly in the Philippines and Caribbean. Indeed, to this day American media and politicians commonly disdain foreign cultures, ethnicity and religions in ways that smack of racism and forms of American exceptionalism. This took place at a time when anti-immigration and racist theories were generated at America's leading universities, including Harvard and Stanford, racism was a powerful force in the post-Reconstruction South and Native Americans were losing land and increasingly confined to reservations (Solomon, 2013)(Navarro, 2010). Indeed, after defeating the Philippine rebels who led a major rebellion shortly after occupation it was bragged that Americans knew how to deal with disgruntled natives, having gained experience from the conquest of Native Americans (Justice, 2009), an unsubtle reference to hard power to justify soft power.

A major imperative in the early days was to work out complex issues surrounding religious and language instruction, utilizing resources that were both local and, for long periods in time, administered by the Catholic Church, particularly in remote areas. Efforts were made to equalize the schooling of boys and girls, though girls, encouraged becoming teachers, were more likely to be taught about needlework and other "practical" subjects than boys, with many other inequalities in terms of professional training and jobs (Sobritchea, 1996). The United States began a program to complement and replace an extensive system of twelve thousand public and private primary, secondary, and post secondary institutions of education (Angulo, 2012). Much single sex schooling was ended, and there was a major effort to establish post-secondary colleges and universities. A Department of Public Instruction was established in 1900. Similar efforts were made in Puerto Rico.

Apologists for the new American role argued commonly that educational establishments would put in place policies recommended or implemented by the American governor and appointed superintendents of public instruction, newly established legislatures with limited powers and various commissions and experts as schools were built and teachers trained. Administrative colonial systems and bureaucracies tended to parallel American ones which gave locals responsibilities and, to some degree legitimacy in the

US – a hallmark feature of American administration in conquered territories through the 20th century and beyond. In some instances, as in the case of Puerto Rico, beliefs about the impaired mental capacity of residents, in this case citizens after 1917 have restricted services and full citizenship opportunities into the 21st century (Stratton, 2016).

Indeed, to this day on the religious front, the Philippine and Puerto Rican systems include many Catholic administered schools and colleges of high quality, and are therefore more likely to serve and create elites than the public school systems (Clark, 2015). If new US projections of power opened the door to projects of economic and military advantage, they also contained seeds of democracy as schools were built, domestic teachers trained and hired, the bonds of religion loosened but not destroyed, and ideals and processes of future citizenship, particularly in the Philippines, promoted.

These practices would also be joined by others which called for more "modern" and "research based" policies, including "child centered" education, generated at leading American universities and public agencies throughout the 20th century as psychologists and others studied "the whole child". A good and early example of this is the 1925 Monroe Commission Report on the Philippines which, sponsored by Teachers College, Columbia University, under the guidance of Paul Monroe, with the help of prominent US. educationist George Counts of Yale, himself a leading voice of progressive social reconstruction at home (Goodenow, 1975) (Cremin, 1964). The report urged modernized teacher training and more emphasis on historical, American usually, subjects taught in English (Counts, 1925).

This said, there could be considerable resistance. In Cuba, as an example, there was according to A.J. Angulo, very early opposition to the essentials of US. colonial schooling on the part of residents highly informed on educational issues. "They mostly wanted an elimination of English requirements in their schools, reintroduction of civics in the curriculum, an increase in teacher salaries, cutting the superintendent's centralized power" (Angulo, 2012, p.9). As time went on sympathetic American administrators eased up on English requirements. But they did maintain the idea that elites were to be trained to act like mainland citizens. This was brought about in part by subsidized training in the US.

In the case of Puerto Rico it was generally assumed that the Caribbean and much of Latin America was already an area of great US influence, an influence driven in part by the role of individual corporations and political leaders throughout the region for much of the 19th century, reflected in the 1923 Monroe Doctrine restricting foreign involvement in Latin America. In both the Philippines and Puerto Rico the main American task was to systematize training and address educational and social ills though schooling. "Citizenship" was bestowed, but only in the case of the Philippines, was nationhood (after the Second World War) after a period as a commonwealth. In Puerto Rico it was highly restricted, with limitations on voting. Financial disaster, institutional contraction and the burdens posed by island mismanagement are now forcing what a recent study sees as a new emphasis on alternative approaches to education, of using distance learning teaching and technologies. It remains to be seen what the US influence will be. And whether Puerto Rico will ever achieve independence (Quintero, 2017). In Puerto Rico there is an extensive popular literature on the hypocrisy of modern colonialism, which on one hand promotes democracy and citizenship, and on the other denies it. This is also a time of massive Puerto Rican migration to the US, with some predictions suggesting upwards of 200,000 per year, some of which is doubtless the result of horrific hurricanes (Goldstein, 2018).

The Puerto Rican example points to a caveat. Old educational foundations and their rhetoric may overlap new ones in some locations, in this case a problematic mix.

3. Education as a Complement to Victory – Occupation Imperatives — 1945-1951

As the foregoing suggests, colonial education was not something invented out of whole cloth. It was built, in both the Philippines and Caribbean, over and with systems in place before American colonialism there. As the 20th century progressed the responsibilities of American educators expanded dramatically as US military and economic power expanded. Many patterns of practice and influence noted above remained in place, including the use of a high level commission, and military leadership and responsibility for managing strategy. Challenges included the wreckage of war, the unique character of systems in need of reform, and putting American ideals into practice. It is fair to observe that these ideas came to constitute a powerful form of ethanol-centrism which motivated Americans to support international education throughout the 20th century.

3.1. Germany – a Struggle to Create Post-war Reform in a Tradition Bound Decentralized System

Germany is now one of America's major global military allies and economic partners. It has undergone a major transition from occupied and divided nation to full fledged unified partner in shifting US imperial policies and practices increasingly global in character. A brief review of occupation era US educational initiatives shows a continuity of policy and programs developed in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Programs and intergovernmental relations were doubtless aided by the fact that German – Americans are the largest immigrant group in America, approximately 58 million claiming German descent, with over 200,000 immigrants between 1960 and 1970. (Germans, 2018). During and after the First World war they faced ridicule and discrimination in the US, something they clearly strove to avoid again, in spite of the support and admiration many showed, often with the support of prominent US business and political leaders, to Hitler, who fed American anti-semitism, offered major new European markets and was seen as a bulwark against communism.

From 1945 until 1949 America and its allies Britain, France and the Soviet Union, participated in a major program of denazification in Germany, parts of which the US occupied. Its objective was to purge former Nazis from most important jobs and identify many for trial, and open the door to democracy, in part through reform of the German educational system. Given legitimacy by the Potsdam agreement and to be administered by the Allied Control Council (ACC), in the words of Taylor, "the United States military pursued denazification in a zealous, albeit bureaucratic, fashion, especially during the first months of the occupation." (Taylor, 2010, p.253).

Denazification began in January 1946. Unlike in the Philippines, where the military was given the initial responsibility for building schools and teaching American values, Angulo writes that organizational charts claiming military responsibility were one thing, but actual responsibilities another (Angulo, 2012). As in the case of the Philippines and Iraq (see below) the US simply did not have the resources to itself rebuild systems destroyed by the attacks of the US and allies. Wherever possible it had to rely on local support. In the words of Grimm, the occupiers "had noble ideas about democratizing and denazifying German schools, but the severe lack of resources and large amount of destruction seriously curtailed their efforts." (Grimm, 2010, p.1) This

is a view supported by other scholars (Taylor, 2011). It is a good example of soft power rhetoric in service of rapidly changing geo-political requirements that could not be delivered upon.

There is good reason to believe that denazification's educational philosophy reflected sentiments which held that the democratization of German schools was a key to regional stability. It was in part a precursor to the Marshall Plan, and was an early reaction to plans by the American Hans Morganthau to radically divide a de-industrialized Germany into an agricultural economy. (Dorn, 2007, pp.163-166) (Blum, 1967).As Hirsch and Pine point out, denazification's primary education focus was to infuse a reformed German system with US ideas with the help of new teacher and administrator training, evaluation programs, and instructional materials. A challenge was to overcome the values and practices of Nazi youth programs as well as parents and teachers forced to support Nazi philosophy and practices during the Hitler years. (Hirsch, 1988)(Pine, 2010).The program took on added urgency with the beginning of the Cold War in 1947 and, as the Americans were to learn, they had to be careful to overly characterize an inherently conservative educational system as a Nazi one.

In light of the resource issue and to put some muscle into its efforts the US brought in a top level mission, not entirely unlike the Monroe Commission in the Philippines. Supported by the National Education Association and chaired by George Zook, president of the American Council on Education. It issued a report which was criticized by the Germans and many Americans because it called for a new national system which included comprehensive schools, replacing the character and power of the elite gymnasium system that was based and controlled in local districts (Mitchell, Crowson, & Ships, 2011).

The numbers further show a significant challenge beyond structural change. Of the approximately 20 million German youth in the system, the majority of who were in lower grades, historically very few of them attended college. In the 1950s for example, 80 percent had only Volksschule "primary school" education of 6 or 7 years. And many were highly demoralized due to ravages of war. As in much of Europe at this time only about 5 percent of youths entered college at this time and still fewer graduated. In the 1960s, 6 percent of youths entered college. As Beckert points out, some cities e.g. Hamburg had closed most of their schools long before wars end thanks to cataclysmic bombing. In 1961 there were still 8,000 cities in which no children received secondary education. In addition to the need to rebuild schools, all of Germany faced a huge refugee problem of 12 million people, with many refugee children to educate (Fuhr, 1997, p.4).

To make matters more complicated, Shibata writes that "compared with American egalitarian education, German education was framed by various social divisions in class, gender, region and religion. Specifically, the class-affected multi-track school system and the charging of tuition fees were in opposition to the American ideal of egalitarian education" (Shibata, p.124). It is no surprise that teachers, the Catholic Church and many others opposed American ideas for more universal and comprehensive education. There was not the reception Americans faced in the Philippines, Japan and other countries, where comprehensive education was looked upon by many in the educational establishment as a possible route to democratization and statehood.

According to Grimm, a mix of American organizations, public and private, 'soft' and 'hard' power in orientation, joined in reform efforts.

"The most extensive re-education measures were implemented under the American occupation. The Office of Military Government for Germany US OMGUS, under the US zone's Military Governor General Lucius D. Clay, it allocated $1.03 million to the education program in the period to 1948, while the amount increased to $48 million between 1949 and 1952 under the Office of the High Commissioner US, Germany HICOG. In addition, by 1949 rehabilitation programs were already being undertaken in West Germany by more than 50 private American organizations, including the American Council on Education, the labor unions AFL and CIO, the League of Women Voters, and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations" (Grimm, 2010, p.1).

Despite the fact that some progress was made, German portrayal of American plans as "foreign" won the day and denazification was reemphasized as the German government pushed to free many prisoners, including those convicted of "low level" crimes, in part to foster internal healing and build a prosperous modern state to fight the influence of the Soviets (Williams, 2003).

In higher education circles there was tremendous respect for German universities, many of which had housed and trained Americans, including the first ambassador, William Dodd, a politically liberal University of Chicago professor, to Germany during the early years of the Hitler regime (Larson, 2011). This said, Germany's universities had harbored many Nazis and lent support to events like book burnings. In this climate Americans had their most success in the founding by U.S. occupation authorities in 1948 of the Free University of Berlin, which has developed close ties with many American and European universities. It included a significant relationship with the host city and a broad representation of faculty and students. More than meeting educational requirements, it came to be new weapon in East-West competition for influence in Germany, perhaps one of the most significant accomplishments of occupation strategy and an example of how education could serve larger political requirements. Regardless of outcomes, the politics and programs of occupation were soon to be overcome by Cold War ones which led to some practices the US used earlier in the century.

Another US tactic promoted a major set of exchanges, in which Germans initially studied what was called "the American Way of Life" in theory and practice. They were promoted by the military and a range of American institutions, foundations and agencies, in part to counter the Soviet practice of sending large numbers of German Democratic Republic students to Moscow, and in part to foster educational change and reform. As in the Philippines over fifty years earlier the foreign visitors were expected to return home and institute features of the US system in German schools, not so much as to support colonialism and area imperialism, but the building of West Germany as a powerful anti-communist Cold War ally. Accordingly, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, German education entered a period of reform in which approximately 12,000 Germans visited the US (Konzer, pp.148-9). Results included lessons learned and applied about civic education, team teaching, student participation in student councils and new German research on these and other topics (Kozner, pp. 160-161).

Taking the long view, it can be argued that American influence has been significant. One report suggests the German-American Fulbright Commission, for example, has sponsored over 300,000 scholarly exchanges since its creation in 1946. It was reported in 2011 that "the United States was the top-ranked destination for German high school

students studying abroad and that Germany was the top-ranked destination for American high school students," many of German descent, studying abroad (Seavey, 2018, p.2).

The significance of US involvement in Germany after the war is best understood as the forces of occupation and immediate denazification gave way to the full emergence of the Cold War and an a growing international US imperialism which has included the support of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). Significant populations in both countries express doubts and concerns about the relationship, partly in light of the extent and complexity of a US engagement which includes approximately 5,000 German troops in Afghanistan supporting the US led NATO coalition, and its defense ministry suggesting more will be sent (Pew, 2015)(Reuters, 2017).

3.2. Reconstruction in Japan – Philosophical, Historical and System Coherence

By the beginning of the 20th century Japan embraced and implemented western technology and related ideas in support of nation building as an outcome of the Meiji Restoration which focused on industrialization. It borrowed ideas from schools abroad and hired foreign teachers at high salaries. It funded foreign study. There was a heavy focus on scientific and technical topics as well as German higher education. It looked to the US for industrial law, agriculture, cattle farming, mining, communications, commercial law (Nakayama, 1989, p.100). Japan had not been a Western colony subject to forced importation of curricula and structures (Zha, 2004).

According to Shibada, between 1868 and 1874, the government spent nearly one-sixth of the annual national education budget in dispatching over 500 students to Western countries: 209 students to the US, 168 to Britain, 82 to Germany and 60 to France in exchange programs similar to the practice of the Philippines. Meritocratic principles were applied to university appointments and professional standards for their faculties supported (Shibada, p.14).

There were deep splits between civil service and military elites, before the war, as economic, political and military strategies to build a powerful state took place (Passin, 1965). But the system worked well until the growth of militarism in the 1930s and the catastrophic events of World War II. The Japanese educational system was modeled on Germany's, with "Gymnasien" selective grammar schools and universities to train students after primary school. Later, during the occupation Japan's secondary education system was changed to incorporate three-year junior high schools and senior high schools similar to those in the US: junior high school became compulsory but senior high school remained optional (Yamasaki, 2010).

Throughout the occupation, led by General Douglas MacArthur and ending in 1951, much of the Japanese government remained in place (Cohen & Passin, 1987). What needs to be emphasized is that an important foundation for American interest in Japanese education must be seen, not only in terms of American ideals about the reform of Japan, but in light of US geo-political interests. These were heightened by the Communist take over of China and the Korean War. Unlike the case of Germany, the Japanese in America underwent forced removal to camps during WWII and their numbers remain relatively small, at 1.3 million (Japanese Census, 2018).

From a policy perspective the United States was in the position of an imperialistic power that to this day meant occupation of former Japanese territory (e.g. Okinawa) and considerable early, 1945-48, influence in Korean education exercised by the US. Army

Military Government in Korea, which proposed a democratic system that came to be opposed by the authoritarian South Korean government after the Korean war (Millet, 2005). One important difference with the US occupation in Germany is American fascination and hope for a full economic and political recovery in a country for which it showed much admiration. Another is that Japan is utterly dependent on American military power in a part of the world where there continues to be considerable instability and nuclear threats.

Americans, under the energetic management of MacArthur, would be introduced to a Japanese education that was not the mixture of local state authority, philosophy and tradition that mired the many aspects of German education. In addition, Americans had a fascination for Japanese culture, influenced in part by the application of some anthropological precepts borrowed from Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Written originally for US. Office of War Information in 1946, it explained Japanese tensions and contradictions in Japanese culture, and in particular its imperial system, in ways that persuaded many Americans, and some Japanese, that US policy makers understood the culture in which they were working (Benedict, 1946).

Japanese education was susceptible to America's ideas given its history of rejecting traditional Asian models in favor of its modernizing Western choices, including the purging of militaristic literature from the schools. The higher education sector modernization allowed a growth inducing restructuring. As a result, 201 universities and 149 junior colleges were created in place of the 45 universities and 177 colleges that existed before the War. Numbers of university admission increased to 17 %. Notwithstanding, much elitism remained in the system (Zha, 8).

In an effort to change Japanese postwar attitudes in favor of democratic ones, any nationalistic, militaristic, authoritarian, or anti-American content was removed from learning materials. This practice was known as *suminuru*, and was used as the primary method of educational reform until the newly fashioned, texts, Kuni no ayumi Footsteps of the Nation, Nihon *rekishi* Japanese History, and Minshushugi Democracy, which were written by what is now the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and is responsible for educational administration (Buono, 2017).

The foundation provided by US occupation education set the stage for subsequent Japanese participation in the American empire in terms of complex military, economic and cultural relationships that have continued into the 21st century. Successful Japanese manufacturing at home and in the US, particularly in the auto and electronic products industries, where Japanese products have replaced US ones (and are now under pressure from Chinese and Korean products), has raised concerns about the possible 'superiority' of Japanese culture, including education, if not Japanese genetic superiority itself (Itzkoff, 2005).

4. Post-World War II Imperialistic Tools – A Complex Mix

American status as a "super power" was built on the remnants of the Cold War and featured enmeshment in regional wars and economic competition with China, Japan and other nations. Vast international systems of commerce, energy, banking, and communications emerged, often to US advantage, and that of many politicians and private interests which promoted interventions.

America's global power and influence was based therefore on far more than military power, significant as that was. Its foundation also included expressions of 'soft power' to complement (not replace) the 'hard power' of treaties, military relations and commercial involvement, such as the production of cheaply manufactured goods to be sold to American companies. The launching of the Peace Corps by President Kennedy in 1961, which assisted education in the nations where it was posted, is a very good example of government sponsored soft power that remains in existence.

4.1. Examples from the Muslim World

As in the once remote Philippines American educational influences followed the development of geo-political interests in much of the 20th Century that, in the Muslim world, included direct US involvement, often with major military or CIA intervention, in Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan and other nations. Close educational ties in higher education preceded wars, particularly in such fields as engineering and anthropology in several countries. Most of that has faded in light of American interventions and the 'war on terrorism.' One measure of military involvement is cost, a Brown University study reporting the military and social costs to the US of them has been approximately $5 trillion (Shane III, 2016).

US educational relations in far off and remote Afghanistan, where American remains in the longest war of its history, took place in the early years of the Cold War, and illustrate how a mix of institutional and government efforts collapsed. They included the active role played by Teachers College, Columbia University. From 1955 until 1975, Teachers College, arguably America's leading teacher training and educational research institution, managed a US Foreign Aid Program called the Afghan Project to work with local educators to create texts, and increase the number of schools and teachers in the country. Intended in part to counter growing Soviet influence in the region, it was directed by historian and civic education expert R. Freeman Butts of Teachers College, a prestigious member of the faculty.

Some project components were very large, containing as many as 35 Teachers College staff and 100 Afghans collaborating on various projects, which included one to develop a faculty of education for Kabul University (Teachers College, 2017). There were common explanations, heard by the author, Ronald Goodenow, who had appointments at Teachers College in the 1970s and 1980s, that, ironically, this seemingly soft power program, and its democratic values, radicalized many students determined to overthrow Afghan royalty and created an unexpected hard political reality. Radicalized students were seen as a revolutionary vanguard by Soviet Union, leading to invasion and then defeat followed by US occupation (Barfield, 2012) and, unfortunately for historians, the destruction of records. That occupation grew significantly after the 9/11 terrorist attack in New York. As for a school of education, there was a renewed effort, with UN support, in 2003, to rebuild one (Goldman, 2003) and US support of colleges and schools continues to grow.

On its current web front page, the American University of Afghanistan claims that "Modeled on American Curriculum and standards, AUAF delivers 21st Century skills and competencies for overall student success and achievement." Founded as Afghanistan's only private university in 2006, it notes that its use of "American" in the title refers only to the use of the American credit system and English language (AUAF, 2017), a comment that presumably applies to the "American" universities to be found in other locations, including Muslim ones, including Nigeria, Dubai, Cairo, Beirutand

other locations, many of which claim to focus on specific topics, including democratization, development, and healthcare. Some work closely with US universities, as in the case of Armenia the University of California at Berkeley (America Armenia, 2018), and Kyrgyztan's with Notre Dame (America Central Asia, 2018). All feature the US credit system and instruction in English.

Other efforts in Afghanistan have included efforts to educate girls, such as a school sponsored by Razia's Ray of Hope, in an area outside of the capital Kabul. Founded by a Massachusetts resident of Afghan descent, it is supported in large part by Rotary International and other contributions and volunteers. Its curriculum is organized to prepare female students for university acceptance and life in a country where such opportunity has been rare. It is sustained in country with the support of local tribal and other authorities who protect it. (Razia, 2018)

US. occupations did not lead, unlike in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Germany and Japan, to new or reformed educational systems in the Muslim world.

In Iraq US interventions, which included significant American, British and other occupation forces, have had a devastating impact on education, and they have done relatively little to rebuild. A report by Sulfa Al-Shaikhly and Jean Cui documents the crippling of Iraq"s educational infrastructure by a succession of wars from the Iran-Iraq one, which the US supported, in the 1980s through the current conflicts in the country, with the worst damage being done after the US led invasion in 2003.

They report estimates which suggest that 84 percent of the country's institutions of higher education had been "burnt, looted, or destroyed by 2005. Public school damage has resulted in half the central Iraq schools fail national construction standards and over a million children could not be accommodated, not including the large number of dislocated and refugee children (Al-Shaikhly and Cui, 2015). Matters are made worse by the large number of Iraqis who have emigrated elsewhere, generally in Mesopotamia, and very difficult visa processes which have hindered exchange programs and made it extremely difficult for Iraqi academics and administrations to visit the US (Bull, 2008).

US help has been scarce. State Department and UN/World Bank sources have requested $3.2 billion for assistance. Approximately $8 million has been approved by Congress (Watson, 2015). The US's Iraq embassy website promotes exchanges and the use of reference services on higher education. When consulted for this publication it warned that the site had been hacked and should only be used with caution (Education USA, 2017, pp. 1).

4.2. Country Specific Programs and Exchanges – A Mix of Philanthropy, Universities, Business Schools, and the US Government

The shape of American educational imperialism is currently a complex mix of institutions, organizations and prominent individuals which promote the uses of higher education and schooling to build a more democratic and prosperous world. By all accounts there has been a growing set of international educational relations between nations and educational transfer in response to an important question by Eisemon about the nature and status of their existence (Eisemon, 1977).

Philanthropic foundations are a highly visible component of this mix. They now play a major role in facilitating international conferences, exchanges and research as well as direct support for schooling and higher education. They represent examples of 'soft power' components of imperialism which radiate internationally from the US. This said,

historically, as in the case of the Ford Foundation working closely with the CIA to support anti-Allende policies which led to death and destruction in Chile (Saunders, 2000), some have doubtless participated in undemocratic efforts to support Cold War and other political objectives.

Looking at the big picture, Stephen Heyneman and Bommi Lee write of foundations that:

"Though basic education continues to dominate education aid, funding is also directed towards a wide variety of other priorities. These include secondary education, teacher training, adult education and literacy, science education, vocational skills and higher education. In many cases, private foundations and nongovernmental organizations focus on particular areas. For instance, the Ford and Carnegie Foundations have concentrated on higher education, while the Open Society Institute sometime called the Soros Foundation has focused on primary and secondary education, and on civics education in particular." (Heyneman, Lee, 2013, p.1)

The Carnegie Corporation is a good example of US philanthropic efforts abroad, a key component of imperial education which engaged often with local in-nation interests as often stimulating mulch-national efforts.

Carnegie aided library building activities in Africa, funded the Ashby Commission to study African universities in 1959 and underwrote conferences, perhaps the most important ones being a meeting on African education at Princeton in 1960 and another on the role of universities in teacher education at Lake Mohonk, New York, in 1964. Carnegie was especially interested in supporting the development of institutes of education in the Third World and was to underwrite the East African teacher training programs which led in part to the founding of the Peace Corps in 1961.

The Carnegie Corporation has tended to offer direct grants (Goodenow, Issues), while Ford, Rockefeller other foundations have developed their own assistance modes. The Ford Foundation spent $38,000,000 on "university development" alone between 1955 and 1977. With the coming of independence in several countries, that number would decrease (Goodenow, 1984). In 2016 Ford spent $144,373,729 outside the US. Topics at conferences and other activities included climate change, civic education and responsibility, and internet freedom (Ford, 2018). In the 1960s, at the height of foundation interest in international education one hundred fifty-two foundations spent approximately $141,000,000 in international activities, much of which went to support international studies in the United States, primarily in cooperation with universities and research institutes.

The United States Congress created the Fulbright Program in 1946, in the aftermath of World War II, to promote what it called 'mutual understanding' between the United States and the rest of the world, an objective that while laudable doubtless serves the interests of imperialism. This program's foremost advocate, the late Senator J.W. Fulbright (Powell, 1996), a multilateralist who supported the United Nations and opposed the Vietnam war, presented the bill to establish an educational exchange program only weeks after the dropping of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Over the years, the Fulbright Program has developed into the world"s largest, best-known and most prestigious educational exchange program and has provided over 370,000 scholars and students with the opportunity to lecture and study abroad. It is at the top of the list of US government based educational and cultural imperialism, an illustration that 'imperialism' contains components which enable many worthy causes.

Today, there are over 160 countries, including Japan, which have participated in the Fulbright Program, playing an important role in fostering the development of leaders in various fields (https://eca.state.gov/fulbright). It is a powerful educational tool of American Imperialism, a useful example of government sponsored soft power.

The US-Japan Foundation, founded in 1981, and located in New York, priority support for students at elementary and secondary levels in the US to receive grants, as did primary and secondary schools and teachers, to learn about Japanese culture. Universities obtained support for training precollege teachers. "Core Groups" brought talent together to address issues related to the environment, security and other important issues. This was supplemented by exchanges (US Japan, 1981).

There are many examples of high level collaboration between philanthropic, NGO, inter-governmental and government agencies and widespread uses of information technology to provide international assistance and collaboration (Goodenow, 2015) which defy simple soft power classification.

In Asia, Africa and other parts of the world the US State Department primarily, in collaboration with the United Nations, World Health Organization, national governments (e.g. Pakistan, Nigeria), the Gates Foundation and other NGO's have engaged in major, $7billion medical and educational efforts to eradicate polio, a largely successful effort led in large part by Rotary International (Endpolio, 2018). In Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nigeria, where militant Islamists have opposed the effort violently, governmental and tribal support has been significant and polio is now within a dozen cases a year away from eradication. It is to be noted that much of the opposition to this program is based on fears that it is a ploy of American imperialism to kill Muslims with the help of governments, such as Nigeria and Pakistan, seen as compliant in American imperialism.

As for the US government itself, The United States Agency for International Development in the years 2011-2015 supported 151 basic education programs in 45 countries, benefiting approximately 42 million children and youth. Focus areas include the education of girls; USAID collaborates with other agencies, donors, country governments and civil society. Its website includes many program reports (USAID, 2017)

4.3. The Transfer of Educational Progressivism

As far back as the 1920s prominent educators strove internationally to, as Bello suggests, promote increasingly an ideology of democracy. Many were in the camp of what was coming to be known in the US as 'progressive education.' (Cremin, 1964) It was complemented by the emerging 'new education' which arose in the UK and its empire and whose New Education Fellowship, founded in 1921 came to resemble and occasionally partner with America's Progressive Education Association (Jenkins, 2010) They had in common a promotion of 'child centered' education based in part on a critique extremely critical of traditional schooling which was more aligned with European colonialism and helped make American imperial education more palatable domestically (Bello, 1998, p 367)

Individuals, such as George Counts, George Zook and R. Freeman Butts, cited above, played important and highly visible roles abroad. A good example is John Dewey, the prominent Columbia University philosopher of education who promoted 'learning by doing' based on observation and trial and error (Dewey, 1938) as part of a larger battle to use education to foster democracy (Dewey, 1916).

Accordingly Dewey, in a widely distributed article for a Chinese publication in 1922, after two years in China (Wang, 2007), aligned himself with the proponents of a

"scientific" approach, writing that the best way to change minds is "to change the conditions with shape them rather than go at it by direct appeal and exhortation" (Dewey, 1922, pp.1-2). His main worry was that the world was not civilized enough to permit close cultural contact without ill effect.

This all, he argued, led to a need for scientifically based cures which included education and what he called political and industrial organization (Dewey, 1922, pp.14-15). In 1925, he worried about a war between Europe and Asia, citing exaggerations by Christians that Muslims want to exterminate them. His solution was the use of US financial power, certainly an imperialistic ploy, to oppose the international use of force to undercut anti-democratic European rivalries in Asia (Dewey, 1925, pp.229-30). This all notwithstanding, There is no doubt that Dewey and his followers represented a highly optimistic and if not "cheery, as put by Sobe, side of American influence (Sobe, p.9).

There is evidence that Dewey and others who shared his views influenced education on American Native American reservations which in turn influenced programs on community education produced by the Mexican revolution. (Goodenow, 1980) Others of particular influence included William James, G. Stanley Hall and William Heard Kilpatrick. Mexico, Chile and other Latin American nations sent large numbers of educators to the US to study with them, often supported and hosted by the international New Education Fellowship and the US Progressive Education Association (Brainerd, 1928, p.467).

Though it may be argued that "ideas" were important in American colonial education, and Dewey, as an example, had influence abroad, the breadth and overall scope of American education does not feature philosophy. It tries to emphasize American conceptions of democracy and international relations, often in the guise of nation building.

Literature from the 1930s and 1940s reveals extensive efforts to reform Latin American education, often through conferences and collaborative work on publications with agencies and organizations of other countries, a growing form of international educational relations. Chile was a particularly tragic case because after World War II it was rapidly becoming a powerful force and showcase in education, forming professional organizations, striving for gender equality, and introducing child-centered practices, a trend undone by the coup against its leftist government in 1973, ushering in the prosecution teachers and administrators, and raising serious questions about CIA and US foundation involvement in what was clearly Cold War policies as applied to Latin America (Dinges, 2005).

At best, in the face of depression and widespread traditionalism, results were limited in Latin America, and in the case of Chile later eventually catastrophic. As time went on institutions such as Teachers College showed interest in Africa and developed collaborative relationships with other schools of education, Teachers College teaming up with the University of London Institute of Education in African reform efforts (Goodenow & Cowen, 1986, pp. 271-289). Given the many changes taking place in American education in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in urban education, as this author argues, there is much to study in terms of international collaboration and communication and how American ideas on reform were disseminated globally (Goodenow, R. & Marsden. W., 1992, Goodenow introduction).

4.4. Business Education

The mix of US influence includes organizations which go to the heart of economic expansion and influence. American business schools have collaborated extensively with foreign

universities to set up joint research, exchange, leadership training and other programs, often with the assistance of alumni living abroad. Prominent among them are the Harvard Business School, the Tuck School of Business and the Sloan School and MIT. They have played an important role in the rapidly growing development of MBA programs, which are proliferating, particularly in Pakistan, Indonesia, India and China. Regional cooperation and business expansion, organizational development and leadership, new consumer markets, climate change and other environmental issues are on the curricular agenda. In recent years business ethics has become more prominent. Many business schools work closely with the World Bank and other international agencies (Goodenow, 2018). They and schools of education seldom offer critiques of capitalism or American imperialism, but they are in the mix of soft power influences.

An example of on-going relations with an American business school, the Harvard Business School Club of the Philippines is available to graduates of the Harvard Business School or who had spent a year in a Harvard program leading to a degree, as well as Harvard Business School faculty and staff. Its goals include describing case studies, showing its own capabilities, leadership development and fostering nation building and regional relationships. It is currently rebuilding an elementary school destroyed in a hurricane. The club's web site presents case studies of successful Philippine companies, and the commentary and research of Harvard faculty on the Philippines. It is a good example of the growing trend in business schools to promote "social responsibility" in the MBA curriculum and in corporations (Harvard, 2018)(Goodenow, 2018). Much of modern American imperialism includes its adherence to a capitalism which thrives on business education, and enhances the power of business schools at home and abroad.

4.5. A University Enabled Wartime Program

From 1955 until 1962 the Michigan State University Vietnam Advisory Group (MSUG) was a US State Department program which intended to offer technical assistance for the purpose of nation building. Areas of focus included police and public administration, and economics. The program, which operated separately from most US agencies, had doubtful impact on the South Vietnamese government, though it helped write a national constitution, but was ended when American educators in the program began to express criticism of the South Vietnamese regime in US publications and faced demands for the termination by President Diem. Despite MSUG efforts to put a more accommodating faculty in place in order to save a lucrative contract, Diem persisted and the program was ended in 1962. Subsequent investigation showed the importance of CIA influence, which made the program subject to considerable anti-war protest in the US.(Ernst, 1998).

Michigan State has provided access to its extensive program archive on line (Michigan State, 2018). As with many US programs, this one featured faculty exchanges, the granting of advanced degrees to South Vietnamese participants and the use by Michigan State of faculty from other universities. Its end results, according to Ernst (1998), were very meager, consisting mainly of such things as small arms training, getting handcuffs for policy, advice on decentralized bureaucracy, and a national identity card (used by the government to track down dissenters). The program's significance for this article is that it included both a mix of participants and sponsors that did not have, as the case of many programs noted above, the political support or resources to carry out its mission, and that it was closely allied with American efforts, some of which were clandestine, to both support an existing regime known to be unpopular and the general objectives of winning a Cold War battle and extending US imperial interests in Southeast Asia, an effort that failed catastrophically for the United States. It was also a mix of hard and soft power.

5. Concluding Perspective: Shape, Shifts and Mix

If there is a 'shape' to American educational imperialism it is a mufti-dimensional and multi-layered one, a history of well over 100 years complemented by a growing and complicated mix of alliances, NGOs, universities, influential individuals and intergovernmental support of 'soft power' applications. Less visible in this collection is the military, which has had diminished educational involvement following its long history in the Philippines and more recently in the post-war occupation period in Europe, a significant shift. In some cases, as in Vietnam, clandestine services such as the CIA are involved.

Educational imperialism also includes what would seem to be anomalies, as in the case of Puerto Rico, which remains a colony. Disasters, such in Afghanistan's Teachers College involvement, or the Ford Foundation in Chile, and program failures, as with the Michigan State one in Vietnam, may follow these alliances no less than educational catastrophe in Iraq which was severely damaged without US reconstruction. In total, the word 'mix' is an important one. Mix of modalities, motives and outcomes.

The same may be said of education, where a mix of policies and practices reflected assertions of democratic intent, playing an important role in claiming to prepare territories for possible independence and close relations with the US. Education as an important component of diplomacy was in part the application of national interest and knowledge to reform, build or support systems was a narrative with a belief system reflective of America's long-standing claims to being a champion of 'democracy.'

Shifts in educational imperialism are impacted by changing political ideas and forces in the United States, as it went through the main phases noted above. In the case of the Philippines and Puerto Rico prevailing political views focused on consolidation, with background debates on these engagements common in political and press circles. After a period of isolationism supported by the major political parties the Second World War and occupations Germany and Japan featured early political support for reform, with the Cold War bringing in a consensus for fighting communism on cultural, economic, and, as in Korea and later Vietnam, using military and clandestine means. After 9/11 the 'war on terror' led to politically supported interventions. Given changes in the domestic US economy business education became increasingly popular and must now be seen as a part of US influence abroad which corresponds directly to multi-national corporate support.

Increasingly a major growth in America's place in the world has led to shifts in educational programs which, while building on a history of exchanges, featured powerful institutional and individual influences which doubtless benefited both a broader imperialism and institutional interests, some of which were presented, as in the case of Dewey, child centered education, and the uses of "scientific" studies to justify "expert driven" policies. "Democracy" and "the American way" were so embedded in programs they could be attractive at home and abroad, regardless of actual nature of far off engagements and whether democracy itself was a factor, which it often was not. What remains to be understood is the extent to which conventional public support for 'the American Dream' understood that foreign military, trade, and related strategies, despite corresponding soft power efforts, have undermined it at home and abroad. (Prestowitz, 2012)

One can argue that these changes took place, in programs such as the anti polio one, thanks to new medical and communications technologies which enhanced communication, educational relations, collaboration and research, much of which was centered in the United States. Looking forward, the impact of new information technologies on

relationships and transfer will doubtless be another chapter in nature of American imperialism, and whether it grows or is reduced by forces of what is now known as the global economy or the more commonly used (and abused) term 'globalism'. The coming to power in the US in 2017 of a government which, in rhetoric at least, offers a full throated condemnation of them will pose additional challenges and opportunities for research and interpretation.

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*Changing patterns of imperialism and education: the United Kingdom**

Cambiando los patrones del imperialismo y la educación: el Reino Unido

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Abstract

Education has been central to the maintenance of modern empires. Educational policies and practices under British imperialism reflected the complexities, tensions and conflicts in the different territories of the Empire. This is illustrated with specific reference to inter-war Palestine and Imperial India where education policy sometimes had unintended consequences in divided societies. Cultural imperialism was an inherent aspect of colonial education with curricular implications for schooling in the United Kingdom. As the British Empire underwent change and eventually declined, education also changed in response. However, the change was not linear, with the legacy of empire continuing both in the former colonial territories and in the UK itself up to present times, with implications both for the formal and informal dimensions of learning. Importantly, the English language is maintained, in different forms, as a continuing symbol of empire, together with diverse and sometimes complex responses at a time when interculturalism, post-colonialism, and globalisation have affected the discourse on the British Empire. At the same time, the discourse is sometimes complicated by an apparent resurgence of imperial sentiment while the arts continue to reflect critical attitudes towards past imperial power. The article concludes with the view that the development of a critical understanding of the relationship between education and empire is necessary to ensure changes in pedagogy with regard to greater inclusion of those with histories of marginalisation and subordination.

Key Words: empire; imperialism; education; power; hegemony; culture

Resumen

La educación ha sido fundamental para el mantenimiento de los imperios modernos. Las políticas y prácticas educativas bajo el imperialismo británico reflejaron las complejidades, tensiones y conflictos en los diferentes territorios del Imperio. Esto se ilustra con referencias específicas a la Palestina entre guerras y la India Imperial, donde la política educativa a veces tuvo consecuencias imprevistas en sociedades divididas. El imperialismo cultural era un aspecto inherente de la educación colonial con implicaciones curriculares para la escolarización en el Reino Unido. A medida que el Imperio británico sufrió cambios y, finalmente, se redujo, la educación también cambió en respuesta. Sin embargo, el cambio no fue lineal, ya que el legado del imperio continuó tanto en los antiguos territorios coloniales como en el Reino Unido hasta el presente, con implicaciones tanto para las dimensiones formales como informales del aprendizaje. Es importante destacar que el idioma Inglés se mantiene, en diferentes formas, como un símbolo continuo del imperio, junto con respuestas diversas y, a veces complejas en un momento en que la interculturalidad, el post-colonialismo y la globalización han afectado el discurso sobre el Imperio Británico. Al mismo tiempo, el discurso se complica a veces por un aparente resurgimiento del sentimiento imperial mientras que las artes siguen reflejando actitudes críticas hacia el poder imperial del pasado. El artículo concluye con la opinión de que es necesario desarrollar una comprensión crítica de la relación entre educación e imperio para garantizar cambios en la pedagogía con respecto a una mayor inclusión de aquellos con historias de marginación y subordinación.

Palabras clave: imperio; imperialismo; educación; poder; hegemonía; cultura

1. Introduction

This article explores the relationships between empire and education in the United Kingdom, where the nature of both empire and education have undergone significant change. The article is not concerned with British imperialism as such but rather its decline. In addition, the article does not claim to be comprehensive in its treatment of the topic. For example, the Church of England as a quasi-imperialist agency in education, both domestically and in the British Empire at large, remains unexamined. Furthermore, the article does not aim to engage with detailed arguments about the alleged benefits or otherwise brought by British imperialism to its colonial territories. Clive Whitehead (2006), for example, undertook a historiographical study of British imperial education in relation to India and concludes that many of the commentaries written contemporaneously and in later years have either been misunderstood or are heavily ideological in orientation. Consequently, such detailed analyses are better left to future historians to battle it out.

The central purpose of this article is to extend our comparative and intercultural understandings of the relationship between the increasingly globalised realm of education and aspects of past and current forms of imperialism, specifically in the context of the British 'Empire'. There are some preliminary observations of the centrality of education to empires, as conventionally defined. Secondly, there is an attempt to demonstrate that the development of the British Empire had significant implications for domestic education policy-making and implementation. However, it will also be argued that the tensions and contradictions which are endemic in education policies and practices in the domestic context are exacerbated in colonial rule. To illustrate this, attention is drawn to the examples of imperial India and the inter-war Palestine British Mandate. Additionally, there is an attempt to show that education policy and practice during the colonial era helped to shape not only the realities of empire but also the conceptualisations of empire as these underwent change at home. Finally, it will be argued that British imperialism, even in an alleged post-colonial era, continues to be expressed in specific cultural forms refracted through formal and non-formal educational processes and institutions. As manifestations of globalised change and interpenetration they also reflect the legacies associated with the educational presence of the British. The article concludes with some observations of the possible direction of educational change in an era of neo-imperialism (the economic domination of poorer nations by wealthier nations), inter-imperial exchange and interpenetration, and globalisation.

2. Education and empires: initial observations

Empires require serious commitment, efficient administration and effective defence. As Adam Smith (1976, 830) observed, all empires have proved mortal, while aiming at immortality, doubtless echoing Aristotle who is said to have noted that the fate of empires depended on the education of its youth (Haselhurst, 2012). Thus, any consideration of the relationship between empires and education demands an examination of structures, institutions and processes in overlapping spheres of public life. As far as the British Empire is concerned attention is inevitably drawn, inter alia, to the historic operations of bodies such as the East India Company, the functions of an elite schooling system and the role of missionary Christianity. This, however, is to confine the focus to the Empire

as it impacted upon the overseas territories which it governed, whereas it is equally important to focus on the British Empire as it was experienced domestically. Moreover, an adequate examination of education and the British Empire must take account of the non-formal dimension and the 'hidden curriculum' of imperialist socialisation.

Beyond the specific imperialism of Britain, a study of the relationship between empires and education demands attention, not least because of a built-in assumption regarding transnational power relations. Power imbalance ensures a transmission of a mix of language, knowledge, ideas, and cultural forms reflecting imperial priorities. Clearly, empires have not been generally transnational associations of equals, neither have they been designed for dispensing largesse.

In the latter half of the twentieth century much of this was encapsulated in the notion of cultural imperialism. Notably, Martin Carnoy (1974) provides the now classic text which claimed that since colonialism was about domination and subordination it follows that colonial education policy must reflect this through epistemic domination of the colonised. The argument was not so much that imperialism exported metropolitan education systems and processes to the colonised, but that education exported imperialism, both at home and abroad. In a nutshell, colonial education explicitly and deliberately operated to overshadow or even eclipse the existing knowledge(s) of colonised peoples.

Carnoy's approach echoes the ideas of the still fashionable Antonio Gramsci (1971, 1977) who, in the early part of the 20th century, famously promoted the idea of hegemony. For Gramsci, a writer and activist in the Marxist tradition, hegemony provided an explanation for the maintenance of power on the part of a ruling class, essentially through a process of ideological penetration of the entire society with the consequence that the working class were absorbed into the very fabric of capitalism. This was, of course, later reinforced by the now somewhat unfashionable Louis Althusser (1977) with his 'structuralist' view of education as an ideological state apparatus which apparently could not be defeated. This contrasted with the more positive approach of Gramsci, a noted commentator on education, who was sufficiently Marxist, in the political sense, to seek a means by which the young could attain the critical consciousness needed for radical societal change. Thus, he sought to provide a curricular basis for countering hegemonic processes in what he saw as a revolutionary war of attrition. Possibly counter-intuitively, such a curriculum would be grounded in 'the classics' aimed at all, rather than the elite, and would enable the young to counter both the 'false consciousness' engendered by capitalism and the 'folklore' of peasant society and the lumpen proletariat.

The extent to which Gramsci's theories connect with those of writers on imperialism and, specifically, Carnoy's view of education, may be questioned. Both Gramsci and Carnoy emphasise ideological power in a general sense but the domestic setting differs from an imperial setting. A geographically dispersed empire characterised by diverse nationalities, ethnicities, religions and languages tests the hegemonic processes of the 'mother country' in the way that it does not need to do in the domestic context. Moreover, the sub-polities and economies of empires inevitably contribute to a large degree of relative autonomy as, in the case of the British example, in countries as varied as India, Uganda and Southern Rhodesia (FOTW, 2015). To take the argument a little further, compared with the domestic education authorities, it was probable that a much more difficult task was faced by colonial authorities in their attempt to exercise hegemony in the British imperial territories.

3. Education in empire: the British example

In the case of the British Empire, the colonised territories of Africa, Asia, Australasia and the Caribbean occupy the popular imagination. However, a focus on lands which are far from the imperial hub serves to emphasise a distinction between a perceived, superior collective self, the UK, and numerous inferior others – the 'colonials', this distinction is reinforced when language, religion, ethnicity and racialised differences are considered.

Closer to home, Ireland provides an arena for contestation in which there are highly polarised politicised positions over whether Ireland was, and continues to be, an imperial object. Pointedly, this politically contested situation in Ireland has played itself out educationally in separate school systems and in separate curricula (Citizens Information, 2013; Department of Education, 2018). Until partition in 1921, the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' was an indication of the non-imperial status of Ireland, it was officially part of 'metropolitan' Britain (just as Algeria was considered part of metropolitan France until independence). After all, Ireland was not generally considered to be distinct linguistically (Irish Gaelic having been marginalised in practice as a minority language for some years) nor characterised by 'differences in race'. Moreover, in ethnic and broader cultural terms, Ireland and Britain were seen to be historically intertwined. Yet, past and ongoing politics have dictated two broadly distinct narratives – unionism and nationalism – which reflect orientations towards metropolitan and colonised views respectively. Additionally, nationalist ideology correlates more or less with Catholic identification; unionism with various shades of Protestantism. While the the partition of Ireland approximates geo-politically with a republican/unionist division this is by no means absolute in the case of the north with the presence of a significant minority with republican sympathies. Leaving aside the decades of conflict, a lasting educational consequence of the republican/unionist division is the perpetuation of myths (Bash, 2001) about British imperialism and the danger posed to the union with the United Kingdom. Insofar as freedom from colonialism is an ongoing issue for nationalists in Northern Ireland the history taught in Catholic schools unsurprisingly reflects the mythology of a once independent united country.

Gary McCulloch has made some succinct observations in relation to the power and influence of the English public schools, citing the importance of 'character' and the playing field in the consolidation of empire in its 'furthest outposts' (McCulloch, 2009, 170). Politically; cultural imperialism, in its heyday, did not carry with it the negative connotation of imposition which it acquired more latterly with late twentieth century post-colonial thinking. Undoubtedly, in Britain, it was perceived as a good thing and contrasted with a less than favourable view of the way in which other empires had conducted themselves in relation to their colonial 'subjects'. In the post-war period, the British were enjoined to have a sense of pride in their cultural legacy as increasing numbers of imperial territories gained further autonomy if not independence. The British could therefore take a condescending view of a country such as Belgium which had abandoned its duty as colonial master towards the Congo (later, Zaire), with catastrophic political consequences (Hochschild, 1999). This is somewhat akin to a good parent with the colonies, having been successfully educated in the British manner, eventually being trusted to leave the nest and become self-reliant. The then UK prime minister, Harold Macmillan, famously opined in 1960 that 'the winds of change' were blowing throughout Africa and it was the responsibility of others not to hinder such change. Even in 1949 there appeared to be

some awareness among British senior servants, as Whitehead notes (2005, 316) in an anonymous observation:

> "[...] all that one culture can ever do, when in contact with others, is to act as missionary for its own beliefs [...] Africa will take what it wants, digest it slowly, and assimilate what it does not spit out again"

The process of the dismantling of the British Empire gained momentum with the partition of India into two separate independent states in 1947 and accelerated in the late 1950s and 1960s. Alongside this process ran a growing anti-colonial narrative, eventually becoming the political and academic conventional wisdom in the UK in the late twentieth century. Yet, the 21st century is in the process of witnessing challenges to liberal, post-colonial complacency with a renaissance of views considered by many to have perished long ago. On this occasion it is the rehabilitation of the British Empire which has gained support among some politicians and an odd historian or two. Here, British imperialism has become the focus of attention among those who consider its apparent virtues may have been overshadowed by a prolonged negative press during the latter half of the 20th century (Olusoga, 2016; Owen, 2016). More than that, Shashi Tharoor (2016: 184) speaks of the fashion for what might be termed retro-imperialism, expressed stylistically in ......

> "[...] such delights as a burger called the Old Colonial, a London bar named The Plantation and an Oxford cocktail [...] named Colonial Comeback [...]"

Indeed, a noted rehabilitator of the British Empire's reputation, Niall Ferguson, has sought to reinforce the view of Britain's position of imperial moral superiority through a less than rosy opinion of other empire builders who...

> "[...] were little more than pirates, exploiting resources for their own end while seeking to impose their culture and religion on the local inhabitants." Ferguson (2003, n.d.)

Perhaps, though, Ferguson might have been advised to have taken note of an earlier observation of William Joynson-Hicks, UK Home Secretary, in 1928:

> "I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it." (Quoted in: Tharoor, 2017, 174)

The debate among scholars over the reassessment of the British Empire has arisen at the same time as protests over whether established physical monuments to such imperialist – and notorious - figures as Cecil Rhodes should be dismantled (Chaudhuri, 2016). It might be reckoned that the Rhodes statue is especially germane to education as a result of Rhodes' connection with the University of Oxford. More broadly, the issue of 'whose history?' appears to be at the very heart of how imperialism is interpreted in relation to education at all levels. Until the latter half of the 20th century it was generally taken for granted that – British - imperialist perspectives on history were the sole perspectives. The idea that there were alternative historical narratives which reflected the experiences and memories of the colonial 'subjects' took some time to reach the school curriculum whether in Britain or in the former imperial possessions. The notion that history was a contested arena was alien to those who had sat at the feet of the classic scholars in the mould of a Macaulay or a Trevelyan.

However, it is important to note that British imperialist perspectives continue to impact upon the popular imagination. Indeed, by 2018, a general mood appears to have resurfaced throughout Europe (and across the Atlantic) characterised at the very least by a nostalgia for the national, if not imperial, glories of yesteryear. This nostalgia was clothed in the garments of resurgent European nationalisms and separatisms as well as the populism of the maverick winner of the 2016 US presidential election. Most importantly for Britain was the outcome of the referendum to leave the European Union (Brexit). While cinema at this time ('Dunkirk' and 'Darkest Hour') patriotically choreographed the evacuation of British troops from northern France in 1940 and Winston Churchill's internal cabinet coup of the same year, the prevailing underlying wistfulness reflected in Brexit was arguably imperial rather than national. Brexit, according to one commentator (Younge, 2018), evoked empire, a world (almost literally, given its size) lost, indeed sacrificed on the altar of Europhilia. Brexit, however, could assist in its resurrection through opening the door to past colonial connections and renewed trade agreements. Grandeur was no delusion – it characterised exactly who the British were and where they were: big, strong and at the centre of the world.

A central question concerns the extent to which the imperial past of the early 21st century, mediated through the British collective imagination, connected with the realities of empire and their contemporaneous cultural and educational manifestations. At a time when the school populations of Britain were, 'ethnically', of Anglo-Saxon or Celtic heritage there was little to challenge the implicit supremacist position of the United Kingdom at the head of the largest empire the world had known. The residue of the British Empire lingered in the British collective subconscious long after most of it had disappeared. The school atlases of the 1950s pictured a world still bathed in pinkish red and geography textbooks stereotyped the 'natives' of the colonised lands (Tomlinson and Dorling, 2016, 4), even if they were now part of a sanitised ex-empire called the British Commonwealth of Nations (later to be transformed simply to 'The Commonwealth'). Slavery was barely mentioned, except insofar as its abolition together with the abolition of the slave trade, was a source of pride, much in the same way that early 19th century factories and mines legislation was treated in school textbooks as evidence of the Victorian liberal conscience.

The 'White Dominions' took pride of place even though they had long begun to tread a path away from the 'mother country', looking southwards in the case of Canada, and northwards in the case of Australasia (Commonwealth of Australia (2001). At the same time, India was pictured rather differently – as it were, an empire within an empire.

Arguably, the British Empire, despite its idealised pretensions as the successor to Rome, evolved as a complex, somewhat pragmatic affair. Until the 1960s all the inhabitants of the British Empire (and the successor British Commonwealth) were treated as quasi-citizens – subjects - of the United Kingdom which carried immigration and settlement rights (differing from the Roman Empire where citizenship was a prized reward for imperial services). The politico-legal status of colonial territories was by no means uniform: some were categorised as straightforward colonies, others were protectorates, still others were 'protected states'. In the 20th century, other territories were governed under League of Nations mandates (Palestine) or as United Nations trusteeships (Tanganyika - later, with Zanzibar, Tanzania). This diversity of colonial statuses apparently denoted differences in relationship with the various subject territories and their inhabitants, as well as historical background, giving rise to varying degrees of political autonomy within an overall framework of colonial rule.

Hence, the Empire ought to be relied upon to maintain and enhance British cultural hegemony in the face of apparent unenlightened backwardness. This might overestimate the strength of imperial rule insofar as colonised peoples were entirely under the direct control of the colonisers. However, the British Empire was a complex entity and its approach to education in the various territories under its domination illustrated this through the contradictions and tensions associated with the diversity of imperialist aims and objectives. Exploitation, subordination and subjugation dwelt alongside colonization, Christian evangelism, orientalism and much else. Hence it is important to disentangle the goals of British imperialism, insofar as they impacted upon educational policies implemented in the now former UK colonial territories -and continue as legacies.

Walter Rodney (1972, 264–5, 281), a classic standard bearer for neo-Marxist perspectives on British imperialism is predictably vehement in his view that colonial education was designed to subjugate and exploit the colonised in the interests of the ruling class. With specific reference to Africa, and unrelated to the intentions of teachers in the colonial schools, he observed that the machinery of empire was relentless in its manner of operation and its grand objectives. Samir Amin (1975), in concurring with Rodney, adds that colonial education, unsurprisingly, also had the expressed function of training a cadre to manage the Empire at the local level.

It is not necessary to identify with neo-Marxist arguments to agree with the view that British imperialist education policy had an exploitative edge to it. It was a view readily accepted by the East India Company and successive British governments. Rather, the relationship between the United Kingdom and its colonial territories constituted a *quid pro quo*. As far as the educational missionary activities of Christian evangelists in the British Empire are concerned much has been documented see, for example: Holmes, 1967). For the purposes of this article there is a useful overview provided by Gascoigne (2008, p.159) who notes that...

> "[...] Empires need creeds to sustain their expansionist energies and provide them with a justification for domination [...]."

Unlike many other empires the British experience of educational missionary activities was far from straightforward and ultimately was not one of an absolute identification of church with state. Protestant missionary work reflected denominational diversity and was frequently infused with objectives apparently derived more from Old Testament aims of exploiting the earth's resources than the explicit otherworldly objectives of, for example, Jesuitical Spanish imperialism. More significantly, for the post-colonial era, the educational work of the mission schools paradoxically helped to limit the impact of cultural imperialism. As Gascoigne (2008, p.174) further observes, in noting that missionaries acted, mostly unintentionally, as 'gravediggers' of empire since they:

> "[...] provided the education that made it possible for the colonised to argue back with the colonisers and, in many cases, some of the ideas which helped shape notions of independence [...]"

Some of these unintentional consequences of colonial policies are seen in the experiences of the colonial authorities in their attempts to manage education in territories characterised by deep divisions. Accordingly, the next section considers some of these aspects in two quite different colonial settings.

4. The Palestine Mandate and Imperial India

In the case of the British Empire, it is difficult to achieve a satisfactory grasp of the colonial educational politics in complex, divided societies. To state it differently such an understanding is achieved only if it is realised that the classically debated diverse and contested aims of education were grafted onto little understood social, cultural and political contexts.

One core issue in relation to education policy is whether the British Empire was in large part a case of 'divide and rule' or, somewhat caustically, 'divide and misrule'. With this in mind we now turn to two quite different regions where British imperialism made its presence felt, in the midst of division and conflict. The first is pre-independence India, while the second is inter-war Palestine. India perhaps epitomised this more than any other imperial possession while Palestine, following the 1917 Balfour Declaration, provided an arena for an ultimately less than successful League of Nations mandate granted to Britain.

Education policy under the Palestine Mandate was conditioned by a number of factors: the imperial legacy of the Ottomans, the existing educational institutions of the 'indigenous' communities, the missionary activities of various Christian denominations, the pursuits and interventions of external religious and Zionist Jewish organisations, together with the imperialist ambitions of the British. This last conditioning factor, of course, must be viewed against the backcloth of the post-World War I settlement, the Sykes-Picot plan for the 'carve-up' of the Middle East between France and the UK, and the control of oil.

Accordingly, in the context of the Palestine Mandate, the tensions and dynamics surrounding empire and education are manifested in this complex society. The educational ambitions of the largely Muslim Arab population in the main reflected a conscious wish to 'de-Ottomanise' in the pursuit of an ill-defined nationalism. The rapid replacement of Turkish with Arabic as the medium of instruction, together with religious revivalism, was acceptable to the British colonial administration insofar as the Arabs could be secured in a relatively low hierarchical position. On the other hand, it was clear that the British had helped to ignite a pan-Arab nationalist flame, as suggested by Khadurri (1970, 23):

> "The study of the Arabic language and literature in recent times revived awareness of the 'past glories'… and the Arabs began to take pride in the role their ancestors had played in the establishment of the Islamic empire. This 'historical memory', a blend of fact and vivid imagination, became an important ingredient in Arab nationalism, since it created, in the minds of young men a sense of compelling duty to restore these glories to their people."

However, this re-awakening failed to shape itself in the way Zionism had done, not least because its modality of resistance failed on the whole to take an educational form which was underpinned by well-established civil society institutions. The latter is of interest since they had their origins more broadly in Europe and North America rather than in Britain in particular. Importantly, these institutions established educational modalities in Palestine rooted in the modernistic practices. For traditionalists, such practices might be viewed as a combination of secularism and cultural imperialism.

By contrast, Arab nationalism in Palestine, as observed by Wolf (1981, 286):

"[...] was not in a comparable position to the Zionist movement to effect society's transition to modernity or the course of education. Its social and political vision and the mechanism to implement its objectives had not yet matured [...]"

This was further underlined by Renton (2010, n.d.), noting that:

"the Arab population suffered from under-development, debt, widespread illiteracy, disillusionment, and the after effects of Britain's decimation of the Palestinian Uprising of 1936 to 1939. These seeds of Zionist victory and Palestinian defeat were the direct outcome of Britain's drafting, interpretation, and implementation of the League of Nations mandate for Palestine."

These observations reinforce a general view that Britain was content to preside over a divided population served by highly differentiated school systems. Significantly, these systems have survived to the present time and, leaving aside the West Bank, are experienced in Israel on a daily basis. The vast majority of the Arab citizens of Israel (comprising twenty percent of the entire population) are Muslim with the majority of the children attending state-funded Arabic-medium schools. While this is not the place to enter a full discussion of education in present-day Israel one curricular aspect, a legacy of colonial rule, is worth noting: the place of the English language. For Jewish Israeli children, at the second level of schooling, English is studied as a second language, after Hebrew as the first language. Arabic, if studied at all, constitutes a third language. For Arab Israeli children, English is studied as a third language, after Arabic as the first and Hebrew as the second. One specific manifestation of this is that Arab secondary school children underachieve in English at the matriculation examination (Bagrut) compared with the children in Jewish schools (Zaher, 2012).

At the very least, education in Israel indirectly reflects the legacy of British colonial rule. While there are overt and covert narratives in Israel which place much of the blame for the continuing Israeli-Palestinian conflict on British imperialism in the region it should be noted that institutional and curricular patterns in Israeli education reflect its legacy. Indeed, despite the perceived incursion of American cultural imperialism throughout Israeli society, education is but one institutional sector which has been influenced by, if not inherited, from the Mandate era. Specifically, the parliamentary and judicial systems stand out (notwithstanding proportional representation which has ensured permanent coalition government). The English language, although ubiquitous, is perhaps largely an intercultural phenomenon, reflecting North American, South African, and other English-speaking country influences.

Likewise, the UK presided over an Indian Empire characterised by deep historical divisions: religious, cultural, linguistic, socio-economic. Such divisions were the product of changes over millennia – wars, migrations, colonisation – and constituted a significant challenge for British imperialism. The caste system presented a situation of societal complexity little understood by colonial masters in addition to the religious tensions between Hinduism and Islam. An alternative view to that of the British viewing India as an issue of imperial tension management, is that of Will Durant writing in 1930, cited by Shashi Tharoor (2016,1):

"The British conquest of India was the invasion and destruction of a high civilization by a trading company [the British East India Company] utterly without scruple or principle, careless of art and greedy of gain, over-running with fire and sword, a country temporarily disordered and helpless, bribing and murdering, annexing and stealing, and beginning that career of illegal and 'legal' plunder which has now gone on ruthlessly for one hundred and seventy-three years."

With the benefit of hindsight, and peering through the lens of postcolonialism, there is some astonishment at the effrontery with which British imperialist educational narratives successfully challenged 'indigenous' knowledge systems. There is little space here to recount the illustrious history of education in India in detail but even a cursory glance serves to highlight the misplaced arrogance of imperial rule. Rural indigenous pedagogies in the 18th and 19th century frequently emphasised the social character of learning and the use of memory in the process of solving problems relevant to village life, often cutting across caste divisions (Jha, 2011, 119-137). Imperialist education policies, on the other hand, tended towards liberal individualism with the consequence that divisions were exacerbated, a process that was entirely functional to the maintenance of the Raj. At the same time, Tharoor (2016: 183) observes that the British left India in 1947 with low levels of literacy (16 per cent in general and 8 per cent for females) characterising the population.

It is not altogether surprising that Tharoor is fairly unambiguous in his view that British imperial education policy in India had 'very little to commend itself' (ibid.184). He further cites the existence of traditional Indian higher education institutions which had international student populations, and which pre-dated the hallowed spires of Oxford and Cambridge by some centuries. As with early European universities, Indian higher education was, as Max Weber had noted, bound up with religious life and the priestly orders.

And yet, the emphasis upon the primacy of 'indigenous' education carries with it what many would see as the dangers of orientalism. Following the work of Edward Said (1978), in simplified terms the latter has come to denote what are now perceived as patronising views and actions in relation to colonised peoples and territories on the part of diverse Western scholars and artists. Whitehead (2005), in referencing imperial India, observes that orientalists saw themselves as sincere defenders and promoters of local cultures and knowledge systems, structures and world views. Thus,

"[...] they championed the study of Sanscrit, Persian, Hindi and other indigenous languages and sought to minimize the impact of Western civilization on everyday Indian life."

Finally, Tharoor himself notes that despite the cultural imperialism implied by the ubiquity of the English language he has chosen to use that language in his own writing (a point discussed in more general terms later in the article).

5. The empire in education: historical and contemporary perspectives

At the same time, there is the rather obvious point that the British Empire had a considerable impact on the social, political, economic – and educational - fabric of the UK itself. This was manifested in diverse ways and at diverse levels, both consciously and unconsciously, which continue to wield influence in the twenty-first century.

In this section it will be argued that the continuing significance of the British empire in contemporary British educational narratives is closely related to past and current debates about 'British values'. As previously pointed out, the English elite 'public school system explicitly functioned to prepare the future leaders of the Empire. At the same time, the hidden curriculum of the public schools extolled those values which were to provide the underpinning for an imperialist consciousness and which, in turn, would permeate the entire fabric of British education. Accordingly, it has been claimed that educational ethnocentrism had its origins in classical elite schooling in Britain oriented towards the preservation and enhancement of the Empire:

> "Public school headteachers were able to spread their imperial cultural values via their overt and hidden curriculum; sermons, prize day speeches, school magazine editorials all provided means of reinforcing these values [...] [which] percolated from the public schools to other schools [...] [comprising] elements of nationalism, militarism and racial arrogance [...]" (Tomlinson, 1989, 30-31)

Times have apparently changed; the British Empire has all but vanished, but questions remain with regard to the enduring presence of nationalism, militarism and racial arrogance. In the closing decades of the 20th century and the early 21st century the residue of the Empire has continued to give rise to cultural flashbacks, including the Falklands Campaign of 1982 and the recurring tensions involving Gibraltar and Spain (with the added frisson provided by Brexit). However, it is with the officially sanctioned focus on the requirement that schools place an emphasis on 'British values' that our attention is drawn to the significance of the place of the United Kingdom among the world's nation-states (Department for Education, 2014). We suggest here that there is an implicit uniqueness ascribed to 'British Values' and that it harks back to a half-remembered past of imperial glory when Great Britain bestowed a set of principles to guide the lives of those who were fortunate enough to be born as subjects of the Empire. Our view here is that there is a hidden neo-imperialist attitude that such values as fairness, democracy, the rule of Law and the English language were priceless gifts barely known to the rest of the world. While this view may smack a little of hyperbole it should be recalled that recent UK government policy has sought to temper the importance of the more universal discourse of human rights (Judd, 2013).

This leads ineluctably to the question of identity. The beginning of the 20th century saw the hidden, and even the overt, curriculum of schools in the UK devoted to the inculcation and reinforcement of a collective identity that was at heart imperial in character. The Boer Wars and the First World War were the loci of patriotism and the need to defend the Empire. At around the same time Empire Day had been instituted with enthusiastic

support from the UK parliament, with Viscount Milner (Hansard, 2016, 604) observing that:

> "[...] Empire Day .... has become to all the scattered communities of the British race the symbol of that unity of feeling which possesses them all with a common loyalty to one Sovereign and one Flag [...]",

Furthermore,

> ......[In 1914] Empire Day was observed ....in the United Kingdom [where] it was kept last year in 25,666 schools with an average attendance of just over 5,000,000.

On the other hand, there was some awareness of resistance to the institution of Empire Day. As Milner observed,

> "That figure is good, but the comparison is not altogether favourable to the United Kingdom, where there exists in certain quarters what I can only describe as a sort of hostility to the Flag which one is obliged to regard as a sort of psychological curiosity. That hostility is based on an idea—I cannot imagine whence derived—that the Flag, the Union Jack, is a symbol of militarism. It is not militarism which the Flag symbolises but patriotism, a very different matter. Militarism may be good or bad, according to the meaning ...attached to that much-abused word; but there can be no doubt that patriotism, love of country, sense of duty, is an unmixed good [...]" (ibid).

Central to our argument is the observation that the British Empire incorporated goals which, in a variety of settings, were: the pursuit of political-economic gain, the maintenance and reinforcement of social and cultural hierarchies, and the amelioration of perceived cultural deficits. At times, these goals were pursued simultaneously, but by no means given equal weight. Unsurprisingly, this diversity of goals gave rise to tensions and conflicts, especially in those territories seen to be characterised by problematic inter-communal relations – which were probably the majority. Thus, British imperialism required the implementation of a balancing act which frequently resulted in seemingly incompatible promises being made to diverse communities.

At this point we would highlight the relevance of post-colonialism to the discussion, Much as the definition of empire has posed problems for historians and other commentators so does post-colonialism. Given that an 'ism' is involved, we argue that the latter references an ideological stance, however vague, rather than an era which follows the end of colonial rule. In the case of Britain, whose empire has not entirely vanished (e.g., the Falklands and Gibraltar) post-colonialism can exist alongside imperial remnants, especially in a discussion of education. Thus, in its most direct form, post-colonialism privileges resistance to the continuation of the penetration of empire.

In response, the not unreasonable question arises as to the place of post-colonialism in the school curriculum. Haydn (2014) has noted that following the inception of the National Curriculum in English schools in 1991 the study of the British Empire was assured, although it appeared to be firmly rooted in the past alongside the Roman Empire. However, history teachers did begin to encourage classroom discussion about 'the extent to which the British Empire was a force for good or otherwise'. On the other hand, Haydn also observes the subsequent tendency for English politicians to encourage a celebratory

view of the Empire, linking it with the propagation of 'British Values'. Indeed, at the time of writing (March 2018), the death of Roger Bannister, the first athlete to run a mile in under four minutes (1954), was announced. The symbolism of this, together with the events of the previous year (the coronation of the Queen of the UK and the climbing of Mount Everest) underlined the glory that was (is?) the British Empire. These events continued to occupy a significant place in hidden curriculum for years to some.

More widely, both in the UK and in its former colonial territories, a key question concerns the extent to which the British Empire was maintained through educational and quasi-educational processes and institutions. Social and cultural reproduction theories might suggest that is indeed what happened and that the legacy remains today. We therefore argue, in general terms, that long after the demise of the British Empire degrees of psychological, social and cultural imperialism survive political imperialism. Indeed, we would expect this to be the case where imperial rule was historically devolved to local administrators, missionaries, private companies and other non-governmental bodies. (Brock [1982] has exemplified aspects of the legacy of colonial education in the Caribbean)

More than ever, conventional educational institutions – schools, colleges and universities – are not able to claim a monopoly over the processes of teaching and learning. The non-formal conduits of information and knowledge transmission increasingly threaten to eclipse the formal, whether in the traditional context of artistic and cultural institutions such as museums and art galleries, or in the context of the internet and 'social media'. Images of empire are inevitably perpetuated in a variety of settings and refracted in ways which are not always immediately discernible.

On the other hand, an institution such as the British Museum has been traditionally seen as one of the most important emblems of imperial status and over time has attracted generations of children, mostly accompanied by adults and frequently as members of school parties. The Elgin Marbles exhibit at the British Museum previously symbolised the power of British imperialism to define the world order while, today, their re-naming as the Parthenon Sculptures possibly indicates a retreat from this symbolism. No doubt this was an outcome of Greece's persistent voicing of its intense displeasure at what they perceive as the theft of its artefacts (further reinforced by the deliberate gaps left in the parallel sculptures exhibit in the Acropolis Museum in Athens).

As a counterweight to the continuing didacticism of a now diluted British imperialism the Tate Britain gallery in London mounted an exhibition, Artist and Empire, in 2015-2016. Opening a review of the exhibition, Jonathan Jones (2015) observed:

> "The British Empire has become invisible. It is an abstraction that people argue about. Right and left lay claim to its pride or shame, but the historical entity - whose rights and wrongs patriots and radicals now debate – lies cold in its grave, its banners, medals, statues and pith helmets neglected and ignored."

However, this exhibition sought "to resurrect the British Empire as a physical reality" and engage people through a sophisticated process of curating.

Overarching technological and institutional dimensions are the changing demographics of British society and changing cultural and normative assumptions. It can no longer be taken for granted that the British-born descendants of those who were colonial subjects will view the Empire in quite the same way that previous generations had done.

Post-colonial perspectives on empire have long since entered curricular discourse and have made their way into the public arena of entertainment and the arts. One example has been the BBC television series which came on stream in March 2018 which focused on *civilisations*, a reference back to a series from forty years previously, *Civilisation*. The latter was arguably a vehicle for a linear approach to cultural history channelled through the lens of imperial Anglocentrism, while the new series posited a world of culturally diverse peoples and polities which had interacted over time and space.

At a more general level, there have been attempts to counter the kind of collectively inherited views of one such as Macaulay (1835, 10), who infamously uttered that ".... a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia....". In recent times, exhibitions curated in London museums and art galleries have placed the Empire in perspective in demonstrating that the cultural products of those who have been colonised do not constitute a separate realm from that of the 'civilised' imperial nation. Indeed, in the case of the British Empire, scholars in the field of intercultural education such as Jagdish Gundara (1999) have focused on the process of cultural interpenetration and its positive implications for art education in UK schools. Here, it is argued that the marginalisation of subordinated cultures rooted in regions colonised by Britain impacts negatively on children and young people whose heritages lie in those regions.

Arguably, the single most important cultural factor in the empire-education nexus in the case of Britain is the English language. The obvious point to make here is that there is a commonly held assumption that the English language is the unique property of the United Kingdom, if not England, which has been bestowed as an imperial gift upon the colonies. The schools and other educational institutions situated in the colonial territories had the major task of imparting the language to those who were confined to tongues perceived to be of little or no value outside the realm of the local. More than that, English was seen to possess cultural - if not spiritual – superiority, and thus bring its possessor that much nearer to salvation. More prosaically, English was a two-edged sword: although its proponents sought to subordinate, even eliminate, 'indigenous' languages, it was adopted and adapted to meet the needs of the colonised populations. With the passage of time not only has English ceased to be the sole property of the English/British it has also morphed into several linguistic forms with discrete characteristics. These linguistic forms or dialects reflect intercultural hybridity, giving rise to distinct modalities of dialogical interaction and distinct literatures.

We can leave aside the classic English-speaking example of the United States which, of course, dispensed with its colonial status over two hundred years ago, although the current position of English is increasingly challenged by that of Spanish. However, the question remains as to the extent to which British imperial influence persists through the global dominance of the English language, a crucial question for many educationists. While 'indigenous' languages have had strong support from such bodies as UNESCO the pressure to acquire and to use English has been keenly felt. Possibly, this has enabled the English/British to maintain an imagined sense of their collective identity which for many has been bolstered in recent years by a retreat from the potentially more universal, secularised proposed solutions to societal problems.

6. Conclusion

The relationship between the British Empire and education is complex and contradictory. Debates among historians continue over the many aspects of the British imperial machinery and their implications for educational processes and institutions in the colonised territories. The debates differ according to whether the focus is the direct involvement of the British state, or whether the focus is the indirect involvement through non-governmental organisations, commercial agencies and religious organisations. All such debates are paralleled by a more general consideration of cultural imperialism and hegemony, especially in the context of arguments which suggest that the British Empire continues to exist in the collective diverse imagination.

The processes of globalisation and rapid technological change have additionally shaped the educational consequences of the British post-Empire era with the interpenetration of diverse cultural and economic imperialisms. The legacy of the British Empire is more difficult to detect amidst the intercultural mix and the dynamics of the global economy which impact upon formal and non-formal educational processes and institutional structures. It might be judged that the central educational issue regarding the past and present British Empire concerns ownership. Comparative and intercultural studies in education enjoin us to engage with ownership since the teaching of history together with the hidden curriculum both of schools and other educational institutions - and with the hidden curriculum of the media – tends to be interpreted in a nationally-oriented manner. Too often, 'national' has denoted 'imperial', excluding those who do not see themselves as possessing ownership of the national/imperial narrative. A younger generation, increasingly with experiences and inherited stories of colonialism, foreignness and marginalisation, may be instrumental in helping to shift to a more balanced and critical understanding of the nexus between education and the British Empire.

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Comparing Colonial Education Discourses in the French and Portuguese african Empires: an essay on hybridization

Comparación de los discursos de educación colonial en los imperios africanos francés y portugués: un ensayo sobre la hibridación

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Abstract

This essay analyzes Portuguese, French and British educational rhetoric highlighting relations between the colonial administration and the central structures of power, pinpointing ambiguities and ambivalence's which went across the different structures of imperial authority, namely the discourses about the government, the civilization and the education of the colonized. The study proposes to go beyond a "traditional" vision of educational change, i.e. a concept based on the analysis of influences, forces or relations of cause-effect about the political aspect of education. In contrast with the perspectives that consider colonies as homogeneous cultural identities, as extensions of the metropolitan ideas and practises, I tend to emphasize the symbiotic relations that developed between the Empires and the metropolis. This position contradicts a representation of colonialism as a coherent and consistent process and defines the colonial scenario as a context of conflict between colonizer and colonized, in which the ideas and practises about the processes associated to the civilization of Africans are open to negotiation and restructuring of different kind. To address educational change from a comparative perspective also means to analyse how the discourses about colonial education became known and circulated, at the transnational level, and also to understand how these discourses became accepted as a norm and therefore transformed in local strategies and concrete programmes of action. That perspective facilitates the understanding of the discourses about education that crossed the colonial space which produced internal disparities relatively to the processes of school expansion, to the pedagogical models and to curriculum organization, contradicting the concept of educational policy as the local implementation of programmes produced in the European metropolis.

Key Words: History colonial education; Comparative education; Empires; Discourse analysis; Colonialism; Africa

Resumen

Este ensayo analiza la retórica educativa portuguesa, francesa y británica destacando las relaciones entre la administración colonial y las estructuras centrales del poder, señalando las ambigüedades y ambivalencias que atraviesan las diferentes estructuras de la autoridad imperial, es decir, los discursos sobre el gobierno, la civilización y la educación del colonizado. El estudio propone ir más allá de una visión «tradicional» del cambio educativo, es decir, un concepto basado en el análisis de influencias, fuerzas o relaciones de causa-efecto sobre el aspecto político de la educación. En contraste con las perspectivas que consideran las colonias como identidades culturales homogéneas, como extensiones de las ideas y prácticas metropolitanas, tiendo a enfatizar las relaciones simbióticas que se desarrollaron entre los imperios y la metrópoli. Esta posición contradice la representación del colonialismo como un proceso coherente y consistente, y define el escenario colonial como un contexto de conflicto entre colonizador y colonizado, en el que las ideas y prácticas sobre los procesos asociados a la civilización de los africanos están abiertos a la negociación y reestructuración de diferente tipos. Abordar el cambio educativo desde una perspectiva comparada también significa analizar cómo se conocieron y difundieron los discursos sobre la educación colonial, a nivel transnacional, y también cómo estos discursos fueron aceptados como norma y, por lo tanto, transformados en estrategias locales y programas concretos de acción. Esa perspectiva facilita la comprensión de los discursos sobre educación que atravesaron el espacio colonial, los cuales produjeron disparidades internas en relación a los procesos de expansión escolar, a los modelos pedagógicos y a la organización curricular, contradiciendo el concepto de política educativa así como la implementación local de programas producidos en la metrópoli europea.

Palabras clave: Historia de la educación colonial; Educación comparada; Imperios; Análisis del discurso; Colonialismo; África

1. Colonial discourse analysis

For different reasons, the idealised discourses and the official versions about colonial education in the African context clash with the local circumstances of government forcing the revision, sometimes the subversion, of principles and objectives defined by the metropolitan governments. Very often we realise that the same 'author' interprets the reality he observes according to the statute and the local from where he speaks and acts, frequently making use of arguments of a total opposite signal[1]. Following short what Michel Foucault called 'the governmentalisation of the State' *to govern at a distance*[2] implies the invention and the construction of a vast set of technologies which link calculations and strategies developed in the political centres thousands of points distributed in the space[3]. As such, the analysis of the discourse is linked to the superposition of discourses produced at the global level with the discourses produced at the local level, a process through which the relations of *power-knowledge* are developed in parallel to the technologies of *government at a distance*. These discontinuities in the *scripts* of educational *governance* (Meyer et al, 1997), permits to understand the co-existence of cultural references and clear political positions, even opposite, in the lusophone (and francophone) space. They underline, on the other hand, the importance of the networks of global diffusion (Ramirez and Rubinson, 1979; Ramírez and Boli, 1987) and of a specific reception, of internationalisation and of indigenisation, of supra-national integration and of intra-national diversification (Schriewer, 1993).These sharing, as I did demonstrate elsewhere (Madeira, 2006), results in totally different appropriations, sometimes even opposed, from pre-suppositions inscribed in the discourse about education, making clear how the discourse productions are used to legitimise the practices of inscription and domination destined to the populations and cultural contexts with characteristics very different among them.

This essay proposes to go beyond a "traditional" vision of educational change, i.e. a concept based on the analysis of influences, forces or relations of cause-effect about the political aspect of education (Wolf, 1982; Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1983, Wesseling, 1991). In contrast with the perspectives which consider the colonies as homogenous cultural identities, as extensions of the metropolitan ideas and practices, I tend to emphasise the symbiotic relations which developed between the Empires and the metropolis (Said, 1993; Cooper, 1994; Thomas, 1994). This position contradicts a representation of colonialism

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1   About that we can show some paradigmatic examples, either in France or en Portugal: Jules Ferry, a most bitter assimilator in the metropolis reviews his position after an inquest which took place in Senegal; Antonio Enes, was very critical in relation to the role of the Church in the education, at the end, whilst General-Governor of Moçambique, goes in defence of an important role for the missionaries in the colonial context; Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo, who defended the persecution of religious orders in the metropolis considered, at the end, their destruction in the colonies appalling etc.

2   While strategies of power, the principles of government imply in complex and variable relations between the calculations and actins of those who look for exercising the domination over a territory, a population, a nation and a microphysics of power acting at a capillary level among the varied practices of control which develop at the level of a given territory. "To govern at a distance" involves processes of translating different kinds through which associations between the objectives of the authorities which wish to govern and the individual projects of organisation, groups and individuals which are subjects to the government are forged. Cfr. Nikolas Rose. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999: 19 e 48.

3   Foucault, Michel. "Governmentality". In the Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality, G. Burchel e P. Miller (Eds.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991: 103.

as a coherent and consistent process and defines the colonial scenario as a context of conflict between colonizer and colonised, in which the ideas and practices about the processes associated to the civilisation of Africans are open to negotiation and restructuring of different kind (Kumar, 1991; Thomas, 1994; Bhabha, 1997; Cooper & Stoler, 1999). Therefore the approach that I will sketch here emphasises the contradictory and conflicting aspects contained in the colonial discourse (Thomas, 1994; Stoler & Cooper, 1997). This implies in a particular understanding about the political and cultural relationship which was developed among the colonies and the metropolis and, within this perspective, exploits it from the configuration of the discourse field about education considering that it limits a historically space in a set of other mechanisms that crossed the colonial space.

This methodological choice is tried and aims at exploring two possibilities which have been of interest to the scientific community within the frame of historical-comparative research in education. On the one hand, to analyse the lack of continuities between the official ideological concepts about education (incorporated in the discourses which originated in the metropolis or even locally) and the strategies of school expansion put in practice in the colonial contexts; on the other hand, to map the circulation of discourses about education at the level of colonial peripheries, highlighting the processes of transfer and of selective taking up which go across the colonies themselves (Nóvoa, Carvalho, Correia, Madeira & O, 2002; Schriever & Keiner, 1992; Schriever, 2006; Popkewitz, 2005; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Madeira, 2006).

As such, to look at educational changes from a comparative perspective means to analyse how the discourses about colonial education became known and circulated, at the transnational level, and also to understand how these discourses became accepted as a norm and therefore transformed in local strategies and concrete programmes of action. In that sense it easy to understand why discourses about education which crossed the colonial space produced internal disparities relatively to the processes of school expansion, to the pedagogical models and to curriculum organisation, contradicting the concept of educational policy as the local implementation of programmes produced in the European metropolis.

I believe that, from this theoretically defined place, we are able to question other types of relations between the colonial administration and the central structures of power, as well as to question ambiguities and ambivalences which went across the different structures of imperial authority, namely the discourses about the government the civilisation and the education of the colonized (Slemon & Tiffin, 1989).

2. 'National' Types, Systems of Government and Comparison of Educational Policies

«L'*autre* est la raison d'être de l'Éducation Comparée: l'*autre* qui sert de modèle ou de référence, qui légitime des actions ou qui impose des silences, que l'on imite ou que l'on colonise. L'éducation Comparée fait partie d'un champ de pouvoirs au sein duquel s'organisent des centres et des périphéries, se construisent des pratiques discursives qui consacrent des *sens* et définissent des *limites*... Notre attitude intellectuelle subit l'influence du rôle joué par l'Europe (l'Occident) en tant que référent silencieux de toutes les histoires. Comme si l'Europe était la seule catégorie théoriquement connaissable, toutes les autres histoires n'ayant droit qu'à un statut empirique» (Nóvoa, 1998 : 51-52).

The characterisation of educational policies through the identification of differences and similarities of the colonial administrative systems implemented by France and England in Africa is widely documented in the literature which compares the government of the two European powers (Bets, 1961; Deschamps, 1963; Crowder, 1964; Clignet & Foster, 1964; Ipaye, 1969). These descriptions, generally originated in the metropolis and frequently supported in official reports and in speeches of political propaganda, tend to oppose the French colonial system, essentially bureaucratic, centralised and assimilating to the English system considered more pragmatic, decentralised and liberal. The differences between these two ideal types would be originated in the 'historical' characteristics and in the "political" culture of the two nations. One is republican, even Jacobine, based on a humanism defined by theoretical and abstract principles, thus resulting in a universalistic, unifying and egalitarian tendency. The other, embedded in a political culture more "aristocratic", inspired on a liberal conservative and in the *laissez faire* doctrine, would rather tend to respect the position and the culture of local authorities – considered to a certain extent, as "peers" according to the noble tradition of the English gentry – attitude which supposedly, favour the practice of a kind of "indirect government".

Another series of myths were associated to the construction of a polarized image of the French and English political systems. For example, the one that argued that the French implemented a colonisation system without doctrine and method, in contrast to the British colonisation (and de-colonisation) process, based, from its onset on the preparation for "self-government"; the persistence of direct government methods, based on the principles of domination-subordination, on the French system, in contrast to the autonomy the English gave to the Africans, in relation to meeting the needs and the "welfare" of the indigenous populations. This set of representations would have re-enforced the idea according to which the French cultural policy tended, especially, to administrative uniformity, unification between the metropolitan territories and those from overseas, tending therefore to the construction of an educational system aiming at assimilating the Africans to the French culture, or at least, submitting the interests of the indigenous people to the civilising mission of the mother-Nation. In summary, France would have bet in the training of a local elite cultivated according to the French moral values and cultural habits, a process which could be considered based on the "assimilation" doctrine. Regarding England, the discourse about colonial policy tended to present a representation based on opposing principles, based on the adaptation to the local conditions and on the respect for the native indigenous authorities – the "indirect rule" – implying in a truly decentralising policy aimed at training the Africans for "self-government".

It is not difficult to imagine that, similarly to the "national" and governmental types, the comparative styles also tended to reproduce the set of evidences which the historiography of European colonisation in Africa crystallised around the opposition between the francophone and Anglo-Saxon "systems" thus making it possible to describe the educational results met by both nations. The construction of representations, based on the principle of complementarity between the *art and the science of government,* subordinated to political interests of a supra-national nature, aimed at very often illustrating the "good government" of the colonised populations. In fact, despite the ruptures of paradigms implemented by British and French critical anthropology and sociology during the 60s and 70s, the reading of the colonial phenomenon went on, in recent times, to inspire stereotyped representations of these deliberately radicalized representations.

> "British Europeanisers [...] hoped to turn their subjects into black Englishmen, complete with middle-class standards and Methodist morality. French Europeanizers [...] hoped to transform tribesmen in French-speaking citizens of the "republic one and invisible". Portuguese Europeanizers dreamed of their country's Lusitanian mission and envisaged their future empire as an overseas extension of Portugal with a special pattern resembling Brazil's" (Gann & Duignan, 1971: 216).

The analyses of the governor's reports, of the local administration and of private groups, for example, constitute a fundamental basis of work for the dismantling of this stereotyped perspective, exclusively centred on official documents, with permits to mix up the similarities and relativise – or re-enforce – the differences, underlying the contradictions of the discourses about education in a colonial context. On the other hand to work on discourses about education originated in different spaces and times (the colonial space of France and Portugal) makes it possible to widen up the table of comparison centred in the unit state-nation for the vast dimension of the colonial Empires. By enlarging the scope of comparison analysing these discourses as configurations allows us analyse the diffusion, transformation and appropriation of concepts and pedagogical models as well as their transformation in technologies of educational incorporation (models of teaching, school, curriculum) within the frame of networks of knowledge.

3. The Educational Rhetoric and the Construction of the Empire: Portugal and France

3.1. Portugal

The system of Portuguese colonisation in Africa, based, from a doctrinaire point of view, on the basic principles of the international Liberalism, whose general characteristics entered Portugal via the double French and English influences, was set essentially on the historical mission and on the colonial vocation which justified the historical, geographic and political imperative of our stay in the continent. Emphatic and a somehow messianic, this discourse went through the political cycles and the transitions of the regime, with few changes, from the end of the Monarchy up to the implementation of the "Estado Novo". Centred on the civilising mission, on the nationalisation of the Empire and, later, on its "portugalisation", the Portuguese colonial idea aimed at the construction of a link between the colonial unity and the national identity, to justify the national grandeur, relatively to the internal public opinion as well as externally in relation to other potential European colonies. In this aspect the Portuguese colonial policy was clearly inscribed in the dynamics of international agreements which regulated the association of the "right to exploitation" to the "right of civilisation", an argument which presupposed the sharing of a set of principles, transversal to several colonising powers[4]. Based on this doctrine, the Portuguese colonial endeavour in terms of education by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was oriented mainly by the principle

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4   I recall for the purpose the three African conferences: the Conference of Berlin, 1884; the Conference of Brussels, 1891; the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, and later on the Conventions of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1919.

of the "assimilation to the national culture", although it distinguished, in practice, the "civilised" population (the white colonial population, Portuguese or from European origin and mestizos who came from the urban areas of the coast) from the "non-civilised" population (Black Africans, mainly from the rural areas). The teaching in the colonies was being built, from the early days, within the framework of this duplicity of public, implying a set of modalities of teaching, content and strategies of differentiated school incorporation. However, the type of primary education offered was based on a type of school inspired on the European metropolitan model, with a uniform basic curriculum, academic and, in the case of the schools aimed at teaching the Africans, (rudimental primary schooling) simplified.

Similar to other areas of the imperial dominance, Portugal was late, relatively to France and England, in the definition of a colonial educational policy, at least until the mid thirties in the twentieth century. This lack of definition, was considered responsible for the inefficiency of the colonial administration along with the co-existence of opposite opinions about the project of colonisation and, consequently, of education. As a result, the education governance tended to evidence a centralised tendency, mainly 'direct' in outlook; anticlerical, internally, but multi-confessional in the external propaganda; hesitating, at the level of strategies of incorporation of the African masses, and ambiguous in relation to the status that these could adopt in the cadre of the Portuguese colonial administration. In administrative terms, and in practice, the decentralisation attempts which gave more manoeuvre to the intervention of the governors and high – commissioners in the colonies until the mid-twenties, were not able to compensate, from a legal point of view, the tendency of the colonial assimilation to the metropolis. What did change where, instead, the arguments used to justify their new powers. Bear in mind, for example, the discourse about the characteristics of the Portuguese colonialism of exception, that of the "undefined people between Europe and Africa" (Madeira, 2003: 44 - 47) turned towards the " singular predisposition of a hybrid colonisation of the tropics", according to Gilberto Freyre, thesis already divulged in the international circles, through the work of Sir Harry Johnston *The Negro in the New World* (1910), a book referred to by a whole generation of Portuguese-Africans to confirm the thesis of the "kindness of the Portuguese" in the African colonisation[5].

Different from the paternalistic image that Portugal tried to show in the international circles, and in spite of successive governments (monarchic and republican) claiming for themselves the mission of civilising as a right of tutelage over people they considered to be under their political jurisdiction and moral protection, the mission of "educating the bodies" and "save the souls" finished up to be given to the Portuguese Catholic Church. In this respect, the unity of action of the Catholic Church, disputed and controlled regularly at least up to the thirties, succeeded in moving across the different positions which, in the metropolis and in the colonies, became aligned by divergent conceptions, even contradictory, up to the beginning of the Second World War. In simple words, for Portuguese Catholic Church "to civilise" meant "to Christianise", a mission for which the

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5   Cfr. Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the new world*. New York: Macmillan, 1910; in spite of Sir Johnston's words of praise for the Portuguese about the procedures of colonisation used in the African colonisation, we shall not forget his position as Vice-president of the Royal Geographical Society of London and his diplomatic post as Consul of England in Moçambique (1890), when the British Crown fought with Portugal the limits of the frontier in the South. In fact, in publications at a later date, Harry Johnston abandoned the diplomatic register even inverting the sense of the praise. See «Race problems in the new Africa». *African Affairs*, vol 2 (4), 1924

regular priests claimed themselves historical rights. The anticlerical conceptions which attempted to annihilate or control their action in education were of different kinds. The perspectives which were claimed of French influence, represented by the liberalism of the eighteenth century, defended a civilising action Illuminist by its origin based on the respect for equality among men – an argument strongly supported by a conception essentially legal of equality among people.

On the other hand the utilitarian perspectives, relating the education effort to the exploitation of the colonial resources, considered the «education trough the inculcation of working habits» the most viable option, arguments which tended to call forth the efficacy of the association between the "civilizing duty" with the "right to explore". Lastly a third path - one which would end up by imposing itself in the arguments and practices of the colonial government until the independencies – defended a Portuguese type of "assimilation", crafted at the image of "Greater France" extending the grandiosity of the Portuguese spirit to the overseas provinces. This thesis suggested that the economic and social advancement of the indigenous population depended on a set of principles moral and spiritual in character. Paradoxically, was during this phase, coincident with the rise of "Estado Novo" regime that the role of the Catholic Church began to be oficially recognized as determinant for the colonization process, that is to say, instrumental to the "nationalization" of the Portuguese Africa.

By implicitly associating Church evangelization with the State action in the "assimilation" of the African peoples, this policy approached the British incorporating strategy which clearly associated for a long time "civilizing colonialism" with "State colonialism". The presuppositions of this association where, nevertheless, very different from the British imperialism ones. The "right to explore" arguments, in juridical terms based on historical accounts and the "civilizing duty" supported by a moral imperative, articulated to produce a "lusophone bread". This variant was at the same time liberal (since it was funded on the idea of economic resource exploitation) and, at the same time humanist, based on the idea of the assimilation of the dark races plunged in the "secular night" to the spirit of the national culture.

3.2. The French Civilizing Mission: To "cultivate" the African mind

As with the British case the French presence in West Africa went trough different phases. In Gifford and Weiskel work, a pivotal comparative study of the colonial systems in Africa, two particularly important periods in the history of French colonization are considered (Gifford and Louis,1978: 663-711). A first "pre-colonial" period (1815 – 1890) and a second moment, characterized by the consolidation of the "colonial rule" (1894 – 1945). During the first phase the French colonizers where faced with two major problems. In Senegal, due to deficiencies in the colonizing process, the French were having problems both in controlling the rise of the trade communities that were establishing in the coastal areas at a rising rate and of expanding its influence to the interior territories. As such the administration policy began by authorizing teaching in the local languages at the public schools (1816), by tolerating the missionary activity (1820-1830) and it end up by handling out education to the Catholic Church[6]. This laissez-faire attitude was justified by the argument that schooling was a means whereby the French influence could be extended and preserved among the traditional authorities, in particular in the mainland territories, ruled by Islamic leaders.

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6   Cfr. Joseph Gaucher. *Les Débuts de l'Enseignement en Afrique Francophone: Jean Dart et l'École Mutuelle de Saint-Louis du Sénegal*. Paris, 1968.

In most Haute Volta schools, in the Ivory Coast and in the northern Islamic territories of Senegal the French school system task was to educate the individuals that could eventually assume the role of traditional authorities. In these schools, some of them destined to the sons of tribal chiefs and gentilic authorities the curriculum was centred on teaching the French language and some subsidiary subjects related with local aspects of everyday life (Gifford & Weiskel, 1978; Gann & Duignam, 1971). The remaining schools were targeted at the training of interpreters and administrative functionaries aiming at consolidating the commercial relationships and at minimizing antagonisms between the local populations and the French colonial administration.

As a philosophy, the discourse on "assimilation" progressively transformed into a cultural imperialist doctrine, reflecting the wish of forging the political and cultural uniformity of a "Greater France". Education represented a means by which the overseas territories could be integrated in an increasingly expansion Empire and a strategy for the transformation of Africans into *black Frenchmen*. French assimilationist objectives manifested themselves in the type of the administrative organization, highly centralized, by which the colonies where considered as extensions of the metropolitan territory. However, It would be misleading to think that the assimilation policy was to be the norm in every colonial situation or even that the assimilation policies translate in effective control of the education matters in all colonies. In spite of the creation of the Colonial Ministry, in 1894; the French were far from ensuring a tight control over the colonial education systems, of providing enough well prepared teachers, of financing the schooling functioning, a set of factors that cumulated with a ill defined educational political strategy (Gifford & Weiskel, 1978; Kiwanuka, 1993). In fact, up to the first decades of the twentieth century, the educational provisions were made by the local administration, attempting to respond to the educational needs of each territory whether in quantitative or qualitative terms (Clignet, 1968). At the end of the nineteenth century at the peak of the metropolitain assimilationist rethoric, the development of the educational structures in North and West French Africa was very much dependent on the funding arising out of private initiative such as the *Alliance Française* or in the hands of Catholic missionary societies.

On the other hand the French educational policy was very much influenced by the British educational experience, in such a way that the principles of "indirect rule" inspired several colonial governor strategies as with the case of Lyautey, Gallieni or Van Vollenhoven. Appointed High-Commissioner to the Marroc in 1907, Louis-Hubert Lyautey administrated the protectorate (1912-1916) by granting his support to the local Islamic chieftaincies and by seeking cooperation with the sultanate regime. His administration was marked by the respect of the local habits, both in religious and cultural terms. Joseph Simon Gallièni, on his turn, governed Madagascar (1896 – 1905) on the basis of the "oil spill" principle considering that education was essential to the development of the local populations. Gallièni interested himself in the local cultures, favouring the local languages protection, themes about which he produced extended works and remarks (Dimier, 1998; Clignet & Foster, 1964). Lastly, Joost Van Vollenhoven, appointed Governor-general of the French West Africa in 1916, granted the traditional authorities with unprecedented powers and responsibilities in the colonial administration, paying particular attention to the "evolués" natives. No doubt Vollenhoven was trying to develop the state strengths by using the traditional authorities as counterparts and not as opponents, and certainly this could be considered as a way of colonial control devise. Nevertheless, this was much closer to the British "indirect rule" style than it was to the French "assimilatonist" or even "associationist" native policies.

The acts approved in parliament, in 1902, calling forth the secularization of all schools run by the Catholic Church in West Africa and the climate caused by the Dreyfus affair gave way to a new phase in the organisation of the school system in the colonies. The expansion of a European school system and the need to control the missionary supply on education called forth a reorganisation of the public sector. The two decrees passed by Governor-General Ernest Roume in 1903 fitted neatly in the anticlerical feelings that were becoming evident since 1880, when Jules Ferry, Ministry of the Public education had promoted a compulsory, laic and free educational school system. Under Roume's new administration the universalization of education turned out to be one of the central objectives of the French civilizing mission in Africa. Clearly influenced by the thinking of Gallièni and Lyautey, and pedagogically supported by Gustave le Bon and Léopold Saussure theories, Roume considered that assimilation was not an attuned policy to a vast and diverse province such as the French West Africa (Le Bon, 1894; Saussure, 1899). By contesting the frenchifying metropolitan policies, Roume thought that the Africans should evolve according to their own lines, and under this conception, the curriculum should be "adapted to the colonial needs". Henceforth a free, secular system of education was created granting particular emphasis to the French language as a medium of teaching. The educational structures was set up in order to respond to the colonial pragmatic needs and were divided in *écoles de villages*, designated to the training of interpreters, the *écoles regionales* aimed at the training of administration functionaries, and the *écoles urbaines* for the training of Africans that were to fill posts in the French colonial administration. The urban schools directed to the European and to the "assimilated" individuals were designed to work along metropolitan lines whether in terms of the teaching staff as with regards to the curriculum. Rural or regional schools were destined to the native population and, as such, the curriculum was adapted to the local populations' special needs. This two apparently opposed principles (assimilation/adaptation) were used in twofold ways: one directed at the expansion of school opportunities (at the elementary level), crafted for the majority of Africans, the other directed at limiting their access of assimilated natives (to the secondary level school opportunities).

In 1907 Ernest Roume retired being replaced by William Merlaud-Ponty in the government of French West Africa. Ponty's perception of native educational policy could not be more dissimilar that that of his predecessor as was shown by his circular published in 1909 under the theme of *Politique des Races*. In this document the new Governor-General clearly demonstrated his preference for the principle of "direct rule" this implying a reduction of the intermediaries between the local administration and the traditional authorities in the villages. In this way a new native policy orientation emerged downplaying the role that had been previously accorded to the traditional authorities in the French colonial administration. In educational terms Ponty was very well aware of the French civilizing mission towards the Africans, and as a result the "adapted education" path was object of serious revisions. In 1914 in the eve of the I World War, Merlaud-Ponty appointed Georges Hardy as the new General Inspector for Education in the French West Africa. Though they were never promulgated, Hardy's directives reinforced the laws and decrees passed by Ernest Roume from 1903, marking the return to an ambiguous educational policy midway the consolidation of a metropolitan school model and the construction of a school system "adapted to the needs of Africans" (Gifford & Weiskel, 1978; Gann & Duignam, 1971). However, Hardy's efforts apparently concentrated on the separation between those fit to receive a European type of education drawn at the image of the metropolitan school system and, on the other end, a mass schooling model destined to incorporate the vast majority of the African natives.

In any case, the superposition of different strategies and discourses about the colonial education policy allow us to question the idea, much celebrated by traditional historiography, of a homogeneous and universal type of school curriculum aimed at the transformation of Africans into "black Frenchmen". On the contrary, we may perceive that perhaps until the 30's of twentieth century the policies pursued in the French West Africa territories tried, precisely, to avoid the excessive frenchification of the native population. For that purpose the continuous prevalence of a dual educational system (one for Europeans and assimilated natives) the other aimed at the mass of native population, regardless the more or less importance given to the traditional authorities, was always a strategic means of controlling the eligibility for cooperation with the colonial administration[7]. That does not implies however the workings of straightforward imperial ideology of assimilation. As I have tried to show the building of a school curriculum in the French West Africa was very much conditioned by individual strategies and governing styles predicated on the Governor-general's interpretations emanated from Paris. Likewise, the discourse on "adapted education", although inspired in the British colonial South-Saharan Africa experiences worked more often as a constraint than as a possibility for the majority of natives. It meant generally speaking an emphasis on a practical and moral education while downplaying a more scientific curriculum.

4. Concluding remarks

Lord Lugard Governor-General of Nigeria (1914 – 1919) the great colonial doctrinaire between the two wars, was a forerunner in the comparisons of the British and French colonial systems. Lugard knew well the French colonizing doctrines and he maintained close contacts with Maurice Delafosse at the head of *École coloniale* (1909 – 1926) as well as with his successor, Henri Labouret with whom he created and directed the *Institut international des langues et civilisations africaines* (London). Lord Lugard cherished the opinion that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the French colonial doctrines had evolved from assimilation to association and that they were approaching the "indirect rule" British policy. On the other hand, Maurice Delafosse had, more than once, contested the idea that "indirect rule" was a prerogative exclusive to the British colonial system:

> «Il serait plus sage d'observer ce que font les Anglais dans celles de leurs possessions qui sont analogues aux colonies françaises voisines, Gambie, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Goald Coast où la proportion de l'élément européen et de l'élément indigène, de même que le stade d'évolution de ce dernier, se présente approximativement sous le même aspect qu'au Sénégal, en Guinée, en Côte-d'Ivoire et au Soudan. Nous constaterions alors que cette centralisation que d'aucune reproche si fort à la France dans son administration coloniale est aussi accentuée chez nos voisins que chez nous»[8].

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7   As Ruth Ginio attempted to show in an article published in *Cahiers d'études africaines*, most of the chiefs that were integrated in the French administrative system were not "traditional" rules but were appointed and trained by the French. In fact, only on rare occasions, African chiefs who had ruled before French colonisation received the titles of *Chef supérieur* or *Roi*, and were allowed to continue to rule over their territories. Cfr. Ruth Ginio, French Colonial Reading of ethnographic research: The case of the "Desertion" of the Abron King and its Aftermath. Cahiers d'études africaines (166), XLII-2, 2002, pp.337-357.

8   Delafosse, Maurice. «Politique coloniale. Pour ou contre la décentralisation. L'excès en tout est un défaut». *Dépêche coloniale*, 1er Août (1923).

The lack of continuity between the idealised discourses and the local practices were, more frequently than one thinks, a fact transversal to any of the colonial empires which have been studied. I should add that, in my opinion, such discrepancies were mainly associated to local or inter-state contingencies and constraints (related to historical conditions, geographical locations and concrete political rivalries) rather that to divergences or even ideological antagonisms related to programmes of action (or *scripts* of government) of a national-metropolitan nature. In fact when we focus on discourses which circulate in the interior of the different colonial contexts the contingencies of the colonial administration and the ambivalence of the European policies concerning education reveal themselves even clearly. This suggests that the colonial exercise was ruled by, not rarely, a set of commitments, arrangements and *bricolage*s, *scaffoldings*, tending to articulate orientations very often abstract and general, making use of schemes, techniques and informal arrangements of discourse regulation, specifically in the field of education and in the teaching of the natives[9].

Needless to say, at least until the eve of the II World War, the definition of an education policy in the African colonies was more dependent on the native policies of the colonial powers and on the prevalent views about the natives role (and the Europeans) in the colonization process than anything else. As such the educational debates were subordinated to the doctrines that originated in different fields of production (native policy, colonization doctrines, economic exploitation, work force formation, etc.) other than the strictly pedagogical or educational fields (theories and philosophies of education, models of schooling, types of curriculum).

Notwithstanding, when we compare the Portuguese and French colonial doctrines we come across the same type of hybridizations which also show at the level of the educational discourses. The construction of a dual educational system, one for the masses, the other for the Europeans and assimilated (or *evolués*) was a feature characteristic both to the Portuguese and French colonial educational structures. The appropriation of the concept "adapted education" by the Portuguese and French colonial administration also bear some resemblances since it implied a particular strategy, somehow ambiguous, on the educational system supply side. For the Portuguese colonial administration, the concept of "adapted education" was tied to a restrictive type of curriculum aimed at the masses, with emphasis on agriculture, manual skills and domestic sciences, implying a strongly moral character. In this respect, French and Portuguese doctrines converged into an understanding of the type of moral teaching that should be given at the primary school: it involved a secular moral, based on the principles of the Enlightenment, as opposed to the British understanding of a truly religious social gospel committed to the formation of character which was strongly embedded in the evangelic Protestantism. These two conflicting ways of envisaging the human development through education also had consequences at the colonial level. For the Portuguese and French administration *education* was a right that should be guaranteed to each citizen, a right that committed the State to the provision of an educational free, compulsory and secular school system. To the British colonial administration *education* was a privilege to be privately acquired

9   I refer to the concepts of "*bricolage*" and "scaffolding" in the semantic area attributed respectively by Tomaz Tadeu da Silva and Thomas Popkewitz. Cfr. Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2000). Teoria Cultural e Educação. Um vocabulário crítico. Belo Horizonte : Autêntica, pp. 21-22 ; Thomas S. Popkewitz (1998). *Struggling for the Soul. The Politics of Schooling and the Construction of the Teacher*. New York & London: Teachers College / Columbia University, pp. 30-31.

making possible to any group, association or institution to come forward with a particular type of educational offer. In the English tradition education was not a given fact, it was a market for individual and collective advancement closely tied with economic and social development.

Therefore, the assimilation in the Portuguese and French civilizing educational doctrine implied an increase in cultural homogeneity and huge standardization, a fact that called forth centralized mechanisms of diffusion and appropriation of school models and pedagogical theories (with clear implications on system organization, curricula, teacher training, funding and administration). Somehow paradoxically, language issues were pivotal in changing the politics of education since the Portuguese and French colonies were taught in the imperial language downplaying the vernaculars as a medium of teaching. The British, on the contrary, were more concerned with the formation of habits, of skills and of a conduct attuned to the formation of a workforce prepared to accept the concepts of individual and collective progress and modernisation. As long as the masses could master this understanding the language of apprenticeship was secondary for that matter. Due to the difficulties of "governing at a distance" the costs involved in assimilating the Africans to the European metropolitan mores were much higher than in the British colonies where the civilizing task was supervised but had been handed out to the private initiative.

To analyse the field of utilisation of these ideas, concepts and theories it is not the same as to analyse the set of strategies which are implied in the defence of a particular kind of *Education* for the African people. It is not a question of perceiving which meanings associated by each colonial nation to the notion of "direct government" or "indirect", "colonisation" or "nationalisation", (and, the same way: "civilisation", "instruction", "education", "assimilation", "association", "adapted education", "teaching of adaptation". The procedures which support the doctrinaire building which constitutes the school system, in articulation with the attempts to maintain or modify the appropriation of the discourses with the knowledge and the power they carry with themselves, are difficult to separate ones from the others (Foucault, 1977 [1971]). It becomes, therefore, indispensable to identify and organise the reading of facts which compound these discourses: to locate the debates and to analyse the controversies, to identify the themes and arguments; to describe the structure of the intrigue; finally, to perceive the constitution of the "societies of discourses" through ideas, theories and concepts which are used in the colonial government, in a general sense, and their effects upon the government of the colonised subjects, in particular. Nikolas Rose once wrote that the concepts "are more important for what they do than for what they mean" (Rose, 1999: 9). I would like to add, quoting Antonio Nóvoa (1998), that we cannot understand the colonial discourse without being able, «to think about the *other* in time of our own thinking», asking questions about how discursive events about this *other* are produced, and how these statements are related to each other in order to constitute a «discursive practice» (Foucault, 2005 [1969]: 38-39, 68 e 159).

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8

Soviet empire, Childhood, and Education

Imperio soviético, infancia y educación

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Abstract

Children constituted a key element of the Soviet empire-building project, reconfiguring childhoods and refashioning the colonial space itself. Children of different ethnicities across the territories of the Soviet republics were to be united by the Russian language and a sense of Soviet patriotism, reflected in such political slogans as "friendship of all people," "interethnic equalisation," and "internationalism." Education curriculum and activities were utilised to facilitate social and cultural "merging" of all ethnic groups on the basis of the Soviet Russian language and culture. At the same time, the Soviet empire advanced the idea of "unity in diversity," allowing national minorities the right to self-determination and some political autonomy within a socialist context. Drawing on post-colonial theory and critical geography studies, this article looks at how early literacy textbooks were used to shape Soviet childhood by regulating children's minds, bodies, habits, as well as "locating" them in the empire's space and time. The article provides a brief historical context of the Soviet empire-building project, followed by a cross-national analysis of early literacy textbooks published in Russia, Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. Our goal is to highlight the continuities, contradictions, and ruptures in the vision of the Soviet childhood - and the Soviet future more broadly - as it travelled from the empire's centre (Moscow) to its geographically diverse peripheries (Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine).

Key Words: soviet education; Soviet empire; childhood; comparative education

Resumen

Los niños constituyeron un elemento clave del proyecto de construcción del imperio soviético, la reconfiguración de la infancia y la remodelación del espacio colonial en sí. Los niños de diferentes etnias en los territorios de las repúblicas soviéticas debían estar unidos por el idioma ruso y por un sentimiento de patriotismo soviético, manifiesto en lemas políticos como la «amistad de todos», la «igualdad interétnica» y el «internacionalismo». El currículum educativo y las actividades se utilizaron para facilitar la «fusión» social y cultural de todos los grupos étnicos sobre la base del idioma y la cultura rusa soviética. Al mismo tiempo, el imperio soviético promulgó la idea de la «unidad en la diversidad», permitiendo a las minorías nacionales el derecho a la autodeterminación y cierta autonomía política dentro de un contexto socialista. Basándose en la teoría postcolonial y los estudios de geografía crítica, este artículo analiza cómo se usaron los libros de texto de alfabetización temprana para moldear la infancia soviética mediante la regularización de las mentes, los cuerpos y los hábitos de los niños, así como «ubicándolos» en el espacio y el tiempo del imperio. El artículo proporciona un breve contexto histórico del proyecto de construcción del imperio soviético, seguido de un análisis internacional de los libros de texto de alfabetización temprana publicados en Rusia, Armenia, Letonia y Ucrania. Nuestro objetivo es resaltar las continuidades, contradicciones y rupturas en la visión de la infancia soviética —y el futuro soviético de manera más amplia—, viajando desde el centro del Imperio (Moscú) a sus periferias geográficamente diversas (Armenia, Letonia y Ucrania).

Palabras clave: educación soviética; Imperio soviético; infancia; educación comparada

1. Introduction

Children were at the forefront of the Soviet empire-building project. From the 'civilizing missions' in Central Asia in the early 1920s to the forceful annexation of the Baltic republics in the late 1930s, the expansion of the Soviet empire mirrored the logic of other European colonial powers, which commonly justified their colonial pursuits in the name of children - "to ensure a better future for them, to save their souls, [or] to teach their parents how to live their lives" (Cannella & Viruru, 2004, p. 3). In this context, child development was equated with national development - both in economic and political terms - placing children "on the ladder of evolutionary progress towards modernization" (Millei, Silova, & Piattoeva, 2018, p. 232; see also Pomfret, 2016; Burman, 2008). Colonial territories were viewed as 'childlike' and in need of assistance and control, while children functioned as both "an index" of civilization and modernity and "the key arena in which to instil such civilization" (Burman, 1998, p. 77). The association between children and empire-building was thus firmly established as a key element of modernity (and coloniality), reconfiguring childhoods and refashioning the colonial space itself.

While putting childhood at the heart of their colonial pursuits, the Soviet authorities employed somewhat different rhetoric and strategies of empire-building compared to the European colonial powers. One difference was in the approach of conceptualizing childhood. Unlike the Western notions of children as vulnerable, dependent, and weak (see Burman, 2008), the Soviet empire-building strategy relied on the visions of children as "independent, rational and powerful agents of the revolution," explicitly rejecting Western modernity's views of childhood (Kirschenbaum, 2001, p. 5). In fact, Kirschenbaum (2001) argues that the Soviet authorities tended to conflate the distinction between "flesh and blood" children and the "cultural construction" of ideas about childhood, presenting the images of children as "mirrors of reality rather than myths and metaphors" (p. 2). In the Soviet social imagination and education policy-making, children thus appeared as both the "ultimate model citizens of the Soviet state" and the "models for adults," embodying a new social order and actively participating in building the Soviet future (Kelly, 2008, p. 110). While not necessarily liberating children from the adult supervision or state control, the Soviet approach to childhood nevertheless had important implications for education policies, school curriculum, and political socialisation practices, affecting children's schooling and everyday lives.

Another difference between the Soviet and European empires stemmed from the relationships established between the colonial centre and its peripheries. Following the October Revolution in 1917 and the subsequent demise of the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union explicitly declared itself "anti-imperialist" compared to the Western colonial powers (Roberts, 2014). Between the early 1920s and late 1930s,[1] the USSR consolidated its peripheral territories into a federalist system, which was organised (at least in theory) along ethnopolitical units and encompassed fifteen Soviet Socialist Republics, spanning the territory from Central Asia and the Caucasus to the Baltic states. By bringing together people of different cultures, languages, and histories, the Soviet government envisioned that each Soviet republic and its titular (non-Russian) nationalities would have the right

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1   In chronological order, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) incorporated the following republic: Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine in 1922, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in 1924; Tajikistan in 1929; Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan in 1936; the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) in 1939; and Moldova in 1940.

to national self-determination and some political autonomy within "a proper socialist context and in such a way that did not challenge Soviet rule" (see Roberts, 2014, p. 15).[2] In the area of education, this strategy entailed the right for titular (non-Russian) nationalities to maintain their cultural heritage and receive education in the native languages, while simultaneously learning Russian as the language of interethnic communication. Children of different ethnicities across the territories of the Soviet republics were to be united by Russian language and a sense of Soviet patriotism, manifesting in such political slogans as 'friendship of all people,' 'interethnic equalisation,' and 'internationalism.' As Zaslavsky (1997) aptly noted, "for decades Soviet propaganda with its ubiquitous anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist overtones lived off these early attempts to support ethnic minorities" (p. 85).

Despite its strong anti-imperialist rhetoric, the Soviet Union nevertheless functioned as an empire, with Moscow as the central location of governance and policy-making (Zaslavsky, 1997; Martin, 2001; Roberts, 2014). Its imperialistic features became more visible in practice when the socialist principle of "unity in diversity," which guided early nationality policies of the 1920s and 1930s, eventually evolved into privileging the Russian language and Russian speakers in different Soviet republics. In particular, the Soviet nationality policy deliberately shifted towards overt Russification shortly after the World War II, aiming at social and cultural "merging" of all ethnic groups on the basis of the Soviet Russian language and culture. It resulted in the steady decline in the use of national languages, decrease in enrolments in schools with native language education, and the overall linguistic and cultural assimilation of national minorities (Silver 1974; Karklins, 1986). Throughout the history of the USSR, the Soviet empire-building project was thus characterised by a strong tension between ethnocultural identity promotion, on the one hand, and assimilation into the Soviet Russian nationhood, on the other hand, leading to many complex and contradictory outcomes (Gorenburg, 2006; Pavlenko, 2013). In fact, some scholars argue that this unresolved tension enabled the various ethnic groups to maintain their ethnocultural awareness and develop a stronger sense of national consciousness, eventually contributing to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Brubaker, 1996; Barkey & von Hagen, 1997).

This article examines the role of education in the Soviet-empire building project, focusing specifically on the ways the Soviet government used children and the discourses about childhood to simultaneously shape both Soviet and ethnocultural identities. For the purposes of this paper, we define childhood broadly to encompass children's experiences in formal schooling from elementary through high school education,[3] although most of the empirical data is drawn from early literacy textbooks used in elementary schools. More specifically, we explore how textbooks were used to shape Soviet childhood by regulating children's minds, bodies, habits, as well as "locating" them in the empire's

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2   In the education sphere, this meant that most education policy decisions were made in Moscow and then diffused through the national Ministries of Education. In each Soviet republic, Ministries of Education were therefore responsible for the implementation of centrally articulated policies, while at the same time maintaining some autonomy to shape their national curriculum within the standardised boundaries.

3   The Soviet educational system was organised into three levels. Elementary schools (*nachalnoye obrazovanie*) encompassed 4 and later 3 classes, secondary schools encompassed 7 and later 8 classes and were called "incomplete secondary education" (*nepolnoye sredneye obrazavaniye*). This level was compulsory for all children until 1981. Since 1981, "complete secondary education" level (*polnoye sredneye obrazaniye*) became compulsory. This level encompassed 10 and, in some republics (e.g., titular schools in the Baltic repuvlics), 11 years. Children began elementary education at the age of eight.

space and time. By focusing on early literacy textbooks, the present article examines how the vision of the Soviet childhood, which was centrally articulated in Moscow, became translated - both literally and figuratively - onto the pages of early literacy textbooks published in the Soviet republics of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. In what follows, we provide a brief historical context of the Soviet empire-building project, outline our theoretical and methodological approach that draws on post-colonial studies and critical discourse analysis, and then present a cross-national analysis of early literacy textbooks published in Russia, Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. Our goal is to highlight the continuities, contradictions, and ruptures in the vision of the Soviet childhood - and the Soviet future more broadly - as it travelled from the empire's centre (Moscow) to its geographically diverse peripheries (Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine).[4]

2. Building the Soviet empire: Historical Background

The rise and fall of the Soviet empire is generally discussed in relation to the "national question," that is the Soviet nationality regime, which attempted to "institutionalize the existence of multiple nations and nationalities as fundamental constituents of the state and its citizenry" (Brubaker, 1996, p. 23). The formation of the USSR was premised on the vision of granting national self-determination to different ethnolinguistic groups, which were oppressed under the former Russian empire, supporting the development of national languages and cultures while at the same time developing a broader sense of belonging to the Soviet empire. In 1923, the Russian Communist Party launched the policy of *korenizatsiia* (indigenisation or nativisation), aimed to promote a harmony between national and linguistic identity through establishing ethnoterritorial autonomies to promote national cultures, languages, and cadres. This policy demarcated peoples by their (perceived) discrete ethnic and linguistic characteristics, and through ideological and real administrative and institutional processes alike, "sequestered these peoples into their own physical spaces—territories drawn on maps, ostensibly representing homogeneous ethnorepublics" (Silova, Mead, & Palandijan, 2012, p. 105).[5] As Smith, Law, Wilson, Bohr, and Allworth (1998) explain, the institutionalisation of ethnorepublics made nationality divisions "an integral part and reference point of native and public life and an organisational basis for reinforcing a new sense of local national identities" (p. 6).

Deriving from the stem *koren-* ("root," meaning "rooting") and commonly used in the phase *korennoi narod* (indigenous people), the word *korenizatsiia* reflected decolonizing rhetoric of the Bolshevik government and its support for a multinational state. *Korenizatsiia* promoted the distinctive national identities among different groups through "the formation of national territories staffed by national elites using their own national languages," as well as through "the promotion of symbolic markers of national identity: national folklore, museums, dress, food, costumes, opera, poets, progressive

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4 Given the space limitations, this paper will only focus on the Soviet Union and will discuss neither the Soviet influence on other eastern bloc countries in Eastern/Central Europe or Asia nor the Cold War dynamics and its influence on Soviet education.

5 Interestingly, the Soviet practice of fixing ethnolinguistic groups, whether they really represented a singular group or not, to particular physical and institutional/administrative divisions created nations where there were not as was the case with the Central Asian states (Brubaker, 1996; Suny, 1995; see also Silova *et al.*, 2012).

historical events, and classic literary works" (Martin, 2001, p. 74). In this context, native languages were seen as "a means of social discipline, as a social unifier of nations, and as a necessary and most important condition of successful economic and cultural development" (Davydov as quoted in Slezkine, 1994, p. 430). The use of native languages also helped the Soviet government to quickly spread the "word of socialism," demonstrate its anti-imperialist vision in practice, and therefore gain trust in the "oppressed proletarians" across its culturally and linguistically diverse territory (Slezkine, 1994). In short, *korenizatsiia* made Soviet power "seem indigenous rather than an external Russian imperial imposition" (Martin, 2001, p. 74).

Implemented as a part of the Soviet indigenisation *(korenizatsiia)* policy in the 1920s and 1930s, the support of indigenous languages was accompanied by a rapid spread of mass education across the territory belonging to the Soviet Union. By the middle of the 1930s, native language schools were operating in all regions of the Soviet Union, and in 1934 textbooks were being printed in 104 languages (Sovetkin, 1958, p. 11; see also Silova, 2006). As a result of the Soviet "cultural revolution," the number of children attending schools rapidly increased, especially in the republics of Central Asia where formal schooling was not available. During the first five years of Soviet rule, the number of children enrolled in schools increased 15 fold in Turkmen SSR, 18 fold in Kyrgyz SSR, 39 fold in Uzbek SSR, 57 fold in Kazakh SSR, and 225 fold in Tajik SSR (Bogdanov, 1954, p. 10). By the early 1950s, school enrolment reached 57 million people compared to only 8.1 million in pre-revolutionary Russia (Bogdanov, 1954, p. 3). At the same time, this comprehensive system of ethnic stratification served as an effective mechanism for the Soviet government to maintain social stability and control in a very complex multiethnic society (Brubaker, 1994; Zaslavsky, 1997; Silova, 2006). As Brubaker (1994) explained, it legitimised national diversity "in form," but drained it in its content. The ultimate goal was to replace the national content with socialist ideology as a unifying basis for all of the national diversity.

By the 1950s, the Soviet indigenisation *(korenizatsiia)* policy shifted towards the Russification policy, which aimed at "social and cultural unification" of all ethnic groups on the basis of the Soviet Russian culture" (Khazanov, 1993, p. 183). Implemented under the Soviet slogan of "merging the nations," the Russification policy resulted in a drastic decrease in the number of national units and the promotion of Russians as a nationality in their own right (Slezkine, 1994). In the education sphere, the Russification policy led to a rapid decline of the number of non-Russian languages of instruction in schools, reaching 45 languages in the 1970s and 35 languages in the 1980s - just over half the number of the languages offered by Soviet schools in the early 1930s (Anderson & Silver, 1984). Meanwhile, a continuous influx of Russian settlers into the territories of Soviet republics necessitated the establishment of Russian language schools, which existed in parallel to the schools for titular nationalities, providing autonomy and certain privileges for Russian-speaking populations living outside of Russia, on the one hand, and establishing power structures to control titular nationalities, on the other.

The impact of Russification policies differed across the Soviet republics. In particular, the percentage of students studying in native languages fell to 52 % in Latvia and 47 % in Ukraine by 1989, while the percentage of students studying in the Russian language increased to approximately 50 % in each republic respectively (see Table 1). By contrast, Russification policies in Armenia were less rigid, with the percentage of students studying in the Armenian language declining to 80 % by 1989 and the percentage of students studying in Russian increasing to 15 % only (see Table 1).

Such an uneven implementation of Russification policies across the Soviet republics could be explained by a variety of reasons, including the inadequacies of the Soviet bureau-cratic machine, "the scarcity of competent officials, the dearth of qualified teachers, and insufficient funding, in particular for schooling," as well as other political and geographical factors that compelled the Soviet government to enforce the Russification policies with various degrees of intensity (Dowler, 2001 and Weeks, 2006 as cited in Pavlenko, 2013, p. 656).

Table 1
Student distribution by language of instruction in secondary schools (1950s-1980s)

Republics/ Successor states	1955-1956	1980-1981	1988-1989	1990-1991
Armenia				
Titular language	91.0 %	79.8 %	80.5 %	86.9 %
Russian	9.0 %	11.8 %	15.1 %	
Minority language		8.4 %	4.4 %	
Latvia				
Titular language	67.0 %	55.9 %	52.4 %	
Russian	33.0 %	44.1 %	47.6 %	
Minority language				
Ukraine				
Titular language	72.8 %	54.6 %	47.5 %	47.9 %
Russian	26.3 %	44.5 %	51.8 %	
Minority language	0.9 %	0.9 %	0.7 %	

Source. Adapted from Pavlenko (2013), p. 660-661.

Although the official interpretation of the Russification policy did not completely abandon the Leninist principle of unity through diversity, it was characterised by a shifting emphasis on cultivating a common Soviet identity, which would encompass - and eventually assimilate - children of different nationalities under the slogans of "friendship of all people," "interethnic equalisation," and "internationalism" (Silova, 2006, p. 32). The development of a common Soviet identity primarily occurred through political socialisation of children, beginning as early as preschool activities and continuing throughout secondary school and higher education. It ranged from official curricula and school uniforms to the participation in political organisations. For example, Soviet children were encouraged to engage in various political organisations that ensured their socialist upbringing and a sense of belonging to a single organisation. At the elementary school level (grades 1-3), children across all Soviet republics were sworn into *oktiyabri-yata* or 'little Octobrists'; at the primary school level (grades 4-8), they became *pioneri* or 'Young Pioneers'; and at the high school level (grades 9-10), they could finally become *komsomoltsy* or Komsomol members. Children participated in these organisations in mass numbers. For example, Moos (1967) notes that about 23 million university students and professionals served in the "Komsomol" rank, about 23 million school children served as "Young Pioneers" and 15 million children were "Young Octobrists" in 1967 alone (p. 80-81).

The main purpose of these children and youth organisations was "to develop social consciousness, loyalty to the Soviet regime, and the virtues of initiative, activism, discipline, and cooperation" (Matossian, 1968, p. 76). By becoming a part of these youth organisations, children received symbolic accessories such as the pin (for little Octobrists and Komsomol members) or the red scarf (for Pioneers) and they were expected to model behaviours of a good student and future role model citizen (Silova, 2006; Kirschenbaum, 2001, Matossian, 1968). Rewards and recognition for participation in these organisations were incentivised by the promise of greater likelihood of higher education admission, better career opportunities, as well as everyday rewards. As DeWitt (1955) describes, "After all, few pupils can resist the temptations of wearing the red scarf of a Pioneer if it means 2 weeks of summer camp free, admission to clubs where all sorts of gadgets can be observed and made, and admission to puppet shows and movies at half price" (p. 42). Over time, such large-scale participation of children and youth in these political organisations and activities was expected to homogenise children's behaviours, actions, and appearances, ultimately resulting in the formation of an ideal Soviet citizen.

In addition to political socialisation of children, the Soviet government also attempted to socialise children into a common identity through temporal and spatial means. Temporally, the Soviet curriculum blurred the link between "child" and "adult," as well as "play" and "work," by introducing labour or labour-like activities into the curriculum to encourage children's "play" that mimicked the world of adult's work (Kirschenbaum, 2002, pp. 122-123). Workshops and plots of land were attached to many schools and children often went on excursions to observe the operation of nearby factories, power plants, and mines (Matossian, 1968). While emphasising the social significance of both mental and physical labour, the Soviet curriculum thus positioned children as active participants in the building of the Soviet futures. Over the same period, children's lives (especially while attending school) were perfectly timed through the "'seriation' of successive activities" in each moment of time (Foucault, 1977, p. 160). This "discipline of the minute" was clearly reflected in the Soviet schooling practices that required all schools of a particular type (ranging from elementary schools to universities) and of a particular grade level "to teach the same lessons from the same books with the same methods at the same time" (Hamot, 1996 quoted in Silova, 2006, p. 40). The school timetable looked practically identical across the Soviet republics, further synchronising children's schooling experiences. Such an orchestrated administration of school time - encompassing both education and afterschool activities - turned Soviet schools into "the ultimate learning machines for supervising, controlling, and hierarchizing of a Soviet child" (Silova, 2006, p. 41).

Finally, Soviet children were also socialised in terms of space and place. The Soviet empire-building project prioritised the construction of common (often physically identical) children's places—camps, playgrounds, schools, libraries, and kindergartens—aiming to create a sense of common identity through the everyday occupation of these particular places (de la Fe, 2013; Crowley & Reid, 2002). Representing the modernisation efforts of the Soviet state and linking childhood directly to the socialist concepts of "progress," "enlightenment," and "inclusion," these common spaces helped establish an imagined community of Soviet children "no matter where in the empire a child resided" (de la Fe, 2013, p. 35). Importantly, de la Fe (2013) notes that the Soviet discourses of national self-determination and childhood spaces allowed "children in non-Russian regions to understand their place within their respective territorial boundaries which

was both culturally distinctive and socially common with Soviet spaces, evoking feelings of belonging" to both their national territory and the larger multinational space of USSR (p. 40). Combined, children's everyday physical spaces (such as school buildings) and broader geographical landscapes (both natural and cultural landscapes) served as constituent facets of the old and powerful myth of the Soviet *homeland*. Bonding sociocultural identities to specific (national) spaces, the myth of the Soviet homeland thus socialised children sociospatially as a part of the Soviet nation-building project (Silova *et al.*, 2012).

Taken together, these three-prong socialisation strategies – encompassing political, temporal and spatial socialisation – placed children at the centre of the Soviet empire-building project, reconfiguring Soviet childhood and refashioning the Soviet empire itself. Yet, as the present article will illustrate, these different socialisation strategies were never static or uniform. Although articulated centrally in Moscow, these strategies were translated by education policymakers into different education patterns across the Soviet republics and they were certainly experienced by individuals in multiple and unpredictable ways (see Silova, Piattoeva, & Millei, 2018).

3. Exploring Childhood Socialisation Strategies Through Textbook Analysis

To explore the social construction of Soviet childhood and nation(hood) – two distinct but closely interrelated processes in the Soviet empire-building project – this article draws on the analysis of early literacy textbooks as an example of the *official* interpretation of the Soviet nationality policies in school texts. As Newman and Paasi (1998) explain, educational narratives found in school texts (including textbooks, atlases, poems, and posters) provide an official "reading" of social norms, values, and symbols attached to them, forming a political space that extends state policies (and politics) into the seemingly apolitical aspects of children's everyday lives (Kallio & Häkli, 2011; see also Silova, Mead, Mun, & Palandjian, 2014). While recognizing that children may read and interpret these textbooks in different ways, it is nevertheless important to understand how the Soviet government attempted to translate its vision of the Soviet future for a direct consumption by school children. Even more interesting is the exploration of the ways in which this vision became translated - both literally and figuratively - onto the pages of early literacy textbooks published in different languages on the territories of the Soviet republics.

While the examination of the nation and national identity in school textbooks has generally tended to focus on the history or social studies textbooks (see, e.g., Janmaat, 2005; Schissler & Soysal, 2005; Michaels & Stevick, 2009), where children's political socialisation is more explicit, this study expands the focus to early literacy textbooks. Building on our previous research on post-socialist childhoods, we further develop the concept of "*literacies of childhood*" – "a set of discursive constructions that define what it means to be a child, creating normative boundaries of how children conceive the realm of possible actions for themselves and others" (Mead & Silova, 2013, p. 199). *Literacies of childhood* are not necessarily about the traditional notions of literacy described as the ability to read, write, and communicate. They are, first and foremost, about learning the mundane and everyday ways through which children are expected to govern themselves and each other.

For the purposes of these paper, these literacies encompass three distinct ways of childhood socialisation, including political, temporal, and spatial socialisation. First, political socialisation of childhood focuses on texts and images that directly discuss Soviet political norms, values, and behaviours in relation to children and children's lives, simultaneously socialising them into numerous societal institutions and roles. Second, temporal socialisation examines how the construction of the child (and empire) is premised upon particular epistemologies of time and its progression, paying particular attention to how children's lives intertwine with adult worlds on the pages of the Soviet early literacy textbooks (Mead & Silova, 2013). Third, sociospatial socialisation examines how textbooks shape representations of children's space by infusing the national space – whether understood as the country's borders, its geographic landscapes, or articulations of homeland – with certain cultural, social, and national meanings (Mead & Silova, 2013; see also Newman & Paasi, 1998).[6]

4. Literacies of Soviet Childhood: Visions of Empire in the National Peripheries

In the following analysis we trace how discursive constructions of childhood and empire were articulated centrally in Moscow and then translated into the textbooks published in Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. We analyse each of the three types of literacies of Soviet childhood, including political, temporal, and spatial socialisation of children.

4.1. Political Socialisation

As children begin learning the alphabet, they also learn to be political subjects. School children across the Soviet Union – from the Baltics to the Caucasus – were politically socialised as early as they began learning to read and write. Soviet early literacy textbooks carried various messages about what it meant to be a Soviet child, including political norms, values, and behaviours children were supposed to embody. These textbooks also socialised children in various societal institutions and roles, aiming to construct an ideal Soviet citizen. Perhaps one of the most visible signs of political socialisation reflected in early literacy textbooks was through children's participation in school-based political organisations such as Little Octobrists, Pioneers, and Komsomol members. Proudly wearing their red star pins with the image of Lenin as a child (a pin worn by all children admitted into the ranks), Little Octobrists appear in images that portray them studying at school, helping elders, participating in parades, or standing in front of Lenin's portraits or statues. The texts accompanying these pictures remind children about the honour and responsibility of becoming Little Octobrists. For example, a 1990 Russian textbook includes an image of an induction ceremony into the organisation of Little Octobrists and says: "On the day of Great October [Revolution] we became Little Octobrists. But before that we were *only* students" (p. 89, emphasis added). Joining the ranks of the children's political organisation is equated with becoming a fully capable (political) member of the society. A 1986 Ukrainian textbook further instructs children about their responsibilities as Little Octobrists to "protect the Soviet homeland" as Lenin directed them. It further says: "Learn to live like Lenin, and to love the great peoples like Lenin" (p. 103). In all textbooks, children appear to receive the honour of becoming Little Octobrists with joy and excitement, eagerly sharing the news with their friends and families.

6   See Appendix for more information on data sources and our textbook sample for each country.

Although the young readers of early literacy textbooks were only eligible to join the ranks of Little Octobrists (based on their age), they learned about the next steps of moving up the ladder of children's participation in political life. For example, textbooks contained many images of Pioneers, the next level of youth organisation for children in grades 4-8, which was distinguished by wearing a red scarf. The appearance of the induction ceremony into the Pioneer organisation meant to prepare children to strive for membership to the next level so they too could receive the honour and recognition symbolised through the red scarf. The honour of wearing the red scarf came with the responsibility and expectation that a Pioneer must study well and always exhibit exemplary behaviour. As Pioneers, children were expected to continue carrying Lenin's vision forward. For example, a 1975 Latvian textbook shows an imagine of Young Pioneers putting flowers in front of Lenin's statue in the centre of Riga and feeling proud that "Lenin is always alive in their hearts," teaching them to always strive for knowledge so that they can become "real Leninists" (p. 94). In a 1984 Armenian textbook, a story describes Samvel arriving home and telling his grandmother with great excitement that he had become a Pioneer. In response, his grandmother suggests that he must work harder from this point forward, to always be a disciplined and hardworking student (p. 81). The story suggests that it is not enough to earn this recognition and that children must continue to study hard and do good deeds for their communities.

References to Lenin as a role model appear throughout all Soviet textbooks. Pictures of Lenin as a child accompany many texts, reminding young readers that they must be hardworking and studious – just like Lenin. Textbooks remind children that they are expected to follow Lenin's famous command – "Learn, learn, learn!" – while respecting every task they do both at school or at home. For example, the 1984 Armenian textbook tells a story of Lenin as a great teacher who taught children to love their homeland and be respectful. Entitled "Who is [he] looking at?", the story is about a framed picture of Lenin,[7] which is hanging on the classroom wall. In this story, and many other similar stories in textbooks published across the Soviet republics, children are constantly reminded that they are expected to be diligent, disciplined, and erudite learners and that they are always watched:

> On the classroom wall there is a picture of Lenin *babi* (Lenin grandfather). Everyday with nice glances he looks at the students as if saying, 'Study well, you will become people for your fatherland."
> One day the children got into a big argument, "Lenin grandfather is looking at us," said Arpik and Soorik seated at the left side.
> "No, he is looking at us," said Shoghik and Yervant seated at the right side.
> "Vay, maybe you can't see, but he is directly looking at us," insisted those seated in the middle row. Comrade Tsoghik entered the room. Knowing that the fight was about to start he said, "You are fighting for no reason, children. Lenin grandfather is looking at all of us." (p. 83)

What is striking is that the texts and images of Little Octobrists and Pioneers across the different Soviet republics appear the same, with children frequently standing against

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7   As seen in the image, the portrait of Lenin is "decorated" with devil ears' by a child to whom the *aybenaran* belonged. It is an important reminder of children's everyday reactions and resistances to official political socialisation efforts. Although not a part of this study, it is critical to examine how children experienced political socialisation during their socialist childhoods. See more on this in Silova, Piattoeva, and Millei (2018).

identical backdrops of red flags or portraits of Lenin or Marx, as well as wearing identical school uniforms, red star pins, and red scarves. The uniformed look was coupled with the expected standard of uniformed behaviour: at school, children were depicted to be attentive and engaged in class instruction; they were taught to study well and have good handwriting skills; and they were expected to always look clean and tidy. Once dressed in school uniform, children were also expected to act and respond in homogenous ways, which were cultivated both at school and home. When children arrived home from school, for example, they were expected to help their parents with housework or their siblings with school work. Overall, children's participation in political youth organisations appeared to instil not only particular values and norms of behaviour, but also a sense of belonging to a larger community that united children across the different Soviet republics through common experiences and expectations.

In addition to these messages, children also encountered other role models and learned values associated with their national homelands. For example, textbooks published in Russia feature texts about the famous Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin and occasionally include excerpts from Russian fairy-tales, which teach children about the importance of caring for each other, working hard, and being humble. All of the textbooks include excerpts from Russian fairy-tales and the Ukrainian textbooks also transfer Russian texts on Pushkin. However, Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian textbooks also include texts and images capturing their national poets and heroes, as well as national folklore – embedding national sentiments and thus simultaneously initiating children into national patriotic awareness – which are presented alongside texts transmitting Soviet ideology. These nationally-oriented texts and images produce disruptions, opening spaces for developing particular national identities alongside the common Soviet identity among children.

Set of Images 1. Political socialisation through children and youth organisation
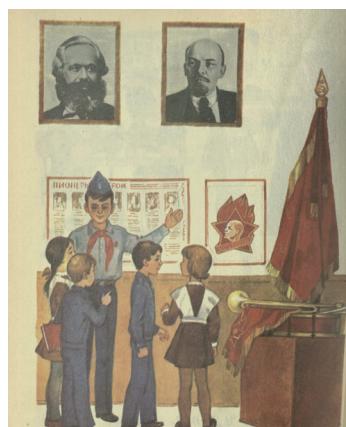
Russia, 1990, p. 89   Russia, 1990, p. 42   Armenia, 1984, p. 46

Песня о Ленине.

Светит солнце ясное
в небе голубом.
О великом Ленине
песню мы поём.
Он для счастья нашего
жизни не жалел,
он беречь Советскую
Родину велел.

Pie Ļeņina pieminekļa.

Pašā Rīgas vidū
Piemineklis stalts —
Granīts brūni sarkans,
Ļeņins bronzā kalts.

Skolas gaitas sākot,
Mēs turp aizgājām,
Piemineklla priekšā
Ziedus nolikām.

Ko gan tobrīd juta
Klases kolektīvs? —
Vienmēr mūsu sirdīs
Lielais Ļeņins dzīvs.
P. Sils.

LENINS

Ukraine, 1986, p. 103   Latvia, 1984, p. 94   Armenia, 1984, pp. 82-83

4.2. Temporal socialisation

Most early literacy textbooks published in the USSR open with strikingly similar pages, announcing the beginning of the children's learning journey (Mead & Silova, 2013). The first page of almost every book features either an image of a young schoolboy Lenin or a portrait of adult Lenin, confidently staring ahead and reminding children about the importance of learning. For example, a Ukrainian textbook (1990) features an image of a young Lenin, holding his very own literacy primer, and the accompanying text saying: "Bukvar - the beginning of all beginnings" (pp. 2-3). While children are clearly expected to identify with Lenin as a young learner, the textbook also conveys an important message about the "beginnings" – "not only of the beginning of a child's schooling or literacy, but also indicating a much more profound process, concerning the whole life of the child" (Mead & Silova, 2013, p. 205). So what kind of "beginning" do these early literacy textbooks envision for the Soviet child?

First and foremost, the textbooks introduce a Soviet construction of a *linear* progression of time, which is derived from a larger cultural thesis ordering Marxist-Leninist thought, that is, the modernity narrative of progress reflecting a steady march to a more educated, politically rational, socially peaceful, and technologically advanced world (Mead & Silova, 2013). In early literacy textbooks, this linear progression of time is clearly visible in children's advancement from "illiteracy" to "literacy," from "childhood" to "adulthood" - always moving forward and towards a strictly predetermined destination (Mead & Silova, 2013). While the first pages of the books signal the beginning of literacy and the child's holistic development toward a Soviet subjectivity, the last pages of the textbooks announce the definite completion of this particular "literacy" mission, reaffirming children's independence and their expected contributions to building a Soviet future. For example, 1980 Russian textbook includes a poem titled "Chitalochka" (Little reader), which suggests that with gaining literacy, the readers also gained the freedom from the world of childhood dependency on adults: "How well you can read! No need to bother mama, no need to go to grandma: "Read, please, read!" ... No need to call out, no need to wait, it's possible to simply take and read!" (p.

126). The child is thus "liberated – literate – with access to knowledge that can forever be accrued" (Mead & Silova, 2013, p. 212).

The textbooks further explain that literacy opens the whole world to children. For example, a 1990 Russian textbook tells children that they will "find the courage in their favourite books to see all of the USSR and all of the world from the heights [of literacy]" (p. 125). The same textbook also instructs children that literacy (and education more generally) will help them become "hard-working citizens of [their] great homeland – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (p. 1). The child's progression from "illiteracy" to "literacy" thus encompasses also political and social literacy, placing children at the centre of Soviet campaigns of modernisation, urbanisation, and labour mobilisation. The 1973 Armenian *aybenaran,* for example, illustrates how children acquire literacy by helping each other climb on top of the letter blocks, envisioning – as they reach the top – their futures as astronauts, artists, or writers who would contribute to the development of their country (see image set 2). Textbooks also emphasize that children must love (all) books, because they can guide children through the world. As the 1984 Armenian *aybenaran* says, "for you it [the book] transforms a lighted path, it is your guide" (p. 92).

In fact, early literacy textbooks consistently equate learning to read with becoming productive citizens of the USSR, blurring the line between the "play" and "work," between "child" and "adult." Kirschenbaum (2001) notes that such purposeful blurring of childhood and adulthood reflects Soviet government's efforts to "put children's interests first" in the name of the Soviet future, insisting that the life of the child should revolve around "work rather than play" (p. 120). One of the ways to achieve this was by redefining what was essentially labour or labour-like activities as something inherently "interesting" to kids. In this context, Soviet children's "play" could mimic the world of adult's work (as with children's "building blocks") or *be* labour, on a micro-scale, from performing various chores around school and home to gathering berries to sewing doll's clothing (Kirschenbaum, 2001, pp. 122-123; see also Mead & Silova, 2013). These labour-like or actual labour activities are clearly represented in textbooks, portraying children actively involved in cleaning their classrooms and school yards, helping adults to harvest potatoes, or directing traffic through pretend play. In their earlier study on literacy primers in Latvia and Ukraine, Mead and Silova (2013) similarly note the images of children engaged in such "socially useful labour" as harvesting potatoes, raking hay fields, planting trees, picking mushrooms, fixing bicycles, mending clothes, and cleaning schoolyards (p. 213). In these images, children appear – both literally and figuratively – as "miniature adults, moving towards 'correct' understandings and habits" as they participate in the construction of the Soviet future (Kirschenbaum, 2001, p. 117). As Mead and Silova (2013) note, children are placed in "a temporal framework of dynamic forward progression" – by learning to read, they gain independence; through "play," they prepare for the activities and subjectivities of their adult lives; and through observing or participating in real labour, they bear witness to the Soviet Union's rapid progress (p. 214).

Yet, the linear progression of time – so central to the Soviet empire-building project – is sometimes unexpectedly disrupted through subtle references to pre-modern cyclical time. For example, all textbooks capture the changes of the nature's seasons throughout the year. While early portions of the books often feature imagery of the fall harvest, the middle of the books include texts of snowy landscapes and winter holidays, followed by the images of spring with birds returning and rain bringing blossoms. The books usually end with the images of children stepping outside of schools into the summer landscapes,

playing in the fields, taking walks in forests, climbing mountains, or enjoying summer vacation by the seaside. Interestingly, in many Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian textbooks (but not so much in Russian ones), nature becomes animated, with the smiling sun greeting children as they step outside the school buildings. These flashbacks of seemingly pre-modern time, revealing nature-centred spiritualties and cyclical time, appear in Soviet textbooks in subtle ways, surprisingly co-existing with the modern conceptions of linear time (see Silova, forthcoming).

*Set of Images 2*. Temporal socialisation

Ukraine, 1990, pp. 10-11

Ukraine, 1986, p. 50

Armenia, 1973, inside cover (front)
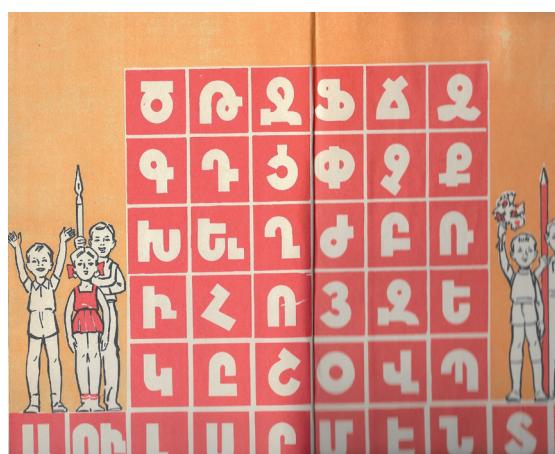

Armenia, 1973, inside cover (back)
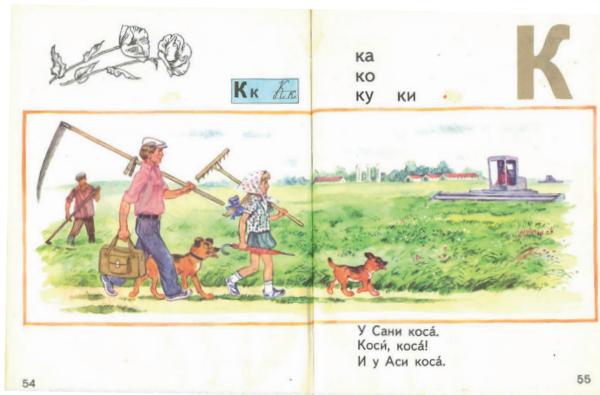
Russia, 1987, pp. 54-55
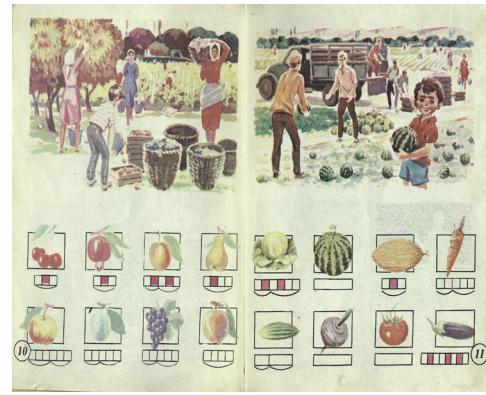
Armenia, 1984, pp. 10-11
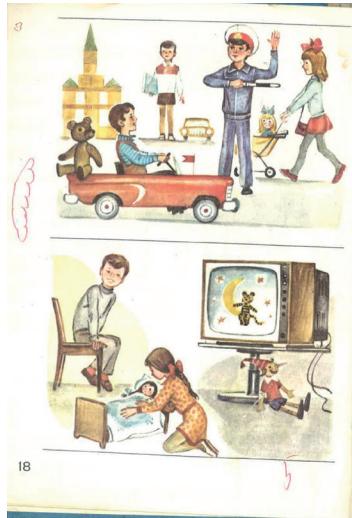
Russia, 1987, p. 16

Latvia, 1984, p. 20
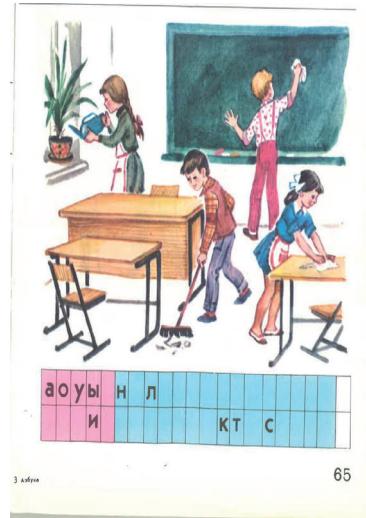
Russia, 1987, p. 65

4.3. Sociospatial socialisation

Sociospatial socialisation of children constituted one of the central domains of the Soviet empire-building project, aiming to link national and cultural identities to specific geographies of Soviet republics, while at the same time developing a sense of belonging to the entire USSR. In this context, educational narratives and images of space inhabited by children reveal shifting possibilities of nationality and nationhood, constructing powerful myths of their homeland(s). Perhaps one of the most frequently used images – appearing in some variations across different editions of the textbooks published in Moscow – effectively captures the Soviet vision of "unity in diversity" by portraying children of different nationalities (usually wearing traditional national costumes) standing in front of the USSR map or waving red flags as they marvel the vast territory of their new homeland that stretches from the borders of Europe to Asia (see set of Images 3). The texts accompanying these images describe the USSR as a homeland – "singular creation of the peoples' [plural] will" (1990, pp. 127) or "as the union of unbreakable Soviet Republics" (1986, p. 190) – thus negating the more particularistic national(ist) meaning of the word. Many textbooks include excerpts from the Soviet anthem to further reinforce the idea of

"unity in diversity" expressed through colourful images:

> "Unbreakable union of free republics united forever by Great Rus' [Velikaya Rus'].
> Long live the singular creation of the peoples' [narodov] will,
> the mighty Soviet Union!
> Be glorious, our free Fatherland [Otechestvo],
> the reliable stronghold of friendly [druzhby] peoples!
> The party of Lenin -- the power of our people leading us to the triumph
> [torzhestvy] of communism!" (1986, Moscow, pp. 190-191)

More interesting, however, is the reference to a *Great Rus,* which carries pre-Soviet Russian imperial connotations. In a 1986 book produced by Moscow's main educational publisher *Prosveshcheniye* (pp. 190-191), and in 1986 and 1990 textbooks published in Kyiv (pp. 104-105; pp. 126-127), three highly similar versions of the same text appear, suggesting a direct transfer of ideas from Moscow to Kyiv. While the text appears to be quite aligned with traditional Soviet discourses celebrating the Soviet Union as a polity for and of the "friendly/united peoples" [druzhby narodov], a reference to a *Great Rus* competes with the idealised narrative of the Soviet Union as a confederation of equal peoples. The deliberate use of the noun "Rus'" [Русь] rather than "Russia" [Россия] is highly evocative. The descriptor of a medieval Eastern Slavic proto-people and polity (the Kievan Rus) that would eventually evolve into the "Great Russia" empire, Rus' is a term that has deeply imperial pre-Soviet connotations, referencing the glorious origin points of the later Russian empire and its historiographical construction that likewise incorporated Belarusian and Ukrainian national identities as the "White Russians" and "Little Russians" in particular. In a similar vein, both Ukrainian textbooks (1986, 1990) include texts and colourful pictures of Moscow's Red Square with a title "Moscow – the main city of our homeland" (p. 54), emphasising the centrality of Russian language and culture in the Soviet nation-building project. Inclusion of such references in the literacy primers of Russia and Ukraine undoubtedly cuts against the (idyllic) grain of Soviet internationalism, suggesting the particular endurance of pre-Soviet Russian national(ist) discourses and the maintenance of its particular privileged position in the supposed non-hierarchy of Soviet peoples.

Meanwhile, the pictures and texts discussed above clearly capture the inherent tension in Soviet discourse on nations – one paradoxically reifying the common Soviet nationhood and simultaneously fuelling national identities constructs in the hopes of subsuming them. Inevitably, this tension points to the ability of language to be repurposed and imbued with new or different cultural or political meanings. This is exactly what we see on the pages of textbooks published in Ukraine, Latvia, and Armenia. While Ukrainian textbooks often directly "translate" ideas of Soviet nationhood from Russian to Ukrainian texts, Latvian and Armenian textbooks take more liberty in modifying the message. In particular, Latvian textbooks still contain images of multinational peoples (e.g., kids wearing traditional costumes and dancing together), yet the map of the USSR disappears. Children's association with the USSR is further blurred in the accompanying text, which definitively describes Latvia as their *only* homeland:

> "The land where a person is born is called homeland. No matter where one lives, he remembers his homeland just as he remembers his mother. There is only one mother and motherland [homeland]. We have been born in Latvia. It is a part of Soviet Union. The brotherhood of all Soviet children calls the Soviet Union its Homeland." (Latvia, 1984, p. 100)

The text clearly states that Latvian children have only one homeland – a place where they were born (Latvia) – even though it is officially a part of the Soviet Union. Other texts about homeland lose their association with the Soviet Union altogether. For example, a textbook published in 1984 includes a text about homeland, which is accompanied by a picture of the Latvian map only, with a glaring omission of the USSR in either visual or textual representations. Instead, the text highlights the beauty of the Latvian landscapes, including its "beautiful hills," "white birches," "blue lakes," "vast meadows," and "the Baltic sea washing the shores of the Latvian land (p. 91). A similar rhetorical device is also used in Ukrainian and Armenian textbooks, which offer detailed descriptions of their *national* landscapes, deliberately avoiding any mention of the USSR. For example, the 1990 Ukrainian textbook includes a poem by Taras Shevchenko, "a great Ukrainian poet" who describes a beautiful [Ukrainian] nature, including its "blue steppes," "gentle breezes," and "green willows" (p. 119). Another poem from the 1986 Ukrainian textbook describes a journey of a young crane – a symbol of Ukraine – migrating back north for the summer. After its journey over "hundred lands," the crane is asked, "What is the best land of all?" The crane answers: "Nothing is better than the native land!" Without directly referencing Ukraine, the poem is remarkable for its powerful association of Ukraine as homeland, drawing on the symbolic imagery of a young crane's longing for *his* Ukraine, *his* "land."

Armenian textbooks are perhaps even more radical in disassociating their descriptions of homeland from the USSR. References to the USSR are very rare and usually mentioned only in passing as, for example, a child planning a trip to Moscow and delivering a friend's letter to her father. Instead, a 1984 textbook describes Yerevan, the capital of Armenia as "one of the world's oldest cities with beautiful buildings, cool forests, and cold water fountains" (p. 64). Although the picture accompanying the text features a Soviet red flag flying over the government building in the Republic Square, the red flag is the only association with the USSR. The children in the same story talk about Leninakan, the second largest city in Armenia named after Lenin, which they describe as "an ancient city" (p. 64), pointing to Armenian national roots and ethnic claim to their national space that long precedes Armenia's incorporation into the USSR. Similar to Latvian and Ukrainian texts, Armenian early literacy textbooks include many texts and images linking "homeland" with the notion of ancestry – a line going back through generations – describing how Armenians have been "born in or to" a homeland that has existed seemingly forever. Typically, the natural beauty and bounty of the Armenian homeland is portrayed through the images of grapes, wine, or Mount Ararat. For example, all the Armenian *aybenarans* included in this study incorporate numerous images of grapevines, either in detailed narratives about the importance of wine or simply used as ornaments on the textbook pages. It is through the interaction with natural landscapes – for example, grapes and wine of Armenia, wheat fields and willows of Ukraine, or blue lakes and forests of Latvia – that the children in different Soviet republics are invited to find a symbolic connection to their ancestors, despite the efforts of the Soviet government to forge a common Soviet identity.

Set of Images 3. Sociospatial socialisation

Russia, 1990, p. 3; caption reads: "Our homeland - USSR"

Russia, 1990, p. 127; the text is the Soviet anthem

Russia, 1986, p. 190-191; the text is the Soviet anthem

Ukraine, 1983, pp. 104-105; caption reads: "To live is to serve our homeland. There is no more beautiful homeland than ours."

Latvia, 1984, p. 100, p. 91

5. Conclusion

Historically, empires were built upon colonial institutional foundations and cultural practices, which were used to maintain and reinforce the status quo. Compared to Western models of colonisation, the Soviet empire-building project was distinct in its rhetorical emphasis on "anti-imperialist" goals, which were reflected in the Soviet policies of granting national minorities the right to national self-determination and some political autonomy within a context of building a common Soviet identity. At the same time, however, the Soviet government drew inspiration from Western colonial projects, using ethnography and statistics (e.g. census records) to draw the USSR's internal borders and (re)order its multiple nationalities into distinct ethnonational territories, which would ideally correspond to national languages and cultures (de la Fe, 2013). Across the

Soviet Union (although in various degrees), the empire-building project thus reflected a tension between ethnocultural identity promotion, on the one hand, and assimilation into the Soviet nationhood, on the other hand, resulting in many complex and contradictory outcomes in the Soviet peripheries. For some republics in Central Asia, for example, Soviet nationality policies facilitated the process of national identity consolidation through modern schools and education in native languages, substantially increasing literacy levels among the population, while building the common Soviet identity. For others, like Latvia and Ukraine, Soviet nationality policies were more closely associated with Russification policies, leading to the decline in the use of national languages, decrease in enrolments in schools with native language education, and the overall linguistic and cultural assimilation of national minorities. Yet still others (like Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia in the Caucasus) experienced a less rigid impact of Russification, perhaps due to the particular relationship with and distance from the Soviet empire's centre.

Caught in the middle of the Soviet empire-building project were children. Similar to other (Western) empire-building projects, the Soviet Union placed children at the centre of its ambitious nation-building project, linking the fate of the USSR, "if not practically then metaphorically, to the state of its children" (Kirschenbaum, 2001, p. 43). In this context, the childhood socialisation through schooling became central to imagining – and building – both the Soviet childhood and the Soviet future. Aiming to reflect the socialist principle of "unity in diversity," childhood socialisation processes were three-prong, encompassing political, temporal, and sociospatial socialisation of children through school curriculum and everyday practices. While political socialisation of childhood focused on infusing Soviet political norms, values, and behaviours into children's everyday lives, temporal and sociospatial socialisation "located" children in a particular time and space of the Soviet modernisation project. In terms of temporal childhood socialisation, the Soviet curriculum emphasised a strictly linear progression of time, blurring the lines between childhood and adulthood and positioning children as active participants in the building of the Soviet future. In terms of spatial socialisation, the Soviet empire-building project prioritised the construction – both physically and metaphorically – of common children's places, ranging from everyday spaces (e.g., playgrounds, schools, libraries, and kindergartens) to symbolic spaces of their multinational Soviet homeland.

It is at the diffusion stage of these different childhood socialisation processes – that is, their movement from the Soviet empire's centre to its peripheries – where unexpected contradictions and ruptures in the official Soviet discourses became clearly visible. In addition to transmitting the Soviet political norms and values through school curriculum and children's participation in youth organisations, textbooks also taught children about their national poets and heroes, national history, as well as national folklore. In this way, socialisation into the Soviet patriotic awareness often proceeded alongside the development of children's *national* (Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian) identities. Similarly, while Soviet textbooks explicitly socialised children into a linear temporal framework, defining their roles in building the Soviet future, the same textbooks also made subtle references to pre-modern cyclical time that simultaneously distanced students from the Soviet empire-building project. Finally, sociospatial socialisation of children through textbooks further revealed the tension in the Soviet discourse on nations, simultaneously reifying the common Soviet nationhood and fuelling national identity constructs. For example, while Russian textbooks explicitly referred to the vast territory of USSR as a *homeland,* Armenian, Latvian, and Ukrainian texts seemed to lose – in various degrees

– association with the Soviet Union, instead emphasising the importance and particularity of their *national* landscapes and therefore defining homeland in national, rather than supranational terms.

Taken together, these three-prong childhood socialisation strategies – political, temporal, and spatial – revealed an uneven terrain on which the foundations of the Soviet empire had been built. Centrally articulated in Moscow, the Soviet nationality policies were translated into different education patterns and childhood socialisation practices across the Soviet republics, revealing multiple tensions and contradictions within the official discourses. While Ukrainian textbooks seemed to "translate" the messages from Moscow into early literacy textbooks in more direct ways, Armenian and Latvian textbooks attempted to overtly disassociate from the Soviet Russian narrative, placing a stronger emphasis on ethnonational identity construction among children. Importantly, the Russian textbooks focused almost exclusively on forging the Soviet identity, ultimately resulting in a much weaker focus on Russian identity. As a result, Russian textbooks appeared imperial in content, with the childhood socialisation strategies geared more towards the Soviet imperial identity construction rather than a Russian or a multinational one (see also Piattoeva, 2010).

Despite its all-encompassing nature, the Soviet empire-building project had left sufficient space for the national cultures and languages to survive in different Soviet republics. Remarkably, this cultural diversity was preserved not only in oral traditions, but also through mainstream schooling (including official school textbooks), further reinforcing the multiplicity of pre-Soviet identities and ultimately failing to unite the Soviet peoples in all of their diversity. In this respect, as Roberts (2014) rightfully noted, "the Soviet empire fell victim to its own success" (p. 298). As much as early literacy textbooks were designed to transmit and maintain the empire's vision for the "bright Soviet future," these same textbooks also worked to destabilise it. It is this fluidity of the Soviet childhood socialisation processes that opened spaces for unexpected contradictions and ruptures to emerge, reconfiguring childhoods and refashioning the future of the Soviet empire itself.

6. Appendix

The empirical data in this study is comprised of 15 early literacy textbooks, which were published in Russia (as the Soviet empire's centre) and its three peripheries of Armenia, Latvia, and Ukraine. All textbooks were approved by the Ministries of Education in respective republics and published between the periods of 1940-1990. The textbooks published in Russia were used not only in the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, but also in schools for Russian-language speakers across the Soviet Union. Thus, children attending Russian language schools in different Soviet republics used the same textbooks, while children attending schools for titular nationalities learned from textbooks written and published in their own republics. The sample of textbooks from the four republics covers an expansive and diverse space, reflecting not only unique geographical position and national symbolism of each republic, but also different degree of engagement with the Soviet nationality policies (e.g., Latvian and Ukraine being affected the most by the Russification policies). Studying the social and cultural construction of Soviet childhood and empire in early literacy textbooks of these countries thus offers a rich comparison, revealing interesting continuities, contrasts, and similarities. Textbook analysis drew on a purposefully broad, interpretive framework, which allowed us to pursue a detailed

qualitative analysis of the messages, ideas, and images through critical discourse analysis, making inferences into what the books communicate to their readers and how readers may interpret and experience the texts.

Table 2

Soviet textbook sample (Armenia, Latvia, Russia, and Ukraine)

No.	Date	Authors	Title	Publisher
Armenian textbooks				
1	1973	A. Der Krikoryan	Aybenaran [alphabet book]	Yerevan: Polykraf-kombinat
2	1984	A. Der Krikoryan	Aybenaran [alphabet book]	Yerevan: Koynavor Dbakroutyan Dbaran
3	1988	A. Der Krikoryan	Arevik Aybenaran [Arevik alphabet book]	Yerevan: Koynavor Dbakroutyan Dbaran
Latvian textbooks				
4	1950	Ozolins, Ed.	Ābece: Latviesu valoda krievu skolam [ABC for Russian schools]	Riga: Latvijas Valsts Izdevnieciba
5	1955	Lubaniete, Z., Berzaja, I., Vuskalne, L.	Ābece 1. klasei [ABC for the 1st grade]	Riga: Latvijas Valsts Izdevnieciba
6	1965	Lubaniete, Z., Berzaja, I., Ramsa, A., Vuskalne, L.	Ābece 1. klasei [ABC for the 1st grade]	Riga: Latvijas Valsts Izdevnieciba
7	1980	Karule, A., Kauce, A.	Ābece [ABC]	Riga: Latvijas PSR Izglitibas Ministrija
8	1984	O. Nesterovs, J. Osmanis	Ābece 1. klasei [ABC for the 1st grade]	Riga: Zvaigzne
9	1987	Teivans, E.	Ābece: Macibu gramata	Riga: Zvaigzne
Russian textbooks				
10	1980	L. Hazarov	Спутник букварь [Sputnik bukvar]	Moscow: Prosveshcheniye
11	1982	V.G. Goretskiy, V.A. Kiriushkin, A.F. Shanko	Букварь [Bukvar]	Moscow: Prosveshcheniye
12	1986, 1987	V.G. Goretskiy, V.A. Kiriushkin, A.F. Shanko	Азбука [Azbuk]	Moscow: Prosveshcheniye
13	1990	V.G. Goretskiy, V.A. Kiriushkin, A.F. Shanko	Азбука [ABC]	Moscow: Prosveshcheniye

No.	Date	Authors	Title	Publisher
Ukrainian textbooks				
14	1986 (Soviet Ukrainian)	N.S. Vashulenko, A.H. Matveyeva, L.K. Nazorova, N.F. Skripchenko	Букварь [Bukvar]	Kyiv: Radyanska Shkola
15	1990 (Soviet Ukrainian)	N.S. Vashulenko, A.H. Matveyeva, L.K. Nazorova, N.F. Skripchenko	Букварь [Bukvar]	Kyiv: Radyanska Shkola (Kyiv)

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ESTUDIOS E INVESTIGACIONES

Analysis and Research

1

*Convergencias y divergencias de la educación secundaria de adultos en Córdoba (Argentina) y Cataluña (España)**

Convergences and divergencies of secondary education for adults in Córdoba (Argentina) and Catalonia (Spain)

Alicia Beatriz Acín**

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*La educación dirigida a los adultos ha recibido distintas denominaciones según los países y momentos históricos. A fin de unificar las formas de nominarla en Argentina –educación permanente de jóvenes y adultos– y en España –educación de personas adultas–, se optó por educación de adultos.

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Resumen

Este artículo presenta las coincidencias y divergencias en las dimensiones política, organizativa y pedagógica de la educación secundaria de adultos en Córdoba (Argentina) y Cataluña (España). A partir de un estudio intensivo que toma dos casos y aportes de la etnografía educativa, los resultados obtenidos son relevantes. Se resaltan semejanzas en las políticas de educación de adultos desarrolladas en la década de 2000 y en las concepciones predominantes, con matices derivados de los contextos latinoamericano y europeo. Asimismo, se advierten diferencias en la configuración de la educación secundaria de adultos en ambos sistemas educativos aunque inscripta en el mismo proceso de expansión de la escolaridad básica, en la oferta, en la organización y en la orientación de fondo de las políticas. Al final se exponen las conclusiones y algunas cuestiones comunes que reclaman atención.

Palabras clave: educación secundaria de adultos; dimensiones sociopolítica, organizativa y pedagógica; convergencias; divergencias

Abstract

This article presents the convergences and divergences in sociopolitical, organizational and pedagogical dimensions of the study object in Córdoba (Argentina) and Catalonia (Spain). Based on an intensive study which compare two cases and contributions of educational ethnography, the obtained results are relevant. Similarities are highlighted in the education for adults' policies developed in the decade of 2000s and in the predominant conceptions, with nuances derived from Latin American and European contexts. Likewise, there are differences in the configuration of secondary education for adults in both educational systems although it is enrolled in the same process of expansion of basic education, in the offer, in the organization and in the background orientation of the policies. At the end, the conclusions and some common issues that deserve attention are exposed.

Key Words: secondary education for adults; socio-political; organizational and pedagogical dimensions; convergences; divergences

1. Introducción

En el artículo se presentan las principales coincidencias y divergencias identificadas en la educación secundaria de adultos en Córdoba (Argentina) y Cataluña (España), resultantes de la tesis doctoral «La educación secundaria de adultos en la actualidad. Un estudio comparado entre Córdoba (Argentina) y Cataluña (España)».[1]

Qué se entiende por educación secundaria de adultos se relaciona con la estructura del sistema educativo y la extensión de la educación secundaria en los países de referencia. Forma parte de la Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos, modalidad que integra el sistema educativo argentino, y de la Educación de Personas Adultas en el territorio español. En Argentina abarca la totalidad de la educación secundaria, incluso antes de la obligatoriedad establecida por la Ley de Educación Nacional 26.206 (LEN) en 2006. En España y en Cataluña está constituida por el Graduado en Educación Secundaria (GES), equivalente a la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO), etapa obligatoria y gratuita del sistema educativo que completa la educación básica y permite obtener el título de Graduado en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria, según la Ley Orgánica de Educación 2/2006 (LOE).[2] Esa diferencia tiene consecuencias en el acceso a los estudios superiores: directo en el caso de Córdoba ya que el título secundario habilita el ingreso a estos estudios, incluidos los universitarios, e indirecto en Cataluña, a través de exámenes, previa obtención del título de bachiller o de Formación Profesional de Grado Medio (FPGM).

El interés en focalizar en este sector de la educación de adultos (EA en adelante) obedece a las siguientes razones. En Argentina la educación básica de adultos es la que ha tenido más desarrollo y la educación secundaria concentra la mayor demanda, si bien la permanencia y el egreso son deficitarios, planteando desafíos a las políticas de democratización (Sinisi *et al*, 2010), a partir de que la obligatoriedad escolar abarca la educación secundaria completa. En Cataluña el tema merece atención ya que solo 3 de cada 10 adultos tiene estudios equivalentes a EGB, ESO o Formación Profesional de 1º grado (AAVV, 2006). La pérdida de población escolar en edad de cursar la educación básica obligatoria en años anteriores a raíz de la atracción que ejercía el mercado laboral sobre los jóvenes es reconocida (Prats, 2013). A su vez, Etcheverría (2009, p.110) considera a la educación secundaria de adultos «uno de los niveles de educación básica con mayor productividad social, económica y personal», teniendo en cuenta las expectativas de los jóvenes y adultos relacionadas con la formación general y la acreditación del nivel que les permite adecuarse a las demandas para el acceso y estabilidad en el mercado laboral.

Finalmente, la educación secundaria es el umbral mínimo que permite superar el nivel educativo de riesgo, esto es, la probabilidad de quedar excluido del mercado de trabajo y de de la participación social y política, según la educación formal alcanzada (Sirvent, 1996b; Sirvent y Llosa, 2001).

La decisión de efectuar una investigación comparativa deviene de reconocer la contribución que los estudios comparados representan para el conocimiento en profundidad de la educación, reconociendo el efecto de los procesos y tendencias trasnacionales a la vez que explorando las particularidades propias de cada país o región. A esto se suma el interés en profundizar el estudio de la educación secundaria de adultos más allá de

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[1]   Dirigida por la Dra. Ana María Ayuste, realizada en la Universidad de Barcelona entre 2011 y 2013 mediante una beca tipo full del Programa Erasmus Mundus (MoE) y disponible en el Repositorio TDX de la UB.

[2]   Según la clasificación de UNESCO, en Córdoba equivaldría a la educación secundaria superior y en Cataluña a la educación secundaria básica inferior.

Córdoba y conocer su desarrollo en otras regiones, particularmente en Cataluña donde se llevó a cabo la tesis doctoral. Acorde a esa inquietud, la pregunta por las similitudes y diferencias que presenta la educación secundaria de adultos en la provincia de Córdoba (Argentina) y en la comunidad autónoma de Cataluña (España) orientó la investigación.[3]

El propósito del trabajo fue comparar la composición actual de la educación secundaria de adultos en ambas regiones y los principales cambios ocurridos en la década de 2000.[4] Se delimitaron tres dimensiones analíticas del objeto de estudio: sociopolítica, organizativa y pedagógica. La primera refiere a las relaciones con el estado en términos jurídicos, políticos y administrativos (Sirvent, 1996b); la segunda remite a la estructuración de los servicios, los recursos humanos y materiales que permiten el cumplimiento de su finalidad y la población que abarca; en la tercera se consideran las concepciones predominantes de la educación de adultos.

Entre los objetivos se planteó analizar la normativa vigente y las políticas para el sector en esa década, describir y caracterizar la forma en que se organiza la oferta y los centros educativos en Córdoba y en Cataluña, precisar las características de la población estudiantil y docente e identificar las principales convergencias y divergencias que presenta en ambos casos.

A continuación, tras algunas referencias teórico metodológicas, se exponen los hallazgos centrales de la tesis, relacionados con los objetivos propuestos y con las dimensiones del objeto de estudio, finalizando con las conclusiones y algunas cuestiones comunes que merecerían atención.

2. Referentes conceptuales y metodológicos

La educación de adultos (EA en adelante) refiere a las acciones organizadas dentro y fuera de los sistemas educativos, con distinto grado de formalización, a cargo del Estado y de otros agentes, desarrolladas en variados espacios educativos y en relación con diferentes propósitos; esa amplitud está contenida en la definición de EA adoptada en la V Conferencia Mundial de Educación de Adultos (CONFITEA) organizada por UNESCO en 1997 y ratificada en la VI Conferencia en 2009. De ese vasto campo, la educación secundaria de adultos es la que provee el sistema educativo, educación escolar de adultos y EA en sentido estricto, según Brusilovsky (2006) y Lancho (2005), respectivamente. Su finalidad es posibilitar el ejercicio del derecho a la educación básica y cumplimentar la educación obligatoria a aquellas personas que no lo hicieron en la edad formalmente establecida (Rodríguez, 2009) y otorga títulos habilitantes para continuar estudios en el sistema educativo (Messina 2000).

Autores de los contextos latinoamericano (Rodríguez, 1992; Brusilovsky, 2006; Brusilovsky y Cabrera, 2012) y europeo (Flecha, 1990; Ayuste, Flecha y Elboj, 2002) señalan la relación de la EA con la desigualdad social, educativa y cultural aunque enfatizan diferentes aspectos. Los primeros acentúan el sector social destinatario de la EA, derivado de su relación con la pobreza material y simbólica, predominantemente la que no accedió o no fue retenida en la escolarización inicial. Los segundos remarcan el papel

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3   La provincia y comunidad autónoma son las unidades político administrativas con competencias en educación en estos países.

4   Cabe señalar que no se considera estrictamente los años que marcan el inicio y la finalización de la década ya que algunos cambios relevantes se gestaron previamente y se incluyeron otros generadas en ese transcurso aunque se pusieron en marcha con posterioridad.

que la EA puede jugar en la contribución a la democratización de la sociedad al evitar que se acentúen los rasgos de exclusión, ante los efectos de polarización social generada por la sociedad de la información (Castells, 1997) y el riesgo de que las personas que no cuentan con cualificación informacional suficiente sean excluidas del mercado laboral o devaluadas como trabajadoras. La denominación educación de jóvenes y adultos, adoptada por los países latinoamericanos a partir de la V CONFITEA, expresa el crecimiento de la población joven en la educación básica de adultos.

En tanto parte del sistema educativo, la educación secundaria de adultos está condicionada por las políticas educativas y otras políticas estatales con las que se relaciona. Las políticas estatales constituyen la esencia de la actividad del Estado y se traducen en acciones y omisiones que manifiestan una determinada modalidad de intervención del Estado –en base a su capacidad de imposición legítima– en relación con una cuestión que concita la atención, interés o movilización de otros actores con recursos variables de poder que ocupan posiciones estratégicas frente al mismo (Oszlak, 1984).

En el contexto de la globalización el Estado nación parecería haber mermado su autonomía y capacidad de decisión a favor de la dependencia de fuerzas supranacionales que condicionan los cursos de acción mediante sus directrices y guiones comunes (Dale, 2002). Sin embargo, Antunes (2008) señala que el Estado continúa siendo un agente esencial en la formación de políticas, cualidad que se expresa en sus formas de intervención, en sus acciones de mediación, en su posición en el contexto mundial y le imprime distintas formas a esos guiones al contextualizarse en las contingencias nacionales.

La política educativa es el conjunto de acciones y omisiones a través de las cuales el Estado resuelve la producción, distribución y apropiación de conocimientos y reconocimientos. Con relación al proceso de producción de la política educativa, Ball (2002) señala tres contextos fundamentales –de influencia, de producción del texto político y de la práctica– en cada uno de los cuales cobran protagonismo diferentes actores y se ponen en juego disputas, compromisos y acciones planificadas. El contexto de influencia es el ámbito de producción del discurso político en el que se manifiestan disputas entre grupos de interés en torno a la definición de los propósitos de la educación. El contexto de producción del texto político es aquél en el cual las políticas se escriben, las ideas se discuten, están sujetas a diferentes interpretaciones y son resistidas; el texto político se debate en el parlamento en procesos complejos de negociación. El contexto de la práctica es aquel en el que el texto político se interpreta y recrea por los docentes, y en el que se acumulan, acoplan, sedimentan y conviven las nuevas con las viejas políticas (como se cita en Miranda, 2011).

La política educativa dirigida a los adultos supone la distribución de los bienes educativos a quienes no los han alcanzado anteriormente o necesitan seguir apropiándoselos. En la sociedad de la información en la que el conocimiento juega un papel central en tanto factor de poder, el principal bien a distribuir es el capital simbólico o capital de conocimiento (Loza, 1997). A su vez, incluye la legitimación de los saberes producidos fuera de esas esferas, cuestión de importancia ya que en la EA se han desarrollado estrategias y acciones tendientes al reconocimiento y validación de los saberes adquiridos en la experiencia social y laboral, aunque con una inspiración diferente a la de años anteriores (Canário, 2006ª y Cavaco, 2009).

Entre los discursos de los organismos internacionales con influencia en este campo se destacan los de UNESCO a través de las Conferencias Internacionales de Educación de Adultos (CONFINTEA) y del Consejo de Europa en ese continente, principalmente

la Estrategia de Lisboa cuyos lineamientos están presentes en las políticas de los países miembros. Dicha Estrategia impulsa la definición de procedimientos por parte de los Estados orientados a la construcción de un espacio europeo de educación basado en competencias básicas, relacionadas con las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación, lenguas extranjeras, cultura tecnológica, espíritu empresarial y aptitudes sociales (Guimarães, 2011).

En estrecha vinculación con la dimensión sociopolítica, la organizativa es el plano en el que se materializan decisiones políticas que dan forma a la actividad educativa. La organización comprende un sistema de actividades conscientemente coordinado, formado por dos o más personas entre quienes la cooperación es fundamental para la existencia de la organización y para el cumplimiento de su finalidad, mediada por conflictos, disputas y ejercicio de poder. Es, asimismo, un conjunto de cargos con reglas y normas de comportamiento que regulan las relaciones entre sus miembros, y el acto de disponer y coordinar los recursos disponibles (materiales, humanos y económicos) que posibilitan su funcionamiento. En esta dimensión se recupera la perspectiva de Ball (1989) quien considera a las escuelas y a otras organizaciones sociales campos de lucha divididas en su interior por conflictos reales o potenciales entre sus miembros, ideológicamente diversas y escasamente coordinadas; asimismo, reconoce que gran parte de lo que ocurre en las escuelas se relaciona con actividades rutinarias y no controvertidas, además del conflicto. El concepto de organización se utilizó con referencia a dos escalas: la Administración educativa y los establecimientos donde se lleva a cabo la EA. Respecto a la Administración educativa, es relevante cómo se estructuran los servicios educativos para adultos, la asignación de los recursos materiales, económicos y humanos para la consecución de su finalidad y las normas que lo regulan. Y, con relación a las organizaciones educativas, la forma en que las disposiciones y normativas de la Administración central se traducen en éstas, según la reinterpretación que los docentes y directores realizan de las normas y de los lineamientos políticos, considerando el poder que estos ejercen dentro de los márgenes de acción con que cuentan.

La dimensión pedagógica se circunscribe básicamente a lo que los autores españoles en general denominan modelos, algunos llaman enfoques y otros concepciones, en tanto definiciones acerca del sentido asignado a la EA. Esas definiciones se relacionan con los supuestos acerca de los sujetos, el aprendizaje y la enseñanza y se traducen en el nivel político, en el organizativo y en el pedagógico. Por ejemplo, en relación con la integralidad o fragmentación de la oferta, con la flexibilidad o no en los tiempos y en los espacios utilizados, en la relación con el contexto y con otras instituciones y en la especificidad o no del currículum, entre otras cuestiones.

Medina (2002) refiere a los modelos escolar y social, construidos a partir de relacionar la enseñanza y el aprendizaje, las coordenadas espacio-temporales, la concepción del educador, la concepción del educando, el currículo y la organización en cada uno. Con base en ese planteo, Formariz (2009), habla de dos modelos antagónicos de pensar la EA: uno, centralizado, jerárquico, inespecífico y escolar, con eje en la función compensatoria; otro, contextualizado y específico, basado en la flexibilidad, autonomía y participación, y orientado al desempeño de los sujetos en sus contextos. En sentido similar, Pascual (2000, p. 94) remite a dos concepciones que inspiran las prácticas de EA: por un lado, el «escolarismo compensatorio», entendiendo por escolarismo la reducción de las variadas iniciativas para incrementar las oportunidades educativas de los adultos solo a las que provee el sistema educativo bajo los formatos adoptados tradicionalmente para el

resto de los niveles (Beltrán y Beltrán, 1996) y, por el otro, una educación básica abierta a las relaciones e integración con la educación no formal e informal, en las que las necesidades personales y colectivas se valoran y reconocen institucionalmente. Finalmente, Sans (2009) toma en cuenta dos paradigmas bajo la forma que se introdujeron las ideas de la educación permanente a la práctica educativa –el de la compensación y el de la adaptación– desagregando en ambos los componentes que Medina incluye en el modelo escolar.

En el contexto mexicano, Kalman y Schmelkes (como se cita en Lorenzatti, 2009) consideran dos enfoques: el primero, propio de un modelo de desarrollo industrial, tiene una función remedial y compensatoria que distribuye el conocimiento y habilidad en el uso de técnicas modernas; el otro, considera a la EA como proceso plural, auto determinado, que tiene en cuenta y respeta las realidades multiculturales.

En Acin (2010a) se mencionan dos concepciones o maneras de entender la EA: una, remedial, compasiva o misericordiosa en términos de Birgin (2007), afincada en la pobreza material y simbólica que contribuye a reproducir, en las carencias, en lo que no se logró en otro momento de la vida y orientada a compensar el déficit; la otra, emancipatoria, basada en el respeto, en la confianza, en el reconocimiento de las potencialidades de los estudiantes, en lo que sí saben y son capaces de hacer, bajo el supuesto de la autonomía y responsabilidad, y orientada hacia el futuro.

Respecto de la elección metodológica, la tradición cualitativa adoptada en el proyecto al que la tesis doctoral dio continuidad, marcó el punto de partida. Desde esa definición y con la intención de llevar a cabo un estudio comparado, se profundizó en la investigación comparativa y en los debates que atraviesan el campo, entre ellos, la comparabilidad, el método y diferentes perspectivas teórico metodológicas.

Resultaron valiosos los aportes de Mollis (2000) con relación a los rumbos a seguir en la investigación comparada –el macro y el micro análisis de los sistemas educativos–, la contribución de diversas disciplinas y de diferentes metodologías (cualitativas o basadas en la estadística) y el lugar de la interdisciplinariedad. Igualmente contribuyó Martínez (2006), quien refiere a la incorporación de nuevos enfoques que enriquecen la educación comparada.

Respecto a los debates, Nóvoa (como se cita en Acosta, 2011) postula una educación comparada asentada en la superación del marco del estado nación, inmersa en las realidades cotidianas y alejada de descripciones y prescripciones, con eje en los contenidos de las acciones educativas, basada en metodología cualitativa y no solo en recursos estadísticos; y pasando del sistema educativo a las escuelas, de las estructuras a los actores, de las ideas a los discursos y de los hechos a las políticas. Según Vega (2011), los métodos de comparación sufrieron una gran transformación en las dos últimas décadas, por lo cual la metodología de casos y la comparación no son incompatibles como lo eran en otros momentos. De igual modo, Popkewitz y Pereyra (1994) remarcan el renovado papel de los estudios de caso y ponderan su contribución e integración a la investigación comparativa.

Con base en esos aportes, se optó por el estudio de caso, incorporando herramientas conceptuales y metodológicas de la etnografía educativa (Rockwell, 2009) y de las fases de la investigación comparativa (Calderón, 2000), relativizando ciertas afirmaciones que podrían resultar contradictorias con la recolección y el análisis de información en la investigación cualitativa o el carácter de la descripción en el enfoque etnográfico. Se realizó un estudio intensivo que toma dos casos, orientado fundamentalmente a la

comprensión, en el marco de una contextualización sociopolítica e histórica. Las dimensiones mencionadas en la introducción y sus subdimesiones estructuraron la comparación, además de elementos emergentes que surgieron de la singularidad, características culturales y tradiciones históricas en ambos contextos. En la dimensión sociopolítica se destacaron los cambios ocurridos a partir de las decisiones adoptadas en materia de política educativa, considerando las fuerzas internas y las externas, atendiendo a la influencia de los organismos internacionales y de otros actores en los niveles intermedios. En la dimensión organizativa cobró interés la organización de la EA y los principios en los que se basa, los recursos humanos, materiales y tecnológicos afectados al cumplimiento de su finalidad; el curriculum, la forma de designación y la formación inicial y continua de los docentes. En la dimensión pedagógica se consideraron las concepciones que subyacen a las prácticas educativas.

3. Surgimiento y evolución de la educación secundaria de adultos en los casos analizados

La educación secundaria de adultos tuvo distintos orígenes y características en los respectivos países y provincia/comunidad autónoma, aunque comparte tendencias relativas a su evolución y situación actual, información que se sintetiza en el siguiente cuadro.

Tabla 1

Origen y situación actual de la educación secundaria de adultos en Córdoba y Cataluña

	Argentina/Córdoba	**España/Cataluña**
Origen	1970	1990
Razones del surgimiento	Demanda educativa de organizaciones de la sociedad civil e importancia otorgada a la educación por el gobierno de facto como estrategia de legitimación, bajo inspiración desarrollista.	Extensión de la obligatoriedad de la educación al Graduado en Educación Secundaria a partir de la Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE).
Principales rasgos	Proyecto innovador en lo curricular y en la relación con las organizaciones del contexto, siguiendo lineamientos de la OEA para los países latinoamericanos.	Basada en decretos que regulaban la educación secundaria para el régimen ordinario. Tensiones derivadas de la incorporación de profesores de educación secundaria.
Evolución	Asimilación progresiva a la educación secundaria para adolescentes alternando con búsqueda de especificidad.	Línea de adaptación que condicionó el desarrollo posterior aunque con intentos de búsqueda de especificidad.

No obstante la diferencia de 20 años en el momento de creación de la educación secundaria de adultos en uno y otro caso (1970 y 1990), su surgimiento se enmarca en la expansión y universalización de la educación durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, movimiento de carácter internacional aunque con singularidades según los contextos socio históricos y sus tradiciones educativas (Schriewer, 1996). Tal ampliación permitió abarcar a sectores sociales que anteriormente no habían tenido acceso a la educación secundaria si bien de manera segmentada y a través de circuitos educativos diferenciados en Argentina (Ruiz, 2012). Asimismo, otro aspecto común a ambos casos es el incremento de la población joven que asiste (Rodríguez, 2009; Formariz, 1997; Etcheverría, 2009), relacionado con la expulsión o no retención en la educación secundaria regular y el pasaje inmediato a la EA (Acín, 2007; Brusilovsky y Cabrera, 2012).

4. Política de educación secundaria de adultos en la década de 2000 en Córdoba y en Cataluña[5]

En el proceso de análisis, a partir de agrupar las acciones desarrolladas por las unidades gubernamentales a cargo de la EA durante la década de 2000, se construyeron las siguientes categorías que dan cuenta de los principales lineamientos políticos comunes a ambos casos: a) extensión de la cobertura a nuevos colectivos; b) organización o reorganización de la EA enmarcada en el sistema educativo; c) legitimación de la EA ante la sociedad y el sistema educativo y d) reconocimiento y validación de saberes y aprendizajes realizados en otros espacios. Asimismo, se reconocieron dos tendencias opuestas: a la construcción de la especificidad de la educación de adultos y a la homologación a la educación regular.

a) La **extensión de la cobertura a nuevos colectivos** se manifiesta en la creación o reorganización de la oferta a distancia, según los casos; en la creación de centros o anexos en establecimientos penitenciarios; en programas específicos destinados a los jóvenes y –en Cataluña– en la amplitud de la oferta, que incluye la destinada a inmigrantes, competencias para la sociedad de la información y preparación para las pruebas de acceso a otros niveles educativos.

Si bien esta es una categoría relacionada con la ampliación de la educación secundaria a nuevos sectores, no están comprendidos los adultos con necesidades educativas especiales ya que no se habrían realizado adecuaciones curriculares de modo que puedan realizar la educación básica en EA, no obstante las demandas existentes. Esta constituye una omisión importante que deja sin respuestas adecuadas a sus posibilidades a estos sujetos y genera inquietud entre los docentes y directores quienes no cuentan con orientaciones claras al respecto.

b) La **organización o reorganización de la EA enmarcada en el sistema educativo** se relaciona con la dependencia de los docentes y de los establecimientos, reafirmando la pertenencia y adscripción al sistema educativo, con independencia del origen y encuadramiento anterior. Comprende la recategorización administrativa de los centros y aulas y la carrera profesional, además de los docentes y centros de EA ubicados en establecimientos penitenciarios.

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5   Algunas de la acciones que conforman dicha política no se circunscriben a la educación secundaria sino al conjunto de la EA y resulta difícil separarlas.

Con relación a los centros localizados en prisiones, cobra relevancia que los Ministerios o Departamentos de Educación/Enseñanza se hicieran cargo de la educación básica, como también la implantación o ampliación de la educación secundaria de adultos en esos contextos, anteriormente limitada a la educación primaria y a los condenados. Sin embargo existieron diferencias en la manera en que ese proceso sucedió. En Cataluña el principio rector parecería haber sido la unificación de los profesores en el Departamento de Educación a fin de igualarlos en cuanto a sus derechos, acompañado de un intenso trabajo entre representantes de las administraciones Educativa y de Justicia a fin de realizar ajustes de las normas educativas al contexto de la prisión; esto habría derivado en un trabajo más coordinado entre los Departamentos de Justicia y Educación, aunque con el riesgo de que la seguridad subsuma a la educación. En Córdoba, habría primado el interés por instalar la noción de educación como derecho humano que merecen todas las personas, independientemente de la situación en que se encuentren, en concordancia con los lineamientos del Consejo Federal de Educación y los debates en torno al lugar de la educación en la prisión, regida por reglas de juego diferentes a la educación asimilada al tratamiento, imperante en el Servicio Penitenciario.

c) La **legitimación de la EA ante la sociedad y el sistema educativo** se vincula básicamente con formas legitimadas social y administrativamente para el acceso a los cargos; esto implica el acceso a los cargos de inspectores y de directores por concurso en uno y otro caso, y la designación de los docentes a través de la lista de orden de mérito en Córdoba. Junto a otros procedimientos, esta decisión podría contribuir a contrarrestar el carácter de «primo pobre del sistema educativo» de la EA (Pascual, 2000, p. 26), aunque el autor alude principalmente a los escasos recursos económicos asignados y al limitado desarrollo teórico que presenta.

d) El **reconocimiento y validación de saberes y aprendizajes realizados en otros espacios** considera las iniciativas desplegadas en ambas regiones, con diferente nivel de desarrollo: certificaciones cruzadas en Córdoba y, en Cataluña, acreditación de saberes y/o competencias básicas, y cualificación profesional, lo cual incluye el reconocimiento de cursos realizados en la trayectoria laboral mediante evaluación y aprobación simultánea de la prueba de Formación Profesional de Grado Medio (FPGM). Este ha sido un tema importante en la historia de la EA que cobró nuevo vigor bajo el principio del aprendizaje a lo largo de la vida impulsado por la OCDE y la Unión Europea, desplazando a la educación permanente, de inspiración humanista y autoafirmación de los sujetos (Canário, 2006a; Cavaco, 2009).

Parte de las acciones comunes se dirigen a la organización o reorganización de la EA enmarcada en el sistema educativo; sin embargo, el propósito último en el que se inspirarían difiere en cada caso. En Córdoba el encuadramiento en el sistema educativo se habría realizado en aspectos tendientes a la mejora de las condiciones organizativas y laborales, y de disponibilidad de recursos de los centros, junto a la atención a las necesidades y trayectorias de los estudiantes, a un curriculum específico y a inspectores propios de la modalidad; de allí la **tendencia a la búsqueda de especificidad** que se identificó. En Cataluña, tal encuadramiento en el sistema educativo, que redunda en aspectos importantes como la autonomía de los centros, la forma de designación de los directores y la existencia de órganos colegiados, habría ocurrido prescindiendo de componentes específicos (especialmente visibles en el curriculum, en los inspectores comunes al sistema educativo y en la designación de los docentes según el listado único en lugar del específico que existía anteriormente), perfilando una **tendencia a la homologación a la educación regular**.

La homologación refiere a la ausencia de diferencias en la normativa, en la organización y en el curriculum de la EA respecto de la que rige para los adolescentes, excepto en la duración de los estudios. La especificidad se manifiesta en una normativa orientada a la apertura y flexibilidad, a la atención a las características de los sujetos, a la interacción y trabajo conjunto con otras organizaciones gubernamentales y de la sociedad civil, en la consideración de los escenarios en donde transcurre la vida cotidiana de los sujetos, en la localización de los centros, entre otros aspectos.

En la historia de la EA la tendencia a la homologación al sistema educativo ha sido una corriente de fondo y la búsqueda de especificidad su contracara. La preeminencia de una u otra tendencia depende de los contextos sociopolíticos, de los actores intervinientes y de las concepciones predominantes en cada momento histórico. En tal sentido, la presencia de agentes con trayectoria e historia de trabajo en EA en la conducción política de las unidades gubernamentales encargadas de la EA en los gobiernos provincial y nacional durante el período en estudio explicaría, en parte, la intención de otorgarle mayor especificidad en Córdoba. La homologación al sistema educativo habría sido favorecida, entre otros factores, por la influencia de las organizaciones sindicales que pugnaban por el retorno de las competencias de la EA al Departamento de Educación en Cataluña. Tales competencias fueron transferidas del Departamento de Enseñanza al de Bienestar Social en 1988 y permanecieron bajo esa órbita hasta 2004, período en el que la EA habría logrado cierta especificidad.

5. Organización de la educación secundaria de adultos en los casos analizados

En este apartado se presenta la forma en que se estructura la educación secundaria de adultos en los casos en estudio, muchos de cuyos aspectos derivan o se relacionan con las políticas de EA llevadas a cabo en la última década. La información relevante se registra en el cuadro, en cuya columna de la izquierda se detallan las sub dimensiones consideradas dentro de la dimensión organizativa.

Tabla 2

Organización de la educación secundaria de adultos en Córdoba y en Cataluña

Subdimensiones	Córdoba	Cataluña
Requisitos y edad de ingreso	Presencial: 18 años cumplidos en el año en curso y, excepcionalmente, 16 años por responsabilidades laborales y familiares o estar a disposición del Juzgado de Menores. Semi presencial/distancia: 21 años, excepto jóvenes incluidos en el Programa Más y Mejor Trabajo.	18 años cumplidos en el año en curso para presencial y a distancia, excepto 16 años en caso de contrato laboral, deportista de alto rendimiento, estar cursando el Programa de Cualificación Profesional Inicial (PQPI)[6] u otras circunstancias.

6   PQPI es la sigla en catalán, ya que la Q reemplaza a la C.

(Continua en la siguiente página)

Subdimensiones	Córdoba	Cataluña
Forma de prestación del servicio	Presencial y semipresencial/a distancia. Las sedes de distancia funcionan en Centros de Nivel Medio de Adultos (CENMA) base. La demanda está mediada por una institución que firma convenio con el Ministerio de Educación.	Presencial, a distancia y autoformación. El servicio a distancia es provisto por el Instituto Abierto de Cataluña (IOC)[7] y centros colaboradores. La demanda es individual.
Curriculum	Diseñado específicamente para la educación secundaria de adultos. Se organiza en áreas, disciplinas y talleres.	Las enseñanzas tienen como referente las correspondientes a las de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO), según el Decreto de Ordenación Curricular. Se organiza en ámbitos y disciplinas.
Organización de los centros	Centros para educación primaria y secundaria separados. Anexos y extensiones áulicas en barrios periféricos, en el interior provincial y en establecimientos penitenciarios dependendientes de los CENMA base.	Centros y aulas específicos u ordinarios que presentan oferta completa.
Titularidad de los centros	Del gobierno provincial.	De la Generalitat y de los ayuntamientos.
Infraestructura	Edificios compartidos con escuelas primarias y secundarias u otras organizaciones, excepto algunos que cuentan con edificio propio.	Edificios compartidos con los ayuntamientos u otras organizaciones, salvo algunos del Departamento de Enseñanza.
Horario de funcionamiento	Generalmente nocturno o vespertino, excepto algunos en horario matinal o tarde.	Matinal, tarde, vespertino y nocturno, según el lugar de funcionamiento y la oferta.
Recursos materiales y tecnológicos	Escasos recursos materiales y tecnológicos, muchos de ellos provistos por el Plan Finalización de Estudios (FinEs) en los centros que lo implementan, excepto ordenadores provistos en 2011.	Dotación de ordenadores, cañones de proyección, video proyectores e impresoras en 2006, cuando el Departamento de Educación reasumió las competencias.
Personal directivo	Personal único (director). Coordinador en anexos y extensiones áulicas.	Equipo directivo completo o reducido en centros, según cantidad de docentes, y coordinador en aulas. Órganos de toma de decisión colegiados con representación de distintos actores.

Subdimensiones	Córdoba	Cataluña
Inspectores	Específicos de la modalidad.	Comunes al resto del sistema educativo.
Docentes: requisitos y designación	Contar con la titulación para el nivel y disciplina a cargo. Designación por hora cátedra.	Formar parte del cuerpo de maestros y profesores de enseñanza secundaria de las especialidades relacionadas con los ámbitos. Designación por cargo con dedicación exclusiva.
Formación inicial y continua	No hay requerimientos de formación inicial específica para el ingreso a la docencia. La formación posterior es escasa pese a los avances.	No hay requerimientos de formación inicial específica para el ingreso a la docencia. La formación continua en el marco de la EA es prácticamente inexistente. No existe en la actualidad ningún Postgrado o Máster que conduzca a la especialización.
Personal administrativo	Secretario.	Auxiliar administrativo.
Otras funciones		Función tutorial, a cargo de los docentes, comprendida en el cargo y dedicación.
Período lectivo	Anual, organizado en dos semestres.	Módulos trimestrales.

5. Concepciones pedagógicas predominantes

En cuanto a las concepciones pedagógicas, en Córdoba la mayoría de los entrevistados se refiere a la EA como una responsabilidad del Estado y formando parte del sistema educativo, inscripción que no es puesta en duda. Tal filiación no implica escolarización ya que se enfatizan los aprendizajes realizados en otros espacios sociales, el trabajo intersectorial con otras organizaciones y la importancia de una escuela democrática en cuanto a su organización y propuesta pedagógica. Se alude también al carácter marginal y residual de la EA en tanto receptora de lo que el sistema educativo no ha retenido o expulsado, concepción presente en algunos docentes, directores y otros agentes. Tal concepción coloca a la EA como redentora, a ellos mismos como los únicos capaces de recibir o acoger lo que otros desechan y a los estudiantes en un lugar de inferioridad y de no poder, sin cuestionarse acerca de las condiciones y las formas en que los reciben y con qué propuesta de trabajo. Desde una perspectiva crítica, otros relacionan esa marginalidad no solo con las faltas o deficiencias del sistema educativo, si bien las reconocen y destacan, particularmente la ausencia de recursos materiales elementales, sino también con lo que le atribuyen a otros compañeros en lo concerniente al conocimiento que se propone y circula, al predominio del trato misericordioso o «el buen trato es lo básico» (Hernández Flores, 2007, p.316) y menor exigencia académica que en la educación secundaria regular; ante ello contraponen la formación crítica como ciudadanos y trabajadores y mayor exigencia, como signo de respeto a los estudiantes y a sí mismos.

7   IOC es la sigla en catalán del mencionado Instituto.

El actual director remite a una cuestión central, cual es el logro del justo equilibrio frente a dos tendencias en pugna igualmente perjudiciales, desde su perspectiva: la homologación al sistema educativo, por un lado, y su excesiva diferenciación, por el otro. Lo primero equivaldría a la eliminación de los rasgos distintivos de la EA que le confieren especificidad. Lo segundo, por el contrario, remarca de tal manera esos rasgos que no permitiría ver los puntos en común con el resto de la educación. A propósito de esto, Usher y Bryant (1992) plantean que la defensa enfática de la singularidad hace perder de vista las relaciones con la educación general y contribuye a la marginalidad que se cuestiona, precisamente a través de la auto marginación.

En Cataluña, una parte de los entrevistados refiere a la concepción de segunda oportunidad, ya sea para aceptarla o cuestionarla. Quienes la cuestionan, la asimilan al modelo escolarizado, ante el que se antepone una concepción alternativa definida por la antítesis de la escuela, las posiciones de docente y alumno y, en menor medida, una educación no presencial. Otros entrevistados sostienen la concepción de EA llevada a cabo en la escuela –denominación que reivindican– ligada a movimientos sociales, abierta al trabajo interinstitucional y en red y enraizada en el entorno social. En menor medida se alude a una concepción asistencial, caritativa o misericordiosa frente a otra que aboga por la promoción social y la necesaria responsabilización de los estudiantes.

En realidad, la concepción misericordiosa está presente en ambos casos aunque en Cataluña un entrevistado la atribuye a las acciones educativas desarrolladas por el voluntariado, en tanto carente de formación pedagógica, desde su perspectiva, mientras que en Córdoba estaría más extendida en las prácticas docentes.

Otra recurrencia en ambos casos es el uso de calificativos de la EA *desvirtuada* o *degenerada,* en alusión al mismo fenómeno: la incorporación de población joven. Según la RAE, desvirtuar es quitar la virtud, sustancia o vigor; aplicada a la EA, lo virtuoso sería el adulto para quien fue pensada la EA, no para los jóvenes. En sentido similar, para la RAE degenerar es decaer, desdecir, no corresponder a su primera calidad o a su primitivo valor o estado; en este caso, el primitivo valor o estado es el que habría tenido en otro tiempo cuando la población era adulta. Subyacería a estas expresiones una actitud de no aceptación y rechazo de los jóvenes, ligado a lo no genuino, a quien invade un territorio que no le es propio y en el que no debería estar para dejar lugar a los auténticos merecedores de ese servicio.

6. Conclusiones

Para concluir, se esboza una síntesis de las principales semejanzas y diferencias registradas con relación a las dimensiones de análisis, estableciendo algunas relaciones con los contextos latinoamericano y europeo y con aspectos históricos y tradiciones en los dos países y se puntualizan algunos puntos preocupantes.

Según lo planteado en los apartados anteriores, las categorías agrupadas en **orientaciones comunes y diferentes** permiten comprender las principales realizaciones en las políticas de EA desarrolladas en la década de 2000. Extensión de la cobertura a nuevos grupos, organización o reorganización de la EA enmarcada en el sistema educativo, legitimación de la EA ante el sistema educativo y la sociedad, y reconocimiento y validación de saberes y aprendizajes realizados en otros espacios, revelan orientaciones comunes en ambos casos. Búsqueda de especificidad u homologación de la EA al sistema educativo expresan los procesos ocurridos en Córdoba y en Cataluña y sus diferencias, como se señaló.

Dentro de las decisiones políticas y acciones llevadas a cabo en el campo de la EA un tema que ha sido objeto de atención por parte del Estado en el período considerado es la educación de las personas privadas de libertad. Esto se expresa, entre otros aspectos, en la responsabilización de la educación básica que se ofrece en los centros o anexos localizados en prisiones de los Ministerios o Departamentos de Educación o Enseñanza, con el efecto de aumento de la cobertura e implantación o ampliación de la educación secundaria de adultos, no obstante las diferencias señaladas.

Como también es explícito en el cuadro que sintetiza la dimensión organizativa, la educación secundaria se ofrece de manera presencial y a distancia en ambos casos, además de la autoformación en algunos centros en Cataluña. La oferta presencial se estructura en un ciclo básico y un ciclo de especialización, en Córdoba, y en Graduado en Educación Secundaria (GES) 1 y 2, en Cataluña donde el título de GES se puede alcanzar automáticamente junto al de Grado Medio o Grado Superior.

Como cuestión recurrente, la educación a distancia se incorporó de forma alternativa y no complementaria a la presencial, suscitando sospechas, temores y resistencia de parte de los docentes de educación presencial, situación que se mantuvo o modificó según las decisiones adoptadas por diferentes políticas. En Córdoba, últimamente se habría promovido mayor integración de ambas formas. En Cataluña, a raíz de los caminos separados por los que transitaron, además de que orgánicamente el GES a distancia depende del IOC, el contacto entre ambas es escaso, especialmente en Barcelona, no obstante la existencia de una normativa que habilita a los estudiantes de los centros o aulas realizar módulos a distancia sin perder su condición de alumno presencial, que requiere articulación.

En virtud del Decreto de Autonomía de los centros educativos, en Cataluña, estos parecen tener mayores márgenes de acción para resolver cuestiones organizativas y pedagógicas, expresados en la asignación de los cargos de coordinación[8] según las necesidades institucionales en los centros observados, entre otros aspectos.

Las condiciones en que desarrollan su labor los centros para adultos difieren notablemente en uno y otro caso. Tal discrepancia se manifiesta en los siguientes aspectos: la existencia de centros únicos en los que se brinda la oferta completa de EA en Cataluña o separados por nivel en Córdoba; las instalaciones donde desarrollan sus actividades y su pertenencia; el horario de funcionamiento restringido o amplio; los recursos con los que cuentan; la forma de designación de los docentes (por hora cátedra o por cargo), lo cual repercute en la pertenencia institucional y en las posibilidades de acción conjunta; la conducción individual o compartida con un equipo. Asimismo, la organización del ciclo lectivo; los dispositivos que promueven la participación de los estudiantes; los órganos de gobierno colegiados con representación de todos los actores y las asociaciones de estudiantes que desarrollan iniciativas, gestionan recursos y llevan adelante proyectos en Cataluña. Las diferencias también se advierten en el diseño curricular y en los inspectores comunes para el sistema educativo o específicos para la modalidad.

Así como en esta dimensión se registran las mayores diferencias, a la vez se advierten semejanzas en puntos nodales tales como: ausencia de formación inicial y escasa formación continua de los docentes, ausencia de edificios propios (salvo excepciones) e insuficiente dotación de personal administrativo, cuyas tareas son asumidas por docentes y/o directores y coordinadores en detrimento de la función pedagógica.

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8   Cargos por los que el profesorado percibe una bonificación extra, que se hicieron extensivos a la EA con posterioridad a la transferencia de competencias al Departamento de Educación.

Si se consideran los aspectos organizativos en los que Cataluña presenta desarrollos considerables, las diferencias en cuanto a la orientación de fondo de las políticas enunciadas anteriormente se atenúan. La organización modular trimestral, las instalaciones compartidas con organizaciones no educativas, los horarios de funcionamiento más amplios y la forma de designación de los docentes por cargo configuran condiciones más favorables y mayor flexibilidad organizacional, emparentándose en parte con la especificidad.

Respecto a las concepciones pedagógicas, la EA es pensada como una responsabilidad del Estado e inscripta en el sistema educativo, así como la educación general, en Córdoba. En Cataluña prevalecería la EA como responsabilidad conjunta entre el Estado y la sociedad civil, cuestionándose la adscripción administrativa del Departamento de Educación al tomar como parámetro su organización y dependencia en países europeos y la experiencia de que en Cataluña haya pertenecido al Departamento de Bienestar Social durante un tiempo.

La concepción de EA como segunda oportunidad se menciona en ambos casos aunque con diferentes connotaciones. Parte de los autores españoles (Formariz, 2009) y de los entrevistados en Cataluña discute la EA como segunda oportunidad ya que para muchos estudiantes se trataría de una primera oportunidad que no tuvieron anteriormente y porque se asimila EA en el sistema educativo a escolarización y se la relaciona con un tiempo para estudiar y otro para trabajar, con sobrevaloración de la formación académica, con falta de confianza en las capacidades de los sujetos, con el carácter compensador, porque sitúa el problema en las personas y no en la sociedad.

Los autores latinoamericanos se refieren a la EA como segunda chance educativa (Sirvent, 1996) o segunda oportunidad (Sepúlveda, 2004), asociada más a reparar que a compensar, y valoran esta posibilidad para quienes no la tuvieron o no la aprovecharon plenamente en contextos de pobreza y desigualdad social, y es visualizada como una oportunidad valiosa en otro momento de la vida. Según Messina (2000) es un referente esperanzador en un contexto social donde prima la inestabilidad y la carencia; Sinisi *et al* (2010, p. 30) sostienen que, desde la perspectiva de los sujetos, «darse una segunda chance» supone una decisión que articula un sentido de vida futura ligada a la escuela.

En ambos casos se señala la concepción asistencial, caritativa o misericordiosa, asentada en la lástima, no en la confianza y el reconocimiento. En Cataluña, un entrevistado la relaciona con la labor llevada a cabo por el voluntariado al que considera carente de formación pedagógica, no así otros que atribuyen a los voluntarios solidez, compromiso y búsqueda de especificidad. Ante esa concepción, se plantea una EA no escolarizante ni misericordiosa sino de promoción de los sujetos, justa, y reparadora a fin de generar condiciones pedagógicas que permitan una educación equivalente a quienes la realizan en un tiempo más prolongado (Birgin, 2007), aspectos contenidos en el modelo social de EA sostenido por los autores españoles.

En Córdoba se alude a la concepción marginal y residual de la EA, asociada a que recepta lo que el sistema educativo no ha retenido o ha expulsado, presentándola como la única capaz de hacerse cargo de esa población y justificando, en algunos casos, prácticas de enseñanza y resultados cuya calidad se cuestiona. Como contrapartida, desde una perspectiva crítica, se aboga por dar relevancia al trabajo con el conocimiento y la exigencia como signo de respeto hacia los estudiantes y docentes.

Una categoría local emergente en ambos casos es la EA *desvirtuada* o *degenerada,* relativa al fenómeno de incorporación cada vez mayor de jóvenes en lugar de adultos. Aunque remite a la población que no es retenida en el sistema educativo, el énfasis no

es colocado en este y su funcionamiento sino en los jóvenes, considerados intrusos o invasores de un territorio que no les pertenecería.

Finalmente, además de las similitudes y diferencias respecto a las dimensiones considerada, es importante señalar tres cuestiones comunes que demandarían atención: cómo es recibida la población joven que hace uso efectivo de la educación secundaria de adultos, los requisitos para el ingreso a la docencia en EA y la no consecución del objetivo propuesto al retomar los estudios secundarios en muchos casos debido al elevado desgranamiento.

Con respecto al primer punto, es notable el incremento de matriculados jóvenes y adolescentes, favorecido parcialmente por una normativa que habilita su incorporación a los centros para adultos a partir de los 18 años. Sin embargo, no habría un reconocimiento de este grupo como legítimos destinatarios de la EA, sea por la visión nostálgica del 'alumno adulto ideal' o por las representaciones de los docentes acerca de sus motivaciones y actitudes ligadas al 'facilismo' que los induciría a incorporarse a los centros para adultos o aquéllas que atribuyen el alejamiento de los adultos a la presencia mayoritaria de jóvenes.

En relación con el segundo punto, la formación específica de los educadores de adultos es uno de los aspectos comunes insuficientes, frente a las necesidades actuales y las recomendaciones internacionales de larga data. Si bien las administraciones educativas, las universidades, los movimientos pedagógicos y los sindicatos han realizado esfuerzos al respecto, aún siendo insuficiente, esa contribución se encuentra con límites en la normativa que regula el ingreso a la docencia cuyos requisitos no incluyen la formación específica.

Con relación al egreso, en ambos casos es significativo el porcentaje de matriculados en educación secundaria de adultos que no culmina sus estudios por diferentes razones: superposición del estudio con otras obligaciones o actividades que se priorizan, valoración de lo que están realizando y satisfacción con la oferta educativa, entre otras. El hallazgo de Kelly (2013) permite inferir que esta es una problemática que excedería las fronteras nacionales ya que refiere al abandono o no completamiento de la segunda chance educativa de adultos involucrados en educación básica o superior, formación profesional y cursos para migrantes como recurrencia en países europeos cuyas características y sistemas educativos son muy diferentes entre sí.

Los puntos señalados son desafíos pendientes que reclaman análisis, abordajes y alternativas de solución. Asimismo, que se potencien los esfuerzos realizados por los países, grupos y sujetos de modo de contribuir al logro de las metas sociales y personales tendientes a efectivizar el derecho a la educación básica.

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Educación Comparada

Estudio comparado de la educación de calle en Francia y en España

Comparative study of street education in France and Spain

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Resumen

En el presente artículo se hace un estudio comparado entre el trabajo de educación de calle en Francia y España. Tras una breve introducción, se describe, por un lado, la formación de los-as agentes educativos-as y, por otro, la intervención o praxis llevada a cabo en ambos países. Finalmente, se extraen algunas conclusiones que pudieran contribuir a mejorar la educación de calle en España.

Palabras clave: Francia; España; Prevención; Integración Social; Educador Social; Titulo de Educación Superior

Abstract

In this article I have done a comparative study between the work of street education in France and Spain. After a brief introduction, there is described, on the one hand, the formation of the educational agents and, for other one, the intervention or practice carried out in both countries. Finally, there are extracted some conclusions that could help to improve the education of street in Spain.

Key Words: France; Spain; Prevention; Social Integration; Community Worker; Higher Education Diploma

1. Introducción

La mayoría de las experiencias conocidas sobre la intervención del-la educador-a de calle en España surgen a través de asociaciones y grupos que, con una conciencia anti-institucional, se aproximan directa y humanamente a los-as jóvenes marginados-as e inadaptados-as. Experiencias de este tipo fueron promovidas, en 1968, por el Movimiento Pioneros, impulsado por Julián Rezola en el Barrio de Yagüe -La Rioja. Igualmente, en 1970, Toni Julià impulsa la apertura del Centro de Formación de Educadores Especializados de Barcelona (CFEEB). Ambos se habían formado en Francia y son considerados como los precursores de la educación de calle en España (Navas, 2009 y Cercos, 2011). En base a ello, podemos decir que no es posible reflexionar sobre el trabajo de educación de calle en España sin referirnos a Francia (Llena y Parcerisa, 2008).

Por otro lado, el trabajo socioeducativo desde la metodología de la educación de calle, muy implantado en Francia, comienza a ponerse en valor en España como una herramienta eficiente para el trabajo en medio abierto con chicos-as en situación de desventaja (Lorenzo, 4 de junio de 2018).

Todo lo anterior es lo que justificaría este análisis comparado entre la intervención socioeducativa desde la metodología de la educación de calle en Francia y España, comparando, en un primer momento, la formación de las figuras educativas y, a continuación, la práctica que conlleva dicha intervención en un país y en otro, conscientes de que el estudio comparado es hoy un referente imprescindible para los-as profesionales de la educación (Ferrer, 2002).

Añadir que si bien el análisis comparado de la formación es más homogéneo en cada país, pues está determinado por la regulación legislativa que en Francia y España determina los itinerarios para acceder a dichas titulaciones, sin embargo, por lo que respecta a la intervención nos encontramos con una diversidad mucho mayor, pues cada proyecto trata de dar respuesta a las necesidades específicas de la población de un territorio concreto.

Para realizar el análisis comparado de la intervención hemos escogido proyectos que se llevan a cabo con un desarrollo temporal superior a cinco años, que se desarrollan en regiones diversas de cada uno de los dos países y cuentan con un reconocimiento social en este trabajo. Para ello, se han realizado entrevistas con educadores-as, así como consultado documentación y memorias de actividades de los proyectos seleccionados.

Finalmente, tras el estudio comparado de la formación de los-as educadores-as de calle en Francia y en España, así como del trabajo que estos-as desarrollan en cada país, se extraen algunas conclusiones (tanto en el ámbito de la formación como de la intervención) que puedan contribuir a mejorar el trabajo en medio abierto con chicos-as en desventaja desde la educación de calle en España.

2. La formación

A continuación se expone el itinerario formativo que llevan a cabo quienes trabajan como educadores-as de calle en Francia y en España, con el fin de poder establecer una comparación adecuada sobre dicho aspecto.

2.1. En Francia: Diploma de Estado de Educador-a Especializado-a (DEES:Diplôme d´Etat d´Educateur- trice spécialisé)

Después de la segunda guerra mundial surgen en Francia hasta 15 profesiones que tratan de dar respuesta a diversas cuestiones sociales. Todas ellas nacen fuera del ámbito universitario. Una de ellas es la educador-a especializado-a, que es la que corresponde al profesional directamente vinculado al trabajo de educación de calle (Piere y Tétard, 2006; Schaefer, 2009).

En la actualidad, el Diploma de Educador-a Especializado-a se cursa en escuelas de formación en trabajo social, denominadas I.R.T.S. (Institut Regional de Travail Social), que suelen ser de carácter privado. En Francia hay unas 56 (Carpaye, 20 de octubre de 2015). Ciertos I.U.T. (Instituts Universitaires de Tecnologie) dispensan también esta formación, como el de Grenoble o Lille.

Se trata de un Diploma de Estado, que corresponde a un nivel III de la nomenclatura francesa y a un nivel 5 de la nomenclatura europea. Y se obtiene tras una formación de carácter superior no univeristaria, aunque el título es expedido por el Rector de la Universidad que corresponda. Se lleva a cabo durante tres cursos, en alternancia entre una formación teórica de 1450 horas y una formación práctica de 2100 horas. Cada año hay un periodo de prácticas de 3 a 6 meses. (R.N.C.P., 2016).

Por un lado, el alumnado que desee cursar los estudios para la obtención de este diploma deberá superar :

- Una prueba escrita, que permita verificar las capacidades del candidato-a.

- Y una prueba oral, destinada a apreciar aptitud y motivaciones del-la mismo-a.

Por otro lado, aquellas personas que cuenten con tres años de trabajo o no menos de 4.800 horas realizadas en los ámbitos de actuacion del-la educador-a especializado-a (inclusive como voluntarios-as) pueden optar al reconocimiento de su experiencia para la obtentión, totalmente o en parte, del Diploma de Educador-a Especializado-a. Si el reconocimiento de la experiencia fuese parcial, el-la candidato-a tendría que superar una prueba de conocimientos y habilidades en el plazo de cinco años. (Delfour, 2016).

En general, las personas que cursan estos estudios cuentan entre sus cualidades con altas dosis de compromiso personal, escucha y disponibilidad (Mirolo, 2017).

Una vez obtenido el diploma, el-la educador-a especializado-a puede ejercer su función en diversos ámbitos (Neyroud, 2016):

- En régimen de internado: como responsable de un grupo de jóvenes, fuera de las horas de clase o de taller.

- En régimen de externado: trabajando en los centros escolares o en centros de ocio.

- En prevención especializada en un barrio: es aquí cuando actúa como verdadero-a educador-a de calle. Una gran mayoría de los Departamentos franceses (especialmente aquellos con importantes núcleos urbanos) tienen equipos de Prevención Especializada que, desde alguna asociación o entidad privada, intervienen en los barrios con una determinada problemática social y que son determinados por el Consejo General (Puaud, 2012). Por lo general, los departamentos subvencionan a dichas asociaciones en los gastos de personal y una parte de las actuaciones, completando los ayuntamientos el resto.

La intervención del-la educador-a especializado-a se sitúa siempre en el marco de equipos multiprofesionales, coordinándose con otros profesionales del trabajo educativo y social (psicólogos, psiquiatras, trabajadores sociales, profesores, jueces, etc.), conforme a un proyecto educativo, ya sea en el marco de una institución o de un territorio.

Se trata de un diploma con mucho reconocimiento en el mercado laboral, ya que es una de las profesiones de lo social que más gente ocupa: en el todo el país hay alrededor de 44.000 educadores-as especializados-as.. Igualmente, el 85 % de los-las que han concluido su formación encuentran trabajo en menos de 5 meses (Le Parisien, 23 de octubre de 2012). La mayoría, alrededor del 80 %, trabajan en el sector privado asociativo, contratados-as en el seno de asociaciones habilitadas (S.A.H.: Secteur associatif habilité). En menor medida, trabajan también para las instituciones territoriales (Consejos Generales) como, por ejemplo, en el seno de la Ayuda Social para la Infancia, y para los servicios del Estado, en particular con menores delincuentes, cuya actuación depende del Ministerio de Justicia.

El salario mensual medio de un-a educador-a especializado-a al comienzo de su carrera profesional es de unos 1.350 euros mensuales (Convention Collective national de travail des etablissements et services pour personnes inadaptées et handicapées, 2015).

Así mismo, su trabajo debe desarrollarse dentro del marco de la «Charte d´ethiqe professionelle des educateurs specialises» (ONES, 2014). Sin embargo, en la actualidad, hay educadores-as que critican que, como consecuencia de determinadas leyes (LOI nº 2002-2 y LOI nº 2007-297), puedan quedar en entredicho algunos principios esenciales de su actuación como es el caso del secreto profesional, corriendo el riesgo de asimilar cada vez más los-as trabajadores-as de lo social en Francia a las funciones de las fuerzas del orden (Delaporte, 2012).

Todo lo referente a este diploma viene recogido en la siguiente normativa francesa:

- Décret nº 2007-899 du15 mai 2007 relatif au diplôme d'Etat d'éducateur specialize (DECRET, 2007).

- Arrêté du 20 juin 2007 relatif au diplôme d'Etat d'éducateur specialise (ARRÊTÉ, 2007).

2.2. En España: Grado de Educación Social

En los antecedentes del título de Educación Social en nuestro país van a influir determinadas ocupaciones que se venían realizando hasta entonces como: educadores especializados, animadores socioculturales y educadores de adultos (Chamseddine, 2013). Se trata de un recorrido que concluirá en 1991 con la creación del título universitario de Diplomado en Educación Social (R.D. 1420/1991) y que, como consecuencia de la nueva reordenación de titulaciones para la adaptación al Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior, será sustituido por el de Grado en Educación Social. En España, el Grado de Educación Social se estudia en 54 centros, de los cuales 37 son universidades públicas, 11 universidades privadas y 6 centros privados adscritos.

Los estudios del Grado de Educación Social duran 4 años (60 créditos por año, hasta completar 240) y están programados, en su mayoría, en asignaturas semestrales de 6 créditos (cada crédito equivale a 25 horas).

Para obtener el título de Grado en Educación Social, los-as alumnos-as han de cursar una formación teórica que incluye:

- Unas asignaturas de formación básica (60 créditos), que se imparten en primer año.

- Otras asignaturas de formación obligatoria (114 créditos), que se cursan en 2º y 3º curso.

- Y existen también unas asignaturas optativas (30 créditos), que se cursan en 3º y 4º curso.

Igualmente, tendrán que llevar a cabo una preparación para la actividad profesional que se compone de:

- Un Practicum o Prácticas externas obligatorias. En este sentido, si observamos los planes de estudios del curso 2017-18 correspondientes al Grado de Educación social en centros de nuestro país nos podemos encontrar respecto a la configuración del Practicum una gran variedad. Por un lado, están aquellos centros con un practicum de 30 créditos a realizar en el 4º año, como es el caso de la universidad de Granada, de las Palmas de Gran Canaria, de Extremadura, de Salamanca, etc. Sin embargo, cada vez hay más centros que inician dichas prácticas en el 3º año: unas veces, fraccionando los 30 créditos entre 3º y 4º, como ocurre en las universidades de Barcelona, Sevilla, Valencia etc.; otras veces, se añaden prácticas en el 2º y/o 3º año hasta llegar a completar 42 créditos, como ocurre en las universidades de Gerona, de Málaga, Complutense de Madrid, del País Vasco, etc.

- Y un Trabajo Fin de Grado (6 créditos), que se realizaría en el último año.

Para acceder a cursar este Grado es preciso cumplir alguno de los siguientes requisitos: Estar en posesión del título de Bachillerato en la modalidad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales, haber finalizado un ciclo formativo de grado superior en la familia relacionada con la Titulación, haber superado la Prueba de acceso para mayores de 25 años o tener otra Titulación (USAL, 2016). Además de reunir los requisitos de acceso anteriores, la persona que curse estos estudios debe poseer unas características y capacidades personales, entre las que cabe señalar (Universidad de Jaén, 2015):

• Disponibilidad e interés por aprender.

• Capacidad de iniciativa y de análisis crítico de realidades sociales y educativas.

• Capacidad para comunicar, expresar, argumentar y dialogar.

• Ser sensible a las realidades del entorno, con una perspectiva crítica, reflexiva y cooperativa.

• Capacidad para resolver problemas y habilidad en la toma de decisiones.

• Capacidad de empatía.

• Habilidades sociales.

• Sentido crítico y capacidad de análisis.

• Respeto por las personas.

• Interés por la cooperación y el trabajo en equipo.

Aunque es posible también habilitarse profesionalmente como educador-a social a través de los Colegios Profesionales de Educadores-as Sociales, en la práctica a esta vía solo pueden optar aquellas personas que justifiquen un trabajo durante al menos once años en el ámbito profesional del-la educador-a social (con dedicación plena o principal) y tengan un mínimo de tres años en estudios directamente relacionados con la educación social, cursados antes de la creación en España del título universitario de educador-a social (COPESPA, 2015).

El-la Educador-a Social es un-a profesional del ámbito socioeducativo que actúa en la intervención directa sobre las personas y sus contextos, con el fin de que se logre un desarrollo personal, social y cultural. Su intervención debe ser globalizadora y puede intervenir a nivel individual, grupal o comunitario, en cualquiera de los sectores de la población. Algunas salidas profesionales del-la educador-a social serían (USAL, 2016):

- En equipos multiprofesionales, en animación sociocultural en centros culturales, entidades sociales, instituciones penitenciarias o de rehabilitación, en la Administración pública, en las áreas de juventud, cultura y bienestar social.

- En el ámbito de la atención a la infancia y menores en conflicto: equipos de atención, centros de intervención en trabajo de prevención, intervención en el medio familiar, etc.

- En equipos de prevención con poblaciones de riesgo: alcoholismo, drogodependencias, etc.

- En equipos de atención a personas con discapacidad.

- En desarrollo comunitario, promoción social, voluntariado, asociacionismo, ONG´s y Cooperación y desarrollo.

- En educación de personas mayores, atención a inmigrantes y en programas de inserción laboral.

- En actividades de educación ambiental, desarrollo sostenible, etc.

- En desarrollo local y comarcal, etc.

Por lo que respecta al trabajo del-la educador-a social con infancia y juventud diremos que hay notables diferencias entre territorios a la hora de definir su actuación, siendo esta, por ejemplo, mucho más específica en el campo de la discapacidad (Fullana, Pasillera, Tesouro y Castro, 2007; Cantón, 2008). A pesar de lo anterior, el colectivo de educadores-as sociales que en España trabaja en contextos relacionados con Menores es porcentualmente el mayor (45,3 %), frente a otros sectores como Área Social (42,5 %), Discapacidad (6,2 %) o Mayores (5,6 %) (Vallés, 2011).

En España, el 86 % de los-as educadores-as sociales tienen trabajo un año después de terminar los estudios. De ellos-as, alrededor del 20 % trabajan en alguna administración pública y el resto lo hacen en diversas entidades sociales (Fundació Pere Tarrés, 2016). En relación a su salario, en 2015 se establecía un sueldo de 20.300 euros brutos al año (Resolución de 22 de junio de 2015).

Finalmente, en nuestro país no se puede entender la actuación del-la educador-a social al margen de un Código Deontológico, que ayuda al educador y a la educadora en el ejercicio de su profesión, al tiempo que contribuye a mejorar la calidad del trabajo que se ofrece a la ciudadanía (ASEDES, 2004).

La normativa que regula estos estudios en España es:

- Real Decreto 1420/1991, de 30 de agosto (BOE 10/10/1991), por el que se establece el título universitario oficial de Diplomado en Educación Social.

- Real Decreto 1393/2007, de 29 de octubre (BOE 30/10/2007), por el que se establece la ordenación de las enseñanzas universitarias oficiales.

-Real Decreto 861/2010, de 2 de julio (BOE 3/7/2010) por el que se modifica el RD 1393/2007.

3. El trabajo de educacion de calle

Tanto en Francia como en España, al hablar de «calle» se hace como contraposición a espacios cerrados e institucionalizados, como el domicilio, la escuela o el lugar de trabajo. Así mismo, se trata de un término con un significado muy amplio, ya que abarca también: plaza, descampado, parque, solar abandonado, pistas deportivas, exteriores del centro escolar, callejones, jardines, centro comercial, estaciones, bares, salas de juego, etc. (Blanco, García y Quintanar, 2015).

A continuación, se presentan algunos proyectos que se llevan a cabo con adolescentes y jóvenes en ambos países empleando la metodología de la educación de calle, que se sustenta en tres pilares fundamentales como son: el trabajo de acompañamiento individual con las personas, las acciones colectivas o grupales y las actuaciones en el entorno comunitario; y todo ello sometido a una evaluación constante (Fontaine *et al.*, 2009; Arquero, 2009; Oña, 2010; Fernández y Castillo, 2010).

Se trata de proyectos que se vienen realizando durante un periodo no inferior a cinco años, lo que los otorga una consistencia para ser tenidos en cuenta en este estudio. A cada uno nos acercaremos a través de cuatro variables: destinatarios-as, equipo de trabajo, dependencia institucional del proyecto y actuaciones llevadas a cabo.

3.1. En Francia

Los programas a que nos referiremos son llevados a cabo por distintas asociaciones de Prevención Especializada en diversas zonas de Francia.

3.1.1. A.P.S.P. (Association pour la Promotion Sociale et Professonnelle) en Bayonne: 31 rue Victor Hugo, 64100- BAYONNE (Annuaire de l´action sociale, 2017).

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. Este servicio trabaja con menores (desde los 8 años) y jóvenes (hasta los 25 años) que pueden correr riesgos de inadaptación social como consecuencia de estar desorientados-as, no contar con apoyos sociales o estar en vías de marginación y/o fracaso en relación a recursos institucionales en los que participan.

b) EQUIPO. Grupo de trabajadores-as de lo social experimentados-as, integrado por: director-a, educadores-as especializados-as, animadores-as socioculturales y voluntarios-as.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. En este caso, nos encontramos con una asociación creada en 2009 que trabaja dentro del marco de un convenio tripartito entre Le Conseil Général des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, la A.P.S.P. y la ciudad de Bayonne (Deliberation du Conseil Municipal, 27 de mayo de 2010).

d) ACTUACIONES. Se trata de salir al encuentro de los-as chicos-as allí donde se encuentran (la calle, los bajos de los edificios, cafés, cercanías de los centros de enseñanza, etc...) y ser capaz de «engancharlos» desde la libre adhesión.

Se cuenta con un local, que es un lugar de referencia, donde es posible llevar a cabo el desarrollo de proyectos individuales o colectivos.

3.1.2. HORIZON9 en Roubaix: 82 rue Dupuy de Lôme, 59100-ROUBAIX (HORIZON9, 2016):

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS:

- Chicos-as de 12 a 25 años de cuatro barrios de la ciudad de Roubaix, en la que conviven más de 100 nacionalidades y que está considerada como una de las más pobres de Francia.

- Familias de dichos barrios.

b) EQUIPO. El equipo de trabajo en Roubaix está integrado por 9 personas entre dirección, equipo de educadores-as especializados-as y personal de administración.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. HORIZON9 es una asociación de prevención especializada creada en 2008 de la fusión de dos clubs de prevención: Géneration Projets (que trabajaba en Roubaix y Wattrelos) y Promopop (que trabajaba en Hem). El Conseil Général du Nort financia el 100 % de su actuación.

d) ACTUACIONES:

- Salir al encuentro de los-as jóvenes en la calle.

- Casa de jóvenes, «donde acuden a tomar un café, imprimir un curriculum o hablar».

- Acompañamiento individual a los-as jóvenes (en su inserción profesional, problemas con la justicia,...).

- Cumplimientos alternativos de penas (evitando ingreso en prisión).

- Acompañar a familias en gestiones ante diversas instituciones (educativas, sociales,...).

- Coordinarse con los centros de enseñanza para evitar el abandono prematuro de los estudios.

- Participar en campañas con las asociaciones de vecinos-as de los barrios.

- Proyecto solidario de construcción de una escuela maternal en la ciudad Safané de Burkina Faso, en colaboración con la asociación de ese país A.J.A.S.(Association des Jeunes Alphabétisés de Safané).

3.1.1. P.A.E.J. (Point Accueil Ecoute Jeunes) en Metz: 47 rue Dupont des Loges, 57000- METZ (Fundation VINCI, 2012)

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. Jóvenes de 18 a 21 años con gran desestructuración, bastantes de los-as cuales han ido fracasando en las instituciones por las que han ido pasando. Algunos-as presentan problemas de salud mental, son transeúntes o viven con sus padres, pero en conflicto y precisando apoyos.

b) EQUIPO. Un-a Director-a del Servicio, dos educadores-as especializados-as y personal administrativo.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. El PAEJ es una estructura creada en 2002 por el «Comité Mosellan de Sauvegarde des Enfants et des adolescents» (CMSEA). Recibe también apoyo de la Fundación VINCI, desde la que se apoyan proyectos de integración social y profesional de personas desfavorecidas.

d) ACTUACIONES:

- Trabajo de calle: saliendo al encuentro de jóvenes inactivos-as, que viven en la calle, actuación en situaciones de emergencia social (de transeúntes, incidentes,…), etc.

- Acogida: ofrecer un espacio donde los-as jóvenes puedan tomar un café, lavar la ropa, estar al tanto de noticias,…Al tiempo que poder abordar, a nivel grupal, diversos temas como: drogas, anticonceptivos, medidas activas ante el empleo, acceso a la vivienda,..

- Acompañamiento en el proceso de inserción sociolaboral al joven (formación, trabajos remunerados, visitas a empresas, etc…), tratando de que vaya siendo, cada vez más, «actor-actriz de su propia vida».

- Supervisar y apoyar la integración de los-as jóvenes en trabajos diversos.

3.1.4. Centre Social La Pépinière en Pau: 4-8 avenue Robert Schuman, 64000- Pau (La Pépinière, 2015).

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. Adolescentes y jóvenes de 11 a 20 años, a los que se llega por el contacto del trabajo de calle. Con niños-as más pequeños-as (a partir de 3 años), de familias en situación de marginación, realizan tareas de acompañamiento (en el propio domicilio o en la asociación).

b) EQUIPO. Director-a, personal educativo (psicólogo-a, educadores-as especializados-as, animadores-as, etc), personal administrativo y voluntarios-as.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. Nace en 1973, dependiendo del Conseil d'Administration de la CAF (Caisse d'Allocations Familiales) Béarn et Soule y de la asociación de usuarios La Pépinière.

d) ACTUACIONES:

- Presencia social en la calle, interpelando a los-as jóvenes con los que se encuentran, con el fin de movilizar los recursos que les favorezcan su promoción.

- Acompañamiento individual a los-as jóvenes.

- Actuaciones colectivas orientadas a la socialización, cooperación y asumir responsabilidades: actividades lúdicas diversas en el centro de ocio, gimnasia, danza, teatro, salidas a la montaña, clases de español y portugués, etc.

- Se desarrollan también acciones de apoyo con las familias.

3.2. En España

A continuación se muestran algunos proyectos que pueden ser representativos del trabajo de educación de calle en España.

3.2.1. Programa de Educación de Calle en Andoain (Guipúzcoa) (Sanz, Arguilea, Azpeitia, Alustiza y Etxeberria, 2006):

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. Adolescentes y jóvenes de 12 a 19 años del municipio de Andoain.

b) EQUIPO. Tres educadores-as de calle, monitores-as de talleres (peluquería, deporte,...), alumnos-as en Prácticas, voluntarios-as y mediadores-as juveniles (que años atrás participaron del programa como jóvenes).

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. Se trata de un programa que se viene desarrollando en el municipio de Andoain desde 1994 y que se ubica dentro del *Consorcio de Educación Compensatoria y Formación ocupacional,* que es una entidad interinstitucional con personalidad jurídica propia, de la que forman parte el Gobierno Vasco, representado a través de su Departamento de Educación, y la Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa, representada a través de los Departamentos de Gizartekintza y Juventud

d) ACTUACIONES:

- Actividades de ocio, en el local de encuentro.

- Prevención del consumo de drogas con el programa «¿Y tú qué piensas?.

- Actividades deportivas.

- Taller de estética.

- Taller de motivación y apoyo al estudio.

- Formación de monitores (micología, escalada, pesca,...).

- Participación en la vida de la comunidad (fiestas locales, competiciones deportivas, convivencias intergeneracionales, actividades medioambientales,etc.).

- Intercambios con chicos-as de otros territorios o países, durante los periodos vacacionales.

- Proyecto de empleo. Este proyecto se realiza en colaboración con la Asociación AFSAP (de Prévention Specialissée) de Pau (Francia).

- Apoyo a las familias de los chicos-as con los que se trabaja, ante demandas de las mismas.

3.2.2. Programa de Educación de Calle en Burgos: Barriada Inmaculada, J-2 bajo. 09007- Burgos (Saltando Charcos, 2017).

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. El programa se ejecuta en las zonas VI, VII y VIII de la ciudad de Burgos (barrios de Gamonal y Capiscol) y allí se interviene con adolescentes y jóvenes, entre los 12 y los 17 años.

b) EQUIPO. Dos educadores-as sociales. No obstante, la asociación cuenta la colaboración de otros-as profesionales, que intervendrían según las necesidades, así como personal voluntario.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. El programa se sitúa dentro de las actuaciones de la asociación «Saltando Charcos», que es una asociación sin ánimo de lucro con forma jurídica propia a partir del año 2002 y que viene a dar estabilidad a una actuación que se venía realizando ya desde el año 1993 con menores en desventaja del barrio de Gamonal. Para la realización de todos sus proyectos la asociación cuenta con apoyo de las administraciones públicas, financiación privada, así como las aportaciones que hacen los-as socios-as.

d) ACTUACIONES. Se proponen actuaciones en las siguientes áreas:

- Personal: se trabajará tratando de dotar al-la menor de los suficientes recursos para alcanzar una autonomía personal.

- Convivencia y relación familiar: tratando de encontrar estrategias para solucionar los problemas de relación, tanto en la calle como en la familia.

- Escolar: se intentaran detectar y modificar situaciones de absentismo, desmotivación y/o fracaso escolar.

- Judicial: ofreciendo información y orientación judicial, mediación en situaciones de conflicto, coordinación con los diferentes agentes que forman parte en el proceso judicial, etc.

- Salud: tratando de adquirir unos hábitos saludables mínimos en alimentación, higiene, sexualidad, consumo de drogas, etc.

- Orientación laboral.

- Ocio y tiempo libre.

- Relaciones con la comunidad (asociaciones de vecinos, servicios sociales y otras instituciones…).

Desde la asociación se cuenta con diversas herramientas en las que apoyarse para conseguir dichas metas como: el local donde se desarrolla el proyecto «La otra Escuela», el taller de mecánica de motos y bicicletas, el servicio de consulta jurídica «Gamín», etc. Recientemente, y con el fin de dar respuesta a necesidades detectadas en los-as chicos-as con los-as que trabajan, han puesto en marcha una Escuela de Boxeo (Simón, 28 de marzo de 2016).

3.2.3. Programa de Educación de Calle en Zamora (Salamanca, 2017):

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. Menores en desventaja, de 12 a 17 años, de la ciudad de Zamora.

b) EQUIPO. En el programa trabajan 7 educadores-as de calle, agrupados de dos en dos, formando «parejas educativas» (hombre y mujer) y tratando de cubrir las cuatro zonas de acción social de la ciudad. Junto a los-as educadores-as intervienen también mediadores-as juveniles voluntarios-as, que han pasado por alguno de los proyectos de calle en el pasado.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. Se trata de un programa municipal, en tanto que la fuente de financiación principal y la coordinación se realizan desde el Ayuntamiento de Zamora. Pese a ello, las actuaciones se llevan a cabo, de manera coordinada, por parte de tres recursos distintos: Centro Menesiano, Cruz Roja y Programa «Construyendo mi futuro» de la Concejalía de Bienestar Social.

d) ACTUACIONES:

• Salir al encuentro de los-as chicos-as en las propias zonas y recibir derivaciones de los centros escolares y/o servicios sociales de base.

• Intervención individual: Cada individuo tiene unas necesidades concretas, por ello es necesaria una relación cercana del educador-a con cada menor.

• Intervención grupal: Se trata de actuaciones que contribuyen al crecimiento de la persona desde el grupo de iguales.

• Intervención familiar: Contacto y apoyo con aquellas familias que lo demandan, ofertando espacios de formación y dialogo.

3.2.4. Programa de Educación de Calle en Logroño: Asociación Enzigzag, plaza Martínez Flamarique, 1-bajo, 26004- Logroño (Enzigzag, 2017)

a) DESTINATARIOS-AS. Menores y adolescentes de los barrios San José y Madre de Dios (entre los 8 y los 18 años) de la ciudad de Logroño, la mayoría de cuales son inmigrantes.

b) EQUIPO. Diversos-as profesionales vinculados a las diversas actuaciones que llevan a cabo, entre los-as cuales hay educadores-as sociales.

c) DEPENDENCIA INSTITUCIONAL. Enzigzag es una organización privada que viene trabajando en servicios socioeducativos desde hace más de 25 años y que realiza sus actuaciones en colaboración con diversas entidades: Ayuntamiento de Logroño, Gobierno de la Rioja, asociación Arabella, asociación La Tavaya, UNED, etc.

d) ACTUACIONES:

- Intervención con grupos de menores en calle, promoviendo actividades que estimulen la convivencia intercultural.

- Detección de problemáticas sociales de menores, en colaboración con los Centros Educativos y los Servicios Sociales municipales.

- Orientación socioeducativa dirigida a: prevenir y/o reducir los factores de riesgo, las situaciones carenciales y/o negativas y a favorecer el proceso de socialización y desarrollo integral del menor.

- Apoyo a la familia en el ejercicio de sus funciones parentales.

- Colaborar con otras asociaciones y entidades que intervengan en los barrios, promoviendo el desarrollo comunitario.

- Realización de proyectos específicos orientados hacia la prevención de distintas problemáticas: consumo de drogas, conductas agresivas, dificultades para una convivencia multicultural, asistencia jurídica, etc.

- Gestión de viviendas tuteladas.

4. Analisis comparado

4.1. En relación a la Formación

Comparamos ahora las titulaciones de Educador-a Especializado-a en Francia y de Educador-a Social en España, por ser ambas las más directamente relacionadas con el trabajo de educación de calle en sendos países.

Mientras en España la titulación de educador-a social tiene un carácter más generalista (Chamseddine, 2013), el título de Educador-a Especializado-a en Francia centra su intervención, fundamentalmente, en los ámbitos de la marginación, justicia juvenil, exclusión social y menores. En España, podemos decir que se facilita cierta especialización en los estudios de Educación Social a través de la optatividad (Panchón, 2011). Sin embargo, por lo que respecta a la educación de calle, en el curso 2017-18 únicamente encontramos en la Universidad Oberta de Catalunya, de carácter privado, una asignatura optativa con el título de «Educación de calle y adolescencia en conflictividad social».

Tanto en Francia como en España, son requisitos comunes para poder acceder a dichas titulaciones: el haber cursado el Bachillerato y superado satisfactoriamente una prueba de acceso. Sin embargo, en Francia los criterios de acceso a las titulaciones no universitarias, como es el caso de la de educador-a especializado-a, no son estrictamente académicos, sino que se desprenden de un dossier presentado por el-la estudiante en el que se incluyen aspectos sociales y preprofesionales (o de voluntariado) de su vida. En España, pero solo excepcionalmente y para mayores de 40 años, se considera la

experiencia laboral acreditada y directamente relacionada con los estudios educador-a social, por un periodo mínimo de 10 años (Universidad de Salamanca, 2016).

En ambos países, se resaltan igualmente algunas características personales que deberían tener los-as candidatos-as que vayan a cursar estos estudios y entre las que cabría destacar: capacidad de comunicación, empatía, respeto a la otra persona, espíritu de cooperación y trabajo en equipo.

La formación correspondiente al título de educador-a especializado-a en Francia se lleva a cabo, preferentemente, en centros privados dependientes del sector asociativo, con financiación pública parcial, y muy vinculados al ámbito de la Prevención Especializada. Mientras que en España el título de educador-a social se obtiene en universidades (públicas o privadas).

En Francia, los estudios de educador-a especializado-a mantienen una relación más equilibrada entre teoría-practica. Incluso, sus módulos teóricos son breves y profesionalizadores. En España, por contra, nos encontramos con una preparación universitaria que adolece de perspectivas prácticas y concretas, tal como reconocen un 58 % de los-as educadores-as sociales (ANECA, 2005), aunque los recientes planes de estudios de diversas facultades van anticipando el Practicum en el tercer año y, a veces, en el segundo (inicialmente solo existía en el cuarto año). Pese a ello, una crítica vigente es la de que en la preparación universitaria del-la educador-a social escasea la formación práctica para trabajar con menores en riesgo o desprotección (Cumbres y Galante, 2014). Por otro lado, muchos de los profesores universitarios de esta titulación en España han estado poco o nada en el campo de la intervención social (Fernández y Castillo, 2010).

Finalmente, se observa que, mientras en Francia la figura del-a educador-a especializado-a es valorada dentro del campo de la intervención social, en España la praxis profesional de los educadores sociales es, con frecuencia, inconexa, descafeinada y con escaso reconocimiento social y profesional (Viche, 2005; Hernández, 2008). Algo que se evidencia en la campaña que los diversos colegios profesionales de educadores-as sociales llevan a cabo en la actualidad por impulsar a nivel del estado español una Ley de regularización de la profesión de Educación Social (CGCEES, 2017).

4.2. En relación a la intervención

Nos fijamos para hacer la comparación del trabajo de educación de calle en las actuaciones, ya descritas, de varias ciudades de Francia y España, y que podemos considerar como una expresión significativa de dicho trabajo en ambos países.

Tanto en Francia como en España, se constata -como no podía ser de otra manera- que una característica común a todos los programas de educación de calle es tener la calle, y todos los ámbitos a ella asociada, como lugar de contacto y relación con los-as menores y jóvenes. Una vez que los-as adolescentes y jóvenes se han adherido libremente, el trabajo suele continuarse en algún espacio más formal, como algún centro.

En ambos países, los-as destinatarios-as preferentes de los programas de educación de calle son menores y jóvenes, que suelen acumular diversas experiencias de desventaja dentro del sistema social (inmigrantes, familias desestructuradas, fracaso escolar, predelincuencia, consumos tóxicos, etc.). La intervención educativa será siempre contextualizada, con el fin de abordar la especificidad de cada problemática y evitar que la misma pueda conducir hacia un fracaso personal más severo y duradero en la vida de estos-as chicos-as (Nieto, 2012).

Igualmente, suele haber consenso en la edad de inicio de los-as chicos-as en los programas de calle: entre los 10 y los 12 años. Sin embargo, sí hay variaciones en la edad límite, que en Francia suele alargarse en algunos casos hasta los 25 años. Por otro lado, en Francia podemos encontrarnos educadores-as de calle que también trabajan con público adulto como vagabundos, expresidiarios-as, personas con problemas de salud mental, etc., algo menos corriente en España.

Junto al trabajo con los-as jóvenes se subraya también la necesidad de trabajar con las familias. Sin embargo, este aspecto de la intervención está más presente en los proyectos que se realizan en Francia.

En ambos países, la mayor parte de las personas que trabajan en educación de calle suelen hacerlo en el ámbito privado. En Francia este trabajo es realizado por asociaciones de Prevención Especializada, directamente vinculadas al trabajo de educación de calle, las cuales, como consecuencia de la crisis económica global, están experimentando recortes que condicionan el trabajo que vienen haciendo (CNLAPS, 12 de febrero de 2015). En España, la mayor parte de las ocasiones, se interviene desde entidades de carácter no lucrativo o del denominado Tercer Sector (Cáritas, Cruz Roja, asociaciones con fines sociales, etc.), las cuales trabajan con diversos colectivos y metodologías, siendo el trabajo de educación de calle con menores en desventaja o riesgo un campo de actuación entre otros. Además, en el caso de España, aunque reciben también apoyo económico de la administración, este es considerablemente menor que en Francia, lo que conlleva: un número de educadores-as más ajustado, con contratos por una duración determinada y muchas veces ni siquiera a jornada completa,etc. Y, en todo caso, sus salarios (Resolución 13 de noviembre de 2012) son casi la mitad que en Francia (Lesparre, 2017).

El trabajo de educación de calle se sustenta en la adhesión libre del-la adolescente o joven, para lo cual es fundamental que el-la educador-a sea capaz de establecer una relación significativa con el-la menor (Escudero, 2015). Tanto en Francia como en España se resaltan algunas cualidades personales que han de tener las personas tituladas como educadores-as especializados-as o educadores-as sociales y que son determinantes para este enganche educativo: empatía, aceptación incondicional, autenticidad y congruencia, capacidad de dialogo, respeto y humildad, actitud democrática, optimismo, madurez emocional, perseverancia, objetividad e imparcialidad, así como sentido realista de su acción. No basta, pues, con una formación académica, avalada por un título o diploma, sino que son precisas altas dosis de inteligencia emocional y compromiso personal en las personas que van a ejercer dichas tareas (García, 1991 y Goleman, 1996).

Tanto en Francia como en España, el trabajo de educación de calle se sitúa dentro del marco de un código deontológico: la intervención del educador de calle tiene siempre una intencionalidad educativa y viene determinada por unos valores éticos que delimitan su responsabilidad profesional (AEESQ, 2015; CGCEES, 2007).

En Francia, dentro del catálogo de las profesiones sociales, la profesión de educador-a especializado-a es una de las que ocupa a más personas: más de 55.000. En España, la figura profesional de los-as educadores-as sociales cuenta con escaso reconocimiento institucional por lo que se refiere a su expansión profesional, frente a otras como, por ejemplo, la del-la trabajador-a social, mucho más implantada (CGCEES, 2015). En ese sentido habría que interpretar la campaña que se viene realizando en España con el fin de que se regule por ley la profesión de educación social (CGCEES, 2017).

Es común también en ambos países que cada proyecto tenga una identidad territorial: cada uno ha surgido como consecuencia de la observación y planificación de la

intervención en un territorio determinado, tratando de dar respuesta a la-s problemáti-ca-s detectada-s con menores y jóvenes en riesgo del mismo. Por eso, aun teniendo una metodología de trabajo común ya descrita, no hay dos programas de educación de calle idénticos, ni es posible trasplantar programas de un territorio a otro. Una diferencia sustancial es que en Francia la coordinación entre proyectos de educación de calle es mayor que en España y ello gracias al C.N.L.A.P.S (Comité National de Liaison des Acteurs de la Prevention Spécialisée) creado en 1972 y que reúne en su seno a diversas entidades que trabajan en el ámbito de la Prevención Especializada en todo el país.

Completando lo anterior, se constata, en los proyectos de ambos países, una incidencia en la promoción del desarrollo comunitario, como no podía ser de otra manera (Oña, 2010): más allá del trabajo con los-as menores y familias, existe también una exigencia por incidir en el territorio donde se actúa. Igualmente, encontramos en muchos proyectos una preocupación transfronteriza, la cual está mucho más presente en Francia.

Tanto en Francia como en España, el trabajo de educación de calle se ubica dentro de la actuación de equipos multiprofesionales. Y, simultáneamente, este trabajo se completa con un trabajo en red con todas aquellas instituciones y entidades que de una forma u otra tienen relación con los menores y/o jóvenes con los-as que se interviene (Crua y Barceló, 2005; Melendro, 2014).

Reconociendo como necesaria una memoria de actuaciones y rendición de cuentas (dado que los proyectos en ambos países se sustentan, en buena medida, de fondos públicos), sin embargo es necesario estar alerta respecto a la exigencia de una evaluación sustentada en la búsqueda de transparencia y fiabilidad extremas, puesto que ello que puede poner en riesgo los lazos sociales (apoyados en la confianza y confidencialidad entre educador-a y chicos-as) y distorsionar propósitos de la intervención socioeducativa (Boevé, Zanella, Lira, Quoc-Duy y Trousselard, 2011). En todos los proyectos se recoge una evaluación continua, la cual es considerada como un instrumento de mejora y de optimización de la acción socioeducativa (Gómez, 2004; Tregoat, 2005). Así mismo, un apartado esencial en dicha evaluación estriba en recoger en todo momento las opiniones de los-as menores y jóvenes con los-as que se trabaja (Oña, 2008).

5. Conclusiones

A continuación, y considerando el análisis precedente, se extraen algunas conclusiones que podrían contribuir a mejorar el trabajo que se lleva a cabo con menores en medio abierto desde la metodología de la educación de calle en España.

5.1. Respecto a la Formación

Se hace necesario recuperar la convergencia entre teoría y práctica, por lo que al trabajo de educación de calle se refiere (Medel, 2012). Por ello, sería conveniente que en los estudios del Grado de Educación Social estuviera más presente este trabajo, introduciendo alguna materia del tipo: «Intervención educativa con jóvenes en riesgo desde la metodología de la educación de calle», así como ofertar algún curso de postgrado sobre el tema, en el que pudieran intervenir como profesores educadores de calle.

En la construcción de un espacio europeo de educación superior (R. D. 1397/2007) es necesario garantizar la movilidad personal y profesional de aquellos-as profesionales que trabajan en medio abierto empleando la metodología de la educación de calle. Por otro lado, en un mundo sujeto a profundos cambios es fundamental asegurar un trabajo

coordinado y en red a nivel internacional, en el que la creatividad que exige la respuesta a los nuevos retos y la defensa de los derechos fundamentales de los más vulnerables sean un marco ineludible de referencia (Pérez y Arteaga, 2009; Roux, 2013).

La inserción laboral de educadores-as sociales trabajando con menores en desventaja y/o riesgo sigue siendo aún minoritaria, tal como ya se recogió en anteriores análisis (Agencia Nacional de Evaluación de la Calidad y Acreditación, 2005) y que quien suscribe este artículo avala después de más de diez años de trabajo como educador de calle. Así, aunque se valora el trabajo «a pie de calle» como necesario y efectivo, sin embargo, la existencia de educadores-as trabajando, por ejemplo, con menores inmigrantes no acompañados es muy escasa, de ahí tantos-as transitando por la calle sin apoyo en algunas ciudades (Gallego, Martínez, Ortiz, Pastor, Pérez y Valero, 2006; Rubio, 23 de noviembre de 2016). Igualmente, su presencia en la educación formal es todavía un reto (Arrikaberri, Caballero, Huarte, Tanco, Biurrun, Etayo y Urdaniz, 2013) Sin embargo, si queremos que opciones como la prevención, la compensación educativa y la integración sean prioritarias en nuestra sociedad -por lo que se refiere al trabajo con infancia, adolescencia y juventud- es urgente poner en valor e invertir recursos que potencien la presencia de los-as educadores-as sociales en dichos ámbitos.

5.2. Respecto a la Intervención

Poner en marcha un programa de educación de calle es una apuesta arriesgada, no exenta de cuestionamientos, pero la evaluación del camino recorrido demuestra que compensa (Sanz, Arguilea, Azpeitia, Alustiza, y Etxeberria, 2006) y es por tanto una herramienta que habría que potenciar en la intervención con chicos-as en desventaja, recuperando la calle, en la teoría y en la práctica, como espacio de socialización educativa (Zabalbeascoa, 17 de agosto de 2016).

Aunque existe una realidad de trabajo de educación de calle en España, sin embargo, no hay un intercambio y coordinación entre asociaciones y proyectos como sucede en Francia a través de la C.N.L.A.P.S. (Comité National de Liaison des Acteurs de la Prévention Spécialisée). Recientemente se ha pretendido impulsar este intercambio a través de la plataforma Dynamika (Dynamo, 2014), pero es algo que sigue siendo un reto para la educación de calle en España.

Subrayar que los programas de educación de calle no son un lugar de cumplimiento de medidas judiciales en medio abierto, donde el-la joven permaneciera obligado. Para participar es necesaria la libre adhesión del-la joven al programa. Solo una vez que se haya producido esta, podría darse el caso de que algún-a chico-a pudiera simultanear su estancia en el mismo con el cumplimiento de alguna medida judicial alternativa al ingreso en un centro de reforma.

Podemos decir que los-as educadores-as de calle son expertos en inadaptación, identificando los diversos factores de riesgo de los-as menores y jóvenes con los que trabajan. Pero su respuesta no se queda en el problema, ya que tratan en todo momento de incidir sobre las potencialidades de la persona, sin dar a nadie por perdido-a, ayudando al-la joven a afrontar las adversidades desde sus recursos personales o fortalezas (University of Pennsylvania, 2017) y contando con el apoyo de la comunidad, desde un planteamiento educativo proactivo e integral (Barudy y Dantagnan, 2005).

En la actualidad, gracias a la red Dynamo International de Educadores-as de calle, se cuenta con una metodología común para el trabajo de educación de calle (Fontaine *et al.*,2009). Sin embargo, la difusión de los materiales formativos de dicha Red debería

potenciarse más en España, pues los-as educadores-as normalmente acceden a los mismos por cauces distintos a los de su preparación universitaria, como, por ejemplo, jornadas de algún colegio profesional sobre el trabajo de educación de calle (CEESCYL, 2017), etc.

El trabajo de educación de calle tiene unas connotaciones de apoyo y acompañamiento personal, lo que exige que el-la educando-a perciba al-la educador-a como una persona significativa en su proceso de crecimiento, cambio e integración social. Desde la praxis observada en muchos proyectos, se debería contar, al menos, con la «pareja educativa» - educador y educadora- (Salamanca, 2017), ofreciendo a los-as menores y jóvenes dos modelos de identificación asequibles en cuanto al género, algo importante dado el transito personal y los cambios de toda índole que acarrea la adolescencia, y más en una sociedad compleja como la actual (Valverde, 2002; Bauman, 2003; Melendro, González y Rodríguez, 2013).

Sin embargo, este trabajo de relación individual debería completarse con un trabajo grupal. Dicho trabajo grupal vendría después de que el-la educador-a haya creado unos vínculos con el-la chico-a. En ese marco grupal se pueden abordar temáticas diversas, actuando el grupo como espejo y estímulo para cada uno-a de los-as integrantes: prevención de drogas, riesgos asociados a la sexualidad, apoyo al estudio, planificación del ocio y tiempo libre, actividades deportivas, orientación laboral, habilidades sociales, teatro, música y danza, etc. (Moreno y Gamonal, 2006). A la par, en dicho marco grupal se trabajarían aspectos directamente relacionados con el bienestar personal y social de los-as chicos-as como: la autoestima, la integración social y el trabajo en grupo, así como la participación comunitaria, contando para ello con las aportaciones realizadas por diversos programas del desarrollo personal y social para el trabajo con adolescentes y jóvenes (Rodrigo, Máiquez, García, Medina, Martínez y Martin, 2006; López, Carpintero, Campo, Lázaro y Soriano, 2008; Luengo, Gómez, Garra y Romero, 2008).

Asimismo, consideramos que en España habría que dar más importancia al trabajo con las familias, a la par que se trabaja con los menores y jóvenes participantes en los programas de educación de calle. Es necesario comprender al-la chico-a como parte de un sistema familiar, lo que nos lleva a evitar la compartimentación y fragmentación en la intervención, tratando de hacer un abordaje lo más integral posible (Melendro, De Juanas y Rodríguez, 2017). Para contribuir a ello, consideramos muy útiles diversas experiencias realizadas desde la terapia sistémica (Minuchin, 2009; Escudero, 2010), así como programas de prevención familiar realizados desde este planteamiento (Ramos, Ubierna y Blanco, 2008).

La crisis económica que hemos vivido en Europa ha traído como consecuencia recortes económicos y aumento de la precariedad en los proyectos de educación de calle, tanto en España (Fundación Mutua Madrileña, 2014) como en Francia (Bagdassarian, 2016). Sin embargo, en nuestro país, los índices de pobreza infantil son mayores que en otros países europeos, tal como revelan recientes estudios (UNICEF, 13 de abril de 2017). Por todo ello, aunque el futuro próximo va a requerir innovar e interconectarse más las organizaciones que trabajan en campo la intervención social para ajustarse a esta racionalidad presupuestaria (Laxague y Etxeberria, 2013; Bechler, 2014), se debería primar una intervención educativa con menores y adolescentes en situación de riesgo (Picornell, 2006 y Velaz de Medrano, 2010) y consideramos que hacerlo desde la metodología de la educación de calle es eficiente, tal como demuestran diversas experiencias que se vienen realizando al respecto (Blanco, García y Quintanar, 2010; Diez, 2017 y Salamanca, 2017).

Igualmente, y también como otra consecuencia de la crisis económica que ha afectado a Europa, se ha llegado a satanizar a los-as refugiados-as y solicitantes de asilo, tildándoles de potenciales terroristas, argumentos en los que vienen incidiendo, sobretodo, diversos grupos nacionalistas de extrema derecha del continente (Frente Nacional en Francia, Alternativa para Alemania en Alemania o el Brexit como movimiento más global en el Reino Unido). Sin embargo, diversos estudios nos dicen que es en el colectivo de inmigrantes donde las condiciones de pobreza y exclusión se agravan más que en ningún otro (Fernández-García, 2012), llegando la situación a ser un verdadero drama con el grupo de los menores extranjeros no acompañados (González, Díaz, Pérez, Toharia y Assiego, 2017). A la luz de lo anterior, estimamos que el trabajo con menores y jóvenes inmigrantes tendría que ser una de la prioridades en el trabajo de educación de calle, no solo en España, sino en toda Europa, con el fin de apoyar su integración social. En el caso de Francia, país con el que venimos haciendo este estudio comparado, sí se viene considerando en el trabajo de educación de calle este enfoque (Jelouali, 2003; Gardant, 2013; Etoundi, 2014), incidiendo, en los últimos tiempos, en la prevención del radicalismo islámico (Petit y Rizzo, 2017). Podemos concluir que el no abordaje, de manera adecuada, de la integración de inmigrantes es uno de los factores que se relacionan más directamente con el aumento de la inseguridad en nuestras sociedades (Cano, 2009).

Con el tiempo, en nuestros proyectos hemos sido testigos de cómo muchos-as chicos-as con los-as que se ha trabajado han ido creciendo, superando los estereotipos que desde determinados sectores de la sociedad se pretendía atribuirles y llegando a ser, muchos-as de ellos-as, un referente para otros-as más jóvenes.. Algunos-as de estos-as chicos-as colaboran como voluntarios-as en los proyectos de educación de calle que se realizan en nuestro país y se les denomina como «mediadores-as juveniles en educación de calle» (El día de Zamora, 26 de octubre de 2016). Su importancia estriba en el hecho de que son figuras cercanas y motivadoras para otros-as menores y jóvenes con los-as que se trabaja. Constatamos que es necesario seguir potenciando esta figura educativa en el trabajo de educación de calle.

Uno de los fines del trabajo socioeducativo con chicos-as en situación de desventaja desde la metodología de la educación de calle es que puedan llevar a cabo una adecuada integración social y para ello es determinante que haya una buena coordinación entre los diversos recursos y entidades que tengan relación con esos-as chicos-as en la ciudad (del ámbito social, educativo, sanitario, policial, etc.), potenciando la creación de cauces institucionales (si no los hubiera) que garanticen un trabajo eficaz en red (Ballester, Orte, Oliver y March, 2004). Cuando esta coordinación no se da se dificulta sobremanera la integración social de los chicos-as, así como su tránsito a la vida adulta (Melendro, 2011).

La actuación del-la educador-a social en España (igual que en Francia la del-la educador-a especializado-a) está sujeta a un código deontológico, que representa los valores a salvaguardar en la praxis educativa, ya que puede haber actuaciones de un-a educador-a que no sean adecuadas desde un punto de vista ético. Por otro lado, vivimos en una sociedad en cambio, que exige una adaptación permanente de la actuación del-la educador-a. Por todo ello, creemos que es necesario ahondar en el conocimiento y reflexión sobre dicho código deontológico, tal como vienen haciendo diversos colegios profesionales (Rodríguez, 2012). Así mismo, habría que trabajar por construir de forma complementaria otros instrumentos útiles para la reflexión y el trabajo, tales como «Manuales de buenas prácticas» (Becedóniz, 2003; Berlinerblau, Nino y Sabrina, 2013), así como promover la organización de comisiones éticas en el seno de las propias organizaciones en las que interviene el educador (Junta de Castilla y León, 2016).

Finalmente, el trabajo a pie de calle que realizan los-as educadores-as y otros-as profesionales de lo social en barrios marginales nos lleva a subrayar la necesidad de esta intervención (más a medio y a largo plazo), frente a otras actuaciones más represivas, de control o policiales (más inmediatas), algo que a veces se mezcla, pervirtiendo la identidad de los-as educadores-as de calle (Soto, 14 de agosto de 2017; Rubio, 6 de noviembre de 2017). La solución más eficaz, sociológica y educativamente hablando, sería ir al origen de los problemas y abordar los mismos con un enfoque preventivo y prosocial, desde un trabajo cercano y casi invisible como es la educación de calle, a pesar de que ello requiera más tiempo (Conde, 21 de octubre de 2017).

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3

El máster universitario en España y las opciones de los estudiantes chinos

The master 's degree in Spain and the Chinese students' choice

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Resumen

La educación de máster universitario en España es bien conocida por su larga historia, amplia gama de especialidades, asignaturas diferenciadas y métodos de enseñanza flexibles. Partiendo del análisis del corpus de los certificados de máster universitario obtenidos por estudiantes chinos, el artículo presenta objetivamente la distribución universitaria, el diseño de especialidades y el programa de máster de las universidades españolas que tienen alumnos chinos. Al mismo tiempo, hace una comparación con la educación de máster en China. El objetivo de nuestra investigación es dar a conocer los motivos por los cuales los postgrados de España atraen cada vez más a los estudiantes chinos y mostrar el desarrollo de los programas de máster en China.

Palabras clave: universidades españolas; estudiantes chinos; máster universitario; especialidad; asignatura

Abstract

The master's education in Spain is well known for its long history, wide range of specialties, differentiated subjects and flexible teaching methods. Based on the analysis of the corpus of university master's certificates obtained by Chinese students, the article presents objectively the university distribution, the design of specialties and the curricular of the máster of the Spanish universities that have Chinese students. At the same time, it makes a comparison with the máster's education in China. The intention of our research is to publicize the reasons why the postgraduate courses in Spain attract more and more Chinese students and show the development of master's programs in China.

Key Words: Spanish universities; Chinese students; máster´s degree; specialty; subjects

1. Introducción

La educación superior española tiene una larga historia y un sistema integral. Según el Ministerio de Educación de España, los estudios universitarios en el Estado español se distribuyen en 3 ciclos: el primer ciclo es el grado (la antigua licenciatura); el segundo ciclo es el máster; el tercer ciclo es el doctorado[1]:

Los estudios de grado constan de un total de 240 créditos europeos, normalmente distribuidos en cuatro años. Solo para ejercer determinadas profesiones que presentan características particulares, como abogado, profesor de educación secundaria o ingeniero, los graduados tendrán que estudiar un máster.

Los estudios de máster comprenden entre 60 y 120 créditos europeos (entre 1 y 2 años). Existen 3 tipos de máster: máster orientado a la especialización; máster necesario para ejercer una profesión y máster orientado a la investigación.

El doctorado es el tercer ciclo de las enseñanzas universitarias y se compone de un período de formación y un período de investigación. Esta última etapa finaliza con la elaboración de una tesis doctoral.

Aunque la escala de matrícula universitaria no es tan grande como en China, las universidades españolas tienen un alto nivel de internacionalización, especialmente en la etapa de formación de máster/postgrado. Algunas disciplinas y especialidades de universidades españolas están atrayendo cada día a más estudiantes extranjeros. Los datos e informaciones del Centro de Servicio para Intercambio Académico de China[2] muestran que, solo en 2016, más de 200 estudiantes chinos obtuvieron títulos oficiales de máster universitario con una cobertura de más de 120 especialidades. La fecha de graduación oscila entre junio de 2011 y marzo de 2017. Este artículo analiza la distribución universitaria, especialidades y asignaturas para conocer el plan de estudios, sistema de materias y necesidades de los estudiantes basándose en el corpus de títulos y certificados de máster universitario obtenidos por estudiantes chinos. Con esta investigación empírica, pretendemos proporcionar una referencia para mejorar aún más tanto la educación superior como los cursos de máster de China.

2. Universidades españolas elegidas por estudiantes chinos

De acuerdo con las últimas estadísticas, existen 82 universidades en España, entre ellas, 50 públicas y 32 privadas[3]. En 2012, España, junto con los Estados Unidos, Gran Bretaña, Francia y China, es conocida como uno de los diez países mundiales de destino de estudio según la Organización Mundial de Cooperación y Desarrollo Económicos[4] (OCDE). De los 217 estudiantes chinos encuestados que han obtenido títulos oficiales de máster universitario en España, 24 han elegido universidades públicas, dos de ellos universidades privadas, y otros dos, institutos de investigación en España. Véase la siguiente tabla y figura:

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[1]   http://www.educacion.gob.es/boloniaensecundaria/09-damos-respuesta1.htm#pregunta2

[2]   Desde enero de 2016, la autora empezó a trabajar como traductora de títulos y certificados de máster universitario de España logrados por estudiantes chinos en el Centro de Servicio para el Intercambio Académico de China. Este trabajo es una investigación empírica basada en el corpus de los títulos y certificados.

[3]   http://www.universia.es/universidades

[4]   http://bg.yjbys.com/diaochabaogao/22303.html

Tabla 1

Universidades españolas elegidas por estudiantes chinos

| NO.	Universidad	Ubicación (Comunidad Autónoma)		Número de estudiantes chinos
1	Universidad Rey Juan Carlos	Comunidad de Madrid	Público	30
2	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona	Cataluña	Público	27
3	Universidad Complutense de Madrid	Comunidad de Madrid	Público	26
4	Universidad Carlos III de Madrid	Comunidad de Madrid	Público	20
5	Universidad de Alcalá de Henares	Comunidad de Madrid	Público	18
6	Universidad de Sevilla	Andalucía	Público	10
7	Universidad de Salamanca	Castilla y León	Público	10
8	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid	Comunidad de Madrid	Público	9
9	Universidad de Granada	Andalucía	Público	8
10	Universidad de Barcelona	Cataluña	Público	6
11	Universidad de Valencia	Comunidad Valenciana	Público	6
12	Universidad Politécnica de Madrid	Comunidad de Madrid	Público	5
13	Universidad Ramón Llull	Cataluña	Privado	5
14	Universidad Rovira i Virgiri	Cataluña	Público	5
15	Universidad de Málaga	Andalucía	Público	4
16	Universidad Politécnica de Valencia	Comunidad Valenciana	Público	4
17	Universidad Pompeu Fabra	Cataluña	Público	4
18	Universidad de Alicante	Comunidad Valenciana	Público	4
19	Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña	Cataluña	Público	3
20	Universidad de Burgos	Castilla y León	Público	2
21	Universidad de Valladolid	Castilla y León	Público	2
22	Universidad de Oviedo	Asturias	Público	2
23	Universidad de Cádiz	Andalucía	Público	2
24	Universidad de Jaén	Andalucía	Público	1
25	Universidad de las Illes Balears	Islas Baleares	Público	1
26	Universidad Pontificia Comillas	Comunidad de Madrid	Privado	1
27	IED Madrid Centro Superior de Diseño	Comunidad de Madrid	Privado	1
28	Instituto de Empresa	Comunidad de Madrid	Privado	1
Total				**217**

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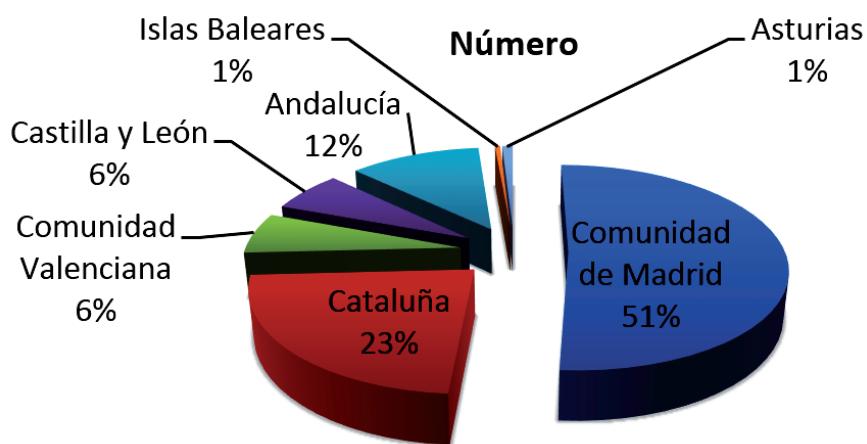
Figura 1. Distribución regional universitaria.

En la figura 1 podemos ver que la mayoría de los estudiantes chinos logran títulos de máster universitario en las grandes ciudades de la Comunidad de Madrid (51 %) y Cataluña (23 %), seguidas por las ciudades de Andalucía (12 %), Castilla y León (6 %) y la Comunidad Valenciana (6 %). Pocos estudiantes eligen universidades en el norte, por ejemplo: Asturias (1 %) y en zonas insulares como Islas Baleares (1 %). Se nota un desequilibrio de distribución de estudiantes chinos. Para resolver este problema, Quiroga (2017:476) plantea que hace falta una mayor expansión del intercambio entre universidades españolas y chinas, para que más estudiantes chinos estudien en diferentes zonas españolas. Por otra parte, el 96,3 % opta por máster de universidades públicas, y solo 8 personas (3 %) seleccionan universidades e instituciones privadas.

Partiendo de los datos anteriores, podemos conocer que los alumnos chinos estudian másteres tanto en universidades con larga historia como en universidades relativamente jóvenes. Por ejemplo, la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (1293) y la Universidad de Alcalá (1499); la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (1968), y la Universidad de Carlos III de Madrid (1989), etc. Cada una de estas universidades tiene sus propias características en asignaturas, recursos docentes e intercambios internacionales. Por ejemplo, la Universidad Complutense de Madrid es una de las más prestigiosas tanto en el país como en el mundo. Durante muchos años, ocupa el primer lugar del ranking de universidades españolas[5]. Hoy en día, es la universidad más grande y más completa de España, que abarca principalmente cinco disciplinas: humanidades, ciencias, ciencias de la salud, ciencias sociales y jurídicas, ingenierías y arquitectura; así como 175 especialidades de másteres para el curso 2017-18[6]. La Universidad Carlos III de Madrid se fundó en 1989 y fue la primera universidad de España en incorporar todos los programas de grado, máster y doctorado en el programa Erasmus.[7] Debido a eso, ha registrado un avance

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5   http://www.elmundo.es/ranking-universidades.html

6   http://www.ucm.es/estudios/máster

7   El programa Erasmus, acrónimo del nombre oficial en idioma inglés European Region Action Schemeforthe Mobility of University Students (Plan de Acción de la Comunidad Europea para la Movilidad de Estudiantes Universitarios), es un plan de gestión de diversas administraciones públicas por el que se apoya y facilita la movilidad académica de los estudiantes y profesores universitarios dentro de los Estados miembros del Espacio Económico Europeo, Suiza y Turquía. Disponible en https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Programa_Erasmus

muy notable y se sitúa en el octavo lugar en el ranking de universidades españolas[8]. En la actualidad, muchos estudiantes chinos prefieren ir allí para estudiar. En lo que va el año, una veintena de alumnos han logrado títulos oficiales de máster universitario de esta Universidad. Para el año 2018, según el ranking mundial QS[9], la Universidad Complutense ocupa el 4º lugar de España y la Universidad Carlos III el 7º.

3. Disciplinas y especialidades preferidas por los estudiantes chinos

Los estudiantes chinos prefieren los estudios de máster en España por los programas científicos, las asignaturas relacionadas con la cultura española, las especialidades adaptadas a las necesidades sociales y al desarrollo del momento.

Desde la década de 1990, la proporción del máster de humanidades, ciencias sociales y jurídicas en el mundo (región) ha mostrado una tendencia creciente en comparación con el máster de ciencias (Jianlin, 2009:66). A través de la tabla 2, descubrimos que solo 27 estudiantes chinos eligen el máster de ciencias, ciencias de la salud, ingenierías y arquitectura, representando el 13 % de la totalidad.

Tabla 2

Másteres de ciencias, ciencias de la salud, ingenierías y arquitectura elegidos por los estudiantes chinos

Universidad	Especialidad	Disciplina	Número de estudiantes chinos
Universidad Complutense de Madrid	Geología Ambiental y Recursos Geológicos	Ingenierías y arquitectura	1
	Energía		1
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid	Ingeniería Matemática		1
Universidad Politécnica de Madrid	Planificación Urbana y Regional		1
	Proyectos Arquitectónicos Avanzados		1
	Estructuras de la Edificación		1
	Ingeniería Mecánica		1
Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña	Ingeniería Civil		1
	Teoría y Práctica del Proyecto de Arquitectura		1
	Ciencia y Tecnología Aeroespacial		1

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8   http://www.elmundo.es/ranking-universidades.html
9   http://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20170607/423254024982/comunicado-qs-world-university-rankings-2018.html

Universidad	Especialidad	Disciplina	Número de estudiantes chinos
Universidad de Burgos	Cultura del Vino: Enoturismo en la Cuenca del Duero	Ciencias	2
Universidad de Salamanca	TIC en Educación: Análisis y Diseño de Procesos, Recursos y Prácticas Formativas		2
Universidad Politécnica de Valencia	Automática e Informática Industrial		1
Universidad de Oviedo	Biotecnología Alimentaria		1
Universidad de Granada	Óptica y Optometría Avanzada	Ciencias de la salud	2
	Avances en Radiología Diagnóstica y Terapéutica y Medicina Física		5
Universidad de Sevilla	Investigación Médica: Clínica y Experimental		5
Universidad de Valencia	Ciencias Odontológicas		1
Total			**29**

Analizando los datos de estos estudiantes podemos descubrir que las especialidades de ciencias incluyen disciplinas o materias relacionadas con la historia y cultura de España como «Cultura del Vino: Enoturismo en la Cuenca del Duero» y otras de las áreas emergentes de la ciencia y la tecnología, como «Ciencia y Tecnología Aeroespacial», proporcionando un amplio espacio para que los estudiantes chinos puedan seleccionar.

3.1 Diversidad de especialidades de másteres de humanidades, ciencias sociales y jurídicas

Entre los estudiantes chinos encuestados, el 23 % elige la especialidad relacionada con la filología hispánica. Sobre este ámbito, algunas universidades disponen de más de una especialidad. Véase la siguiente tabla:

Tabla 3

Especialidad de la lengua española y opción de los estudiantes chinos

	Especialidad	Universidad	Número de estudiantes chinos
1	Lengua Española, Literatura Hispánica y Español como Lengua Extranjera	Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona	2
2	Traducción, Interpretación y Estudios Interculturales		8
3	Tratamiento de la Información y Comunicación Multilingüe		2
4	Lengua Española, Literatura Hispánica Español como Lengua Extranjera		1

	Especialidad	Universidad	Número de estudiantes chinos
5	Enseñanza del Español como Lengua Extranjera	Universidad Complutense de Madrid	3
6	Pensamiento Español e Iberoamericano		3
7	Español y Literatura Hispánica Contemporánea	Universidad Carlos III de Madrid	4
8	Literatura Hispánica Contemporánea		5
9	Comunicación Intercultural, Interpretación y Traducción en los Servicios Públicos Especialidad en Chino-Español	Universidad de Alcalá	8
10	Traducción y Comunicación Intercultural	Universidad de Sevilla	2
11	Lengua Española: Investigación y Prácticas Profesionales	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid	1
12	Pensamiento Español e Iberoamericano		2
13	Literatura Hispánica: Arte, Historia y Sociedad		2
14	Experto en Español como Lengua Extranjera en Ámbitos profesionales	Universidad de Barcelona	1
15	Estudios Hispánicos: Aplicaciones e Investigación	Universidad de Valencia	1
16	Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras (Español Lengua Extranjera/Inglés Lengua Extranjera)	Universidad Rovira I Virgili	2
17	Estudios de Traducción	Universidad Pompeu Fabra	1
18	Enseñanza del Español como Lengua Extranjera	Universidad de Valladolid	1
Total			**49**

Aparte de la filología hispánica, el máster universitario en administración, liderazgo y gestión también incluye varias especialidades. 50 estudiantes chinos han conseguido títulos de este ámbito. En sus títulos aparecen 16 denominaciones diferentes. Por ejemplo: Gestión de Personal, Dirección de Recursos Humanos en Organizaciones, Gestión Empresarial, Técnicas Cuantitativas en Gestión Empresarial, Dirección de Comunicación Empresarial e Institucional, Gestión, Organización y Economía de la Empresa, Gestión Administrativa del Comercio Internacional, Administración de Empresas Internacionales, Dirección y Administración de Empresas, Administración de Empresas Turísticas, Gestión de Liderazgo, Gestión de Cultura, Gestión de Proyectos Culturales, Gestión de la Documentación, Bibliotecas y Archivos, etc.

3.2 Surgimiento de especialidades de las ciencias e interdisciplinarias

En el marco de las ciencias, también aparece una serie de carreras emergentes y de alto nivel tecnológico. Por ejemplo, Energía Solar Fotovoltaica de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Biotecnología Alimentaria de la Universidad de Oviedo, Ciencia y Tecnología Aeroespacial de la Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña, así como otras carreras relacionadas con el ámbito más reciente de la ciencia y la tecnología. Por otro lado, se han iniciado nuevas especialidades interdisciplinarias, tales como: Cine, Televisión y Medios Interactivos de la Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Iniciativa Emprendedora y Creación de Empresas de la Universidad Carlos III, Turismo Electrónico: Tecnologías Aplicadas a la Gestión y Comercialización del Turismo de la Universidad de Málaga, Técnicas de Análisis e Innovación Turística de la Universidad Rovira i Virgili, Economía del Turismo y Medio Ambiente de la Universidad de Les Illes Balears, etc. Cada día hay más estudiantes chinos que optan por estas carreras y han logrado títulos oficiales de máster universitario.

3.3 Especialidades exclusivas en España

Algunos estudiantes chinos eligen especialidades que solo existen en máster en España. Por ejemplo: Cultura del Vino, Patrimonio Cultural: Identificación, Análisis y Gestión; Dirección y Gestión de Producto de Moda; Didácticas Específicas en el Aula, Museos y Espacios Naturales, etc. Estas especialidades cuentan con peculiaridades culturales y históricas españolas.

3.4 Títulos conjuntos nacionales e internacionales de máster universitario

Las universidades pueden, mediante convenio con otras universidades nacionales o extranjeras, organizar enseñanzas conjuntas conducentes a la obtención de un único título oficial de máster universitario[10]. Por otra parte, en el proceso de la integración de la educación superior de la UE, España responde positivamente a la iniciativa del «Programa Erasmus»[11] y fomenta el intercambio nacional e internacional de la educación superior. Esta tendencia también se refleja en el diseño de especialidades de máster universitario para estudiantes extranjeros, cuyos modelos se dividen en 3 tipos:

Primero, «títulos conjuntos universitarios». Según el corpus, un estudiante chino eligió el título de Máster en Gestión de Economía e Innovación establecido por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid y la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. Se trata de un título conjunto de máster otorgado por 3 universidades de la misma comunidad autónoma.

Segundo, «títulos conjuntos nacionales». Un estudiante chino optó por estudiar el Máster Universitario en Condiciones Genéticos, Nutricionales y Ambientales del Crecimiento y Desarrollo establecido por la Universidad de Granada, la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, la Universidad de Zaragoza, la Universidad de Rovira i Virgili y la Universidad de Cantabria. Se trata de un título conjunto de máster otorgado por 5 universidades de España.

Tercero, «títulos conjuntos internacionales». En cuanto a la cooperación internacional, España ha establecido el «máster Europeo», por lo que se convierte en el destino más popular entre los estudiantes europeos. Por ejemplo, entre los 58 títulos de máster universitario de la Universidad de Cataluña, 10 pertenecen a «máster Europeo» (Xiuyan,

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10   http://servicio.us.es/academica/titulos-conjuntos-de-grado-y-máster
11   El Programa Erasmus se estableció en 1987 por la Comunidad Europea para promover el intercambio de estudiantes dentro de la Comunidad Europea.

2013:79). Sin embargo, esta cooperación no se limita a universidades europeas, sino que también incluye universidades latinoamericanas. Según el corpus, un estudiante chino elige el Máster Universitario Internacional en Estudios Contemporáneos de América Latina establecido por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, la Universidad de Costa Rica y la Universidad de Uruguay.

Respecto a China, los títulos conjuntos se iniciaron en la década de 1980. En el siglo XXI, el ritmo de la implantación se ha acelerado. Entre ellos, la iniciativa de títulos conjuntos internacionales se desarrolla más rápido que los dos primeros y ha conseguido buenos logros en los últimos años. Por ejemplo: en octubre de 2007, 12 universidades[12] de Beijing decidieron implantar títulos conjuntos internacionales para los estudiantes de postgrado en cooperación con universidades extranjeras. En junio de 2010, un total de 201 estudiantes de postgrado obtuvieron títulos conjuntos internacionales. (Xingwu & Yong, 2011:4)

A medida que aumenta el alcance de este tipo de formación, aparecen cada día más modelos con innovación. Por ejemplo, la Universidad de Estudios Extranjeros de Guangdong (en adelante GDUFS) lleva muchos años explorando y mejorando el sistema internacional de educación de postgrado. En 2017, la Universidad aprovechó la gran variedad de especialidades relacionadas con lenguas extranjeras con las que cuenta y cofundó el título de postgrado de «Gestión e Innovación Internacional» con la Universidad de Maryland, EE. UU., recibiendo el apoyo total del Consejo Nacional de Becas de China. Este proyecto aplica el sistema académico «1 + 1 + 1». Es decir, los estudiantes estudian en GDUFS el primer año escolar. El segundo año, en la Universidad de Maryland. El tercer año, las dos universidades les ofrecerán oportunidades de hacer prácticas externas en las Naciones Unidas, el Banco Mundial, el Fondo Monetario Internacional, la Organización Mundial del Comercio y otras organizaciones internacionales. Los graduados recibirán sendos títulos de postgrado[13].

Estas medidas pueden mejorar la cualidad integral de los posgraduados, promover el desarrollo de la educación de máster en las universidades, ampliar los intercambios internacionales y encontrar nuevas vías adecuadas para la formación de postgrado.

4. Plan de estudios de máster universitario

El plan de estudios incorpora plenamente los puntos clave del sistema de formación de la educación superior: asignaturas científicas, créditos flexibles, evaluaciones estrictas, etc. Conforme al Ministerio de Educación[14], los estudios de máster comprenden entre 60 y 120 créditos europeos (entre 1 y 2 años). Si un alumno quiere obtener el título oficial, tiene que cumplir todos los requisitos establecidos por el plan de estudios y realizar los ejercicios correspondientes para la conclusión de la carrera. El corpus muestra que el 98 % de los estudiantes chinos son capaces de completar todos los créditos en un año académico y recibir el título oficial. Justamente el corto plazo constituye un factor relevante para atraer a los chinos a estudiar en España, porque en China, generalmente

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12   12 universidades chinas son: la Universidad Médica de Beijing, la Academia de Cine de Beijing, la Universidad del Petróleo de Beijing, la Universidad Renmin de China, la Universidad de Tecnología Química de Beijing, la Universidad Central de Finanzas y Economía, la Universidad de Comercios Internacionales y Economía de la Capital, la Universidad de Comercios Internacionales y Economía, la Universidad de Estudios Extranjeros de Beijing, la Universidad de Lenguas y Culturas de Beijing, la Universidad Normal de Beijing y la Universidad Normal de la Capital.

13   http://yz.chsi.com.cn/kyzx/kyft/201709/20170913/1628092289.html

14   http://www.educacion.gob.es/boloniaensecundaria/09-damos-respuesta1.htm#pregunta2

necesitan por lo menos 2 años para terminar el estudio de máster, según el Programa de Enseñanza de máster en China[15].

En la actualidad, el plan de estudios varía según las universidades y carreras, y tiene muy buena acogida entre los estudiantes chinos. Según los certificados académicos personales, hay 4 modelos de diseño curricular:

Modelo 1: asignaturas obligatorias + optativas + trabajo fin de máster. Este es el modo más adoptado por las universidades, especialmente las carreras de ciencias, ciencias de la salud, ingenierías y arquitectura. Por ejemplo, máster universitario en Ingeniería Mecánica de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid tiene 4 asignaturas obligatorias, 13 optativas y el trabajo fin de máster. Entonces, cabe preguntar: ¿una misma especialidad de distintas universidades tiene el mismo plan de estudio? La contestación es no. En el caso del máster en Pensamiento Español e Iberoamericano, la Universidad Complutense de Madrid ofrece 6 asignaturas obligatorias, 4 optativas y el trabajo fin de máster; la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 3 asignaturas obligatorias, 5 optativas, 1 práctica externa y el trabajo fin de máster. Véase la siguiente tabla:

Tabla 4

Asignaturas del máster en Pensamiento Español e Iberoamericano

Universidad Complutense de Madrid			Universidad Autónoma de Madrid		
Tipo	Asignatura	Crédito	Tipo	Asignatura	Crédito
Obligatoria	Genelogía y estructura del espacio iberoamericano	4	Obligatoria	De la monarquía hispana a la comunidad de las repúblicas (1500-2000)	5
	Filosofía, multiculturalismo y postcolonialidad iberoamericana	4		De la escuela de Salamanca al modernismo (siglos XVI-XIX)	5
	Humanismo, barroco e ilustración en el pensamiento hispanoamericano	5		Identidad y literatura en Hispanoamérica	5
	El pensamiento ibero-americano en el siglo XIX	5			
	Ortega y su diálogo con la filosofía de Iberoamérica	5			
	Grandes pensadores de América Latina	5			

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15   https://baike.baidu.com/item/ %E7 %A0 %94 %E7 %A9 %B6 %E7 %94 %9F/498746?fr=aladdin

Universidad Complutense de Madrid			Universidad Autónoma de Madrid		
Tipo	Asignatura	Crédito	Tipo	Asignatura	Crédito
Optativa	María Zambrano y los exilios republicanos: las escuelas de Madrid y de Barcelona	5	Optativa	José Ortega ya Gasset y el pensamiento del exilio	5
	Grandes corrientes actuales de la filosofía en español	5		El pensamiento filosófico, religioso y político de Miguel de Unamuno	5
	Filosofía y ensayismo mexicano: de Alfonso Reyes a Octavio Paz	5		La recepción del pensamiento de Xavier Zubiri en Iberoamérica	5
	La construcción de los imaginarios nacionales en Iberoamérica	5		Filosofía mexicana: siglos XVI-XVIII	5
				El regeneracionismo español en la crisis de finales del siglo XIX	5
				Prácticas externas	5
	Trabajo fin de máster	12		Trabajo fin de máster	15
Total		**60**			**60**

Además, existen sistemas curriculares que solo disponen de una asignatura obligatoria y el resto son optativas. Por ejemplo, el máster universitario en Cultura del Vino de la Universidad de Burgos. En el plan de estudios, el trabajo fin de máster y la asignatura «Vinos del mundo: tipos y propiedades» son obligatorios. Las otras 10 asignaturas son optativas: «Viticultura del siglo XXI», «Rutas del vino», «Entorno económico del sector vitivinícola», «Tradición e innovación enológica» etc.

Modelo 2: asignaturas obligatorias + práctica externa + trabajo fin de máster. Por ejemplo, máster universitario en Gestión e Investigación de la Comunicación Empresarial de la Universidad Rey Juan Carlos tiene un total de 11 asignaturas, de las cuales 7 asignaturas obligatorias deben ser completadas en un año académico. No hay exigencia para la fecha de terminación de las prácticas externas y el trabajo final. Ocurre lo mismo con el máster universitario en Comunicación Intercultural, Interpretación y Traducción en los Servicios Públicos de la Universidad de Alcalá. El alumnado tiene que terminar 8 asignaturas obligatorias en un año académico. Pero no hay demanda estricta de la fecha de finalización de la práctica externa y el trabajo final.

Modelo 3: asignaturas obligatorias + optativas+ trabajo fin de máster + seminarios. Por ejemplo, el máster universitario en Teoría y Práctica del Proyecto de Arquitectura de la Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña tiene 5 materias obligatorias, 2 optativas y la tesina de fin de máster. Y además, el plan de estudios cuenta con el proyecto «Seminario de Crítica», que es obligatorio y tiene 10 créditos.

Modelo 4: asignaturas matriculadas + obligatorias + optativas+ trabajo fin de máster. Por ejemplo, el máster universitario en Investigación en Periodismo: Discurso y Comunicación de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid aplica esta forma, cuyas materias y asignaturas están compuestas por 2 asignaturas matriculadas, 5 obligatorias, 6 optativas y tesina de fin de máster.

En resumen, este diseño curricular facilita la opción de los estudiantes. Además, también facilita la evaluación final. Si un estudiante no presenta o tiene calificación de «suspenso» en una asignatura, tiene dos opciones. Por una parte, este puede presentarse en la siguiente convocatoria de la misma asignatura. Según el corpus, el 20 % de ellos se han presentado en la segunda convocatoria y han logrado la calificación de «aprobado». Por otra parte, uno puede elegir otra asignatura y presentarse en la convocatoria. Esta forma mejora la eficiencia didáctica y la mayor parte de los estudiantes chinos puedan obtener el título dentro de un año.

4. Conclusiones

El análisis de los motivos por los cuales los estudiantes chinos eligen el máster en España y el descubrimiento de las características de la formación de máster en España y China son cuestiones muy significativas. Podemos ver que en el proceso de integración de la educación superior europea, la educación superior de España, con una larga historia, está desarrollándose con una gran vitalidad, especialmente los títulos de máster universitario que tienen acceso a conocimientos y habilidades estrechamente vinculados al mercado de trabajo, a corto plazo y con diseño curricular flexible, atraen cada vez más a estudiantes chinos para estudiar en España. Mientras tanto, durante los 40 años de la reforma y apertura en China, ha habido un gran desarrollo en la educación de máster. En particular, se ha registrado un progreso considerable en la cooperación internacional en los últimos años. En la actualidad, nos enfrentamos a un reto: cómo hacer que la educación de máster sea más adecuada para el mercado de trabajo. Por eso, la educación de máster actual de España puede ser una referencia valiosa.

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