

# Educació i Història

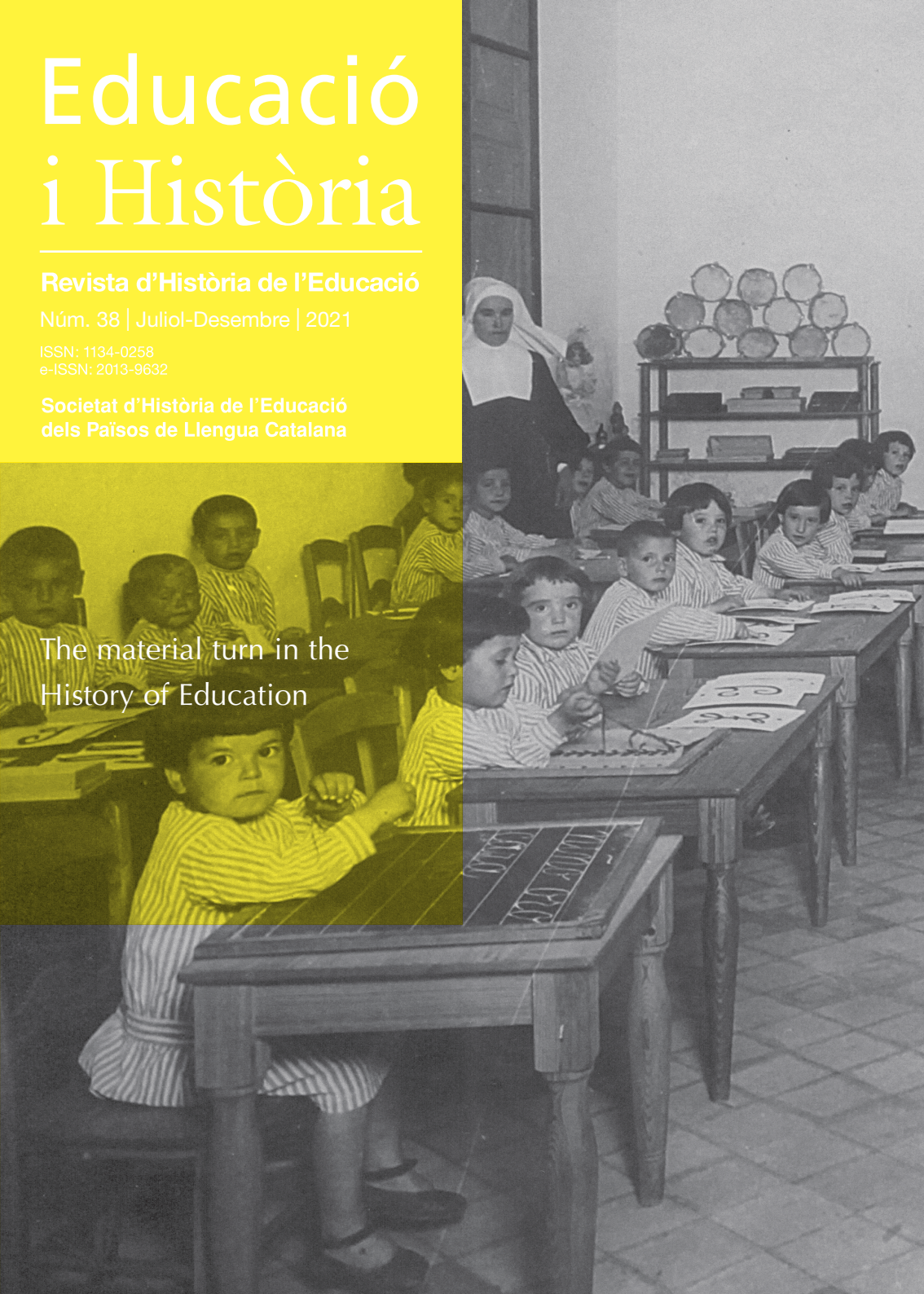
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Societat d'Història de l'Educació  
dels Països de Llengua Catalana

The material turn in the  
History of Education



# Educació i Història

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## Editorial

### *Editorial*

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Over the last twenty years, the «material culture of education» emerged as an innovative trend in historical education studies, with some specificities according to the historiographical tradition of the receiving countries. This dossier – planned for this year and set for the ISCHE 43 «Histories of Educational Technologies: Cultural and Social Dimensions of Pedagogical Objects» in Milan, was postponed due to the Covid-19 outbreak. Its aim is to provide a first historiographical survey of the main stages of development regarding this line of research in some of the countries where it has been most successful. The introduction by Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Wiara Alcântara presents an analysis of dissemination of material studies in the history of



education within the international historiographical debate. Ten historians of education reconstruct the dissemination of the material history of school in the United Kingdom, Italy, Brazil, Spain, France and Greece. The papers provide a mapping and an overview on the most important studies and seminal works (books, special issues and papers) produced in this field in the last twenty years. The dossier should have also contained a contribution by Karin Priem on the growth and development of material studies in the history of education in German-speaking areas, influenced by various academic disciplines such as cultural anthropology, epistemology, material culture studies and material hermeneutics enriched by international scholars. Unfortunately, it was not possible to finish this paper because of the pandemic emergency<sup>1</sup>, but we think that this dossier has managed to achieve a broad and structured historiographical framework and shows the main dynamics of dissemination of the material history of school, as well as highlighting mutual influences (and interferences).

This monographic dossier reflects the effort and the articulation of an international network of research and researchers on the theme of the material culture of school. It reveals the multiple features and approaches of research on this subject, as well as defining the place and the ways of doing research in the history of education with the material culture of school as the interpretative axis. The set of papers available here constitutes a panel, which both reveals trends in research on the subject in the transversality of the writings on the history of education of the various countries that make up this dossier, and points out the characteristics, approaches and traditions that characterize research in these same countries. These interpretative possibilities encompass a circulation of references and an intense dialogue that strengthens the groups involved in the task, as well as the subject itself.

1 On these issues, however, see the important works edited by Karin Priem in last years: PRIEM, Karin; KÖNIG, Gudrun M.; CASALE, Rita (eds.). *Die Materialität der Erziehung: Kulturelle und soziale Aspekte pädagogischer Objekte*. Weinheim-Basle: Beltz Verlag, 2012; PRIEM, Karin; HEESSEN, Kerstin te (eds.), *On Display: Visual Politics, Material Culture and Education*, Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2016.



# The material turn in the History of Education<sup>1</sup>

## *El gir material en la història de l'educació*

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### RESUM

Escrit com a introducció al dossier sobre cultura material escolar, aquest article està organitzat en tres parts. El primer apartat, explora les relacions entre cultura i pràctiques escolars, intentant delinear l'escenari inicial d'aquests debats. A la segona part, es delineen tres vessants fonamentals en els estudis de la materialitat de l'escola: museològica o relacionada amb el patrimoni educatiu; tecnològica o relacionada amb la innovació; i bibliotecària o relacionada amb els manuals escolars. Finalment, presenta

1 While this paper was jointly conceived by the two authors, the writing of the manuscript was divided between them as follows: Diana Vidal drafted the Introduction, Sections 1, 2 and the Final remarks, and Wiara Alcântara drafted Section 3. The reflection outlined here is the product of a collective work made possible by the Theme Project Knowledges and Practices in frontiers: toward a Transnational History of Education (1810 –...) (FAPESP process 2018/26699-4), coordinated by Diana Vidal, in which Wiara Alcântara is an associate researcher.

enfocaments recents sobre la història econòmica (que comprèn la història de la indústria, de les patents, del comerç nacional i internacional) i la perspectiva transnacional. Al mateix temps, assenyala nous reptes de recerca sobre els efectes de la cultura material en l'esfera social, la història dels artefactes científics entrellaçats amb la història de l'educació i l'extensió de l'agència humana als objectes.

**PARAULES CLAU:** patrimoni educatiu, manuals escolars, innovació tecnològica, currículum, història transnacional, història econòmica.

## ABSTRACT

Written as an introduction to the this dossier on school material culture, this article is organized into three parts. In the first one, it explores the relations between culture and school practices, attempting to outline the initial scenario for these debates. In the second part, it outlines three seminal strands in the studies of the materiality of school: museological or related to the education heritage; technological or related to innovation; and librarial or related to school manuals. Lastly, it presents recent approaches concerning economic history (comprising the history of industry, of patents, of national and international commerce) and the transnational perspective. At the same time, it points out new research challenges regarding the effects of material culture on the social sphere, the history of scientific artefacts intertwined to the history of education and the extension of human agency to the objects.

**KEY WORDS:** educational heritage, textbooks, technological innovation, curriculum, transnational history, economic history.

## RESUMEN

Escrito como introducción al dossier sobre cultura material escolar, este artículo está organizado en tres partes. En el primer apartado, se explora las relaciones entre cultura y prácticas escolares, intentando delinear el escenario inicial de estos debates. En la segunda parte, se delinear tres vertientes fundamentales en los estudios de la materialidad de la escuela: museológica o relacionada con el patrimonio educativo; tecnológica o relacionada con la innovación; y bibliotecaria o relacionada con los manuales escolares. Por último, presenta enfoques recientes sobre la historia económica (que comprende la historia de la industria, de las patentes, del comercio nacional e internacional) y la perspectiva transnacional. Al mismo tiempo, señala nuevos desafíos de investigación sobre los efectos de la cultura material en la esfera social, la historia de

los artefactos científicos entrelazados con la historia de la educación y la extensión de la agencia humana a los objetos.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** patrimonio educativo, manuales escolares, innovación tecnológica, currículum, historia transnacional, historia económica.

In 2020 we published the article «The *Syndicat Commercial du Mobilier et du matériel d'Enseignement* and the transnational trade of school artefacts (Brazil and France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)». <sup>2</sup> That article marks the 25-year-long trajectory of investigation of a research group, which initiated in 1995 with a project entitled «The school and its materiality: strategies and tactics (Federal District, 1927-1930)», authored by Diana Vidal <sup>3</sup>. At the same time, it reveals the changes that took place in the reflection about this theme: from a local outlook to a transnational dimension; from the attention to objects taken as indexes of innovation of practices within primary schools to the perception of the external pressures upon the school inner workings placed by commercial and industrial agents within the scenario of mass education; from an analysis of materiality generically considered to a delving into the study of a unique object exemplified by the doctoral work of Wiara Alcântara <sup>4</sup> about the school desk.

These changes, however, were not circumscribed to the exercises of a research group. On the contrary, they are indications of the manner in which the field of the history of education approached the so-called material turn, the unifying theme of the texts included in this dossier, which give testimony to how these arches of meaning were attributed to the investigation in this area based on distinct national historiographies. By retracing what have sometimes been individual paths, the articles re-inscribe the itineraries of theoretical and methodological reflection in the history of education into a dialogue with other disciplinary fields and offer axes to the narrative proposed

2 ALCÂNTARA, Wiara; VIDAL, Diana. «The *Syndicat Commercial du Mobilier et du matériel d'Enseignement* and the transnational trade of school artefacts (Brazil and France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)», *Paedagogica historica*, DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2020.1796721.

3 The Project was sponsored by FAPESP (process 95/09361-6) and gave origin to the Interdisciplinary Group of Studies and Researches in the History of Education (NIEPHE) (<https://sites.usp.br/niephe/>).

4 ALCÂNTARA, Wiara. *Por uma história econômica da escola: a carteira escolar como vetor de relações (São Paulo, 1874-1914)*. PhD- FEUSP, 2014.

in this Introduction. Before spelling them out, however, it is fitting to establish a point of inflection located in the 1970s, which had impacts both on the historiographical production and on the studies on material culture.

We are referring here to the changes operated in the craft of the historian after the reintroduction of culture as a fundamental element to the interpretation of the social world, as well as to the new contributions from the studies of material culture that prompted the development of a theory of practices as a way to contain the excesses of cultural relativism. In both cases, a decisive movement in the direction of valuing subjects and their experience or agency in society allowed the emergence of categories such as gender, race, ethnicity and generation into constitutive topics in the interpretations, and instigated the enquiry about how subjects construct and create cultural practices.

The ways in which these problems impacted research and the academic production in the field of history of education are the purpose of this Introduction, which is organized into three parts. In the first one, it explores the relations between culture and school practices, attempting to outline the initial scenario for these debates. In the second part, it outlines three seminal strands in the studies of the materiality of school: museological or related to the education heritage; technological or related to innovation; and librarial or related to school manuals. Lastly, it presents recent approaches concerning economic history (comprising the history of industry, of patents, of national and international commerce) and the transnational perspective. At the same time, it points out new research challenges regarding the effects of material culture on the social sphere, the history of scientific artefacts intertwined to the history of education and the extension of human agency to the objects.

## I. SCHOOL CULTURE AND PRACTICES AS SUBJECTS OF STUDY

In 1993, Dominique Julia delivered the closing lecture at the xv ISCHE in Lisbon with the title of «La culture scolaire comme objet historique», which was published as an article in *Paedagogica historica* in 1995.<sup>5</sup> Translated into several languages, the text became a mandatory reference in the international historiography of education, as pointed out by Bernat Sureda and Gabriel Bar-

5 JULIA, Dominique. «La culture scolaire comme objet historique», *Paedagogica Historica*, Suppl. Series, vol. 1 (coord. A. Nóvoa, M. Depaepe e E. V. Johanningmeier) (1995), p. 353-382.

celó, and Juri Meda and Simonetta Polenghi in this dossier. Despite its importance, and without wishing to minimize the impact it had on the field, the text articulated a debate that was not entirely new. Behind the discussions it proposed was the reflection carried out within the Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique (INRP–France) and, in particular, by the linguist André Chervel, who in a work previously published in the journal *Histoire de l'Éducation*,<sup>6</sup> as well observed by Marguerite Figeac-Monthus also in the present dossier, had already made use of the phrase «culture scolaire». It harked back to a discussion that preceded it by two decades, in which culture had become a privileged subject for history, as proposed by French, English or Italian historiography, taking on shades of national colors in exponents such as Michel de Certeau,<sup>7</sup> Michel Foucault,<sup>8</sup> E.P. Thompson<sup>9</sup> and Carlo Ginzburg.<sup>10</sup>

The decisive interest in cultural practices, and within these in school practices, put forward a change in the hitherto prevalent approach in the historiography of education, which focused on the topics of pedagogical thinking and in their pairs, the great pedagogues; and also, on the school legislation, mirroring educational policies. Contrasting with this outlook that focused on schools from without and presupposed a homology between ideas and laws on the one hand, and the education process on the other, or denounced a constant insufficiency of the two latter with respect to the former, there emerged a new perspective that enquired about the internality of school affairs and recognized the inadequacy of the analysis constructed so far to decipher the school daily life.

Two inflections gave support to this «will to know»<sup>11</sup> that popped up in the field, and they related directly to the traditional themes of study mentioned above; or, alternatively, they came from questions concerning the education arena (and not just following historical analysis but emerging in the same period). The first of these inflections, appearing amidst the protests of May 1968, revealed that, despite the judgement that regarded school as the

6 CHERVEL, André. «L'histoire des disciplines scolaires: réflexions sur un domaine de recherche», *Histoire de l'éducation*, nr. 38 (mai 1988), p. 59-119.

7 DE CERTEAU, Michel. *La culture au pluriel*. Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1974.

8 FOUCAULT, Michel. *Les Mots et les Choses*. Paris: Gallimard, 1969; FOUCAULT, Michel. *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard, 1975.

9 THOMPSON, E. P. *The making of the working class*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1963.

10 GINZBURG, Carlo. *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500*. Torino: Einaudi, 1976.

11 FOUCAULT, Michel, *Op. Cit.*

reproducer of dominant ideology,<sup>12</sup> the institution had a significant role in the social emancipation of the popular classes, and had conceived within it the critique to the ideas that supported its *status quo*.<sup>13</sup>

The second inflection consisted in the diagnostics of the relative failure of the education reforms (and, therefore, of educational policies) promoted since the late 1960s, which would have been incapable of an in-depth change of the teaching work, stimulating investigations about the way teachers teach, paraphrasing the book by Larry Cuban,<sup>14</sup> released in the same year of Dominique Julia's lecture, on constancy and change in north American classrooms between 1880 and 1990. The two observations laid bare the lack of academic knowledge about what happened within the school walls and challenged the community to break into the school «black box», a metaphor recurrently present in the texts during the last three decades.

To gain access to school practices, studies initially focused on teaching and curriculum or school disciplines. Jacques and Mona Ozouf<sup>15</sup> in France, Thomaz Popkewitz<sup>16</sup> and Larry Cuban<sup>17</sup> in the USA, António Nóvoa<sup>18</sup> in Portugal, Ivor Goodson and Andy Hargreaves<sup>19</sup> in the United Kingdom, Agustín Escolano Benito<sup>20</sup> in Spain, to name a few examples, were interested in the historical role of teachers. The wave, perhaps originated with Jacques Ozouf<sup>21</sup> in 1967, as noted by Marguerite Figeac-Monthus, opened up a

12 As already done by the classic text by BOURDIEU, Pierre; PASSERON, Jean-Claude. *La reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1970.

13 DE CERTEAU, Michel. *Op. cit.*

14 CUBAN, Larry. *How teachers taught. Constancy and change in American classrooms, 1880-1990*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1993.

15 OZOUF, Jacques; OZOUF, Mona. *La République des instituteurs*. Paris: Gallimard, Le Seuil, 1992.

16 POPKEWITZ, Thomaz. «Organization and power: Teacher education reforms», *Social Education*, 51 (1987), p. 496-500.

17 CUBAN, Larry. *How teachers taught... Op. cit.*; CUBAN, Larry. *Teachers and machines: the classroom use of technology since 1920*. New York/London: Teachers College Press, 1986.

18 NÓVOA, António. *Os Professores e as Reformas de Ensino na Viragem do Século 1886-1906*. Porto: Edições ASA, 1993.

19 GOODSON, Ivor; HARGREAVES, Andy (eds). *Teachers' Professional Lives*. New York: Falmer Press, 1996.

20 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «Los profesores en la historia», MAGALHÃES, Justino; BENITO ESCOLANO, Agustín (Org). *Os professores na História*. Porto: Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação, 1999, p. 15-27

21 OZOUF, Jacques. *Nous les maîtres d'école. Autobiographies d'instituteurs de la Belle Époque*. Paris: Gallimard/Julliard, 1967.

field of studies about the life and work of teachers which is still very active, reinvigorated by the expansion of sources and methodologies with the use of oral history, life history, autobiography, and prosopography.

Another segment of education research that benefited from the use of the categories of school culture and practices was that of curricula and school disciplines. Making reference to authors here is as risky as in the previous paragraph, and we shall restrict ourselves to mentioning two of the most deeply rooted strands in the field, namely: English sociology and history of curriculum represented, among others, by Ivor Goodson,<sup>22</sup> and the French history of school disciplines represented, among others, by André Chervel.<sup>23</sup> In both cases we do not intend to present here a genealogy of their works or to identify those with the greatest impact. We do not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to identify strands that help us to understand how the historiographies of education gradually came to terms with the concern with material school culture.

In this sense, it seems to be still necessary to notice that, particularly when associated to the history of curriculum, these digressions raised questions about the school space and time which, in themselves, can already be considered as material aspects of school and schooling. Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon<sup>24</sup> saw in problematizing those two elements one of the paths to bring history of education closer to a history of the routine «educational reality within and without schools»: a movement that could already be discerned in works such as those of Jaume Trilla,<sup>25</sup> António Viñao Frago<sup>26</sup> and Agustín Escolano Benito<sup>27</sup> in Spain, just to refer to one national example; and with the repercussion in other countries, as described by Georgios Tzartzas in the present dossier when dealing with a history of education in Greece.

In the wake of these initiatives, the focus of the interpretive lens was adjusted to frame objects of smaller proportions, making a step towards a real interest in

22 GOODSON, Ivor. *School Subjects and Curriculum Change*. London: Croom Helm, 1983.

23 CHERVEL, André. *Histoire de la grammaire scolaire*. Paris: Payot, 1977.

24 DEPAEPE, Marc; SIMON, Frank. «Is there any place for the history of education in the history of education?» A plea for the history of everyday educational reality in- and outside schools», *Paedagogica historica*, XXXI (1995), p. 9-16.

25 TRILLA, Jaume. *Ensayos sobre la escuela. El espacio social y material de la escuela*. Barcelona: Laertes, 1985.

26 VIÑAO FRAGO, António. «Del espacio escolar y la escuela como lugar: propuestas y cuestiones», *Historia de la Educación*, n. 12-13 (1993-1994), p. 17-74.

27 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «La arquitectura como programa. Espacio-Escuela y currículum». *Historia de la Educación*, n. 12-13 (1993-1994), p. 97-120.



the artefacts mobilized in the daily exercise of the class, not only by teachers, but also by their pupils. The initial interest was in school manuals/ textbooks (and sometimes in school notebooks), giving substance to a history of school disciplines; in technologies, feeding a history of curriculum and teacher work; and in memorabilia associated to school space and time, comprising emphasis on an action of safekeeping the educational heritage. These are the strands we shall look into in the next section.

## 2. THREE SEMINAL STRANDS IN THE STUDIES OF THE SCHOOL MATERIALITY

When identifying three seminal strands in the studies of the school materiality we have no intention to place them in mutual isolation. On the contrary, their boundaries are perceived as porous and can only be established in hindsight, with the purpose of organizing the narrative, and whose effect is one of conferring certain intelligibility to trajectories in this field. In this sense, we shall be dealing with what we deem as the preponderant aspect of these initiatives both in terms of approach and of geographical demarcation.

By dealing with the way in which the «new materiality» broke into the scene of Spanish history of education, the article by Bernat Sureda and Gabriel Barceló found in this dossier refers to the impulse that the investigation gave to the organization of school museums and to the constitution of training practices within this sphere of educational heritage. This statement also applies to France, according to Marguerite Figeac-Monthus, and to Italy, as recognized by Juri Meda and Simonetta Polenghi. The texts throw light on a movement that extended especially throughout Latin-based language countries with important repercussions in the creation of institutions for the preservation not just of three-dimensional objects, but also of text, iconographic and oral documents, such as museums, centers for the preservation of school memory and archives, and in the incentive to restoration and maintenance of school buildings seen as examples of architectural models.

The conception that the residues of school practices, as ends of the educative exercise, were short lived, since school administrations were only concerned with the keeping of documents related to means, due to their role of proof, led historians of education, either individually or in groups, to propose and conduct projects of safekeeping of the education heritage, as described by Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva and Gizele de Souza in this dossier, when dealing with the Brazilian case. Simultaneously, and in particular in what concerns Portugal

and Spain, they stimulated the proposal of master and doctorate graduate programs focused on training educators to deal with the education heritage, as pointed out by Bernat Sureda and Gabriel Barceló.

To be sure, in those two countries the interest was interlocked with the creation of the European Union and, in the wake of the debates that produced the integration of several states since 1993, with the fear of losing national identities, which in turn produced a wave of preservation of local particularities. It was, in that sense, in tune with the perspectives that appealed to the knowledge of school daily life, and that proposed the expansion of available sources for historical research in education. The attention given to materiality also stimulated the organization of exhibitions and even the creation of scientific societies and networks of researchers, such as the Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE), in 2004; RIDPHE, Rede Iberoamericana para a Investigação e a Difusão do Patrimônio Histórico-Educativo, in 2008; and more recently, in 2018, the Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo (SIPSE); as well as scientific journals and conferences.

The enquiries about material school culture also provoked the engagement with the discussion about nonmaterial culture, fostering a wave of studies on the history of sensibilities, emotions and rituals, either within the realm of a memorialist-commemorative production, as it is denominated by António Viñao Frago;<sup>28</sup> or as inspired by historiographies dedicated to this theme, such as the works by Jean Delumeau<sup>29</sup> and Peter Gay,<sup>30</sup> for example; or still accompanying the discussions about cultural heritage that in the 1980s led to the recognition by UNESCO of the need to preserve the intangible cultural heritage of mankind.<sup>31</sup>

The article by Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor in this dossier highlights a different strand of the insertion of the school's materiality in the analysis of the history of education which, we might say, is more associated to the Anglophone context, albeit being disseminated in works also conducted in Mexico, whose focus lies on the relation between technology, teaching work and pedagogical innovation, on the one hand raised by the contributions of

28 VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «El patrimonio histórico-educativo: memoria, nostalgia y estudio», *Conciencia social: anuario de didáctica de la geografía, la historia y las ciencias sociales*, 15 (2011), p. 141-148.

29 DELUMEAU, Jean. *La peur en Occident (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles). Une cité assiégée*, Paris, Fayard, 1978.

30 GAY, Peter. *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

31 UNESCO. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October 2003.

a history and sociology of curriculum, and on the other fed by the discussion about education reforms. The reflection benefited from a long tradition in the English social historiography with contributions from E.P. Thompson<sup>32</sup> in valuing the class experience for the constitution of the culture of work during the Industrial Revolution; by Christopher Hill,<sup>33</sup> causing the inversion of the historiographical lens by focusing on the political action of groups constituted by common people defending their interests during the English Revolution; and still by Raphael Samuel,<sup>34</sup> in which photography opened up a range of occupations ignored by national statistics but that were important sources of additional income to the seasonal labor in the fields.

The approximation between the world of school and the world of labor raised interest in the in-service training for the teaching profession. It is not an accident, therefore, that in the inter-crossing of those agendas, that is to say, the world of labor perceived through a classroom «making» resulting from the agency of common subjects, we find the mutual method, created by Lancaster and Bell in England, bringing together the research investment of various countries, such as that of Greece, as described here by Georgios Tzartzas. Similarly, the articulation that brought closer photography was a prompting to explore the potential of the visual source for the perception and recording of intraschool relations, within and without the classroom, in courtyards and other institutional spaces, enquiring about the importance of materiality in modelling school practices, as explored by Grosvenor, Lawn e Rousmaniere.<sup>35</sup>

For this strand of works, the school building was also a subject of study, taken less in its heritage dimension, but rather in the perspective of understanding the material aspects of the distribution of spaces, of employing constructive materials, and of the relation between ideas and functions, as noticed by Lawn and Grosvenor in this dossier, for which the photographic recording played an invaluable role in documenting and understanding the changes operated in buildings through time as a function of changes in use, modifications in disposition and size of classrooms, creation of new spaces

32 THOMPSON, E. P. *Op. cit.*

33 HILL, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*. London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1972.

34 SAMUEL, Raphael. *Village life and labour*. London: Routledge, 1975.

35 GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; ROUSMANIERE, Kate (Eds.). *Silences and Images: The Social History of the Classroom*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

and, even, adaptations promoted by the introduction of technologies and change in pedagogical orientations. The modes of occupation gave rise to particular attention being paid to school furniture and to the artefacts employed by subjects in actually conducting classroom activities, either industrially produced or created/recreated by the school community to answer to historically changing educational demands, constitutive of a teaching work culture and of an experience of becoming pupil and teacher that is sedimented in temporal layers.<sup>36</sup>

The application of visual history implied, beyond the documental aspects, the access to social representations about the school individuals and about the schooling process itself, giving rise to questions about what was documented and about the silences of documentation. At the same time, the focus on school technologies afforded an investigation of the limits of its functionality or even its adequacy to the working relations promoted within schools, inspiring new lines of research, and placing under suspicion the straightforward relation between technological innovation and improvement in the quality of teaching.<sup>37</sup> The «question about what teachers carried in school? What was in their pockets and bags which were necessary to teach with?», formulated in 1990 by Tim O'Brien<sup>38</sup> and cited by Lawn and Grosvenor in this dossier, remains a stimulating one.

A third and last strand can still be explored. It refers to what is designated by librarial or related to school manuals or textbooks. It should be said that the structure proposed here does not imply a time succession. On the contrary, these perspectives, which have many similarities between them, appeared in the field almost simultaneously as a response to research problems historians of education were faced with as a consequence of new theoretical frameworks, as we have emphasized, emerging both in the seedbeds of history and in the education arena. With regard to investigations about school manuals, this has implied not only the production of academic texts, but as in the educative heritage strand, an important effort to locate, collect, restore, keep, and build databases of textbooks.

36 LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian. «When in doubt, preserve: exploring the traces of teaching and material culture in English schools», *History of Education*, v. 30, n. 2 (2001), p.117-127; ROCKWELL, Elsie. «Metáforas para encontrar histórias inesperadas», NEPOMUCENO, Maria de Araújo; TIBALI, Elianda. *A educação e seus sujeitos na história*. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2007, p. 15-33.

37 CUBAN, Larry, *Teachers and machines...* *op. cit.*

38 O'BRIEN, T. *The Things They Carried*. London: Collins, 1990.

At times, the two initiatives become connected, as in the case of the Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE), in Spain, which collects, apart from artefacts related to a school museum, a significant archive of school manuals; in other cases, a more librarial concern predominates, as in the case of the Georg-Eckert-Institut in Germany. Without constituting specific institutions, but associated to Universities, other projects share similar objectives, such as the LIVRES (Banco de Dados de Livros Escolares Brasileiros), at the University of São Paulo, Brazil; the MANES (Manuales Escolares - Centro de Investigación Interuniversitario) at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia - UNED, Spain; and the EMMANUELLE, at the Bibliothèque Diderot in Lyon, France. Among these centers and libraries an intense exchange of information has been produced, and associate researchers move not only between the countries mentioned above, but actually come from a variety of other nationalities, comprising common projects, and sharing financial resources. They are also united by the perception that, as artefacts of the school daily life, these objects seldom find space in the shelves of university libraries, and that their safekeeping represents a significant contribution to the history of education and of schooling.

According to Circe Bittencourt,<sup>39</sup> while since in the 1960s the school manuals had already raised the interest of historians of education in analyzing their text and imagetic contents within the scope of a history of ideas; in the 1980s the new movement was marked by the conception of these artefacts as cultural products, that is to say, «as merchandise linked to the editorial world and within the logic of a capitalist market; as support for knowledges and teaching methods of the various disciplines and school contents; and still as vehicles of values, either ideological or cultural».<sup>40</sup> Such movement is described in the articles by Bernat Sureda and Gabriel Barceló, and by Marguerite Figeac-Monthus, in which they discuss the impact of the French production, particularly of the work conducted by Alain Choppin<sup>41</sup> at the

39 BITTENCOURT, Circe Maria Fernandes. «Apresentação». *Educação e Pesquisa*, vol. 30, n. 3 (2004), p. 471.

40 In the original: «como mercadoria ligada ao mundo editorial e dentro da lógica de mercado capitalista; como suporte de conhecimentos e de métodos de ensino das diversas disciplinas e matérias escolares; e, ainda, como veículo de valores, ideológicos ou culturais». BITTENCOURT, Circe Maria Fernandes, *op. cit.*

41 CHOPPIN, Alain. «L'histoire des manuels scolaires: une approche globale», *Histoire de l'Éducation*, n. 9 (1980), p. 1-2.

INRP cataloguing the textbooks in France since the French Revolution for the educational historiography, stimulating studies on the history of the school manuals as an editorial product.<sup>42</sup> Juri Meda and Simonetta Polenghi display a similar concern appearing in Italy in the same period,<sup>43</sup> as do Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva and Gizele de Souza for the Brazilian case.<sup>44</sup>

The construction of the narrative in this section, still tied to a geographical dimension that largely coincides with the linguistic segmentation, is to be transformed in the next section. The progressive internationalization of the field, as a result also of a more intense circulation of researchers in the history of education brought about by their growing participation in forums such as the International Standing Conference for the History of Education, allowed not just the territorial increase of the dissemination of the production in this area, but also instigated transnational perspectives.

### 3. RECENT APPROACHES TO THE ISSUE

New approaches and outlooks have been developed during the last 20 years to study and investigate the school material culture. A growing number of works take material culture as their subject in order to problematize questions exogenous to school, such as the emergence of a school industry and of the commerce of school objects; the submission and registration of patents of school furniture; the analysis of catalogues, announcements and advertisements of companies that make teaching objects and other didactic materials. In other words, the studies are making use of contributions from economic history or they are calling attention to the economic dimension of mass schooling.

42 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Dir.). *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España: del Antiguo Régimen a la Segunda República*. Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez y Ediciones Pirámide, 1997, p. 69-100; OSSENBACH SAUTER, Gabriela. «La investigación sobre los manuales escolares en américa latina: la contribución del proyecto MANES». *Historia de la Educación*, 19 (2000), p. 193-203.

43 The authors give emphasis to the works by PORCIANI, Ilaria. *Il libro di testo come oggetto di ricerca: i manuali scolastici nell'Italia unita*, in *Storia della scuola e storia d'Italia*. Bari: De Donato, 1982, p. 237-271; BACIGALUPI, Marcella; FOSSATI, Piero. *Da plebe a popolo: l'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*. Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1986; RAICICH, Marino, *Di grammatica in retorica. Lingua, scuola, editoria nella Terza Italia*. Rome: Archivio «Guido IZZI», 1996.

44 In Brazil, it is worth mentioning the pioneering work by BITTENCOURT, Circe Maria Fernandes. *Livro didático e conhecimento histórico: uma história do saber escolar*. PhD, FFLCH-USP, 1993.

In addition to economic history, the utilization of transnational history has allowed the understanding not just of the emergence of a national/local school industry, but also of companies whose networks of influence in various countries have promoted a transnational commerce of school artefacts and furniture since the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fueled by universal expositions, by announcements and advertisements in newspapers, by business catalogues, and by the action of commercial agents and representatives in several countries.

In that manner, the material turn focused initially on the analysis of intra-school processes that would not otherwise have been problematized. It moved, grounded in economic and transnational history, towards questions that went beyond the sphere of the school itself, gradually approaching an inter- and multidisciplinary perspective.

The approaches outlined above, although recent, have already left their mark in the research and production of a group of historians of education from various countries. Some of them are noted by Bernat Sureda and Gabriel Barceló and by Juri Meda and Simonetta Polenghi. There have been many Italian works emphasizing the economic dimension of mass schooling, such as the publication in 2003 of the first collection of scholastic-educative typographers and editors of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (TESEO). One of the developments out of this investment, as described in this dossier, was the presentation made by Juri Meda at an Italian conference in 2005 about producers and printers of school notebooks, signaling to a new treatment of the school material culture characterized by the analysis of the economic dimension of mass schooling.

Following a similar economic perspective, the book *Materialities of schooling*, organized by Lawn and Grosvenor,<sup>45</sup> had as one of its objectives to understand «the economy and method of production of school artefacts». To Lawn,<sup>46</sup> the widespread use of artefacts in schools since the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century occurred by the association and convergence of major dominant themes about productive organizations and by actions through multiple and cumulative mechanized tasks.

Such investigations advanced by observing that the study of school material culture would give them access not just to questions hitherto little explored

45 LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian. *Materialities of Schooling: Design, Technology, Objects, Routines*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005.

46 LAWN, Martin. «A Pedagogy for the public: the place of objects, observation, mechanical production and cupboards», LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian (Eds.). *Materialities of Schooling: design, technology, objects, routines*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005, p. 145-162.



about school practices and routines. Indeed, the school material culture would also be fundamental to understand issues external to the school, notably how the school immersed itself, and was immersed, in the interplay of the modes of production and commerce of a post- industrial revolution society.

Associating the economic dimension to a transnational perspective, Diana Vidal<sup>47</sup> has been investigating since 2006 the commerce and circulation of parietal charts by the Maison Deyrolle in and among countries such as Brazil, Portugal and France between the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. By extrapolating the analysis beyond a national or local reality, Vidal emphasizes the multilateral and polycentric relations that characterized the worldwide dissemination of the school. She includes in the analysis of school material culture perspectives that emphasize the importance of the interaction and circulation of ideas, people, institutions, and technologies beyond state or national borders and, therefore, the entangling and mutual influence of states, societies, and cultures.

The text was published as a book chapter and, as well noted by Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva and Gizele de Souza in the present dossier, the mapping out of the Brazilian production of books about school material culture is challenging. Among other reasons, because the title of the work not always includes the phrase «school material culture». It is the case of the book in which Vidal's<sup>48</sup> text is found. The title proposes a historical understanding of childhood, and the analysis developed by Vidal, making use of the materiality of school and of the transnational circulation of parietal charts, builds a history of school and of childhood that goes beyond national borders.

One of the contributions of studies developed under the perspective of a transnational history is that of clarifying the economic and commerce processes that sustained the expansion of the network of schools within each country since the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the transnational approach brings to light individuals such as educators, commercial agents and representatives that operated between worlds, promoting the circulation of ideas, business catalogues and modern objects of teaching. It gives visibility to

47 VIDAL, Diana Gonçalves. «O museu escolar brasileiro: Brasil, Portugal e a França no âmbito de uma história conectada (final do século XIX)», FERNANDES, Rogério; LOPES, Alberto; MENDES DE FARIA FILHO, Luciano (Org.). *Para a compreensão histórica da infância*. 1ed. Porto: Campo das Letras, 2006, v. 1, pp. 239-264; VIDAL, Diana. «Transnational Education in the Late Nineteenth Century: Brazil, France and Portugal Connected by a School Museum», *History of Education* 46, no. 2 (2017), p. 228-41.

48 VIDAL, Diana. «O museu escolar brasileiro... Op. Cit.

companies that made and distributed school objects and furniture in several parts of the world. It allows identifying the artefacts that circulated in various countries, and the ways in which they were put in circulation.

The transnational perspective also shows that the meaning of the worldwide dissemination of the school since the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not restricted to the presence or growth of the number of schools in several countries. More than that, it makes clear that the movement drew from networks of economic interdependence among nations in the processes of developing national school systems.

In the words of Pierre-Yves Saunier, the interdependence, the interconnection and its expansion, their deepening or acceleration, are considered as marks of a transnational historical perspective. «Because it stresses the study of connections and circulations, the transnational approach is very much concerned with what make them work, and accordingly allows us to identify their individual and collective protagonists».<sup>49</sup>

Within the transnational and economic approaches, new sources coming from different areas have been examined for a wider understanding of the processes of diffusion of mass schooling. It is the case of materials and documents that were produced within the sphere of commerce, of commercial law, and even of administrative law. These are business catalogues, public contracts, patents, and customs dispatches, sources that have pointed in the direction of an interdisciplinary analysis of school material culture.

Along these lines, Vidal<sup>50</sup> says that understanding artefacts within the spectrum of the possible materiality, of scientific and pedagogical conceptions, and of commercial negotiations presupposes a knowledge of productive techniques, of school populations and of the wealth of nations (of their public apparatus), and also of the political and managerial choices that determine economic investments. It additionally requires the debate about the existing forms of internationalization, as well as about the ways of building intelligibilities for these multilateral relations in their historical aspect.

49 SAUNIER, Pierre-Yves. «Globalisation», IRIYE, Akira; SAUNIER, Pierre-Yves (Eds.). *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History. From the mid-19th century to the present day*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 461-462.

50 VIDAL, Diana. «A invenção da modernidade educativa: circulação internacional de modelos pedagógicos, Sujeitos e objetos no oitocentos», CURY, Cláudia Engler; MARIANO, Serioja Cordeiro (Org.). *Múltiplas visões: cultura histórica no oitocentos*. João Pessoa: Editora Universitária da UFPB, 2009, p. 39-58.

This interdisciplinary analysis is also suggested by Juri Meda<sup>51</sup> when he takes catalogues of Italian industrial companies, distributed in large scale, to deal with the means of mass education. Meda points out the importance of an approach that establishes a dialogue between different sources. This procedure is conducive to bringing to the fore not only the economic processes of conception, production and consumption that put objects in circulation, but also the processes of training and the school practices that the artefacts stimulated.

The use of sources originating in different areas is a procedure employed by Frederick Herman, Angelo Van Gorp, Frank Simon, and Marc Depaepe<sup>52</sup> when they develop a biographical study of the school desk. The authors analyzed advertisement leaflets, public contracts, and patents with the objective of investigating the life cycle of the school desk, from conception to construction and selection for school use. With that, they shed light on the negotiations between makers and clients (public authority/school) to define the design of the product, and the criteria employed in the selection process, including price, quality of material, and durability, among others.

An economic and interdisciplinary approach to the school desk was also developed by Wiara Alcântara.<sup>53</sup> The school desk, as a vector of relations, is taken as the running thread of the analysis about the expansion of schooling in the 19<sup>th</sup> century São Paulo. For that, the author works by contrasting different sources, such as purchase receipts of school material and furniture; catalogues of American and French makers of school desks; customs dispatches; advertisements; inventories of goods; patent records of school desks in the USA, France, and Brazil. Paying attention to questions of medical-hygienic, pedagogical, technological, juridical, administrative, and economic natures, Alcântara circumscribes aspects of the emergence of the industry of school desks, highlighting the specificities of the ways of purchasing these novel pieces of furniture by the public administration of São Paulo between 1874 and 1914.

In the more recent analyses, the challenge facing historians of education is to operate at the intersection of sources of different provenances in order

51 MEDA, Juri. «Mezzi di educazione di massa. Nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una storia materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, VI, 1 (2011), p. 253-279.

52 HERMAN, Frederik; VAN GORP, Angelo; SIMON, Frank; DEPAEPE, Marc. «The school desk: from concept to object», *History of Education*, 40/1(2011), p. 97-117, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.508599

53 ALCÂNTARA, Wiara. *Op. cit.*

to observe relations and connections, while avoiding the risk of merely juxtaposing and fragmenting aspects of the same process. When analyzing a public contract to supply school objects or furniture, for example, the contribution of different disciplines can evince the role of intra- and extra-school relations in school culture. This does not mean neglecting the importance of the segmentation and delimitation of the research object, but rather it means understanding artefacts in social interaction. In other words, it means understanding the relations that produce them and put them in circulation, as well as the relations they constituted and gave rise to.

In the case of the public contract mentioned above, the source consists in a document prepared within the sphere of administrative law as an instrument of public administration to procure goods and services from private entities. It is a source whose analysis can happen at the intersection of areas. From the point of view of the content, the object of the contract is targeted at the school. From the formal viewpoint, there are elements of administrative public law in its interaction with private business law.

Not by accident, the interdisciplinary approach has also been moving closer to a new political history that considers the administrative choices of governments and the economic investments in public instruction. For that reason, the history of the materiality of school is, to some extent, the history of how the public authorities, the States, have been organizing themselves bureaucratically and administratively to take on the responsibility for the creation and maintenance of official institutions of education, and to supply materials and furniture to the schools throughout their territory. It is, at the same time, the history of the relation between public and private sectors in offering services to the population.

Similar observations can be made regarding patents. A patent is generated within the sphere of commercial law with the aim of recognizing and conceding industrial property, and the exclusive use of a discovery or invention, to its maker. The discussion about patents has been present since the universal expositions, such as the 1873 International Patent Congress in Vienna, and the 1878 International Congress on Industrial Property in Paris.

If, on the one hand, the Expositions favored the advertising, dissemination, and commercialization of products, on the other, they made the producers vulnerable to unauthorized reproductions. It was not unlikely that, having acquired a catalogue from a particular maker, instead of buying the products therein a company simply started to reproduce models, competing in the mar-

ket. Hence the considerable number of patents identified in several countries as a juridical instrument to ensure the privilege of exclusive use of an invention.

The analysis of patents allows us to identify both the companies that since the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have become prominent in making school furniture and artefacts, and the relation established between the design of such pieces and the medical-hygienist discourse; and also the techniques and technologies they employed and deemed as inventions; the appreciation of the jury of the Universal Expositions about the models displayed; the adaptations of products to the demands of specific clients, private institutes of education or of the State itself.

The case of the *Syndicat Commercial du Mobilier et du matériel d'Enseignement*,<sup>54</sup> mentioned in the initial paragraph of this Introduction, open a window onto still other aspects of this transnational economic enterprise by giving visibility to the action of a commercial entity with headquarters in Paris but with a network of businesses spanning several countries. The *Syndicat*, through commercial agents and representatives, stimulated the expansion of French culture and commerce with the commercialization of the school museum and other didactic materials produced by French companies. For that, it made use of strategies such as the creation of cartels and the technical standardizing of products, so as to obtain control of the school market within a new world order characterized not only by globalization and industrialization, but also by mass schooling.

In addition to the two approaches described in this section, three other perspectives little developed within the history of education about material culture could be mentioned. The first one has to do with the extrapolation of the school materiality onto the social. Following the example of Chervel<sup>55</sup> who, taking the case of orthography in France, analyses the effects that the school institution has on society and culture, it would be profitable to enquire about the double movement of materiality. On one side, to question how the processes through which the artefacts are created for school use extrapolate the school walls and take on other social functions. And on the other side, to enquire about how the artefacts created for purposes alien to the school, as is the case of scientific objects, are incorporated to it in movements of constant adaptation and appropriation, which leads us to the second perspective.

54 ALCÁNTARA, Wiara; VIDAL, Diana. *Op. cit.*

55 CHERVEL, André. *La culture scolaire. Une approche historique*. Paris: Belin, 1998.

It relies on the relation between history of education, history of scientific artefacts, and history of science and science teaching. This dimension emerges both in the article by Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva and Gizele de Souza, and in the article by Marguerite Figeac-Monthus, as a subject of study still rare, whose investigation implies interdisciplinary approaches with focus on themes that hark back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as for example, the object lessons. According to Heather Ellis,<sup>56</sup> this distancing between the history of science and technology and the history of education «is linked to broader divisions in the history of knowledge, which has, for many years, been carved up into sections reflective of the academic subject divisions that structure modern universities and higher education in the West». She also states that most significant «is the division of the history of knowledge into the history of science, on the one hand, and the more recent history of humanities, on the other».

Although there are a few works that tend to overcome these divisions, as for example those by José Pedro Marin Murcia<sup>57</sup> in Spain; by Katya Braghini<sup>58</sup> and by Reginaldo Meloni and Wiara Alcântara<sup>59</sup> in Brazil; by Johann-Günther Egginger<sup>60</sup> in France; and by Heather Ellis<sup>61</sup> in England, the production is still scarce. In this sense, as noted by Marguerite Figeac-Monthus, the connection that can be established between the artefact, its use in the classroom, and the makers of scientific instruments still has much to contribute to the study in this field.

The third perspective relates to the agency of school objects. The recognition of the agency of material things is based on the refusal to restrict the analysis of artefacts considering just what people do with them. In this sense, Nicole

56 ELLIS, Heather. «Editorial: science, technologies and material culture in the history of education», *History of Education*, 46/2 (2017), p. 143-146. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2016.1274056.

57 MARIN MURCIA, José Pedro. *El material científico para la enseñanza de la botánica en la región de Murcia (1837-1939)*. Tese de Doutorado: Universidad de Murcia, 2014.

58 BRAGHINI, Katya Zuquim. «As aulas de demonstração científica e o ensino da observação», *Revista brasileira de história da educação*, v. 17 (2017), p. 227-254.

59 MELONI, Reginaldo; ALCÂNTARA, Wiara. «Scientific didactic materials and the history of the Natural Science teaching in São Paulo (1880-1901)», *Educação & Pesquisa* [online]. vol. 45 (2019).

60 EGGINGER, Johann-Günther. «Matérialité de l'enseignement des sciences naturelles à l'école: de la chose en classe à un objet de collection muséale, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 294-312.

61 ELLIS, Heather. *Science, Technologies and Material Culture in the History of Education*. London: Routledge, 2020.

Boivin<sup>62</sup> denounces that the dichotomies subject-object, cultural-natural, and mental-material still characterize the analyses of contemporary social sciences. To the author, the question is not one of unifying, but of clarifying the material aspects of human social and cultural existence. More than that: to understand how the properties of the material world shape human experience, mind, society, and history. Thus, the physical world and the human mind would not be separate realities, but united in different forms in the social practice.

Nevertheless, one of the obstacles to the development of these analyses lies in the difficulty to define what constitutes the agency of material things. According to Malafouris<sup>63</sup>, agency is not defined by the existence of an intentionality in material things. It is a causal and relational phenomenon that is, therefore, defined by the effects of meaning produced in the subjects. This is the strand that makes pertinent a study of the agency of objects in the constitution of schooling processes and individuals under schooling.

#### 4. FINAL REMARKS

By the end of this narrative, we have to recognize that all explaining effort carries faults and omissions. We are aware of the risks incurred in writing this Introduction, in proposing an interpretation of the history of incorporating school material culture in this field. On the one hand, our effort was guided by the dialogue with the articles included in this dossier. On the other, it was wrought from our own international circulation in this area. It amounts, therefore, to a partial outlook resting on a specific locus of production, and that flows onto or contrasts with other possible views in the composition of the mosaic of the studies and analyses carried out during these last 30 years in the history of education.

Thus, the strands underlined here do not encompass the whole investment of research made in this field. At the same time, these strands do not appear as successive stages of approximation in dealing with this problem. On the

62 BOIVIN, Nicole. *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

63 MALAFOURIS, Lambros, «At the potter's wheel: An argument for material agency», KNAPPETT, Carl; MALAFOURIS, Lambros (Eds.). *Material agency: Towards a non-anthropocentric perspective*. New York, NY: Springer, 2008, p. 19-36.



contrary, they constitute layers of understandings about school material culture that have been settling and of reconfiguring investigation as new theoretical approaches are incorporated, as the international exchange among historians of education has increased and as interdisciplinary dialogue has intensified.

The collection of articles of different provenances, comprising a reflection about the history of school material culture proposed in this dossier is an example of this movement. May it stimulate many other dialogues and promote new developments!

# Finding traces, researching silences, analysing materiality: notes from the United Kingdom

## *Trobar rastres, investigar silencis, analitzar la materialitat: notes des del Regne Unit*

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### RESUM

Al llarg del temps, es va produir un canvi subversiu cap al treball interdisciplinari o temàtic en la història de l'educació, que va produir estudis a la materialitat de l'escolaritat, ja sigui per les influències de la postmodernitat, la innovació disciplinària (en geografia, per exemple), els estudis especialitzats (estudis de museus) o la serendipitat inspiradora. El gir material, que mai ha estat una part important de la historiografia de l'educació al Regne Unit, és un intent d'explorar el context material de l'escola i les formes en què es dona significat als objectes dins d'ella, com s'utilitzen i com es vinculen a xarxes actives heterogènies, en què les persones, els objectes i les rutines estan estretament connectats. A partir de la interrogació sobre els contextos materials,

es va desenvolupar un nou enfocament sobre el treball dels mestres al llarg del temps, els seus recursos i la forma en que els edificis van ser reconfigurats per les demandes canviants d'instrucció i treball. Això ha portat, per exemple, a reconèixer la relativa pobresa de les escoles i la seva influència en l'ensenyament i el pla d'estudis, i en particular en la llarga vida de les tecnologies. Altres avenços en la història visual, espacial, sensorial i emocional de l'educació han permès noves percepcions de la materialitat de l'escolaritat. El gir material en la història de l'educació al Regne Unit sembla ser una àrea continguda d'erudició, ni dominant ni influent, però una àrea de treball que es mostra capaç d'una innovació constant.

PARAULES CLAU: rastres, xarxes, objectes, tecnologies, interdisciplinarietat.

## ABSTRACT

A subversive shift into interdisciplinary or thematic work in the history of education, which produced studies in the materiality of schooling, was produced over time either through the influences of postmodernity, disciplinary innovation [in geography, for example], specialist studies [museum studies] or inspirational serendipity. The material turn, which has never been a major part of UK historiography of education, is an attempt to explore the material context of the school and the ways that objects are given meaning within it, how they are used, and how they are linked into heterogeneous active networks, in which people, objects and routines are closely connected. A new focus on the work of teachers over time, their resources, and the way that buildings were reconfigured by changing demands on instruction and work, developed from an interrogation of material contexts. This has, for instance, led to a recognition of relative school poverty and its influence on teaching and the curriculum, and in particular in the long life of technologies. Other developments in the visual, spatial, sensory and the emotional history of education have enabled new insights into the materiality of schooling. The material turn in the history of education in the UK appears to be a contained area of scholarship, neither dominant or influential, but an area of work which shows itself to be capable of constant innovation.

KEY WORDS: traces, networks, objects, technologies, interdisciplinarity.

## RESUMEN

A lo largo del tiempo, se produjo un cambio subversivo hacia el trabajo interdisciplinario o temático en la historia de la educación, que produjo estudios en la materialidad de la escolaridad, ya sea por las influencias de la posmodernidad, la innovación disciplinaria (en geografía, por ejemplo), los estudios especializados (estudios de museos)

o la serendipia inspiradora. El giro material, que nunca ha sido una parte importante de la historiografía de la educación en el Reino Unido, es un intento de explorar el contexto material de la escuela y las formas en que se da significado a los objetos dentro de ella, cómo se utilizan y cómo se vinculan en redes activas heterogéneas, en las que las personas, los objetos y las rutinas están estrechamente conectados. A partir de la interrogación acerca de los contextos materiales, se desarrolló un nuevo enfoque sobre el trabajo de los maestros a lo largo del tiempo, sus recursos y la forma en que los edificios fueron reconfigurados por las demandas cambiantes de instrucción y trabajo. Esto ha llevado, por ejemplo, a reconocer la relativa pobreza de las escuelas y su influencia en la enseñanza y el plan de estudios, y en particular en la larga vida de las tecnologías. Otros avances en la historia visual, espacial, sensorial y emocional de la educación han permitido nuevas percepciones de la materialidad de la escolaridad. El giro material en la historia de la educación en el Reino Unido parece ser un área contenida de erudición, ni dominante ni influyente, pero un área de trabajo que se muestra capaz de una innovación constante.

PALABRAS CLAVE: rastros, redes, objetos, tecnologías, interdisciplinariedad.

«Teachers are so often engaged with subjects of instruction, methods of teaching, and other departments of school-work, as to overlook the importance of the school-room as a building, and in consequence bestow upon it little attention. This is a great mistake. A child is educated as much, and not infrequently more, by the circumstances in which it is placed as by any direct efforts on the part of parents or teachers».<sup>1</sup>

## I. INTRODUCTION

An interest in the material culture of schooling and its organisation is overdue. Within the English/UK history of education, and its near neighbours in the sociology of education, materiality is at most a shadow presence. Most elements of schooling, indeed the very idea of schooling, seem to have been obscured so the actual physical conditions of its existence and operation

1 REYNOLDS, John Stuckey. *Hints on School Building and on the Management and Superintendence of Infant Schools by Teachers, Committees, Patrons and Visitors*. London: English Home and Colonial School Society, 1874 (see section «The School Room. Its influence»).

appear irrelevant to our understanding of the subject. It is not clear why this should be. The subjects, forms and substances of schooling seem to be literally immaterial to the main purposes of historical writing about school systems. They do not appear to offer assistance to the defined problems of education, that is, the battles between church and state, between social orders, between citizens and industry, and the playing out of gender, race and class inequalities.

It is helpful to ask why there is no field of material studies in education in the UK, nor is it a significant sub-disciplinary field of study.<sup>2</sup> It exists within school architectural studies but, while useful, this is only an element of what was needed in school materiality. For example, a need to focus on objects in schooling, which taken individually and together, constitute the sites of schooling. It does not assume a fixed dichotomy between objects and people, in other words, that there is a life of imagination and action, and there are collections of inanimate objects. Nor does it assume that the technologies and objects of schooling, chained together by routines and action, should remain invisible from inquiry into schools as sites of learning and work. Instead, by drawing attention to the materiality of schooling, that is, the ways that objects are given meaning, how they are used, and how they are linked into heterogeneous active networks, in which people, objects and routines are closely connected

What will be discussed in this essay is the work of two historians, collaboratively or separately, over twenty years, mainly based in Birmingham, in central England.<sup>3</sup> It is about our curiosity, problem solving and enthusiasm in finding evidence about materiality as a significant element of schooling, and ways of analysing it. Our research question was simple and constant: «what

2 The materiality of schooling in the United Kingdom did attract the attention of school architects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see in particular ROBSON, Edward Robert *School Architecture* [1874] (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1972) and CLAY, Felix *Modern School Buildings: Elementary and Secondary* (London: B.T Batsford, 1902). For a general history of school design see: SEABORNE, Malcolm. *The English School. Its Architecture and Organisation (1370-1870)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971; SEABORNE, Malcolm; LOWE, Roy. *The English School. Its Architecture and Organisation (1870-1970)*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977; BURKE, Catherine; GROSVENOR, Ian. *School*. London: Reaktion, 2008).

3 There is no intention to place ourselves in a prime position here but only to explain why our work became the only UK source for a material history approach in the UK. It is not possible to explain why this should be. The benefit of taking our work as a focus, is that we can try to explain how it was developed and document our journey over two decades.

is going on here?». Only later did we try to explain how different objects and routines fitted together, were superseded and even sedimented within school. In narrating the journey, we identify key influences which have shaped our work and reference other important texts produced by colleagues in the field.

Using Harold Silver's statement that «It is difficult to believe that historians have made almost no attempt to reconstruct the classroom, the culture of the classroom, the social relations of the classroom»,<sup>4</sup> as the flag, an appeal went out, in 1994, to historians known to be working in classroom or related research to «a working conference about research in progress» in Birmingham, UK. The conference was targeted at the silence about classrooms, and the difficulty in using previous examples of classroom histories, and the fact that it was not constructed as a meeting against any dominant model. The meeting had to find itself through the process of discussion, report and works in progress. It was exploratory in form, including, for example, working within different educational settings, including a reconstructed Victorian classroom.<sup>5</sup> This was described later in a paper, part of an unsuccessful application for funding: «By the end of the meeting, and consequent seminars in following years in Toronto and Rotterdam, it was clear that there was a direction, a common interest, indeed an explosion of interest, but that this unity of interest was not theoretically bound. There was a pluralism of approach so that an interest in the problems of using images was allied to a concern for images of classrooms; the ways of understanding documents use was united with an exploration of past pedagogy; and an interest in the silences about experience from primary sources was combined with the outside classroom influences which shaped them. Indeed the practical success of the meetings was partly managed through the form they took; the speculative nature of the meeting was matched by experiment with its form. Evidence and discussion, the pedagogical tools of the group, were bound by a shift from paper delivery to workshops on image interpretation, a shift of place from one type of classroom to another, the use of artefacts and so on. So that the questions about classrooms, space and

4 SILVER, Harold. «Knowing and not Knowing in the History of Education», *History of Education*, 21, 1 (1992), p. 105.

5 International conference «Silences and Images. The Social History of the Classroom» (Birmingham, July 1995) and conferences «Silences and Images» (Toronto Sept. 1996) and «Silences and Images» (Rotterdam/ Kortrijk, August 1998).

pedagogy were echoed and enriched by the deliberate shifts in style and place by the seminar itself».<sup>6</sup>

The initial questions about a curriculum mediated by particular spaces or ordered routines, were amplified by the move to new places and new orderings of people, spaces and relations. The ulterior aim of the seminar, to offer an opportunity for cross – germination and collective work between disciplines and nations, was definitely aided by the shifts in its form and in locale.<sup>7</sup> If innovations were made [or circulated] during the meetings, they were in the incorporation of the idea of textual silences and the use of images as evidence with the consequential problems of analysis. These seminars were influential upon us both, and our consequent eclectic but driven approach was expressed in workshops, special seminars and edited publications, and sustained in European contexts, especially in the European Conference of Educational Research, Network 17 Histories of Education (since its foundation at Lahti in 1999). In addition, the discovery of key texts, usually drawn from specialist studies in a variety of fields, and opportune museum visits, proved helpful in this rather opportunistic and serendipitous field of work. In both cases, it was a change of direction for us in our work. For Lawn, working in historical sociology, there was a recognition that the classroom and school had become a backdrop to key events or changes in recent work, and not as «significant» in itself. In earlier research, on factories and offices and an early essay, *Educational Worker*, there was a focus on the controlling technologies of teaching.<sup>8</sup> This emergent idea of the labour process of teacher's work had a sense of the actual contexts of work, and the difficulties in understanding it, in the past and the present. For Grosvenor, it marked a shift from documenting racialised policies and practices in urban schools to first, trying to understand how children actually experienced such policies and practices which rendered them as objects in a system and, second, to explore the potential that visual evidence might offer in terms of

6 LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian. «Imagining a Project: Networks, Discourses and Spaces: Towards a New Archaeology of Urban Education», *Paedagogica Historica*, 35, 2 (1999), p. 381-393.

7 No explanation, treated within one site or view of the field, could be expected to prevail so «English» ways of writing and explanation had to face «European mainland» traditions and dominant «American» explanations had to face contrasting conceptual structures.

8 LAWN, Martin; OZGA, Jennifer. «The Educational Worker», OZGA, Jennifer (Ed.). *Schoolwork: an introduction to the Labour Process in Teaching*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1987 [reprinted in: «¿Trabajadores de la enseñanza?: Nueva valoración de los profesores», *Revista de Educación*, n. 285 (1988), p. 191-215].

insights into how the lives of children and their teachers were shaped by the materiality of school.<sup>9</sup>

It is hard to describe the kinds and range of questions which intrigued us. For example, an essay on what the American GI carried<sup>10</sup> turned into a question about what teachers carried in school? What was in their pockets and bags which were necessary to teach with? This could include teaching tools (viz chalk, a pen, knives, felt pens) and classroom aids (viz tissues, – and necessary implements, such as keys). It could include keepsakes, tokens, letters – bringing luck etc. It could include badges of status – books, plans and timetables and registers. Objects had to be chosen to cope with teaching emergencies. This led us back into earlier classrooms, often designed with limited storage space – usually the teacher's desk itself and a cupboard [standard size and issue]. As this time, what did teachers need to carry? Was everything there? In later classrooms, what was included in the classroom for storage and use? What was needed for multi-classroom use [travelling between classrooms] and new ways of teaching [work cards]. Observing a teacher locking up a school at length made us think about the role of keys in school, and designing for security and observation. Sitting with other historians in a museum's reconstructed classroom was both playful and useful «It is not uncommon in local museums to find reconstructed classrooms of the past, especially the late Victorian elementary classroom. Rows of uniform seating, slates, a blackboard, a high teacher's desk, a globe and a framed picture or two constitute the classroom. Yet there is a silence in that elementary classroom.... What was the lived reality of the teacher's work, in and around that classroom? ..... Yet the classrooms of the past are not easily reconstructed and re-lived: the technology of the classroom appears discernible but this is an illusion».<sup>11</sup>

Questions and insights came from all, but especially the Dutch School Museum director, Jaap ter Linden Firstly, was it accurate, and secondly, what was its ordering?

9 See, for example: GROSVENOR, Ian. «"Seen but not heard": researching past city childhoods», *Paedagogica Historica*, 43, 3 (2007), p. 405-429; GROSVENOR, Ian. «The School Album: issues, histories and inequalities», *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, n. 15 (2010), p. 149-164.

10 O'BRIEN, Tim. *The Things They Carried*. London: Collins, 1990.

11 LAWN, Martin. «Encouraging License and Insolence in the Classroom: Imagining a Pedagogic Shift», *Curriculum Studies*, vol. 3, n. 3 (1995), p. 245-261.



A development of this idea two years later appeared as «To see the classroom, it is necessary to see it as a hardware and a software; it is the material structure (spaces, walls, furniture, tools), working procedures and a series of ideas and knowledge systems. The classroom is the integration of artefacts and rules and teachers».<sup>12</sup>

In the summer of 1998, we organised a workshop at ISCHE Kortrijk (with Kate Rousmaniere) exploring an urban school, built in the nineteenth century, through a set of images (plans, photographs, recordings etc). This workshop was developed from a number of visits to a large Birmingham primary school (built in 1881) and the series of three international seminars exploring the idea of silences and images in understanding education<sup>13</sup>. One of the sessions involved the analysis of a well-known image of a science educator and a model lesson. A most interesting set of comments was made by ter Linden concerning the lighting, number of students and doors in the image, showing that the image was, in a sense, counterfeit. The use of images, as historical records, suddenly became problematic. Seen initially as a question of assiduous work in archives, it added parallel questions: Why was the image taken? How was it organised? What was it intended to show?<sup>14</sup> These questions have continued to stimulate research on the connections between the visual and the material.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. SCHOOL STUDY

Trying to recover the «reality» of a school as a space over time was the task we set ourselves. Again through different media, interviews, photographic analyses and guided tours we asked again «what had happened here?». The approach we took was experimental. The school, our «case study» site, had been in continuing operation since 1881, the first plan dates from 1880 and

12 LAWN, Martin. «Classrooms / Technologies», NILSSON, Ingrid; LUNDAHL, Lisbeth (Eds.). *Teachers, Curriculum and Policy* Umeå: University of Umeå Press, 1997.

13 GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; ROUSMANIERE, Kate. *Silences and Images. The Social History of the Classroom*. Peter Lang: New York, 1999.

14 GROSVENOR, Ian. «On Visualising Past Classrooms: Photographs and the History of Education», GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; ROUSMANIERE, Kate (Eds.). *Silences and Images. The Social History of the Classroom*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999, p. 83-104.

15 See, for example, BURKE, Catherine; GROSVENOR, Ian. «The progressive image in the history of education: stories of two schools», *Visual Studies*, 22, 2 (2007), p. 155-168. For an overview of using and images and film as objects to think with in histories of education see: DUSSEL, Inés; PRIEM, Karin. «The visual in histories of education: a reappraisal», *Paedagogica Historica*, 53, 6 (2007), p. 641-649.

the second from the 1960s. The differences in the plans of the school raise the question 'what happened in this space over time?' The normal approach taken by an historian of education to such a question would be to answer it through a narrative using school plans, minute books, school log books and inspection reports. This construction would tend to view the question as approachable only through the historical documents generated over time and maybe sensitive to the problem of inference and to the problem of answering a question not addressed in the documents themselves. However the question itself is not a usual one for historians: the problem of space over time would be replaced by «acceptable» substitutes, for example, the relation between the school and its local community, the history of curriculum change, the influence of the church over the school, the relations between the school and local government and so forth. The idea of space is likely to be left to geographers or possibly the rare breed of architectural historians interested in form and function. The blurred and indistinct nature of space to an historian paradoxically is also a too grounded and realistic version. The document to be studied is too, too solid. The school occupies a sizable place and it is built in solid materials, for functions and with ideas that make it both opaque and all too visible to the historian, this is a paradox. We studied the school as if its function, design and operations were unclear, and tried to do this over time.

Studying the school as a space over time, we began to take as many photographs as possible of our journey around the school (imagine a warren of corridors, old doorways, new passages, a lonely tree) and interviewed long serving teachers about the working of the school and about changes over time. These were the basis for the production of a new historical record of the school, by creating new data sources and by integrating them with existing, archival sources [architects plans, local photographs]. About three hundred photographs were taken in and around the school building in two ways. First, we chose to take detailed photographs of wall markings, building artefacts, cupboards, staircases, seating, doorways, windows, doors and locks, shelving and corridors; secondly, photographs were taken to illustrate a series of recollections and tours through the school by a senior teacher. He identified where and how his working environment had changed. A second teacher, who was asked to record how they engaged with the school, as a designed space, on a daily basis, produced another set of images. A final set of images were produced by eleven year old pupils who were asked to record how they engaged with, and inhabited the school as a designed space. In addition, a copy

of the original school building plans (nine detailed architectural drawings and elevations) dated 1880 were brought into the school and displayed.<sup>16</sup>

In 2001, we recognised that, in the UK, school materials did not always arrive in the UK school rationally, through the local, democratic authority, but often through gifts, patronage or appeals: «schools were set up with sufficient resources to operate but they did not have the funds themselves to renew or replace these resources. This was dependent upon the decisions of the city council and officers. In these circumstances, schools and their teachers had to preserve, restore and barter teaching aids, especially the kind of reproductive aids found in the roof space».<sup>17</sup>

The material culture of the school often was a «poor culture». This recognition came dramatically when talking to a senior teacher in this veteran school, when he was asked, partly as a joke, «where was the epidiascope now kept?». Without hesitation, he said that above the boy's toilets, there was a room with materials in it. The new headteacher said «What room?». Taking a ladder, it was possible to enter a space, with gaslights [although cut off] and a gothic window. In this space, directly above the headteachers room, there was a series of redundant teaching technologies, lying neatly together: an old computer, hi-fi speakers, an old radio, a gestetner printer etc. It seemed to us that in a school without capital or income, everything had to be preserved, in case it could be used again or a check was made on gifted technologies. Technologies came and went, although not at the speed often assumed, the epidiascope continued to exist in the school decades after its introduction.

The school continued to raise new subjects of study for us, in their content and methodology. Walking around the school revealed questions of time and space. Standing in the current school entrance hall, the size of a classroom, a senior teacher said the following: «When I came here first of all, this doorway was here, the male toilet was there ... It was just a male toilet, a small tiny entrance hall and a glass conservatory with plants in just out there. All that's been knocked down and this entrance hall was built and this staircase was always here but the female staff toilets are there now, there was a corridor through there and the stockroom was there and a cloakroom so actually we

16 See GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; ROUSMANIERE, Kate. «Imaging Past Schooling: the Necessity for Montage», *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*, 22, 1 (2000), p. 71-85.

17 LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian. «“When in doubt, preserve”: exploring the traces of teaching and material culture in English schools», *History of Education*, 30, 2 (2001), p. 117-127.

went out through that way and that door was over there and this door was here and two doors to come, in that door and this door, and stockroom here and cloakroom there for coats and so on» (Extract 1, Interview 21<sup>st</sup> July, 2008).

Difficult to understand or imagine, but this is time and space compressed in a single paragraph by a teacher who had experienced it over several decades. There was no dramatic rebuilding but a series of small-scale changes which resulted, over time, into a reordered main entry. Just outside this area, external fire escapes had been removed [from the upper floor to the playground], the wet playtime shed and a long wall, separating girls from boys had been removed. The concept of sedimentation emerged. During their operational use in schools, objects from being crucial to innovation, turned into objects misused or re-used in new contexts, and finally into a lost or dislocated existence. Often, they co-existed over time, they did not disappear. Classrooms were reached by corridors, with a door to each. In one case, it was not clear why one classroom had two entries: «there were 2 separate classrooms [over there] until the early 1960s when the Permanent Secretary for Education visited the school – they timed her visit through the school for her to go round so they actually built a doorway through from one class into the other just for her to walk through» (Extract 2, Interview 21<sup>st</sup> July, 2008).

A new doorway had been created by the local city authority to enable a government official, visiting from London, to have a quicker visit of inspection. A more complex issue was in the upper floor: «This room was a classroom, which is now the computer suite, was used as a stockroom at one time. Where we are, there was a door and there are toilets and a corridor. All this was 3 classrooms but in between the 3 classrooms there (were) these big rollers that went up so that the whole upstairs could open up and be used as one big hall. I had that classroom at one time, this was a nice big class room, the only thing was that if you went through you had to walk through every class room if you wanted to go out of the class at the end you had to walk through 2 classes to get to it» (Extract 3, Interview 21<sup>st</sup> July, 2008).

When the school plans were extracted from the city archives, it appeared that the school was built at a time when the model used was derived from the great private schools. Teaching took place in in large halls. When occupied this would have been altered immediately, teaching would take place in classrooms, and the awkward space would have to be managed.

Further construction work in the schools concentrated on redundant (but not removed) pipes, or deep grooves in walls, hidden cupboards, all signs of

an earlier function or layout. The term sedimentation seemed apposite here, layers and layers of usage could be investigated, and the past meanings of teaching imagined.

### 3. METHOD

So what was our approach to the study of schooling? It was experimental. It was based on curiosity and inevitably, speculation. Briefly our unspoken approach, at least at first, was based on Richard Cobb's dictum, «More and more I enjoyed the excitement of research and the acquisition of material... as ends in themselves». We were influenced by several books, drawn from museology, geography and architecture.<sup>18</sup>

Although a focused approach to historiography and methodology was developed, it began with whatever we could find or read or view. It continued by using artefacts [visit plans, technology stores, school image collections, visual artefacts – brochures etc.]. Beginning a case study of a school, through photographs of its walls, doorways, windows, stairwells, rooms, furniture and outside places, we began to see the school site as a new text, a source of information about schooling which had been neglected. We began by drawing upon ideas from contemporary theory in cultural studies, geography and the sociology of technology to assemble ideas and arguments about objects in situ, linked to school or class routines, innovations in teaching, office work, data recordings etc. In the sociology of work and technology, work is viewed as a common-sense ordering of tasks, space and people. But Foucauldian influenced actor network theory, involving objects, relations, routines, spaces, and histories, treats people as being «worked» as much as «working». Technology moves from the shadows, a quiet presence, and into an effect, and even into a relational position, connecting people and objects into a close series of affiliations and actions. Teaching can be seen as a series of networked operations, involving objects, without which the teacher is unable to act, which need to be mobilised and which have no effects without the teacher (and vice versa?).

18 MARKUS, Thomas. *Buildings and Power*. London: Routledge, 1993; SCHLERETH, Thomas. *Cultural History & Material Culture. Everyday Life, Landscapes and Museums*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992; PRED, Allan. *Lost words and lost worlds: modernity and the language of everyday life in late nineteenth-century Stockholm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; PRED, Allan. *Recognizing European modernities: a montage of the present*. London: Routledge, 1995.

We felt that the school needed a new methodology, a close observation of textures, materials, usage, volume and flow; and a constant return to questions about space and time in schooling. The initial aim of reconstructing the classroom, its culture and social relations, expanded, reflecting the concepts and expertise we developed. The idea of reconstruction had itself become deconstructed and the idea of the authentic reconstruction, focussed on visits to local and national museums, had to live in tension with the ideas about perceptions of authenticity and alternative explanations and reflexivity. Additionally, new theorizing about the systematic relations between designs, artefacts and people raised experiential evidence about the silences in the act of reconstruction. Similarly, methodological innovations, in the use of filmic evidence or the importation of other critical frames to analyse images, raised issues about the representation of classrooms.<sup>19</sup> Single forms of portrayal or symbolic depictions or key artefacts were no longer treated as convincing by themselves and attention turned to the relations between representations and a way in which they could be used in conjunction. Boundaries to explanation were fragile; each case had its own interpretation but new theorizing was tested against experience and back to the case. New concepts, seen as viable in analysing classrooms, included space and technology, had been overshadowed in the past by narratives of personal endeavour and professional/state growth in education surfaced in these historical conversations.

In determining our method we were influenced by the way in which the documentary filmmaker Humphrey Jennings used montage in his «imaginative history» of the coming of the machine;<sup>20</sup> by the theorizing of Walter Benjamin;<sup>21</sup> and by Alan Pred's application of Benjamin's ideas in his book,

19 See WARMINGTON, Paul; VAN GORP, Angelo; GROSVENOR, Ian. «*Education in motion: uses of documentary film in educational research*», *Paedagogica Historica*, 47, 4 (2011), p. 457-472. This essays appeared in a special issue of *Paedagogica Historica* edited by Angelo Van Gorp and Paul Warmington: *Education in Motion: Producing Methodologies for Researching Documentary Film on Education* which included essays on Belgian, English, Scottish and Portuguese documentary films.

20 JENNINGS, Humphrey. *Pandaemonium 1660-1886: The Coming of the Machine as Seen by Contemporary Observers* London: Macmillan, 1995 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1985). It is a coincidence of history that Charles Madge who edited Jennings' original manuscript was based in Birmingham.

21 BENJAMIN, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, London: Fontana, 1973 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1936), p. 219-254; Benjamin, Walter. *A Small History of Photography*, in *One-Way Street*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, Verso: London 1979 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1931), pp. 240-57.

*Recognising European Modernities*.<sup>22</sup> Benjamin's work covered a wide range of themes, but much of it is motivated by a desire to understand the nature of experience within the contemporary present. For Benjamin, in order for the present to be understood and recorded the complex relationship between the past and the present, between history and events occurring in the lived Now had to be understood.

Benjamin's concern with this problem was intertwined with two other interrelated themes in his work: first, his fascination with the urban experience, of living in the modern city; and second, the problem of representing that urban experience. The spaces and buildings of the modern city framed social activity and provided surfaces upon which traces of human social activity could be found, read and deciphered. Living, for Benjamin, meant leaving traces. In his cityscapes Benjamin's critical enterprise was to make visible the invisible, to retrieve the traces left behind by the inhabitants of the modern city. His chosen method was montage: «I needn't *say* anything: Merely *show*»<sup>23</sup> Montage offered the power to shock by confronting the ordinary with the extraordinary and forcing a discarded, forgotten past into an unfamiliar constellation with the present. The strange became familiar and the familiar became strange. Presented with a mosaic of images (visual or literary) of the modern school, (of the designed space, of pupils and teachers inhabiting that space, of the artefacts of learning and teaching) the historian of education can venture into the landscape and encounter, read and decipher the traces of schooling. The cut-and-paste of montage allows what is peculiar, what is unsaid, what is insignificant, what is excluded, what is at the margin of school histories to become an object of knowledge. At the same time, the historian can not only retrieve and reconstruct the experience of past schooling but can also illuminate elements of that past by juxtaposing the fragments in alternative patterns to produce different meanings and understandings of past schooling. By deliberately deploying the ordinary with the extraordinary montage confronts the reader/viewer with the possibility of seeing and making associations which otherwise would go unmade. Montage was the approach we used at the workshop at ISCHE Kortrijk and evidenced that the juxtaposition of fragments from the past can produce mutual illumination and new (hi)stories of schooling can be told.

22 PRED, Allan. *Recognizing European modernities: a montage of the present*. London: Routledge, 1995.

23 BENJAMIN, Walter, *On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress*, in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Belnap Press, 1999.

Looking at contemporary classrooms was insufficient without finding the traces of the past, the sedimentation of material changes. The relation between pasts and present was as much guesswork and inference as it was close historical investigation. Time and space were not fixed, either independently or in relation, but were co-present, and we felt, that with help, we could discern, collect or relate ideas and evidence together. We came to recognise that the past is always present, and the present is a guide to the past. Montage continues to shape our work.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4. COPING WITH MATERIALISM STUDIES IN SCHOOLING

Unsurprisingly, trying to find or even stumbling across, useful sources meant that other fields of study became open to our borrowing of ideas and references. This was often a wide ranging and heterogenous process, sometimes leading to dead-ends and overlooked opportunities.

When talking about cultural history, Schlereth<sup>25</sup> focused on meanings and the symbolic products of thought and action. This sense of artefacts as a material form of ideas and as a conduit of meanings is most common within a material culture definition drawn from historians, anthropologists and museum collectors.<sup>26</sup> The subject is defined by its focus on material evidence first, and then moves out into culture. The value of an interdisciplinary approach and accumulation of insights from contemporary theory in cultural studies, geography and the sociology of technology enabled the assembling of ideas and arguments about objects in situ, linked to school or class routines, innovations in teaching, office work, data recordings etc. Museums have been a fruitful source for the history of objects, such as wall charts, primers, desks and slates, and their transnational flow into other systems. An interesting source of ideas is the contemporary sociology of work and technology in which work

24 See GROSVENOR, Ian; DUSSEL, Inés; KESTERE, Iveta; PRIEM, Karin; ROSÉN RASMUSSEN, Lisa; VAN GORP, Angelo. «“We seek revelation with our eyes”: engaging with school cultures through montage», *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, 17 (2016), p. 2-26.

25 SCHLERETH, Thomas. *Cultural History & Material Culture. Everyday Life, Landscapes and Museums*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992.

26 Schlereth describes, under the term ‘material culturists’ a broad range of specialists who have an interest in material culture evidence: historical archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, historians of technology, cultural geographers, art, architectural and decorative arts scholars, folk life researchers, and cultural historians (p. 17).



is viewed as a common sense ordering of tasks, space and people. Foucauldian influenced actor network theory (involving objects, relations, routines, spaces and histories) treats people as being «worked» as much as «working». In this way, technology moves from the shadows and into an effect, and even into a relational position, connecting people and objects into a close series of affiliations and actions. Teaching can be seen as a series of networked operations, involving objects without which the teacher is unable to act, and having no effect without the teacher operationalizing them, and even discarding them.

The sociology of technology field was and is a useful source of thinking about tools and knowledge, for example, using Bijker et al (1987),<sup>27</sup> technology can mean simple objects or artifacts (a reading primer, for example), it can mean a process (a production process) and it can also mean the know how or tacit knowledge used in creating the tool or managing the process. In education it tends to be used mainly in the first sense and rarely in the second or third senses.

An overlooked but essential technology was and is the pencil. Pencils – like, scissors, exercise books, rulers, compasses, rubbers, pencil sharpeners, text books, ink bottles and felt pens – are the very essence of schoolwork, objects which circulate constantly and are too commonplace to mention. Pencils exist as the core of schoolwork, a key technology of reproduction, which newer machines are slowly replacing.<sup>28</sup> Pencils are consumed by schools in large quantities, they also constitute items which school budgets can manage. They are crucial to drawing and writing, but they only became central to schoolwork at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when their purchase cost was reduced by large-scale American manufacture. A book on class teaching, produced in 1895 in the UK, recommended paper and lead pencil for pupils learning to write, although this was more expensive than slate and slate pencil. The argument was in favour of discipline, less errors and greater quality – the writing might gain in quality, though losing somewhat in quantity, by the substitution of paper for slates. The pencil, like the slate pencil, was engaged with «imitation»

27 BIJKER Wiebe E.; Parke Hughes, Thomas; Pinch, Trevor (Eds.). *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press, 1987.

28 See, DUSSEL, Inés. «The Digital Classroom: A Historical Consideration on the Redesigning of the Contexts of Learning», GROSVENOR, Ian; ROSÉN RASMUSSEN, Lisa (Eds.). *Making Education: Material School Design and Educational Governance*. Cham (Switzerland): Springer, 2018, p. 173-196.

of the teachers' work on the blackboard but it then allowed the use of copy-books to be developed and integrated with blackboard activities. Combining the blackboard, the pencil, and the copybook into an effective method of teaching, especially of the teaching of writing, was a «device» or system of related technologies which has continued in modified form since. But pencils aren't a simple technology. To achieve an effective point on paper, major problems of production had to be overcome. Turning that «relatively scarce, brittle and dirty substance» into a reliable, strong, reusable and cheap tool for schools had taken manufacturers into complex engineering, raw material and marketing problems. By 1910, more than twenty million pencils were being sold each year, mostly to schoolchildren, in the USA. Its school infrastructure – as engineers would say – allowing it to function, included paper, pencil sharpeners, erasers and smooth desk surfaces. By achieving a good design and combined with an effective infrastructure, the pencil had become a technology which had been rendered almost invisible through common usage.<sup>29</sup>

Teachers were producers as well as consumers in the school: sometimes, they made the objects, chose the materials used and controlled the process of manufacture. Early descriptions of schools and their equipment describe them as recipients of local and national materials and as the creators of tools and systems. The journal *Teachers' Monthly* in England, in the late 19th century, produced a book, called *Teaching Wrinkles* (a «Wrinkle» being a tip or timesaving idea). It was described on the front page as «a collection of devices gathered from all parts of the UK to assist the Teacher in his [sic] work». These «devices» were suggestions by teachers, sent into the magazine, based upon their own practices and organized by the curriculum subject (English Grammar, Arithmetic etc.). They involved teachers creating materials out of wood, sand trays, newspaper, clay and plaster. Sometimes, the Wrinkles suggested systems in which school or commercially produced tools were used. For example, a slate cleaning drill involved sponges, a yardstick, a shallow tin, a cupboard and a series of movements by the teacher and the child. A simple system constructed for a critical purpose, it had to maintain discipline, establish routine and be effective. A whole elementary class, perhaps 40 or 50 children, cleaned their slates by command: slate rubber out; arms folded; slates ready [teacher walks round and wets each slate]; pupil rubs slate dry; slate rubbers

29 PETROSKI, Henry. *The Pencil: A History of Design and Circumstance*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1989.

away; hands behind backs; and the lesson starts. As group or individual tasks developed in popular education, later in the 20thC, the same relation between disciplined task and object continued, but a successful routine had to become pupil self-managed and evaluated.

This is a social view of technology in which a complex set of artifacts, actors and structures, and a set of socially constructed principles, procedures and processes, devised to function effectively and realize a purpose, are all in play. A child looking at the blackboard involved the «fusion of extrinsic agents (light, desk, sign, scope), forms of discourse (rules, tests, laws, norms) and physiological entities (eye, retina, optic nerve, brain, hands)».<sup>30</sup> The «perfect eye» was «regarded not merely as a good thing in itself but as a sign of well conducted and symmetrical growth of the whole body» and the classroom was viewed as a space where vision was rendered «strong and healthy and fitted to withstand the strain that may be thrown upon it in after life». Unfortunately, defective illumination, poor desk design, habitual writing exercises, unsuitable letter fonts, and poor quality writing paper all combined to create an environment deleterious to normal ocular development.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, hearing, sound and aurality were also deeply implicated in modernity's daily elaboration in the school.<sup>32</sup>

In the modernization of urban education, it is necessary to see technology as a material structure (spaces, walls, furniture, tools), as working procedures and also as a series of ideas and knowledge systems within the process of mobilization. Seabourne, the specialist historian of school architecture, stated that teachers are much more influenced by the physical environment than they often realize – «at any rate consciously».<sup>33</sup> Yet the designers of those spaces of specialist education had purposes in mind which shaped urban educational experience: according to Thomas Markus,<sup>34</sup> it was social control: «[Control] is

30 OTTER, Chris. *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008, p. 46.

31 GROSVENOR, Ian. «Back to the future or towards a sensory history of schooling», *History of Education*, 41, 5 (2012), p. 675-688. See also, GROSVENOR, Ian; MACNAB, Natasha. «Seeing through touch: the material world of the visually impaired child», *Educar em Revista*, 49 (2013), p. 39-57.

32 BURKE, Catherine; GROSVENOR, Ian. «The Hearing School: an exploration of sound and listening in the modern school», *Paedagogica Historica*, 47, 3 (2011), p. 323-340.

33 SEABORNE, Malcolm. *Primary School Design*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.

34 MARKUS, Thomas. *Buildings and Power*. London: Routledge, 1993.

in the buildings which were adapted or purpose built, the space thus created, and the material contents of this space – furniture and equipment. Above all, it is in the order imposed on the human bodies in this space, down to their tiniest gestures, including the gaze of their eyes». <sup>35</sup> Such a spatial examination of schools [and other educational spaces] would concentrate on how the building is designed for use (flow, observation and constraint) and the way in which the fixedness of the material technology shapes its function through order, classification, compartmentalization, segregation etc. Cuban focused on the way a school space is physically arranged; how content and students are organized into grade levels; how time is allocated to tasks; and how rules govern the behaviour and performance of both adults and students. <sup>36</sup> It was not our intention to build a deterministic perspective on schooling, but to draw attention to its ubiquitous but often overlooked elements. Histories of school buildings do make these references, often in passing, but there is little on the technologies of schooling, their operations and routines, and their design and supply. Again, to study the materiality of schooling leads, within a couple of steps, into company histories, advice columns on usage, and evidence of cost and economy. It leads away from the known subject, the history of schooling, and into a form of interdisciplinarity where the boundaries of what is possible creates a new methodology.

## 5. EXHIBITIONS

Studying school materialities led onto the production and exchange of pedagogic objects in national journals and later the exhibitions in which they were displayed. Exhibitions became a significant milestone in world trade, the exchange of scientific and technological information and the rise of international cultural and design movements. Trade, invention, production and innovation became viewable in a single space of comparison. Exhibitions created spectacles which influenced the future of selling and buying, and

35 CUBAN, Larry; TYACK, David. *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890-1990*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1993.

36 See GROSVENOR, Ian; ROSÉN RASMUSSEN, Lisa. «Making Education: Governance by Design», GROSVENOR, Ian; ROSÉN RASMUSSEN, Lisa (Eds.), *Making Education: Material School Design and Educational Governance*. Cham (Switzerland): Springer, 2018, p. 1-32.

of cultural collection and display. Education became part of this as nations competed to outshine each other in the representation of progress. Exhibitions became the catalysts and the linking narrative between new systems, media, technologies and institutions.<sup>37</sup>

As schools became part of the rise of the business of education, the advertising of commercial goods grew. The hidden space in our case school was filled with technologies which the school no longer used. The arrival of photocopiers in the school came with little warning as the local authority bought a large quantity in a special deal, and delivered them round the schools. It was an object which had to find a place and users

Exhibitions also became a pedagogic tool for exploring the traces and silences of past schooling. Between 2001 and 2004 we worked with the Portuguese photographer Paulo Catrica to document schools in Birmingham. Catrica's photographs invite us to look again. His images are of school spaces without teachers, without pupils. His attention is driven towards the appropriation and transformation of space – the sign on the walls, a door that is blocked. A classroom is a space that has been inhabited and he invites us to imagine how they have been occupied. He places the observer in a position of remembering. In 2004 we assembled an exhibition of his work and his images were placed alongside a sequence of images of Birmingham Schools from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The images spoke to each other and to the audience. Another example of retrieving the past and asking questions about the present.<sup>38</sup>

## 6. CONCLUSION

In this essay, we have reflected on our research journey through the material world of schooling to surface the possibilities that are created when the classroom is seen as constituting a social technology. Tools and aids, furniture and walls, space and form, all create teaching and are inseparable from it: the building

37 GROSVENOR, Ian. «Sites of the Future: comparing and ordering new educational actualities», LAWN, Martin. *Modelling the Future: Changing Education through World Exhibitions*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009, p. 15-30; GROSVENOR, Ian. «Pleasing to the Eye and at the Same Time Useful in Purpose': a historical exploration of educational exhibitions», LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian (Eds.). *Materialities of Schooling*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005, p. 163-176.

38 JAMES, Peter; GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; NÓVOA, António; CATRICA, Paulo. *The White Room Series: Photographs by Paulo Catrica*. Birmingham: Birmingham Libraries and the University of Birmingham, 2004.

attempted to make the teaching method. Material structures and objects, the working procedures or routines which activated them, and knowledge about systems, generate schooling. These technologies, this material culture, the hardware and software of schools, allowed grander narratives about schooling to function as explanations for schooling systems, even though they appear invisible within them. They are produced by education suppliers, once local businesses, and now major suppliers of generic technologies, used in offices, the home, commerce and networks.

It is common to think about the teacher as the dominant element in classroom systems, working with or overcoming the design of the building, and using pedagogical objects as appropriate to their tasks. But there is also another view, that teachers [and pupils] are worked by their classroom viewed as a social technology, that is, as a set of socially constructed principles, procedures and processes, created to function effectively and realize the purposes of schooling. To observe the working classroom, it is necessary to see it as hardware and software; it is the material structure (spaces, walls, furniture, tools), and the working procedures, artefacts and knowledge systems which are integrated together.

The relation between the organization of mass schooling and its sustenance by simple technologies, the ways in which class and school routines bind together objects and actions, the particular relation between innovators and artefacts, and the economy and method of production of school artefacts. For historians, the question of how objects and routines arrive in school, how they exist there and what happens to them could open up the less visible aspects of school history. The problems we have are to do with their existence in schools and their operational use, including their shift from modernisation to sedimented or lost existence, and back to awkward innovation again.

Schools come into being, designed to incorporate new technologies of education [tools and systems] and yet very soon after, parts of schools resemble museums of technologies. They soon become sites of layers of sedimented materials as they slowly accumulate texts and tools. They are also repositories for outside objects, filtered through the net of poor financial resources in the school. Significant changes in curriculum, pedagogy and technology have to change the order of the classroom, not always successfully.

The school exists as a single idea and place which is at the same time an imagined space; a museum of practice; a repository of ideas, expressed in material form; a settled, but changing landscape of ideas and objects; a receptacle

for new ideas, and always a work in progress. Many observers see schools as a site of networks of information, technology, service; of consumption and production; and of awkward resistances and slow change. A material history perspective and practice recognises the complexity of the subject and the invention necessary to study it.

From educational theories to school  
materialities: The genesis of the material  
history of school in Italy (1990-2020)<sup>1</sup>  
*De les teories educatives a les materialitats  
escolars: la gènesi de la història material de  
l'escola a Itàlia (1990-2020)*

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## RESUM

Aquesta contribució té com a objectiu definir la gènesi i el desenvolupament de la història material de l'escola a Itàlia en els trenta anys compresos entre 1990 i 2020. A partir de la creixent influència determinada per la reflexió historiogràfica internacional

<sup>1</sup> While this paper was jointly conceived by the two authors, the writing of the manuscript was divided between them as follows: Juri Meda drafted Sections 1, 2, and 5 and Simonetta Polenghi drafted Sections 3 and 4.



sobre els historiadors de l'educació italians, la contribució tractarà de descriure l'impuls proporcionat a aquesta tendència a principis de la dècada de 2000 pels treballs pioners sobre la història de la indústria editorial escolar, que van permetre observar per primera vegada els processos de producció i la complexa dinàmica comercial subjacent a la producció, circulació, adopció i ús de el llibre escolar a l'escola italiana. Aquests treballs van permetre determinar el paper fonamental de les principals editorials escolars italianes, inicialment en la comercialització de material didàctic i mobiliari escolar importats des de França i Alemanya i posteriorment en la seva producció directa a través de la progressiva emancipació de l'hegemonia estrangera i el naixement d'una indústria escolar nacional. En els primers vint anys de segle XXI, les investigacions s'han centrat més en com la producció a escala industrial de quaderns escolars, pissarres, mobiliari escolar i ajudes didàctiques per a l'ensenyament de les ciències i el seu ús sistemàtic a les escoles italianes van induir una homologació generalitzada dels mètodes d'ensenyament i processos d'aprenentatge.

PARAULES CLAU: escola, cultura material, història de l'educació, història econòmica, historiografia.

## ABSTRACT

This paper offers an overview of the origins and development of the material history of schooling in Italy over the thirty years between 1990 and 2020. After examining the growing influence exerted on Italian historians of education by developments in international historiographical reflection, we describe the boost provided to the study of material history in the early 2000s by pioneering studies on the history of school publishing. The latter brought to light for the first time the production processes, market dynamics, and sales strategies underpinning the production, circulation, adoption and use of textbooks in Italian schools. These studies pointed up the fundamental role played by the leading national school publishing houses, initially in the marketing of educational materials and school furnishings imported from France and Germany and subsequently in producing them: as they gradually freed themselves from their earlier reliance on foreign suppliers, a domestic school supplies industry was born. In the first twenty years of the 21st century, studies have mainly focused on how the industrial production of exercise books, blackboards, school furnishings, and scientific teaching aids, and their adoption in Italian schools, served to achieve the universal standardization of teaching methods and learning processes.

KEY WORDS: school, material culture, history of education, economic history, historiography.

## RESUMEN

Esta contribución tiene como objetivo definir la génesis y el desarrollo de la historia material de la escuela en Italia en los treinta años comprendidos entre 1990 y 2020. A partir de la creciente influencia determinada por la reflexión historiográfica internacional sobre los historiadores de la educación italianos, la contribución tratará de describir el impulso proporcionado a esta tendencia a principios de la década de 2000 por los trabajos pioneros sobre la historia de la industria editorial escolar, que permitieron observar por primera vez los procesos de producción y la compleja dinámica comercial subyacente a la producción, circulación, adopción y uso del libro escolar en la escuela italiana. Estos trabajos permitieron determinar el papel fundamental de las principales editoriales escolares italianas, inicialmente en la comercialización de material didáctico y mobiliario escolar importados desde Francia y Alemania y posteriormente en su producción directa a través de la progresiva emancipación de la hegemonía extranjera y el nacimiento de una industria escolar nacional. En los primeros veinte años del siglo XXI, las investigaciones se han centrado más en cómo la producción a escala industrial de cuadernos escolares, pizarras, mobiliario escolar y ayudas didácticas para la enseñanza de las ciencias y su uso sistemático en las escuelas italianas indujeron una homologación generalizada de los métodos de enseñanza y procesos de aprendizaje.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** escuela, cultura material, historia de la educación, historia económica, historiografía.

## 1. DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ITALIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Novel developments in educational historiography from the 1990s onwards – when historians of education increasingly began to embrace the interpretive categories and methodological principles that decades earlier had underpinned the radical transformation of historiography as a whole (the so-called *nouvelle histoire*) – prompted a new approach to studying the history of education in Italy (similarly to other European countries<sup>2</sup>), as detailed by French historian Dominique Julia in an article published in the mid-1990s.<sup>3</sup>

2 On Julia's key contribution to the new educational historiography in Europe, see: VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «Les disciplines scolaires dans l'historiographie européenne. Angleterre, France, Espagne», *Histoire de l'Éducation*, 125 (2010), p. 73-98.

3 See : JULIA, Dominique. «La culture scolaire comme objet historique», NÓVOA, António; DEPAEPE, Marc; JOHANNINGMEIER, Erwin V. (Eds.). *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*. Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 1996, p. 353-382 («Paedagogica Historica»; Supplementary Series; vol. 1);

In what was to become a landmark work within modern educational historiography, Julia proposed viewing «school culture» as a historical object and – among the emergent lines of inquiry in the history of education – attributed key importance to the «history of school subjects» in light of its potential to offer a detailed picture of actual classroom dynamics.

From that point onwards, an ever-increasing number of historians focused on the historical development of school subjects and the related educational practices, within the broader framework of a «cultural history of education».<sup>4</sup> In France, the historian André Chervel conducted numerous studies on the «history of school subjects», eventually specializing in this strand of research.<sup>5</sup> In Belgium, Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon – in an article published shortly after Julia's cornerstone piece that is of equal interest but less well known to the Italian scientific community – promptly demonstrated the extraordinary heuristic potential of this field of inquiry, which placed everyday school experience with its spaces, timeframes, and actors at the heart of historical research.<sup>6</sup> During this same period, two major conferences on the «social history of the classroom» – the first held at the University of Birmingham (1995) and the second in Toronto (1996) – were organized with a view to breaking with the history of education's traditional neglect of the need to reconstruct the social spaces of school learning; it was time to finally home in on these spaces, the routines and activities carried out in them, the learning experiences generated there, and the mediation of curricular contents. The

see also: JULIA, Dominique. «La cultura escolar come objeto histórico», MENEGUS, Margarita; GONZÁLEZ, Enrique (Eds.). *Historia de las Universidades modernas en Hispanoamérica: métodos y fuentes*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995, p. 131-153; JULIA, Dominique. «Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa: per una storia comparata delle culture scolastiche», *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, n. 3 (1996), p. 119-147.

4 For further background on this theme, see: POPKEWITZ, Thomas S.; FRANKLIN, Barry M.; PE-REYRA, Miguel A. (Eds.). *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*. New York-London: Routledge Falmer, 2001; and especially: JULIA, Dominique. «La storia dell'educazione come storia culturale», *Contemporanea*, 2 (2004), p. 263-286.

5 Among Chervel's many works, see in particular: CHERVEL, André. «Des disciplines scolaires à la culture scolaire», *Education and Cultural Transmission: Historical Studies of Continuity and Change in Families, Schooling and Youth Cultures*. Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 1996, p. 181-195 («Paedagogica Historica»; Supplementary Series; vol. II); *La culture scolaire. Une approche historique*. Paris: Belin, 1998. For background on the materiality of school subjects more specifically, see: BELHOSTE, Bruno. «Culture scolaire et histoire des disciplines», *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, 12 (2005), p. 213-223.

6 Cf. DEPAEPE, Marc; SIMON, Frank. «Is There any Place for the History of "Education" in the "History of Education"? A Plea for the History of Everyday Educational Reality in-and outside Schools», *Paedagogica Historica*, XXXI, n. 1 (1995), p. 9-16.

innovative contents of this cycle of conferences were later published in a book edited by Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn, and Kate Rousmaniere.<sup>7</sup>

This book represented a key new departure in the historiographical developments that we have set out to describe here, because it was among the first works to directly link school culture with the material environment where it is produced and transmitted and by which it is inevitably influenced: the classroom. Not surprisingly therefore, the classroom soon became the object of exciting new lines of inquiry, particularly in Spain.

Already in 1996, the Spanish academic community had displayed a particular openness towards the newly emerging currents in European history of education;<sup>8</sup> by the early 2000s, this interest had become its driving force, giving rise to highly innovative research output and inspiring many new lines of inquiry. The key milestone that marked this period was undoubtedly the publication of the proceedings of the *XII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación*, organized by the *Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación* (SEDHE) in collaboration with the University of Burgos on 18-21 June 2003 and devoted to the «ethnohistory of schooling».<sup>9</sup> The SEDHE event focused

7 GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; ROUSMANIERE, Kate (Eds.). *Silences and Images: The Social History of the Classroom*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

8 We are referring here to the article: ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «Postmodernity or High Modernity? Emerging Approaches in the New History of Education», *Paedagogica Historica*, xxxii, n. 2 (1996), p. 325-341, which reviewed emergent themes in the new history of education, especially those on which ethnographic methodological approaches were then being brought to bear, a development that was occurring later than in other historical disciplines.

9 In reality, using this term to define the history of material culture in schools could give rise to misunderstandings, given that ethnohistory – as a scientific discipline – has predominantly concerned itself with the historical reconstruction of events in societies of ethnological interest, that is to say, in primitive (generally non-European) societies that were illiterate and therefore essentially ahistorical. Accordingly, an «ethnohistory of schooling» would be a contradiction in terms, given that the schooling process is typical of complex societies, constituting their main instrument for fighting illiteracy; it would be different to speak about the «ethnohistory of education», which could plausibly investigate – through the study of folkloric sources – the educational apparatuses of «low-ranking» pre-industrial cultures and their historical survival within complex societies. In conclusion, for these reasons, we feel that it is more appropriate to refer to the «material history of schooling» than to the «ethnohistory of schooling», although the latter term does bear the advantage of expressing the discomfort of historians engaged in «cutting edge» research with limiting themselves to using classical interpretive categories and traditional research instruments when this might mean compromising the outcomes of their inquiry. In a 2012 article, in a journal published by the *Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul*, Antonio Viñao Frago also came down on the side of ascribing this new and fruitful strand of historiographical research to the category of the «material history of schooling» rather than to the «ethnohistory of schooling», on the grounds that a historiographical lens (with the capacity to leverage – within a multidisciplinary framework – «the interpretive categories, methodological models and scientific instruments of economic history and – more specifically – the history of commerce, industry, and enterprise») would be more appropriate than an ethno-anthropological one

on the study of «material culture in schools» via the ethnographic registers in which this culture may be observed, that is to say via objects, images, texts, and oral sources describing actual educational practices from a historical perspective.<sup>10</sup> The output of this academic gathering was of great interest, especially the papers presented in the section «Los objetos de la escuela y la historia material de la enseñanza» [School objects and the material history of teaching], one of the best attended of the conference.

The publication of this volume definitively confirmed, from a historiographical perspective, both the gap between «school culture» and the «material culture of schooling» – where the latter is understood as the history of the resources and methods employed in the production and consumption of educational objects and instruments<sup>11</sup> – and the division of the original field of inquiry into two distinct, albeit closely interconnected, branches. Spanish scholars embarked on researching the «material culture of schooling» in increasing numbers, ultimately making a prominent contribution to scientific output in the field over the first decade of the new millennium. Their lead was later followed by historians of education in the rest of Europe.

Indeed, following this «material turn» by Spanish historians of education, in 2005 the English historians Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor<sup>12</sup> – with whom a fruitful scientific partnership was already underway – began editing an anthological work on the «materiality of schooling». Significantly, this volume in-

for the purposes of analysing the «broad panoply of school objects» and adequately bringing to light their «nature as industrial and commercial products with their own designers, manufacturers, distributors, clients, and consumers» (cf. VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «La historia material e inmaterial de la escuela: memoria, patrimonio y educación», *Educação*, xxxv, 1 (jan.-abr. 2012), p. 7-17; cit. on p. 7).

10 Cf. JIMÉNEZ EGUÍZÁBAL, Juan Alfredo et al. (Eds.). *Etnohistoria de la escuela: actas del XII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación (Burgos, 18-21 de junio de 2003)*. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos – Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación, 2003.

11 This definition is a reworded version of the well-known definition of «material culture» formulated by Polish historian Witold Kula (cf. KULA, Witold. *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963) and is stated in: MEDA, Juri. «Contro il tanto deprecato mercantilismo scolastico»: i controversi rapporti tra produttori di quaderni, insegnanti e cartolai e l'intervento del regime fascista», MEDA, Juri; MONTINO, Davide; SANI, Roberto (Eds.), *School Exercise Books. A Complex Source for a History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Florence: Polistampa, 2010, p. 550.

12 The following articles are of particular note: GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin. «This is what we are and this is what we do»: teacher identity and teacher work in mid-Twentieth Century English Education Discourse», *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, ix, 3 (2001), p. 355-370; GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin, «Ways of seeing in education and schooling: emerging historiographies», *History of Education*, xxx, n. 2 (2001), p. 105-108; GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin, «When in doubt, preserve»: exploring the traces of teaching and material culture in English schools», *History of Education*, xxx, 2 (2001), p. 117-129.

cluded two essays by Spanish authors,<sup>13</sup> proof of growing international interest in the work of Spanish historiographers.<sup>14</sup> It homed in on the study of various kinds of educational objects and instruments that had long been overlooked and viewed as minor or secondary sources to be collected by individual school museums, recognizing that these same artefacts – when appropriately linked to the educational practices implemented in classrooms and schools at the time of their use – can contribute to a richer and more complete historical reconstruction of what actually happened in schools. The material history studies conducted by Lawn and Grosvenor represent, in some sense, the natural evolution of the «social history of the classroom» that had been their focus from 1995 to 1999. They marked a broadening of their authors' heuristic perspective beyond the narrow confines of the place where schooling is delivered (the classroom), understood as a container for the actors in the learning process, their educational practices, and the tools used to mediate the principles and contents such practices were intended to convey. Indeed, the heuristic focus of this new line of inquiry comprehended the material dimension of education, which – following the introduction of mass schooling – could no longer be viewed as a purely intellectual exercise in transmitting knowledge.<sup>15</sup>

A further overview of the “material culture of schools” was offered by the Spanish historian Agustín Escolano Benito in 2007, when he curated an anthology of essays to mark the centenary of the *Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios*.<sup>16</sup> Escolano's own introductory essay – written from the perspective of a scholar who had seriously and productively studied this theme – provided key insight into the historiographic importance of the body of research on the «material culture of schooling» conducted during the decade spanning the late 1990s and early 2000s. Escolano noted that the preceding years had seen the beginnings, within the history of education, of a new historiographical line of inquiry into «material objects in schools»; this new research agenda did not bear an exclusively historical-technological focus but also encompassed

13 The two authors in question were Antonio Viñao Frago and Pedro Luis Moreno Martínez, both based at the University of Murcia, and both among the most active Spanish exponents of this innovative field of inquiry.

14 LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian (Eds.). *Materialities of Schooling: Design, Technology, Objects, Routines*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005.

15 For further background on this concept, see also: DANE, Jacques; EARLE, Sarah-Jane; VAN RUITEN, Tijds. «The Material Classroom», BRASTER, Sjaak; GROSVENOR, Ian; DEL POZO ANDRÉS, María del Mar (Eds.). *The Black Box of Schooling: a Cultural History of the Classroom*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011, p. 263-276.

16 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Ed.). *La cultura material de la escuela*. Berlanga de Duero: CEINCE, 2007.

investigation of the cultural meanings of these objects, the ways in which they were used, their relationship with the actors in the learning process, their role in the educational practices actually implemented in schools, and their physical location within school learning spaces. In Escolano's view, therefore, for history of education research to retain its epistemological identity, scholars should not limit themselves to describing the technological and material evolution of individual objects used in schools, but should strive to understand the relationship between these objects and the context in which they were produced and used, seeking to develop a sort of «archaeology» of objects and to relate this to their «genealogy».<sup>17</sup> This was the umpteenth exercise in «staking out historiographical boundaries» with respect to a new field of inquiry that was rich in stimuli but also full of hazardous distractions for scholars those investigating the material culture of schools were at risk of deviating from the history of education proper, thus cancelling out their innovative contribution to the broader discipline.

## 2. ITALIAN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL THINKING: FIRST STEPS AND THE IMPETUS PROVIDED BY STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF SCHOOL PUBLISHING

Italian studies on the history of material culture in schools have had their own peculiar genesis, and it is only over the last ten years that they have become open to the influence of international historiography.<sup>18</sup> It is true – as Mirella D'Ascenzo pointed out<sup>19</sup> – that the first scholar to use the term «material school life» was Dario Ragazzini in 1983;<sup>20</sup> however, it is equally true that the

17 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «La cultura material de la escuela», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Ed.), *La cultura material de la escuela...* Op. cit., p. 15-27 (cit. p. 21). The author has recently restated the same general principles in: ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín, *La cultura empirica della scuola: esperienza, memoria, archeologia*. Ferrara: Volta la Carta, 2016 (the first Italian-language edition of which bears out the keen interest of Spanish and Portuguese scholars in Italian historiographical research and its potential.)

18 For an initial reconstruction of developments in Italian studies on the history of material culture in schools, see: MEDA, Juri. «La "historia material de la escuela" como factor de desarrollo de la investigación histórico-educativa en Italia», MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana (Eds.). *Patrimonio y Etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo XX*. Murcia: Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo – Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME), 2012, p. 17-32.

19 Cf. D'ASCENZO, Mirella. «Dalla mostra al museo? Ipotesi per un museo della scuola e dell'educazione», *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica*, VII, n. 1 (2012), p. 20-21 (footnote 7).

20 Cf. RAGAZZINI, Dario. *Storia della scuola italiana. Linee generali e problemi di ricerca*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1983 (especially, p. 111-118); the concept was taken up again by the author in: RAGAZZINI, Dario, *Tempi di scuola e tempi di vita: organizzazione sociale e destinazione dell'infanzia nella storia italiana*. Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 1997.



meaning then attributed to this expression – while most consequential from a historiographical perspective – is slightly different to that usually attributed to the «material culture of schooling». Indeed, as interpreted by Ragazzini, it stood for the practices, rituals and customs that characterize and dictate the rhythm of school life, rather than the materiality of the classroom and its equipment, in terms of furnishings, teaching aids and student materials.<sup>21</sup> And indeed «school things» were the theme of a chapter authored by Egle Becchi in 1996 for the volume «Storia dell'infanzia», co-edited with Dominique Julia, on the theme of changes in the use of educational materials and teaching aids over time.<sup>22</sup> However, the avenues of inquiry mapped out in these early works on the material dimension of educational processes were not immediately pursued: the historiographical discipline was only gradually beginning to free itself from epistemological constraints shaped by the decade-long dominance of the history of educational ideas and theories, and to take on board the methodological lessons of social and cultural history.

Thus, it was not until after the turn of the millennium that systemic research programs were finally conducted in this field. The first of these focused on schoolbooks, whose heuristic value had already been brought to light by the pioneering works of Ilaria Porciani, Marino Raicich, Marcella Bacigalupi, and Piero Fossati.<sup>23</sup> The ambitious TESEO project – led by

21 In reality, however, the revolutionary studies produced in the early Twentieth century by Emilia Formigginì Santamaria and Giuseppe Manacorda, who to some extent perceived the same need for historiographical innovation expressed some years later by the French *Annales* school, had already been amply treated in that which – following a concept developed by Saverio Fausto De Dominicis in the second volume of his *Linee di pedagogia elementare* (Roma: Società editrice Dante Alighieri, 1897) – the two scholars termed the «internal history of schools». For example, in 1912, in Emilia Formigginì Santamaria's *L'istruzione pubblica nel Ducato Estense, 1772-1860* (Genova: Formigginì, 1912), an entire chapter was devoted to *La vita interna della scuola* (p. 95-186) in terms of: how schools were organized and what educational practices teachers actually implemented in the classroom. A year later, Giuseppe Manacorda in the second volume of his *Storia della scuola in Italia: Il Medio evo*, entitled: *Storia interna della scuola medioevale italiana* (Milan: Remo Sandron, 1913), presented abundant documentary sources illuminating specific topics such as the evolution of the role of elementary teacher, the teacher-pupil relationship, disciplinary methods, and school curricula, but also school books, school buildings and even the educational materials in use in schools; in order to describe the last-mentioned category – which was not treated in detail in the written sources – he drew on representations featured in works of art.

22 BECCHI, Egle. «Cose di scuola», BECCHI, Egle; JULIA, Dominique (Eds.). *Storia dell'infanzia. Vol. II: Dal Settecento a oggi*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1996 (French ed.: Paris Seuil 1998). p. 160-174.

23 We are referring here to the following works: PORCIANI, Ilaria. «Il libro di testo come oggetto di ricerca: i manuali scolastici nell'Italia unita», *Storia della scuola e storia d'Italia*. Bari: De Donato, 1982, p. 237-271; BACIGALUPI, Marcella; FOSSATI, Piero. *Da plebe a popolo: l'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*. Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1986; RAICICH, Marino, *Di grammatica in retorica. Lingua, scuola, editoria nella Terza Italia*. Rome: Archivio «Guido Izzì», 1996.



Giorgio Chiosso and completed over a ten-year period (1998-2008) – remains a key point of reference for studies on this topic. The aim of that program was to map the editorial production of Italian school books, understood not only as «educational objects» but also as «economic objects» that were conditioned by the consensus-seeking requirements of political institutions, publisher's cultural preferences, and the laws of the market.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, the history of school publishing dominated the research interests of Italian historians of education for the entire first decade of the new millennium. It was also the object of authoritative treatments by historians of the contemporary era (such as Monica Galfré and Nicola Labanca) and historians of publishing (such as Maria Iolanda Palazzolo and Gianfranco Tortorelli).<sup>25</sup>

The large corpus of studies on school publishing produced between 2000 and 2010 undoubtedly fostered the inauguration of a parallel line of inquiry into the history of the material culture of school, which retained a solidly historiographical approach without any *a priori* assimilation of the ethno-anthropological influence coming from Spain.

Thus, in Italy, the «history of material culture in school» has corresponded in practice to a «history of the school supplies industry», with a particular focus on production processes and complex market dynamics in an economic sector that is entirely unique. This history begins with the first signs of mass cultural consumption, which took hold across European countries – albeit at different speeds – during the period spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scholarly interest in the school supplies industry was inspired by

24 The project led to the publication of two major catalogues of Italian school publishing houses during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: CHIOSSO, Giorgio (Ed.). *TESEO: tipografi e editori scolastico-educativi dell'Ottocento*. Milan: Bibliografica, 2003; CHIOSSO, Giorgio (Ed.). *TESEO '900: editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*. Milan: Bibliografica, 2008.

25 We are referring here to the following works: CHIOSSO, Giorgio (Ed.). *Il libro di scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*. Brescia: La Scuola, 2000; BETTI, Carmen (Ed.). *Percorsi del libro per la scuola fra Otto e Novecento. La tradizione toscana e le nuove realtà del primo Novecento in Italia*. Florence: Pagni-Regione Toscana, 2004; ASCENZI, Anna; SANI, Roberto (Eds.). *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo. L'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchiorri (1923-1928)*. Milan: Vita & Pensiero, 2005; SALVIATI, Carla Ida (Ed.). *Paggi e Bemporad editori per la scuola. Libri per leggere, scrivere e far di conto*. Florence: Giunti, 2007; GALFRÉ, Monica. *Il regime degli editori. Libri, scuola e fascismo*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2005; TARGHETTA, Fabio. *La capitale dell'impero di carta. Editori per la scuola a Torino nella prima metà del Novecento*. Turin: SEI, 2007; BARAUSSE, Alberto (Ed.). *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*. Macerata: Alfabetica, 2008; ASCENZI, Anna; SANI, Roberto (Eds.). *Il libro per la scuola nel ventennio fascista. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla riforma Gentile alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale (1923-1945)*. Macerata: Alfabetica, 2009.

the earlier focus on a specific branch of this industry, the publishing sector, whose mission was to produce textbooks and readers for schools of all levels. Specifically, the publication of increasingly in-depth studies on the school publishing sector and – especially – the striking outcomes of the first systematic census of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century school publishers and printers, stimulated further research into the school supplies industry more broadly. Thanks to that first wave of research, historians of education became aware of the need to draw on a wider range of sources than those they had traditionally relied on, for example by consulting company statutes and accounts, sales catalogues, industrial yearbooks or lists of companies registered with the Chambers of Commerce. All these sources had more to do with the industrial nature of school publishing than with its cultural dimension and none of them had never been taken into consideration in the past.

### 3. FROM THE HISTORY OF PUBLISHING TO THE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL SUPPLIES INDUSTRY VIA THE STUDY OF EXERCISE BOOKS

It was no coincidence that – shortly after the 2003 publication of the first catalogue listing Nineteenth-century school publishers and printers (TESEO) – the *Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione, Innovazione e Ricerca Educativa* (INDIRE) in Florence launched a wide-ranging and in-depth study – to be coordinated by Juri Meda – on the historical evolution of that quintessential item of school material, the exercise book. The historic Florentine institute holds a vast collection of school exercise books and learning products of various kinds, which are divided into a series of archival funds. In the interest of making these materials more accessible to researchers, the institute went about developing software to support a semantically-indexed electronic catalogue. The FISQED software application – whose final version was completed in 2006 – classifies school materials in terms of their type, provenance, and location index; it describes their physical characteristics, situates them in space and time, indexes the names of the students and teachers responsible for their contents, and reports the names of the schools the items came from; it provides a certain amount of information about the catalogue items' conceptual and graphic content by providing a brief abstract for each and a thesaurus-based semantic index for the entire database. In addition to this information, the application offers a detailed description of each «support-container» in its own

right, that is to say, of a «commercial product» (exercise book, drawing album, homework notebook, etc.) that was purchased and subsequently completed by a pupil, and that bears other information of historical interest (manufacturer and printer; authors and illustrators; format in terms of whether ruled with lines, squares, etc.; watermarking of the paper; etc.).<sup>26</sup>

The FISQED software has been used to analytically catalogue the «Materiali scolastici» [School Materials] collection of INDIRE; this data is kept in a cumulative national inventory, which may be accessed online via the project portal.<sup>27</sup> The inventory also stores data of other collections of exercise books and learning products that have joined the project and are currently being catalogued. The cataloguers with responsibility for analytically describing the diverse range of materials held in these estates have been provided with a set of tools to ensure the highest possible level of conformity with predefined standards of description. These tools include a detailed list of manufacturers and printers of exercise books, which was drawn up – with disambiguation provided where necessary – based on data entered in the descriptive fields by pilot project cataloguers and subsequently compared with other reference data drawn from industrial yearbooks and sales catalogues. It comprises over 270 publishing houses, paper factories, printers and in some cases printshops and bookshop-stationers, which – in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – produced school books and stationery, such as the various kinds of exercise book, homework notebooks, drawing albums, scrapbooks and colouring books.<sup>28</sup>

This list was the outcome of one of the most systematic and well-organized investigations ever conducted on one of the longest standing objects in the material culture of schools. It helped to shed light on a world – the manufacturing of school materials and teaching aids – that had previously remained unexplored. The studies carried out at this time advanced our understanding of the full-blown «genetic mutation» undergone by this most classical of aids

26 For further background on the concept of «commercial support-container» specifically, see: TRIGARI, Marisa. «La documentazione che fa la differenza: densità semantica, massa critica e integrazione virtuale nella Rete documentaria nazionale FISQED», *School Exercise Books*, cit., p. 55-56.

27 <http://www.indire.it/progetto/fisqed/> (checked on 13/08/2020).

28 This list was subsequently published in: *Appendice 1 – Elenco dei produttori e stampatori di quaderni attivi in Italia tra 1861 e 1950*, in MEDA, Juri. *Mezzi di educazione di massa: saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2016, p. 163-173. This book also contained a list of manufacturers of school furniture that supplied Italian schools over the period 1880-1960 (p. 184-187) and a list of manufacturers of stationery, school materials, teaching aids, and science equipment that were active in the Italian market between 1860 and 1960 (p. 184-198).

to children's school work, which at a certain point went from being a hand-crafted product to an industrial one that was increasingly mass-produced and mass-marketed. The similarities with the schoolbook, whose evolving physical characteristics have been studied by the team of scholars coordinated by Chiosso, are numerous and suggest stimulating new lines of inquiry.

The preliminary outcomes of these studies were presented to the scientific community during a conference entitled «I quaderni scolastici: una fonte per la storia dell'educazione» [School exercise books: a source for the history of education], held at the Catholic University of Brescia on 27 October 2005.<sup>29</sup> In a paper delivered at this conference, Juri Meda explored the exercise book as a material object, also offering a detailed statistical analysis of the data in the reference list of producers and printers of exercise books that had been drawn up for the FISQED cataloguers.<sup>30</sup> In this case too, it was clear that the new work presented was a direct offshoot of the recent studies on school publishing: exercise books were now viewed as sources for a «history of minor school publishing»,<sup>31</sup> an ambiguous definition that nonetheless reflected the desire to build on the fruitful studies on school publishing of the preceding years and leverage their innovative methods to extend the scope of inquiry to other segments of the highly diversified school supplies chain.<sup>32</sup> This definition was encouraged by the fact that school publishers' sales catalogues included – alongside books and manuals – an extremely lengthy list of other materials that were distributed but not manufactured by the publishing house, such as stationery items, teaching aids, science equipment, and even school furniture and fittings.

29 The conference proceedings were published in the special issue: «I quaderni di scuola tra Otto e Novecento», *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche in Italia*, n. 13 (2006), p. 13-188.

30 On this conference paper, see: CHARTIER, Anne-Marie. «Notes critiques», *Histoire de l'Éducation*, 118 (2008), p. 143-146.

31 Cf. MEDA, Juri. «Quaderni di scuola: nuove fonti per la storia dell'editoria scolastica minore», *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche in Italia*, n. 13 (2006), p. 73-98.

32 This need was more recently reaffirmed by Giorgio Chiosso, who wound up his presentation at the *I Workshop Italo-Español de Historia de la Cultura Escolar* (Berlango de Duero, 14-16 novembre 2011), by observing that: «Many lines of inquiry remain to be explored and charted, some of which are highly promising (I will only cite by way of example the relationship between the evolution of school subjects/text books and developments in the production sector parallel to the school publishing industry proper, which often marketed [the former's] offerings, such as teaching aids, gymnastics equipment, geographical maps and school furniture), but at least we are now equipped to navigate a territory that had long remained virtually unknown» (CHIOSO, Giorgio. «La manualistica scolastica in Italia: tematiche, metodologie, orientamenti», MEDA, Juri; BADANELLI, Ana María (Eds.). *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas. Actas del I Workshop Italo-Español de Historia de la Cultura Escolar* (Berlango de Duero, 14-16 novembre 2011). Macerata: EUM, 2013, p. 59).

Scholarly awareness of the extraordinary semantic complexity and the far from secondary methodological implications inherent in this new line of historiographical research culminated in September 2007, when the University of Macerata and INDIRE jointly organized the international symposium «School Exercise Books: a Complex Source for a History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries».

Among the numerous conference sessions scheduled, one was entitled «An article of stationery or an editorial product? The exercise book as a source for the history of educational publishing», while the relative call for papers invited a focus on «the exercise book as an editorial object, produced by specialized publishers, distributed via specific commercial channels, and subject to normative processes defining its functions, formats, and graphic design. Of particular interest, therefore, is the process by which the exercise book's graphic design and internal graphic space were codified, leading to the development of different sizes and styles of ruling and their gradual standardization over time». The title given to this session was emblematic. On the one hand it mistakenly (as observed above) clung to the notion that the exercise book might represent a «source for the history of educational publishing». On the other hand, however, it asked – somewhat rhetorically – whether it was actually an item of stationery or a true «editorial product». In sum, the field was proceeding step by step, with the occasional stumble, towards the definitive recognition of the exercise book (and by extension of other basic student materials) as an «industrial product».

The conference organizers' hopes were disappointed: few scholars presented papers at the session on exercise books as an editorial object, showing that this line of inquiry still had few adherents, including at the international level.<sup>33</sup> Thus, when the proceedings were later published in 2010, this small number of papers were grouped together with those presented at another session on the exercise book as an iconographic source, under a new heading: «Tools of Mass Education: the Exercise Book as a Source for a History of the School Industry and Market». The historiographical domain in which to situate

33 Significantly, the two papers most salient to the theme outlined in the call for papers were presented by Italian scholars: ASCENZI, Anna. «La Cartiere Pigna e i quaderni scolastici della "Terza Italia" (1870-1945)», *School Exercise Books*. cit., p. 487-505; MEDA, Juri. «Contro il tanto deprecato mercantilismo scolastico», op. cit., p. 507-551. For an analysis of these studies' contribution to the developing history of material culture in Italian schools, cf.: SANI, Roberto. «Bilancio della ricerca sui quaderni scolastici in Italia», MEDA, Juri; BADANELLI, Ana María (Eds.). *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España*. Op. cit., p. 83-103.

studies of school supplies and teaching aids as material objects appeared to have been definitively established. From the vague «history of minor school publishing», we had now shifted to speaking about the history of the «school supplies industry», a category that had never previously been contemplated.

In his introduction to the published proceedings of the section on the exercise book as a material object, Juri Meda attempted to provide a more targeted and detailed explanation of the complex category of sources now to be labelled «tools of mass education». These consisted of a wide and diverse range of educational materials, which are to be used with or without the mediation of the teacher and are designed to bring about key learning processes in an undifferentiated plurality of beneficiaries. The evident mingling of media and educational characteristics in the exercise book as well as in many other educational materials within the same broad category arose from the progressive massification of educational processes that took place at the turn of the twentieth century, leading to an exponential increase in the production of school materials and thereby fostering as we shall see – at both the formal and informal levels, – the standardization of learning processes.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4. THE MATURING OF A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF SCHOOLS

The results of these early studies bolstered scholars' conviction that the exercise book was not the only educational material to have become – from a certain point onwards and as a function of specific dynamics – a mass-distributed industrial product, as well as a full-fledged consumer product: in other words, both an outcome and an expression of the ongoing expansion of the school supplies market. This hypothesis was put forward for the first time by Juri Meda in a 2010 article in the journal *History of Education & Children's Literature*<sup>35</sup> and later formalized in a book published in 2016.<sup>36</sup>

34 Cf. MEDA, Juri. «The Exercise Book as a Material Object», *School Exercise Books*. Op. cit., p. xxv-xxviii.

35 MEDA, Juri. «Mezzi di educazione di massa. Nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una «storia materiale della scuola» tra XIX e XX secolo», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, vi, 1 (2011), p. 253-279.

36 MEDA, Juri. *Mezzi di educazione di massa: saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2016.

Here, Meda outlined in detail his theory about tools of mass education, or the vast assortment of school furniture and educational materials that at a certain stage in history began to be produced on an industrial scale and serialized with a view to inducing a generalized standardization of teaching methods, learning processes, and educational content. He specifically examined the evolution of the school desk in the second half of the nineteenth century and that of the exercise book in the first half of the twentieth century, showing that these items went from being handcrafted to being industrial products with particular formal characteristics, as the process of mass schooling drove the emergence of a flourishing new market for school supplies.<sup>37</sup> Meda analysed the progressive entry of the Italian industrial sector into the production of school furniture and educational materials, a segment that had initially been dominated by foreign manufacturers. He also examined the use of industrial patents, with a view to shedding light on the dynamics underlying the conception, design, and industrial production of school supplies and the commercial strategies adopted by manufacturers to enhance their market share and penetration (e.g., by taking part in international exhibitions and trade fairs where they were often received medals and honourable mentions).<sup>38</sup>

A key contribution to the development of this theory was the 2010 publication of an interesting study by Pierre Moëglin, a professor of information and communication sciences at the University of Paris 13 and director of the *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Paris Nord*, on what he defines as *industries éducatives* [educational industries],<sup>39</sup> or companies specialized in the production of educational materials and teaching aids.

37 In 2017, Meda once again remarked on the multiple interrelationships between the affirmation of the simultaneous method of instruction in Italian classrooms, the progressive advance of compulsory schooling, and the proliferation of educational materials being used on an increasingly vast scale to enhance the mediation of learning – previously left entirely up to the teacher – with the aim of standardizing educational processes. See: MEDA, Juri, «Genesi ed evoluzione dei consumi scolastici in Italia tra XIX e XX secolo», *Rivista di storia dell'educazione*, VII, 2 (2017), p. 103-117; this article featured in the special issue «Educazione, scuola e consumo: analisi e prospettive storico-educative» [Education, school and consumption: historical-educational analysis and perspectives] n. 2 (2017) of *Rivista di storia dell'educazione*, edited by Stefano Oliviero (p. 7-241).

38 Meda returned to the theme of industrial patents in: MEDA, Juri. «Patentes e monopólios industriais: novas fontes para uma história da indústria escolar. Primeiras sondagens nos arquivos italianos (1880-1960)», GASPARD DA SILVA, Vera Lucia; DE SOUZA, Gizele; CASTRO, César Augusto (Eds.). *Cultura material escolar em perspectiva histórica: escritas e possibilidades*. Vitória: EDUFES Editora, 2018, p. 452-459.

39 MÖGLIN, Pierre. *Les industries éducatives*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France – PUF, 2010.



According to Mœglin, the extraordinary growth seen around the turn of the twentieth century in this sector of production was helped by multiple factors; however, it mainly arose from the need to impose an efficient and rational model of elementary school education that emulated the rigidly structured production processes of the emergent capitalist economic system. The idea was to develop «educational prostheses» with the capacity to speed up and consolidate learning and significantly reduce rates of academic failure. In order to achieve these goals, as the US psychologist Jerome Bruner – a fervent supporter of educational structuralism and programmed instruction – suggested in a book published in 1996,<sup>40</sup> educational technologies were introduced into schools on a vast scale, with a view to teaching as many people as possible in the least time and with better outcomes.<sup>41</sup>

The only flaw in Mœglin's work was the perspective from which he chose to analyse his question. He attributed the technologization of the classroom and the increase in the range of educational materials for students entirely to the modernization of Western society during the Second and Third Industrial Revolutions. In his view, a form of progressivist determinism pushed a society undergoing constant scientific and cultural development to deliberately equip schools and students with educational materials and learning aids with the end goal of making the new generations progress even more rapidly. While a broader pattern of modernization undoubtedly contributed to these developments in education, we nonetheless contend that the introduction into schools of new technologies and additional materials should also be examined from an economic point of view. This implies viewing these innovations as not only arising from a positivist quest for progress on the part of far-sighted Western education authorities, but equally as shaped by the efforts of commercial enterprises. The entrepreneurial class saw the expansion of the school supplies market as an extraordinary opportunity to make profit and not only attempted to cater for schools' demand for educational materials but actively sought to continually create new needs.

It is clear that Mœglin's findings contributed to a further redefinition of the directions of educational historiographical inquiry. The merit of his work – although it fell short of providing a comprehensive overview and only drew

40 Cf. BRUNER, Jerome. *The Culture of Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.

41 For further background on this theme, see also: CUBAN, Larry. *Teachers and machines: the classroom use of technology since 1920*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1986, which was not widely read in Italy.



passing conclusions from a historiographical perspective (Mœglin is not a historian) – was to further broaden the heuristic reach of the «material culture of schools». The material history of education was now becoming a history of the resources and methods employed in the production and consumption of educational materials and technologies. As such, it necessarily took into account the economic processes associated with the advent of mass education and its role in fostering the development of a new sector of production with a flourishing market of its own. A further consideration here is that just as Spanish scholars – when initiating their inquiry into the close relationship between teaching and educational objects – were obliged to draw on ethno-anthropology (which supplied some of the interpretive tools they needed to analyse material sources held in school museums<sup>42</sup>), so too – in this case – the history of education would do well to embrace a multidisciplinary approach and similarly leverage the interpretive categories, methodological models, and research instruments of economic history, especially business history and the history of industries.<sup>43</sup>

## 5. A CONTINUOUSLY GROWING STRAND OF RESEARCH

Another scholar who pursued the line of historiographical inquiry that, from the history of school publishing, led to the first historical studies on the school supplies industry was Fabio Targhetta: first in 2006 with a paper on the production of educational materials and science equipment by the publishing company Paravia<sup>44</sup> (which was particularly active in this sector as we shall

42 It is interesting to note in this regard that, in Spain, the following is still considered as a key reference work: SACCHETTO, Pier Paolo. *El objeto informador. Los objetos en la escuela: entre la comunicacion y el aprendizaje*. Barcelona: Gedisa Ed., 1986.

43 This historiographical perspective has recently been reinforced by studies conducted by Wiara Rosa Rios Alcântara for her doctoral thesis, supervised by Diana Gonçalves Vidal at the Faculty of Education at the University of São Paulo (Brasil) and entitled «Por uma história econômica da escola: a carteira escolar como vetor de relações. São Paulo, 1874-1914» (2014). The same author has recently produced new work on this theme: Rios Alcântara, Wiara Rosa. «Material culture and science teaching history in São Paulo: an administrative-economic perspective», *Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione*, v, 1 (2018), p. 343-361; RIOS ALCÂNTARA, Wiara Rosa; VIDAL, Diana. «The Syndicat Commercial du Mobilier et du matériel d'Enseignement and the transnational trade of school artefacts», *Paedagogica Historica*, 2020 (DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2020.1796721; last accessed on 13/08/2020). For a more general background on the material history of schools in Latin American scholarship, see: VIDAL, Diana. «História da Educação como Arqueologia: cultura material escolar e escolarização», *Revista Linhas*, XVIII, 36 (jan./abr. 2017), p. 251-272.

44 TARGHETTA, Fabio. «Tra riorganizzazione industriale e sviluppo editoriale: la casa editrice Paravia tra le due guerre», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 1, 2 (2006), p. 209-229.

see) and a year later – in a fine study of the school publishing sector in Turin – an account of how, during the interwar period, Paravia had recognized the potential of the school supplies market and invested considerable resources in it. Specifically, the company set up a dedicated production unit for the manufacture of teaching and learning materials (especially wall maps, and from the 1920s onwards, also models of the human body, models of plants, stuffed animals, physics and chemistry equipment, etc.). Targhetta observed that this product diversification strategy proved highly successful, given that during the 1930s – when the publishing sector was beginning to recover from the post-war recession, and the export of educational materials to the Italian colonies, Albania and Latin America was on the increase – Paravia's turnover grew considerably, coming to exceed one million lire by the end of the decade.<sup>45</sup> Three years later, aware of the need to more closely examine the economic dimension of mass schooling in terms of the historical development of the domestic school supplies industry, Targhetta explored a theme that he had already touched on in his two earlier works: the importation and domestic production of educational materials. In this new work, he analysed Italian schools' slow but steady emancipation from reliance on foreign suppliers over the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

An alternative research perspective – albeit still within the broader domain of the material culture of schools – was developed over the same period by Monica Ferrari and her research team at the University of Pavia. In 2008, Ferrari published the outcomes of a study she had coordinated on educational objects that were produced, used, and kept at infant schools in Mantua over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: her analysis encompassed the educational setting, its educational practices and the use to which investigated objects had been put in the classroom during the period under study.<sup>47</sup> Ferrari unequivocally showed that her interest lay in the «educational mechanics» of

45 Cf. TARGHETTA, Fabio. *La capitale dell'impero di carta...* Op. cit., p. 22-29.

46 TARGHETTA, Fabio. «*Uno sguardo all'Europa*». *Modelli scolastici, viaggi pedagogici ed importazioni didattiche nei primi cinquant'anni di scuola italiana*, CHIARANDA, Mirella (Ed.). *Storia comparata dell'educazione. Problemi ed esperienze tra Otto e Novecento*. Milan: Franco Angeli, 2010, p. 155-176 (especially p. 167-171).

47 FERRARI, Monica; MORANDI, Matteo; PLATÉ, Enrico. *La lezione delle cose: oggetti didattici delle scuole dell'infanzia mantovane tra Ottocento e Novecento*. Mantua: Comune di Mantova – Settore Politiche Educative, 2008. On this topic, see also: FERRARI, Monica; MORANDI, Matteo; PLATÉ, Enrico. *Lezioni di cose, lezioni di immagini: studi di caso e percorsi di riflessione sulla scuola italiana tra XIX e XXI secolo*. Azzano San Paolo: Junior, 2011.

these objects (which she elsewhere termed «educational devices»<sup>48</sup>) and the educational practices they enabled on the ground, rather than in the dynamics underpinning their invention, production and marketing, or their fit with the social and cultural needs of a late-Nineteenth/early-Twentieth Italian society in the throes of an – admittedly belated – industrialization process. Hence, Monica Ferrari's perspective on the material culture of schools – as she herself would emphasize again in 2010<sup>49</sup> – was strictly historical-educational, while the other Italian line of inquiry into the material culture that we have described here was historical-social, or more properly, historical-economic.

All in all, these early Italian research campaigns – together with growing pressure from the international scientific community for Italian scholars to conform to current trends in history of education research, also with a view to facilitating cross-cultural comparison, and the Italian academic community's need to strengthen its international publication output following changes in national evaluation guidelines – have made the material history of schools into one of the up-and-coming fields of inquiry in Italy. This trend is borne out by the special issue «Per una storia dei luoghi della materialità educativa» [Proposing a history of the places of educational materiality] edited as recently as 2014, by Carmela Covato, for the journal of the Italian History of Education Society (CIRSE), which featured articles by Monica Ferrari, Egle Becchi, Lorenzo Cantatore, Francesca Borruso, Matteo Morandi, Fabio Pruneri, Tiziana Pironi, and Fulvio De Giorgi among others.<sup>50</sup>

48 Cf. FERRARI, Monica. *Lo specchio, la pagina, le cose. Congegni pedagogici tra ieri e oggi*. Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011 (cf. especially the chapter entitled «Delle cose»); FERRARI, Monica. «Education and Things. Pedagogical Ideologies and Didactic Materials in Two European Courts (15th-17th Centuries)», PRIEM, Karin; KÖNIG, Gudrun M.; CASALE, Rita (Eds.). *Die Materialität der Erziehung: Kulturelle und soziale Aspekte pädagogischer Objekte*. Weinheim-Basel: Beltz Verlag, 2012, p. 92-104.

49 Cf. FERRARI, Monica. «Il bambino e il suo ambiente: cose dei bambini e cose per i bambini nel dibattito storiografico», *Studi sulla Formazione*, XIII, 1, 2010, p. 39-55, in which the author essentially recalls and revisits Egle Becchi's (1996) theorizing about «school things» – albeit applying it to the history of childhood.

50 Cf. Special issue «Per una storia dei luoghi della materialità educativa», *Rivista di storia dell'educazione*, I, 1 (2014), p. 5-116. In this issue, see especially: MORANDI, Matteo. «Gli spazi della scuola secondaria in Italia: tracce per una storia» (p. 55-62); PRUNERI, Fabio. «L'aula scolastica tra Otto e Novecento» (p. 63-72); PIRONI, Tiziana. «La Casa dei Bambini di Maria Montessori: un nuovo spazio educativo per l'infanzia» (p. 73-84); DE GIORGI, Fulvio. «Appunti sulla storia del banco scolastico» (p. 85-98). We should note here that – in recent years – Pruneri has continued to assiduously pursue this line of inquiry, producing some interesting publications: «Pluriclassi, scuole rurali, scuole a ciclo unico dall'Unità d'Italia al 1948», *Diacronie: studi di storia contemporanea*, XXXIV, 2 (2018), p. 1-25; «Civilisation and the Italian school toilet: insights for the cultural history of education», *Paedagogica Historica*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2020.1831030>.

Finally, a promising novel methodological perspective was proposed by Marta Brunelli in a paper – published in the proceedings of the international conference «Éducation et culture matérielle» [Education and material culture]<sup>51</sup> (Bordeaux, 29-30 April 2014) – on the industrial production of educational materials in Italy around the turn of the twentieth century. In this work, Brunelli laid down a set of guidelines for using schools' cultural heritage assets as material sources in building up a rightly oriented historical reconstruction of the material culture. They must not to be fetishistically treated as totemic objects, a risk earlier flagged – as noted in the opening section of this review – by Agustín Escolano Benito. This issue is of no little importance, especially if we consider that the fetishistic bias has often been a feature of the recent historiographical literature from Latin America. Contributors to this literature, while overlooking the historiographical guidelines and methodological foundations developed by authoritative scholars who previously treated the theme of material educational objects (such as Escolano Benito, Viñao Frago, and Moreno Martínez), have occasionally focused on the formal characteristics of individual educational objects in such minute detail that the broader historical context is lost from view. In other words, the historical evolution of the objects under study is never adequately situated *vis-à-vis* the complex political, social and cultural dynamics of a given society, with its collective educational knowledge, school system, and present degree of industrial development.

In her work, Brunelli avoids using «collectors' taxonomies», proving that it is possible to conduct in-depth investigation of the industrial production of educational materials based on a range of sources including – alongside

51 BRUNELLI, Marta. «Pour une histoire de la production industrielle des matériels didactiques en Italie de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> à la première moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: premières indications et perspectives de recherche», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Ed.). *Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*. Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2018, p. 109-131. A revised and expanded version of this work has been published in Spanish: BRUNELLI, Marta. «Posibles metodologías de trabajo histórico sobre la cultura material de la escuela: entre el material didáctico y los catálogos de enseñanza. Primeros resultados de una investigación en curso», GASPARD DA SILVA, Vera Lucia; DE SOUZA, Gizele; CASTRO, César Augusto (Eds.). *Cultura material escolar em perspectiva histórica: escritas e possibilidades*. Vitória: EDUFES Editora, 2018, p. 181-215.

more conventional options (corporate statutes and accounts, sales catalogues,<sup>52</sup> industrial yearbooks, etc.) – the educational objects themselves, currently held in museums and the science labs of historic schools. The presence of exemplars of these items in scientifically curated collections offers an alternative source of empirical data when it is not possible to obtain reliable historical statistics concerning their wider production, effective distribution, and – indirectly – the popularity of the educational practices for which they were intended. Objectively analysing these educational objects in terms of detecting superimposed commercial labels that attest to the practice of fraud, or verifying the dates that individual objects were first recorded in the inventory of a museum with a view to identifying possible time lags between their production and sale, is a highly innovative research method with the potential to extend the heuristic capacity of the scholars engaged in this strand of research.<sup>53</sup> However, it should

52 For fuller background on this particular type of source, see: MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. «El mobiliario escolar en los catálogos de material de enseñanza: consideraciones metodológicas», NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María; DÁVILA BALSERA, Pauli (Eds.). *La infancia en la historia: espacios y representaciones*, Vol. 1. San Sebastian: Erein, 2005, p. 342-355; BRUNELLI, Marta. «Cataloghi commerciali dei materiali scolastici e collezioni storiche dei sussidi didattici. Nuove fonti per la storia dell'industria per la scuola in Italia (1870-1922)», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, XIII, 2 (2018), p. 469-510.

53 The material sources are not the only type of alternative source that allows the effective distribution and modes of use of educational materials and school furnishings to be analysed independently of education legislation and the recommendations of contemporary health and education authorities. For example, it would be possible to examine how items of school furniture often continued to be used well beyond their natural lifespan, for organizational, economic and/or cultural reasons, or to document how local authorities traditionally failed to invest in school buildings and educational equipment by conducting empirical analyses of geographically and chronologically representative photograph collections or examining purchase records held in the archives of town or city councils. The systematic analysis of a significant corpus of photographs held in municipal or school archives would be required to obtain statistically significant data and to quantify the overall extent of patterns about which we are currently only able to surmise. Another alternative that could potentially shed light on gap between «school as it was officially meant to be» and «school as it really was» is oral sources, which have already proved – in studies published by research teams that have far-sightedly been set up at the University of Firenze (Gianfranco Bandini and Stefano Oliviero), University of Molise (Alberto Barausse, Valeria Viola and Rossella Andreassi) and University of Macerata (Lucia Paciaroni) – their potential to attest to what really happened in classrooms, especially in relation to issues (such as corporal punishment, forbidden educational practices and other educational taboos) that are not documented in any of the official records but are nonetheless verifiable historical phenomena (on this topic, cf. PACIARONI, Lucia. *Memorie di scuola. Contributo a una storia delle pratiche didattiche ed educative nelle scuole marchigiane attraverso le testimonianze di maestri e maestre, 1945-1985*. Macerata: EUM, 2020, p. 87-112). The large-scale collection of oral testimonies at the national level would certainly enable researchers to directly ascertain from the living voices of the protagonists of school life how the educational materials purchased by schools were actually used by teachers in the course of their educational practice, as well as the actual technologies and teaching aids with which classrooms were equipped. This data could then be compared with official guideline documents and memos issued by the Ministry of Education, in order to evaluate the degree to which real-life educational practice in schools conformed to the official ideal.

be pointed out that such research practices can only yield meaningful statistical outcomes in a context where – as Monica Ferrari has also called for – historical educational objects are subjected to systematic cataloguing based on univocal criteria and collections are made fully accessible to researchers, goals which currently remain relatively distant, as studies on the «health status» of Italian historical-educational heritage have clearly shown.<sup>54</sup>

Undoubtedly, much remains to be done. As Fabio Targhetta has rightly pointed out, many questions remain to be answered: «In what terms may we link the history of economic processes with the advance of mass education? What repercussions did the emergence of a modern manufacturing sector have at the educational level? What role did teachers play in the rise of industrial production at the expense of handcrafted materials? For how long, in the less developed areas of Italy, did handmade learning materials continued to be used in classrooms? And with what effects? Was there any resistance to the process of standardization?». <sup>55</sup> These are but some of the key questions that need to be addressed over the coming years. Nevertheless, promising studies on the material culture of schools that have recently been undertaken by young scholars (such as Domenico Francesco Antonio Elia's work on the material culture of physical education<sup>56</sup> and Valeria Viola's research on school buildings<sup>57</sup>) reflect a historiographical vitality that will surely set the pace of Italian history of education research going forward, partly reshaping it and further extending its heuristic reach.

54 We here particularly refer to: FERRARI, Monica; PANIZZA, Giorgio; MORANDI, Matteo (Eds.), Special issue «I beni culturali della scuola: conservazione e valorizzazione», *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, 15 (2008), p. 15-191; MEDA, Juri. «La conservazione del patrimonio storico-educativo: il caso italiano», MEDA, Juri; BADANELLI, Ana María (Eds.). *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España*. Op. cit., p. 167-198.

55 TARGHETTA, Fabio. «Tra produzione industriale e alfabetizzazione diffusa: nuovi approdi per la storia della cultura materiale della scuola», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, XIII, 1 (2018), p. 592.

56 ELIA, Domenico Francesco Antonio. «Uno strumento di ricerca per la storia materiale sportiva: la banca dati dell'Ufficio italiano brevetti e marchi», *Italia Contemporanea*, 281 (2016), p. 133-153; ELIA, Domenico Francesco Antonio. «Per una mappatura del consumo degli attrezzi ginnici e sportivi nella scuola italiana: i marchi e i brevetti delle aziende italiane nel Ventennio Fascista (1922-1943)», *Rivista di storia dell'educazione*, IV, 2 (2017), p. 143-166.

57 VIOLA, Valeria; MICELI, Valeria. «In iscuola meglio che in casa». L'edilizia delle scuole rurali durante il ventennio fascista. Primi risultati di uno scavo documentario», *Rivista di storia dell'educazione*, 2 (2016), p. 83-89; VIOLA, Valeria. «“The school house”. History and evolution of the urban and rural school building in Italy during the fascism», DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María (Eds.). *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*. San Sebastian: Erein, 2016, p. 377-389.

Material school culture in the fields and  
gardens<sup>1</sup> of the history of education: a look at  
academic production in Brazil (2000-2020)  
*Cultura material de l'escola als camps i jardins  
de la història de l'educació: una mirada a la  
producció acadèmica al Brasil*

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## RESUM

Aquest article té com a objectiu sistematitzar i examinar les dades que permetin visualitzar la constitució de la cultura material escolar com una perspectiva d'anàlisi en l'àmbit de la història de l'educació brasilera. Metodològicament el treball es va organitzar per a presentar informació que reflecteixi la producció publicada en diaris

1 Inspired in the subtitle of the work by BOUTIER, Jean; JULIA, Dominique (Orgs.). *Passados recompostos: Campos e canteiros da História*. Rio de Janeiro /RJ: Editora da UFRJ/Ed FGV, 1998, 352 p.

(especialment els dedicats a transmetre la producció de l'àrea) i en format de llibre, la producció de tesis i dissertacions, la presència d'aquest tema en esdeveniments de l'àrea i la configuració de línies de recerca (en Història de l'Educació o correlacionades) en el context dels programes de postgrau en Educació al Brasil. En el conjunt d'aquesta producció, més que identificar autors i formats, intentem destacar temes i perspectives des de les quals la cultura material escolar s'associa i s'estableix en la història de l'educació brasilera. La delimitació temporal, de 2000 a 2020, a més de alinear-se amb la proposta de Dossier a la qual s'associa el treball, és també un reconeixement de la potència d'aquest enfocament en la producció brasilera dedicada a la història de l'educació.

**PARAULES CLAU:** cultura material escolar, història de l'educació, historiografia de l'educació, postgrau en educació, Brasil.

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to systematize and examine data that allow visualizing the construction of material school culture as an analytical perspective within the field of history of Brazilian education. Methodologically, the paper is organized to present information that reflects studies published in journals (especially those dedicated to promoting work in this field) as well as books, theses and dissertations, the presence of this theme in events in the field and in the configuration of research lines (in educational history or related fields) in graduate studies programs in Brazil. Within this production, more than identifying authors and formats, we intend to reveal the themes and perspectives through which the material school culture is associated to and established in the history of Brazilian education. The time period chosen, from 2000 to 2020, in addition to aligning with the proposal of the dossier to which the work is affiliated, is also a recognition of the strength of this approach in Brazilian academic works dedicated to educational history.

**KEY WORDS:** material school culture, history of education, historiography of education, graduate studies in education, Brazil.

## RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo sistematizar y examinar los datos que permitan visualizar la constitución de la cultura material escolar como una perspectiva de análisis en el ámbito de la historia de la educación brasileña. Metodológicamente el trabajo se organizó para presentar información que refleje la producción publicada en perío-



dicos (especialmente los dedicados a transmitir la producción del área) y en formato de libro, la producción de tesis y disertaciones, la presencia de este tema en eventos del área y la configuración de líneas de investigación (en Historia de la Educación o correlacionadas) en el contexto de los Programas de Posgrado en Educación en Brasil. En el conjunto de esta producción, más que identificar autores y formatos, intentamos destacar temas y perspectivas desde las que la cultura material escolar se asocia y se establece en la historia de la educación brasileña. La delimitación temporal, de 2000 a 2020, además de alinearse con la propuesta de Dossier a la que se asocia el trabajo, es también un reconocimiento de la potencia de este enfoque en la producción brasileña dedicada a la historia de la educación.

PALABRAS CLAVE: cultura material escolar, historia de la educación, historiografía de la educación, posgrado en educación, Brasil.

«The objects of history are always constructed from a perspective that is, itself, historic» (Antoine Prost).<sup>2</sup>

This study reveals not only years of investment in research in this field, but our forms of sensing and operating with the theme of material school culture. Our individual trajectories have distinct formative paths, diverse institutional activity, but are articulated and aggregated in the investments in research of archives, in the indications of materiality on early childhood schooling, in group work, and this amalgamates our forms of seeing and locating ourselves in this historiographic field.

The object of the history that we propose to examine – research about material school culture in Brazil – reveals marks and modes of how we understand, produce and weave a narrative about this thematic field. These sketches do not only derive from focusing the analysis on bibliographic production in Brazil but also by the choices we make as researchers in this field, opting to look and present an interpretive possibility about how the constitution of material school culture is established as a perspective in the field of Brazilian educational history.

2 PROST, Antoine. *Doze lições sobre a história*. 2ª ed. Belo Horizonte / MG: Autêntica (Coleção História & Historiografia), 2012, p. 257.

The period chosen, from 2000 to 2020, is a significant temporal space for locating and learning about the thematic emphases, emergences and consolidations. The two-decade long path allows problematizing, if not explaining, the place of the theme of material school culture in the field of educational history.

With the proposal to map and examine academic work about material school culture in Brazil, in the period from 2000 to 2020 – some warnings are needed to locate the strategies used to consult and analyze the data and the theoretical-methodological definitions that anchored us. The first of these is the conceptual dimension, the understanding of what encompasses production about material school culture in Brazil. There are many possibilities for grasping schools and their interfaces with material culture and expressions. We opted here to treat materiality not as a thematic subterfuge and discursive appendix, but to identify studies that present a historic narrative of schooling based on its materiality, or on its material aspects. Or, as Heloisa Pimenta Rocha qualifies, as a perspective that interrogates «the educational past by examining the artifacts and modes of fabrication invented by different subjects and groups, to respond to the demands of schooling».<sup>3</sup> In this sense, a hybrid composition is fitting, both in the debate about materiality in the historic process of schooling, as in the cultural uses that the school makes of artifacts.<sup>4</sup>

The second highlight is of a methodological character, and concerns the nature of the work, the constitution of the empiric body and the research procedures. The empirical data came from various sources that offer indications about the theme in question, from both graduate study programs and bibliographic production in general, giving priority to articles published in periodicals and the circulation of the field of educational history at events in Brazil. Previous studies dedicated to mappings in the field of history of education or of material school culture in a historic perspective were also consulted. The effort was not to conduct a study of the state of the art, but to delimit and shape an exhaustive production of reference and extract from it themes and perspectives for analysis.

3 ROCHA, Heloisa Helena Pimenta. «“Indispensáveis em todas as escolas”: uma incursão no mundo dos objetos escolares», *Educar em Revista*, n. 76, v. 35 (2019), p. 95-118 (cit. p. 102) [URL: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/er/v35n76/1984-0411-er-35-76-0095.pdf>. Consulted: 20/03/2020].

4 This perspective appears as a priority in the configuration of schooling in early childhood, which encompasses both early childhood schooling and primary school. Some productions also focus on high school, on a more limited scale.

Clarice Nunes and Marta Carvalho wrote about the historicity of the field: «any study that we conduct, trying to understand how the field of educational history is produced, must be focused on two concerns: the content of this history and the institutional organization that supports it. These concerns appear to be nearly always associated, given that the examination of the products does not exclude the analysis of the places and practices that establish them».<sup>5</sup>

Many colleagues, in conjunction with the efforts of Clarice Nunes and Marta Carvalho, have dedicated themselves to tracing, evaluating, and identifying trends in the historiographic production of Brazilian education or even reflections about the constitution of this field. We can recall here that some references like the works of Evaldo Vieira,<sup>6</sup> Dermeval Saviani,<sup>7</sup> Jorge Nagle,<sup>8</sup> Mirian Warde,<sup>9</sup> Luís Barreira,<sup>10</sup> Leonor Tanuri,<sup>11</sup>

5 NUNES, Clarice; CARVALHO, Marta Maria Chagas de. «Historiografia da Educação e Fontes», *Cadernos ANPED*. n. 5 (1993), p. 7-64 (cit. p. 10) [URL: [https://anped.org.br/sites/default/files/caderno\\_anped\\_no.5\\_set\\_1993.pdf](https://anped.org.br/sites/default/files/caderno_anped_no.5_set_1993.pdf). Consulted: 11/06/2020]. Text presented at the 15th Reunião Anual da ANPED (1992) and later included as a new publication as part of the book GONDRA, José Gonçalves (Org.). *Pesquisa em história da educação no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro / RJ: DP&A, 2005, 352 p. (p. 17-62).

6 VIEIRA, Evaldo. «Por uma história da educação que esteja presente no trabalho educativo», *Educação & Sociedade*, n. 12 (1982), p. 110-112.

7 SAVIANI, Dermeval. «A função do ensino da filosofia da educação e da história da educação», *Do senso comum à consciência filosófica*. São Paulo / SP: Cortez & Autores Associados (Educação Contemporânea), 1980, 224 p.

8 NAGLE, Jorge. «História da educação brasileira: problemas atuais», *Em Aberto*, n. 23 (1984), p. 27-29 [URL: <http://www.emaberto.inep.gov.br/ojs3/index.php/emaberto/article/view/1898/1637>. Consulted: 18/05/2020].

9 WARDE, Mirian Jorge. «Anotações para uma historiografia da educação brasileira», *Em Aberto*, n. 23 (1984), p. 1-6 [URL: <http://www.emaberto.inep.gov.br/ojs3/index.php/emaberto/article/view/1896/1635>. Consulted: 18/05/2020]; WARDE, Mirian Jorge. «Contribuições da História para a Educação», *Em Aberto*, ano IX, n. 47 (1990), p. 3-11 [URL: <http://www.emaberto.inep.gov.br/ojs3/index.php/emaberto/article/view/2100/1839>. Consulted: 18/05/2020]. WARDE, Mirian Jorge. «Questões teóricas e de método: a História da Educação nos marcos de uma história das disciplinas», SAVIANI, Dermeval; LOMBARDI, José Claudinei; SANFELICE, José Luís (Orgs.). *História e História da Educação: O debate teórico-metodológico atual*. Campinas / SP: Autores Associados / HISTEDBR (Coleção Educação Contemporânea), 1998, 141 p. (p. 88-99); WARDE, Mirian Jorge. «A produção discente dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Educação no Brasil (1982-1991): avaliação & perspectivas», *Avaliação e perspectivas da área de Educação*. Porto Alegre: ANPED, 1993. Mimeo.

10 BARREIRA, Luiz Carlos. *História e historiografia: As escritas recentes da história da educação brasileira (1971-1988)*. Campinas: Faculdade de Educação, UNICAMP, 1995 (Doctoral thesis). [URL: <http://repositorio.unicamp.br/jspui/handle/REPOSIP/253874>. Consulted: 15.06.2020].

11 TANURI, Leonor Maria. «Historiografia da educação brasileira: contribuições para o seu estudo na década anterior à instalação dos cursos de pós-graduação», *Revista História da Educação*, n. 3, v. 2 (1998), p. 139-153 [URL: <https://seer.ufrgs.br/asphe/article/view/30724>. Consulted: 15/06/2020].

Bruno Bontempi Jr.,<sup>12</sup> Moysés Kuhlmann Jr.,<sup>13</sup> and Carlos Monarcha.<sup>14</sup> Other inventories and analyses were also produced in later years, like the text presented by Clarice Nunes,<sup>15</sup> or that of Denice Catani and Luciano Faria Filho,<sup>16</sup> by Libânia Xavier,<sup>17</sup> of Diana Vidal and Luciano Faria Filho,<sup>18</sup> as well as those dedicated to understanding this production in particular states and institutions. Some of these studies, with different sources and emphases, were brought together and published in the work «Pesquisa em história da educação no Brasil», which was the result of seminars led by the Working Group in the History of Education of the National Association of Graduate Research in Education – ANPED, in 2005.<sup>19</sup> In the context of this event, Vieira and Gondra indicate that «there are no recent data on the space occupied by the history of education in the educational-academic field»,<sup>20</sup> even if perceivable, according to the authors, in the expansion of the participation by historians

12 BONTEMPI JÚNIOR, Bruno. «História da Educação Brasileira: O terreno do consenso», FREITAS, Marcos Cezar (Org.). *Memória intelectual da educação brasileira*. Bragança Paulista/SP: Edusf, 1999, 102 p. (p. 87-100).

13 KUHLMANN JÚNIOR, Moysés. «Raízes da historiografia educacional brasileira (1881-1922)», *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, n. 106 (1999), p. 159-171 [URL: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/cp/n106/n106a07.pdf>. Consulted: 28/03/2020].

14 MONARCHA, Carlos. «História da educação brasileira: atos inaugurais», *Horizontes*, n. 14 (1996), p. 35-44; MONARCHA, Carlos. *História da educação brasileira: formação de um campo*. 2ª ed. rev. Ijuí / RS: Ed. Ujuí (Coleção fronteiras da educação), 1999, 352 p.

15 Text presented by the author as a «requested work» at the 23ª Reunião Anual da ANPED, em 2000.

16 Text presented by the authors as a «requested work» at the 24ª Reunião Anual da ANPED, 2001 and later published. CATANI, Denice Barbara; FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de. «Um lugar de produção e a produção de um lugar: a história e a historiografia divulgadas no GT História da Educação da ANPED (1985-2000)», *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, n. 19 (2002), p. 113-128 [URL: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbedu/n19/n19a09.pdf>. Consulted: 20/04/2020].

17 XAVIER, Libânia. «Particularidades de um campo disciplinar em consolidação: balanço do I Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (RJ/2000)», SOCIEDADE BRASILEIRA DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO (Org.). *Educação no Brasil*. Campinas / SP: Autores Associados; São Paulo / SP: SBHE, 2001, 234 p. (p. 217-234).

18 VIDAL, Diana Gonçalves; FARIA FILHO, Luciano. «História da educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1889-1970)», *Revista Brasileira de História*, n. 45, v. 23 (2003), p. 37-70 [URL: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbh/v23n45/16520.pdf>. Consulted: 13/05/2020].

19 The existing production is extensive and spans various Brazilian regions and researchers at different universities. The purpose here is only to indicate some common references in the field of Brazilian educational historiography.

20 VIEIRA, Carlos Eduardo; GONDRA, José Gonçalves. «Mapas da produção em história da educação», GONDRA, José Gonçalves (Org.). *Pesquisa em história da educação no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro / RJ: DP&A, 2005, 352 p. (p. 7-13, cit. p. 12).

of education in the organization of congresses, the rise of specific scientific associations, calls for projects with public financing and in publications in books and periodicals, as well as the «presence and consolidation of research lines [formal ongoing research programs] in educational history in most of the graduate programs in education in the country».<sup>21</sup> It is therefore, a need that has been previously identified but little examined, indicating by the fifteen years that separate the production of one text from the other.

## I. LOCATING A FIELD OF PRODUCTION

To construct a field of interlocation formal research lines [or programs] at graduate programs in education were mapped, which are considered here as indications of production in the field. To conduct this endeavor, some research protocols were established, such as the definition of the sources to be consulted, and the mechanisms for cataloging, grouping and analyzing the information.

Aware that the mapping of a given academic production requires mechanisms for developing a thematic framework and search strategies, in relation to production linked to master's and doctoral programs,<sup>22</sup> we chose indirect and direct routes. Thus, searches were made to identify research lines that include in their titles the term «history» or «history of education», or those that include them in their syllabuses, as well as examine potential relations with the theme of school culture and materiality. The survey was possible because of two interlinked strategies: a search on the database Plataforma Sucupira<sup>23</sup> managed by Capes<sup>24</sup> and directly on the web pages of the graduate programs, examining all of the graduate programs operating in Brazil. To do so, it was necessary to establish charts, organized by region, that present the information. By inserting and tabulating the data raised it was possible to quantify the number of programs that explicitly mention the terms «history» or «history of

21 *Ibidem*, p. 12.

22 In Brazil, this includes master's and doctoral programs.

23 The Plataforma Sucupira is «a tool to collect information, conduct analyses and evaluations and serve as the base of reference of the National Graduate Studies System (SNPG)». URL: <https://www.capes.gov.br/avaliacao/plataforma-sucupira>.

24 Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior [Coordination for Improvement in Personnel in Higher Education], a federal government agency.

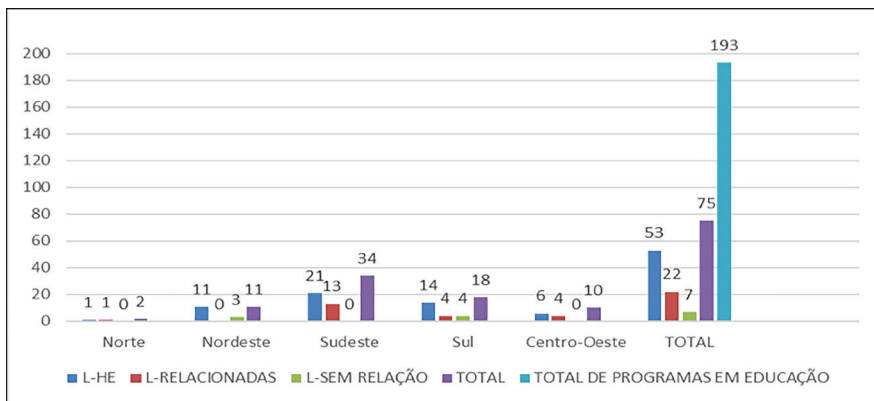
education». It was also possible to locate those that have formal research lines whose program indirectly refer to the theme through terms like «Theories of Education», «Fundamentals of Education», «Memory», «Educational and Ideas and Institutions», «Culture», «School Culture» and that in their syllabuses refer to studies in the field of history of education.

We are aware that this survey, although it is detailed and exhaustive, does not represent the full and precise range of work at all the graduate programs in Brazil in the field of studies in historic perspective, considering that there are various forms of designating the themes and various emphases given by the research lines. There are also various forms of internal organization – at times by foci, at other times by thematic nuclei. Another important variable concerns the updating of the web pages of the graduate programs and possible differences between the professors associated to the research lines and the information presented on the websites.

Despite these ponderations, the information identified and examined points to a quite positive situation in relation to the participation of educational history. From the universe of 193 graduate programs in education operating in Brazil (both academic and professional programs) in 2020, approximately 50 (25%) had 53 research lines that directly included the terms «history» or «history of education» in their titles, with names that vary in composition with other fields such as philosophy, historiography, politics, etc. It is important to clarify that within certain programs, there is more than one research line that mentions these terms. The number increases if we add those that have related terms such as: «theories of education», «fundamentals of education», «educational ideas and institutions», «memory and education», «culture and school culture», and whose syllabuses establish a link with the field. In this direction, the number rises from 50 to 71 graduate programs (36%), composing a total of 75 research lines that directly or indirectly (according to their titles or syllabi) focus on the history of education, in their wide variety of approaches and perspectives.

In relation to the debate about school culture and materiality, it was possible to identify that it at times appears explicitly, at other times it is accompanied by themes of books and readings, printed matter, memory and biographies, school museums and archives, school and academic disciplines, architecture, or school practices. In conjunction with this, there are indications about processes in Brazil and internationally for the production, circulation and appropriation of pedagogical models and proposals. In the graph that follows we present the

presence of material school culture in the composition of Brazilian graduate programs in education.



Graph 1. HISTORY OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOL MATERIALITY IN GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN EDUCATION IN BRAZIL.  
Source: Plataforma Sucupira and web pages of the graduate programs in education in Brazil. Data systematized by the authors. {North Northeast, Southeast, South, Central-West Total L-related L- w/o relation. Total. Total graduate programs in education}.

What is the purpose of mapping the programs? First, to obtain a portrait (even if partial and indirect) of the places where researchers in the field may be found in the graduate courses. Also to visualize educational possibilities that these research lines may be producing, that is, a *locus* to assist in the examination of the production of the theses and dissertations about the issue. In conjunction with this, we imagine it is possible to locate the activity of the research nuclei linked to the graduate programs in education, whose work can indicate links with the theme being examined. One hypothesis with which we work is that of the intersection of the action of researchers acting in graduate programs with work by students (which result from theses and dissertations), in association to the research nuclei to which they are linked and with the bibliographic production published (either as articles, works in congresses or books).

## 2. WORKS BY STUDENTS: MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE IN THESES AND DISSERTATIONS<sup>25</sup>

To locate and examine the theme of material school culture in the work by students, the database of theses organized by CAPES [Banco de Teses da CAPES] was used, which provides public access to studies concluded in the master's and doctoral programs. As a search tool, Capes provides access to the "resumos" [abstracts written in Portuguese] of theses and dissertations since 1987, with information directly provided by the programs. (Until the middle of the decade of 2000, graduate programs were not required to provide this data, which influences the universe of available data). Using as a base the descriptor "cultura material escolar" [material school culture] 123 occurrences were located (including theses and dissertations), and those whose *resumo* or keywords indicated a relation to the theme were selected. When refining the search, studies were discarded that were not directly related to the theme; so of the 39 theses located, 22 were selected, and of the 84 dissertations identified, 41 were selected. With this result we reached a total number of 63 works with the following geographic distribution: from the North 1 dissertation and 2 theses; from the northeast 13 dissertations and 4 theses; the central-west 3 dissertations and 2 theses; the southeast 12 dissertations and 6 theses; and the South 12 dissertations and 8 theses. The distribution of these 63 academic works chronologically can be seen in the chart below, which indicates the year of conclusion of the theses and dissertations identified.

From this chart we highlight two items as the most relevant: 1) the reduced incidence, especially of theses until 2013, which may indicate that studies about the theme of material school culture may have been conducted in this period, but did not explicitly indicate the theme, or they may have been «dissolved» in certain chapters and research items, and in this way were more difficult to identify; 2) There is a visible growth in the theme in theses over the

25 The data referring to the theses and dissertations were compiled with valuable collaboration from three researchers: Franciele Ferreira França, Carolina Ribeiro Cardoso da Silva and Gecia Aline Garcia. The first two conducted a mapping of the production for the period from 1987 to 2016 and presented part of the data in the study «Le tesi di dottorato brasiliane dedicate alla cultura materiale della Scuola» at the III International Conference on School Material Culture «Production, use and circulation of school furnishing and teaching aids between Europe and Latin America in XIX and XX century», held in September 2017, in Macerata (Italy). The empiric base was revised by Gecia Garcia, who conducted a survey of the data for the period from 2016 to 2019, as part of her doctoral research in the graduate program in education at UFPR. Since the descriptors used were the same, it was possible to aggregate them and examine them together.



YEAR	THESES	DISSERTATIONS
2007	-	2
2009	-	1
2010	1	2
2011	1	1
2012	-	3
2013	-	7
2014	2	2
2015	1	3
2016	4	9
2017	5	5
2018	1	4
2019	7	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>41</b>

*Chart 1. NUMBER OF THESES AND DISSERTATIONS DEFENDED BY YEAR. Source: Banco de Teses da Capes. Data systematized by the authors.*

years, with 2019 having the greatest increase. For the dissertations, there were oscillations, which were not progressive, highlighted by the year 2016, which had the most works. The distribution in time and the geographic location of the programs of origin allow us to affirm that the theme of material school culture does not represent a localized investment of certain research groups but that it has in fact become a field of graduate study, in the formation of researchers and academic production.

The production of students about material school culture identified in our survey allow us to outline the following synthesis. The theme had been gaining presence in graduate programs from 2000 to 2019, in theses and dissertations; and the growth in studies about this theme was different for theses and dissertations. There was a more accumulative and gradual growth among theses, while for dissertations there was a temporal oscillation, with advances and declines during the period. There is a visible regional capillarity of the theme, there are investments in it in all regions of Brazil, highlighted by the South, Southeast and Northeast. The theme gained presence and permanence in the investments of the graduate studies and has a broad and varied repertoire of the sources examined.

It is important to clarify that the low presence of works of theses and dissertations in the first years studied does not indicate that there was little attention to the theme, but reveals that only more recently was it clearly understood as an investigative option. There is still a need to consider that the mechanism for submitting the «resumos» [the original abstracts in Portuguese] and the national database itself (Banco de Teses da CAPES) has fragilities as Mirian Warde identified in a broad study in 1993.<sup>26</sup> Her warnings remain opportune despite the passage of nearly thirty years.

### 3. STUDIES PUBLISHED IN JOURNALS AS ARTICLES (BRAZIL, 2000-2020)

Concerning production in the form of articles, the survey conducted included those published in Brazil and not Brazilian production; studies by foreign authors published in Brazil were included but not those of Brazilian researchers published abroad. Brazilian periodicals dedicated to educational history were considered and those registered in data bases as being related to education and that publish articles concerning material school culture in historic perspective.

As mentioned, works were considered that address the history of schooling analyzed from the perspective of material culture or that were related to that perspective, that is, those that construct a narrative about schooling based on its material elements. Studies that examine printed publications were considered when the approach included the production and publication of the artifact.

The first step in the survey involved the access to the Portal de Periódicos CAPES / MEC, do SciELO – Scientific Electronic Library Online and the Plataforma Educ@, maintained by the Fundação Carlos Chagas, using the descriptor «cultura material» [material culture] to locate these terms in the *resumo* or keywords from 2000 to 2020. If there was a doubt about the connection of an article's content with the theme, the *resumo* was read. Articles were not included that were in the database but were published in foreign journals, book reviews, texts that present dossiers, reading notes and interviews or anything not characterized as a scientific article. It should also be mentioned that there are articles that are part of thematic dossiers, which were considered

26 The study contemplated the survey and analysis of theses and dissertations produced in Brazil from 1982 to 1991, using *resumos* [abstracts] as the primary source.

individually, given that some, considering the contours of the search and inclusion established, wound up not addressing the theme. Some articles have a version in a second language, usually English, and although they are in the database two times, they were considered only once. It is important to emphasize that in terms of the year of publication of the edition of the periodical there are conflicts between what the databases register and the year that the article was actually published. As we know, many periodicals were initially published in print format and were also made available online, particularly since 2008; this migration did not always guarantee the recognition of the studies through the search tools.

The data presented here lead to a methodological decision: the databases served to identify periodicals with studies related to the theme, but for the purposes of mapping the articles were accessed directly on the sites of the journals, manually, issue by issue.

The chart below registers the works published between 2000 and 2019, in periodicals with two or more articles published.

Periódico*	Ano da Publicação																					
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	TOTAL	
RBHE	NP*				1			5				4		1	1		1	1	6	2	22	
RHE-ASPHE	1	1		1	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	4	1	2	3	3	1	4	34	
CadHE-UFU	NP	NP		2		2	4	1										1	2	3	15	
HistedBr On-Line	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	1	1	3	2		1	2		3		2	15	
Proposições-Unicamp						8						3	3		3					1	18	
Educ. & Pesq. USP	1	2			5								1						2	1	12	
Anais Museu Paulista						1									1		1				04	
Teo & Prática - UNESP												1	1								02	
Educ. Pública UFMG																1		1			02	
Ed. em Revista UFMG	1							1				1	1			3	2	2		1	12	
Educar-UFPR												1		7						7	15	
Ped UNOCHAPECÓ												2	1								03	
Linhas UDESC				1	2						3	1		4	2	5		2	5	8	33	
Educação PUC/RS													2								02	
HOLOS - IFRN													1				1				02	
Cad. Pesq FCC	2				1																03	
Rev. HHE - ANPUH	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	13	3	16	

Legenda: \*NP = O periódico ainda não existia; \*\*ND = Números não disponíveis no Portal.

Legenda: \*NP = O periódico ainda não existia; \*\*ND = Números não disponíveis no Portal.

FONTE: Portal de Periódicos CAPES/MEC, SciELO, Plataforma Educ@. Dados sistematizados pelas autoras.

Chart 2: ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN JOURNALS. Journal Year of Publication. Legend. \*NP The journal had not been created; \*\* ND = numbers not available on the portal. Source: xxx Data systematized by the authors.

The data gathered indicate that, although the complete expression «cultura material escolar» [material school culture] appears repeatedly in the academic production in the past ten years, to not consider the previous decade would be to deny an important portion of the work in this «field». It was possible to identify some recurring themes that appear, at times as the theme of

dossiers: pedagogical and school manuals, school books, school architecture, photography, and primers. Some of the articles related to the term concern historic, artistic, religious, scientific heritage, Indigenous culture, African culture or museums, cartography, communication etc. In all these cases, the abstracts were read, and the complete article was accessed to decide if the article would be included.

#### 4. STUDIES PUBLISHED IN BOOKS (BRAZIL, 2000-2020)

The mapping of studies published in books was the most challenging; we were not able to establish a strategy that allowed finding reliable data about this production. We began the operation with a consultation of the Banco de Dados da Biblioteca Nacional [Database of the National Library] (<https://www.bn.gov.br/>), through the catalog of the «Obras Gerais da Biblioteca Nacional» [General Works in the National Library] which is composed of books that arrive in compliance with the Lei de Depósito Legal [legal depositing law]. The Plataforma SOPHIA, which is accessible on the site of the National Library, allows searching by title, author, subject, series, publisher and ISBN/ISSN. In the case of the survey presented here, a search was done by title and subject, based on the descriptor «cultura material escolar» [material school culture] which identified only two books: «Objetos da escola: espaços e lugares de constituição de uma cultura material escolar (Santa Catarina, séculos XIX e XX)», organized by Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva and Marília Gabriela Petry (Florianópolis: Insular, 2012) and «Cultura material escolar: a escola e seus artefatos (MA, SP, PR, SC e RS, 1870-1925)», organized by Cesar Augusto Castro (São Luís: EdUFMA / Café & Lápis, 2011).

Altering the terms of the consultation to «cultura material» [material culture], the number of works grows expressively, but basically of studies linked to the fields of architecture and archeology. Once again our long experience as researchers of this theme and the fact that we have been constantly attentive to production in the field allowed us to identify absences in the search and led us to other databases such as that of INEP and Google Acadêmico [the Portuguese language equivalent of Google Scholar], which also did not identify a larger field of studies. Turning to Google, narrowing the search to books and using the descriptor «cultura material escolar» once again few studies appeared

in terms of Brazilian production about the issue.<sup>27</sup> This indicates the need for us to create more effective forms of storing data about this type of production, which is so important in and for the field.

## 5. PRESENCE OF THE THEME AT EVENTS IN THE FIELD (BRAZIL, 2000-2020)

We also examined materials from the main national events in the field of history of education in Brazil. We began with the editions of the Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação [Brazilian Congress on the History of Education], an event organized by the Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação [Brazilian Society for the History of Education] SBHE.<sup>28</sup> Based on a consultation of the organizing themes of each edition, those that directly addressed the theme or approached it were highlighted. The volume of work presented in each edition of the event did not make it viable, at this time, to conduct a mapping of this production. Thus, an identification was made from the thematic lines, highlighting those directly linked to material school culture, considering them as indicative of circulation and consolidation of these studies.

27 Although we do not present all of the data found in the survey conducted, in the crossing of information in the universe of production some books are recurring and we decided to register them: *Cultura Escolar, Tecnologias e Práticas: perspectivas históricas e contemporâneas*, organized by Elaine Cátia Falcade Maschio and Eliane Maria do Sacramento Soares (Curitiba: Appris Editora, 2017); *História da Educação, Arquitetura e Espaço Escolar* (São Paulo/SP: Cortez, 2005) e *Culturas Escolares, Saberes e Práticas Educativas: itinerários históricos* (São Paulo: Cortez, 2007), both organized by Marcus Levy Bencosta; *Inovações, coleções, museus* (Belo Horizonte/MG: Autêntica, 2011) organized by Maria Eliza Linhares Borges; *A Escola e seus Artefatos Culturais* (São Luís – Maranhão: EDUFMA, 2013) organizado by Cesar Augusto Castro and Samuel Velázquez Castellanos; *Pedagogium: Símbolo da modernidade educacional republicana* (Rio de Janeiro/RJ: Quartet / FAPERJ, 2013), organized by Ana Chrystina Mignot; *Da Pedra ao Pó: o itinerário da lousa na escola pública paulista do século XIX* (Goiânia/GO: Gráfica UFG, 2016), written by Valdeniza da Barra; *História da Educação, Infância e Cultura Material: Estudos promovidos por grupos de pesquisa da UDESC, UFPR e UNICAMP* (Curitiba/PR: Editora CRV, 2016) organized by Franciele França, Carolina Cardoso da Silva and Cristina Sacramento; *Cultura Material Escolar em Perspectiva Histórica: Escritas e Possibilidades*, (Vitória / Espírito Santo, EDUFES, 2018) organized by Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva; Gizele de Souza and César Castro.

28 Founded in September 1999, the Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação – SBHE is dedicated to organizing events to revise knowledge and socialize experience realized in the field and include the editions of the Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação.

THEMES OF THE CONGRESSES, HIGHLIGHTING THOSE LINKED TO MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE	
<b>I CBHE – 2000 – Rio de Janeiro/RJ</b>	<b>II CBHE – 2002 – Natal/RN</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State and Educational Policies;</li> <li>- Sources, Categories and Methods;</li> <li>- Gender and Ethnicity;</li> <li>- Pedagogical publications;</li> <li>- Educational Institutions;</li> <li>- Educational Thinking;</li> <li>- Educational Processes and Practices;</li> <li>- Teaching profession.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Comparative Educational History;</li> <li>- History of Social Movements in Brazilian Education;</li> <li>- School Cultures and the Teaching Profession in Brazil;</li> <li>- Intellectuals and Memory of Education in Brazil;</li> <li>- Gender Relations and Brazilian Education;</li> <li>- State, Nation and Ethnicity in the History of Education;</li> <li>- Educational Processes and Realms of Sociability.</li> </ul>
<b>III CBHE – 2004 – Curitiba/PR</b>	<b>IV CBHE – 2006 – Goiânia/GO</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Archive, Sources, historiography;</li> <li>- Comparative studies;</li> <li>- Educational policies and pedagogical models</li> <li>- School culture and educational practices;</li> <li>- Teaching profession;</li> <li>- Gender, ethnicity and school education;</li> <li>- Social movements and democratization of knowledge;</li> <li>- Teaching the History of Education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational policies and social movements;</li> <li>- History of the teaching profession and school institutions;</li> <li>- Culture and school practices;</li> <li>- Gender and ethnicity in the history of Brazilian education</li> <li>- Historiography of Brazilian education and comparative history;</li> <li>- Intellectuals, social thinking and education;</li> <li>- Archives, documentation centers, museums and education;</li> <li>- The teaching of History of Education.</li> </ul>
<b>V CBHE – 2008 – Aracaju/SE</b>	<b>VI CBHE – 2011 – Vitória/ES</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- History of the teaching profession and educational school institutions;</li> <li>- The Teaching of History of Education;</li> <li>- Sources and methods in History of Education;</li> <li>- School and educational culture and practices;</li> <li>- Curriculum, disciplines and school institutions;</li> <li>- Historiography of Brazilian education and comparative history;</li> <li>- Social movements, generation, gender and ethnicity in the History of Education;</li> <li>- Educational policies, intellectuals of Education and pedagogical thinking.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ethnicities and Social Movements;</li> <li>- History of Educational Institutions and Practices;</li> <li>- History of School Cultures and Subjects;</li> <li>- History of the Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- Intellectual Publications and History of Education;</li> <li>- State and Educational Policies in the History of Brazilian Education;</li> <li>- The Teaching of History of Education;</li> <li>- Sources and Methods in The History of Education;</li> <li>- Educational heritage and SCHOOL MATERIAL CULTURE.</li> </ul>

VII CBHE – 2013 – Cuiabá/MT	VIII CBHE – 2015 – Maringá/PR
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State and Educational Policies in the History of Brazilian Education;</li> <li>- Ethnicities and Social Movements;</li> <li>- Sources and Methods in History of Education;</li> <li>- History of Education of Children- Youth and Adults in Brazil;</li> <li>- History of the Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- History of School Cultures and Subjects;</li> <li>- History of Educational Institutions and Practices;</li> <li>- Publications – Intellectuals and History of Education;</li> <li>- The Teaching of History of Education;</li> <li>- Educational Heritage and MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State and Educational Policies in the History of Brazilian Education;</li> <li>- Ethnicities and Social Movements in the History of Education;</li> <li>- Sources and Methods in The History of Education;</li> <li>- History of Education of Children, Youth and Adults in Brazil;</li> <li>- History of the Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- History of Cultures and School Disciplines;</li> <li>- History of Educational Institutions and Practices;</li> <li>- Publications, Intellectuals and History of Education;</li> <li>- The Teaching of History of Education;</li> <li>- Educational heritage and SCHOOL MATERIAL CULTURE.</li> </ul>
IX CBHE – 2017 – João Pessoa/PB	X CBHE – 2019 Belém/PA
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- School subjects and teaching the history of education;</li> <li>- Education and Generations;</li> <li>- Professional education;</li> <li>- Training and teaching profession;</li> <li>- The press and educational publications;</li> <li>- Intellectuals and educational projects;</li> <li>- Memory and educational heritage;</li> <li>- Social movements, ethnicities and gender;</li> <li>- Policies and educational institutions;</li> <li>- Theory of history and historiography of education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational Policies and Institutions;</li> <li>- Intellectuals and Educational Projects;</li> <li>- The Press and the Educational Press;</li> <li>- Training and Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- Education and Generations;</li> <li>- School Disciplines and Teaching the History of Education;</li> <li>- Memory and Educational Heritage;</li> <li>- Theory of History and Historiography of Education;</li> <li>- Professional Education;</li> <li>- Education, Social Movements, Ethnicity and Gender;</li> <li>- Non-School Educational Processes and Sociability Practices.</li> </ul>

*Chart 3. MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE AT BRAZILIAN CONGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION. Source: Portal of the Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação (<http://www.sbhe.org.br/lanais-cbhe>).*

*Data systematized by the authors.*

We also decided to consider as events in the field the editions of the Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Educação [Luso-Brazilian Congress of History of Education] (COLUBHE), which resulted from a partnership between the History of Education working group of the National Society for Graduate Studies in Education (ANPED) and the Secção de História da Educação da Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação [Section of History of Education of the Portuguese Society of Educational Sciences], although the work is now conducted by the Associação de História da Educação de Portugal [Association for the History of Education of Portugal (HISTEDUP)]. They are included because most people attending the events are Brazilian researchers. The event is alternately held in Brazil and Portugal and its 12<sup>th</sup> edition will be held in 2020, organized by the Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso (UFMT), although it has been postponed until 2021 due to the COVID 19 pandemic.

In the case of the edition of Luso-Brazilian Congress of History of Education, the survey of information is more difficult given that the set of data is stored on pages of the event, which «disappear» over time. It should also be considered that over period surveyed, the supports for registration of the studies presented at the events has completely changed. They began with totally printed material, shifted to a hybrid form with electronic registration on diskettes, then CD's and DVD's and finally abandoned print and the work was made available directly on the event sites.

THEMATIC LINES OF THE CONGRESSES, HIGHLIGHTED BY THOSE LINKED TO THE THEME OF MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE	
I COLUBHE – 1996 – Lisbon, Portugal	VII COLUBHE – 2008 Porto, Portugal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational Policies and Forms of Teaching Reading and Writing;</li> <li>- The oral and the written: two Mentalities, two Cultures;</li> <li>- Educational Practices and Pedagogical-Didactic Options;</li> <li>- The Schooling of Boys and Girls;</li> <li>- School Masters, Teachers and Literacy instructors;</li> <li>- History of Education: Sources, Historical Categories</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Circulation of Ideas, Discourses and Educational Models: Manuals, Press and Iconography;</li> <li>- Training, Identities and Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- Curriculum, Educational Practices and School Routine;</li> <li>- Educational institutions and MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE;</li> <li>- Childhood, Generation and Family;</li> <li>- Educational Policies and Citizenship;</li> <li>- Inclusion, Gender and Ethnicity;</li> <li>- Historiography, Methods, Sources and Museology.</li> </ul>



<p>II COLUBHE – 1998 – São Paulo/SP, Brazil</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- History of the Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- History of Colonization: Educational and Pedagogical Cultural Practices;</li> <li>- Beliefs, Religions and Educational Processes in The History of Education;</li> <li>- History of School Cultures: Educational Practices and Pedagogical Practices;</li> <li>- History of Educational Policies and School Institutions;</li> <li>- History of University and Scientific Institutions;</li> <li>- History of the Educational Press and Publications;</li> <li>- History of Reading and Writing;</li> <li>- Gender, Ethnicity and Generation in Education History;</li> <li>- Sources, Categories and Research Methods in The History of Education.</li> </ul>	<p>VIII COLUBHE – 2010 São Luís/MA, Brazil</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Childhood, youth and family;</li> <li>- Gender, generation and ethnicity;</li> <li>- Production of knowledge and subjects of education;</li> <li>- Training, Identities and teaching profession;</li> <li>- Educational Policies, Social Movements and Citizenship;</li> <li>- Pedagogical practices, school life and MATERIAL CULTURE;</li> <li>- Instances of socialization of childhood and youth;</li> <li>- Historiography and Teaching History of Education.</li> </ul>
<p>III COLUBHE – 2000 – Coimbra, Portugal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- History of the Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- History of Education and Colonizing Processes;</li> <li>- Cultures and Identities in the History of Education;</li> <li>- History of Educational Policies and Educational and Scientific Institutions;</li> <li>- History of the Educational Press and School Supplies;</li> <li>- History of Educational Processes;</li> <li>- History of School Life and Pedagogical Practices;</li> <li>- Gender, Ethnicity and Generation in Education History;</li> <li>- Sources, Categories and Research Methods in The History of Education.</li> </ul>	<p>IX COLUBHE – 2012 – Lisbon, Portugal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Spaces, Daily Times, School Sociability;</li> <li>- Reading and Writing: Rituals, MATERIALITIES;</li> <li>- School Institutions: Projects, Identities, Organization, Actors;</li> <li>- Educational Heritage and Museology: FURNITURE, EQUIPMENT, TEACHING MATERIALS;</li> <li>- Rituals, Symbols, School Parties;</li> <li>- Oral Testimonies and Memories of Education;</li> <li>- Teachers and their Training: from the Art of Teaching to The Sciences of Education;</li> <li>- The Historiography of Education: Theoretical Contributions. Methodological approaches. Sources;</li> <li>- Educational Policies, Pedagogical Discourses, Autobiographies;</li> <li>- Internationalization, Circulation and Comparison: Systems, Curricula, Pedagogies.</li> </ul>

iv COLUBHE – 2002 – Porto Alegre/RS, Brazil	x COLUBHE – 2014 – Curitiba/PR, Brazil
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Orality and educational processes;</li> <li>- Reading, writing and schooling;</li> <li>- Manuscripts and printed matter as pedagogical devices;</li> <li>- Reading, readers and libraries;</li> <li>- Textbooks and schoolbooks about the History of Education;</li> <li>- Digital technology and research in the History of Education;</li> <li>- Construction of the object and sources in the History of Education;</li> <li>- The Historiography of Education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- History of Educational Policies and Institutions;</li> <li>- History of the Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- Teaching the History of Education;</li> <li>- History of School Cultures and Educational Practices;</li> <li>- Historiography, Methods and Sources;</li> <li>- Gender, Generation and Ethnicity in History of Education;</li> <li>- History of Education and Colonizing Processes;</li> <li>- The Pedagogical Printing and Materials;</li> <li>- Educational Heritage, Museums and School Archives.</li> </ul>
v COLUBHE – 2004 – Évora, Portugal	xi COLUBHE – 2016 Porto, Portugal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Public Policies and Educational Reforms;</li> <li>- Ideas, Doctrines and Pedagogical Models;</li> <li>- Church and Education;</li> <li>- Education Management, Administration and Financing;</li> <li>- Childhood, Family and Education;</li> <li>- Gender, Ethnicity and Generation;</li> <li>- School Practices and Routine;</li> <li>- Press and Pedagogical Materials;</li> <li>- Historiography and Memory of Education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Source Methods and Investigative Techniques;</li> <li>- Research paths: methodological trends;</li> <li>- Educational policies and practices;</li> <li>- (educational) subsystems and educational institutions;</li> <li>- Reading, written culture and school culture;</li> <li>- Agents and recipients of education (teachers, students and family);</li> <li>- Pedagogical thinking;</li> <li>- Heritage, Museology and Archive;</li> <li>- Space(s) of intervention in the history of education.</li> </ul>

vi COLUBHE – 2006 – Uberlândia/MG, Brazil	xii COLUBHE – 2020 (postponed until 2021) – Cuiabá/MT, Brazil
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education, Childhood and Family;</li> <li>- Teaching of History of Education;</li> <li>- Gender, Ethnicity and Generation;</li> <li>- Historiography and Memory of Education;</li> <li>- Educational Press, Printed Materials and Discourses;</li> <li>- Culture, Pedagogical Models and Educational Practices;</li> <li>- Policies, Systems and Educational and Scientific Institutions;</li> <li>- Profession and Teacher Identity;</li> <li>- Comparative History: Methodological Issues of Education Research.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational Institutions;</li> <li>- Teaching Profession;</li> <li>- MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE;</li> <li>- School and non-School Subjects and Processes;</li> <li>- Gender Relations, Generation, Ethnicity, Social Class;</li> <li>- Educational Policies;</li> <li>- Pedagogical Ideas, Curriculum, Educational Practices;</li> <li>- Historiography, Sources and Depository Institutions;</li> <li>- Teaching of History of Education.</li> </ul>

*Chart 4: MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE AT LUSO-BRAZILIAN CONGRESSES OF HISTORY OF EDUCATION. Source: Sites of the respective events, document provided by Marcus Levy Bencostta and from the personal files of the authors. Data systematized by the authors.*

Many analyses can be extracted from these thematic charts, but at this time, we emphasize that along the historic path of the events mentioned, the theme of material school culture was diluted in other lines, such as those related to daily school life, school practices and culture. A certain presence is also noticed in the fields of school heritage and archives. In terms of national events, the theme of «Material School Culture» appears explicitly in the 2011, 2013 and 2015 editions. In the Portuguese-Brazilian events, since 2008 the term has been explicit and gained increasing space, it is no longer subsumed to other fields of history. This growth in the field in the congresses is similar to what we observed in other lines of scientific production.

Finally, another forum to be highlighted is the working group GT 2 – History of Education of the National Association of Graduate Research in Education (ANPED).<sup>29</sup> In a survey of the association's web portal, data for editions 23 to 29 were considered, held from 2000 to 2019, while since 2013 the event was biannual. As in the case of ANPED, the number of studies

<sup>29</sup> This is a not for profit entity that associates master's and doctoral programs in education, professors and students linked to these programs, and other researchers in the field. For more information see URL: <https://anped.org.br/sobre-anped>.

approved to present at each edition is limited, we conducted a mapping by directly accessing the studies presented at this group. With the exception of those at the 33<sup>rd</sup> edition in 2010, they are available for public consultation and were accessed individually.

In this period, except for the 2010 edition, 225 works were presented to the working group GT2 History of Education, and of these, 36 present a historic narrative of schooling based on its materiality or on its material aspects. Considering the works selected, a significant portion of the studies address issues related to printed pedagogical publications, particularly books, manuals and bulletins. School space and time are also addressed, although in fewer studies. The following chart presents data referring to the work presented in working group 2 during the annual meetings, not including posters, lectures or other forms of presentation.

YEAR / EDITION OF THE EVENT	TOTAL WORKS AT GT2	WORKS RELATED TO MATERIAL SCHOOL CULTURE
2000 / 23 <sup>a</sup>	22	03
2001 / 24 <sup>a</sup>	12	-
2002 / 25 <sup>a</sup>	04	-
2003 / 26 <sup>a</sup>	12	04
2004 / 27 <sup>a</sup>	14	02
2005 / 28 <sup>a</sup>	20	02
2006 / 29 <sup>a</sup>	11	03
2007 / 30 <sup>a</sup>	17	05
2008 / 31 <sup>a</sup>	12	02
2009 / 32 <sup>a</sup>	13	03
2010 / 33 <sup>a</sup>	Not available	Not available
2011 / 34 <sup>a</sup>	15	01
2012 / 35 <sup>a</sup>	11	02
2013 / 36 <sup>a</sup>	15	03
2015 / 37 <sup>a</sup>	18	04
2017 / 38 <sup>a</sup>	10	01
2019 / 39 <sup>a</sup>	19	01
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>36</b>

*Chart 5. WORK PRESENTED AT GT2 HISTORY OF EDUCATION OF ANPED. Source: Portal of ANPED – Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação. Data systematized by the authors.*

## 6. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Considering the body or work analyzed here, it was possible to list, visualize, quantify and identify indications of research themes, approaches and reference perspectives.<sup>30</sup> To present some theoretical indications, we decided to organize them as statements, which can be translated as «operative modes» of a methodological and analytical path that has material school culture as its guide. Thus, we construct a type of map whose coordinates indicate the perspectives that are most commonly found in the construction of narratives about schooling, guided by its artifacts or its material base, as well as aggregating to them others that result from our experience in the field.

Mandatory schooling for early childhood, from the perspective of the materiality that shapes it, creates new forms of inclusion and exclusion. The study of school materiality can be a powerful tool for demonstrating historically taken options in the distinctive supplying of the schooling process of the various groups of childhood, even though mandatory attendance had become a legal measure in many countries in the second half of the nineteenth century. This materiality can also indicate choices and incorporation of objects, methods and school practices that support working with children.

The material supplying of and for schools was shaped by an important set of discourses and theses by pedagogues, inspectors, educational authorities, doctors, and industrial and commercial leaders who promoted them through the daily press, magazines in different fields (pedagogy, medicine, architecture) at Brazilian and international congresses, in travel, through catalogs, at pedagogical museums, at world's fairs and other forms. This repertoire, which historically designates and qualifies the supply of material school culture, was expanded through different paths that penetrated large events such as fairs, but also by other means such as educational journals and pedagogical congresses, in an amalgam that produced certain meanings, expectations and representations around primary school and its material composition.

Support in economic aspects, seeking to link the material edification of schools for the masses to the composition of a market dedicated to supplying

30 This reflection was begun in our article «Historical Perspective of Material School Culture: theoretical and methodological possibilities!», that is part of the dossier «The historical research into school practice» organized by Vera Lucia Gaspar da Silva; Francisca Rubí and Bernat Sureda which will be published in the *History of Education & Children's Literature*.

the emerging demands is a promising line of approach. Studies in this direction carry reflections that indicate that the plan to provide schooling for the masses required a fertile articulation with commercial sectors that produced and commercialized the material apparatus required for the creation of schools. It is important to highlight that the projects on a commercial scale coexist with more simplified forms of providing school materials, involving direct relations with subjects from the community of a school, such as those in which a teacher would order certain artefacts from a local artisan and later negotiate payment by the state.

The imaginary pleasure based on the consumption of novelties. Here we can indicate as an example the large world's fairs as showcases that stimulated the desire to consume novelties and the pleasure (and realization) of those who acquired these novelties and made them available to the public at the institutions. We identify this as the presence and absence of the objects as forms of educating. More than showcases of modernity, the world's fairs were stages for exhibiting and commercializing the consecration of a new mode of life for which industrialized products are one of the vectors and schools were part of this new world. Among the possible investigative paths in the production in keeping with this perspective of analysis we identify studies that trace relations between large international events and national and local actions.

The classroom as construction of a social technology, an expression of changes in the social organization that required schools to perform new tasks, as the English scholar Martin Lawn<sup>31</sup> has indicated in many of his studies, is also revealed in the universe that serves as our reference. Lawn calls attention to the fact that many of the narratives about the grandiosity and efficiency of «well equipped» schools were constructed by suppliers of educational materials. It should be highlighted, as Escolano Benito<sup>32</sup> warns, that the enthusiasm for educational technologies promoted and sold in different formats at the world's fairs and by sales representatives, which proliferated worldwide in the late

31 LAWN, Martin. «A materialidade dinâmica da educação escolar: Professores, tecnologias, rotinas e trabalho», GASPAR DA SILVA, Vera Lucia; SOUZA, Gizele de; CASTRO, César Augusto (Orgs.). *Cultura material escolar em perspectiva histórica: Escritas e possibilidades*. Vitória / ES: EDUFES (Coleção Horizontes da Pesquisa em História da Educação no Brasil, v. 14), 2018, 472 p. (pp. 341-365).

32 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «Etnohistória e Cultura Material da Escola: A Educação nas Exposições Universais», GASPAR DA SILVA, Vera Lucia; SOUZA, Gizele de; CASTRO, César Augusto (Orgs.). *Op. Cit.*, p. 93-118.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, denounce a certain standardization of school contents, homogenizing them and attributing to the bureaucratic machine a regulatory role that removes autonomy from teachers.

The role of the press and other media as vehicles for mass circulation of information about artifacts, along the history of consumption, in this case of school objects, whether by individuals, institutions or their suppliers (like the state) also appears as an analytical perspective. The press is seen in a dual function: as a source of data, which steers the eye to aspects that link and circulate material, and simultaneously as a research object, which reveals dimensions about the conditions and modes of production, of individuals that produce discourses and practices.

The tracking and analysis of the flows of didactic materials and books as modes of operating and understanding schooling processes also stands out, including the perspective that the objects are indications of school contents and practices. It should be noted that on one hand studies that use schoolbooks as an object and source have expanded significantly in recent decades and represent an important portion of the studies. On the other hand, works dedicated to other objects of educational support, including those of science education, are less common and reveal a field of investigation that deserves attention as some initiatives have mentioned.

Another form of analyzing that appears and deserves attention is that which considers the objects and forms of exhibition in «spaces of storing memories» and that in this form, contributes to the construction of a narrative. We consider here that the forms of exhibiting artefacts at school museums, «centers of memory» and similar locations construct a narrative about the past of schools.<sup>33</sup> While on one hand initiatives of this type are important for reaffirming the importance of the historic memory of schools, on the other, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that these spaces often have a certain disconnected overlapping of elements of different origins and temporalities, which entangle viewers and lead them to a historical «deviation».

Other works stand out that use material supports to speak of subjects, such as those based on letters to speak of schools, the lives of teachers and students,

33 A reflection in this direction is registered in the text by SANI, Roberto. «A pesquisa sobre o patrimônio histórico e educacional na Itália», *Revista Linhas*, n. 44, v. 20 (2019), p. 75-95 [URL: <http://www.revistas.udesc.br/index.php/linhas/issue/view/742/showToc>. Consulted: 12/03/2020].

many of which are constructed with a «biographical» approach. The history of science and of scientific heritage has also gained space and visibility in the production.

These indications suggest that, if up to a certain time artefacts were present in a more descriptive form, occupying a secondary or illustrative space, the more recent production will invest in a historiography that discerns some meanings from the artefacts, with support from other references. Thus, the materiality that organizes the schooling projects comes to be approached from various perspectives, some of which have been indicated in this text. This also favors a plural and connected reading, in the sense that an artefact can acquire meanings that differ by social groups or spaces, and can also signify the circulation of ways of doing thing.

Another important fact to highlight concerns the increasing migration in the period studied of publication from books to scientific articles published in periodicals and made available online. We are from a generation that accompanied the transition from print to online publications and this, to some degree, increases our responsibility to make the connection between one medium or form of publication and another. Many of these studies and issues could only be located and revealed because of our insertion in the field and our experience with different printed formats, without this experience our ability to question the data that we found would be limited, as would the ability to refine the searches, reconstruct paths and use other strategies.

To conclude, we highlight the strength of work conducted in networks as a stimulus to the field, which is clearly revealed in the path that has consolidated the theme examined here.



# The materiality of education: heritage conservation and new approaches to the history of education in Spain (1990-2020)<sup>1</sup>

## *La materialitat de l'educació: conservació del patrimoni i nous enfocaments de la història de l'educació a Espanya (1990-2020)*

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### RESUM

Els estudis històrics sobre els aspectes materials de l'educació han tingut a Espanya un notable desenvolupament durant les darreres dècades. En aquest article es presenten els indicis que demostren el desenvolupament dels estudis sobre aquesta

<sup>1</sup> We acknowledge the Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades (MCIU), the Agencia Estatal de Investigación (AEI) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for their support on the project «EDU2017- 82485-P» *School culture and practices in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*.

temàtica representats per projectes d'investigació, publicacions, jornades, trobades, seminaris, museus i exposicions. S'analitza també l'impuls que ha donat a aquest camp d'investigació la importància concedida per les institucions públiques a la conservació del patrimoni històric. En el text també es presta atenció a les principals àrees d'estudi en relació als aspectes materials de la història de l'educació. Per últim, s'aporten algunes conclusions i reflexions sobre el tema.

**PARAULES CLAU:** patrimoni educatiu, materialitat de l'escola, museus d'història de l'educació, cultura escolar, Espanya.

## ABSTRACT

Historical studies on material aspects in education have undergone major development in Spain in recent decades. This article presents the milestones for the development of studies into this topic, represented by research projects, publications, conferences, meetings, seminars, museums and exhibitions. It also analyses the boost given to this field of research by the endorsement from public institutions for conserving historical heritage, as well as looking at the main areas of study linked to materiality in the history of education. Lastly, some conclusions and reflections about the topic are put forward.

**KEY WORDS:** education heritage, materiality in schooling, history of education museums, school culture, Spain.

## RESUMEN

Los estudios históricos sobre los aspectos materiales de la educación han tenido en España un notable desarrollo en estas últimas décadas. En este artículo se presentan los indicios que demuestran el desarrollo de los estudios sobre esta temática representados por proyectos de investigación, publicaciones, jornadas, encuentros, seminarios, museos y exposiciones. Se analiza también el impulso que ha dado a este campo de investigación la importancia concedida por las instituciones públicas a la conservación del patrimonio histórico. En el texto también se presta atención a las principales áreas de estudio en relación a los aspectos materiales de la historia de la educación. Por último, se aportan algunas conclusiones y reflexiones sobre el tema.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** patrimonio educativo, materialidad de la escuela, museos de historia de la educación, cultura escolar, España.

## I. INTRODUCTION

This article presents the status of historical research linked to materiality in education in Spain. It will not look into the historiographic evolution and conceptual foundations of what has been termed the *material turn* in social sciences, and especially in history,<sup>2</sup> or what others have named «new materialism».<sup>3</sup> With regard to history of education, there are highly stimulating contributions on the issue.<sup>4</sup> Possibly, the new consideration of objects and changes in approaches, framing and interpretations –a next step on from the equally important so-called *linguistic turn*– is one of the manifestations arising from the paradigm shift in science from the 20<sup>th</sup> century in terms of valuing objects and where they fit in the network of human relations and alongside other objects. This evolution also saw contributions, to a greater or lesser extent, from post-Marxism, structuralism, the theories of Foucault and others. The turn has had an impact on many areas of research, museum organisation and the drive behind training activities based on heritage. In terms of history, the driving forces in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were overcoming naive positivism and the major impact of new history that was completely open to methods from other social sciences, new sources and microhistory, or the history of everyday life.

The material turn in the history of education has been particularly driven by the effect that the concept of «school culture», coined by Dominique Julia in 1995, has had on research.<sup>5</sup> The interest in examining inside schools, the *black box* of the space where schooling activities run, has had a major

2 BRÄUNLEIN, Peter J. «Material turn», GEORG-AUGUST-UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN. *Dinge des Wissens. Die Sammlungen, Museen und Gärten der Universität Göttingen*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012, p. 30-44.

3 SCHOUWENBURG, Hans. «Back to the future? History, material culture and new materialism», *International Journal for History. Culture and Modernity*, 3/1 (2015), p. 59-72.

4 LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian. «Introduction: The Materiality of Schooling», LAWN, Martin; GROSVENOR, Ian (Eds.). *Materialities of schooling. Design, Technology, Objects, Routines*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005, p. 1-15; DUSSEL, Inés. «Visuality, Materiality, and History», FITZGERALD, Tanya (Ed.). *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education. Debates, Tensions, and Directions*. Springer: Switzerland, 2019, p. 1-17; DUSSEL, Inés. «La cultura material de la escolarización: reflexiones en torno a un giro historiográfico», *Educación en Revista*, 35/76 (2019), p. 13-29.

5 JULIA, Dominique. «La culture scolaire comme objet historique», *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, 31/Issue sup. 1 (The Colonial Experience in Education) (1995), p. 353-382.

impact on recent educational historiography.<sup>6</sup> The history of schooling is an emerging topic in history of education research thanks to the pioneering work of Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn and Kate Rousmaniere.<sup>7</sup> In terms of Spain, the work of Agustín Escolano should be highlighted for bolstering this area of research.<sup>8</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> Spanish Society of the History of Education Conference in 2003 was dedicated to the ethnohistory of education and represented a major landmark in focusing on school culture.<sup>9</sup> From the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the impact of the concept of school culture on history of education research in Spain has been noteworthy, with the repercussions this has had on valuing historical heritage.<sup>10</sup>

The materiality of education –the objects that play a role in its choreography and which determine the spaces where educational events are developed– has been the subject of research, topics for articles, conferences and congresses from different perspectives, as well as the driving force behind the creation of scientific societies. This focus on material elements has been strengthened by the increasing interest in cultural heritage, as well as by public support

6 DEPAEPE, Marc; SIMON, Frank. «Is there any Place for the History of “Education” in the “history of Education”? A Plea for the History of Everyday Educational Reality in-and outside Schools», *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, 31/1 (1995), p. 9-16.

7 GROSVENOR, Ian; LAWN, Martin; ROUSMANIERE, Kate. (Coords.) *Silences and Images. The Social History of the Classroom*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

8 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «Postmodernity or High Modernity? Emerging Approaches in the New History of Education», *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, 32/2 (1996), p. 325-341; ESCOLANO BENITO, A. (Coord.), *La cultura material en la escuela en el centenario de la Junta de Ampliación de Estudios, 1907-2007. II Jornadas científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo*. Berlanga de Duero: Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar, 2007.

9 JIMÉNEZ EGUIZÁBAL, Juan Alfredo, et. al. (Coords.). *Etnohistoria de la escuela. XII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación*. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos, 2003.

10 VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «Por una historia de la cultura escolar: enfoques, cuestiones, fuentes», ALMUIÑA FERNÁNDEZ, Celso Jesús. *Culturas y civilizaciones: III Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico, 1998, p. 167-183; ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. «Las culturas escolares del siglo xx. Encuentros y desencuentros», *Revista de Educación*, Núm. Extraordinario (2000), p. 201-218; LÓPEZ MARTÍN, Ramón. *La escuela por dentro. Perspectivas de la cultura escolar en la España del siglo xx*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2001; LÓPEZ MARTÍN, Ramón. «Historia de la escuela y cultura escolar: dos décadas de fructíferas relaciones. La emergente importancia del estudio sobre el patrimonio escolar», *Cuestiones pedagógicas*, 22 (2013), p. 17-42; MEDA, Juri. «La “historia material de la escuela” como factor de desarrollo de la investigación histórico-educativa en Italia», MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. (Eds.). *Patrimonio y etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo xx*. Murcia: SEPHE-CEME, 2012, p. 17-32; MAYORDOMO PÉREZ, Alejandro. «Patrimonio cultural y educación: retos, posibilidades y compromisos», *Educación y entorno territorial de la Universitat de València: Conferencias impartidas en el Programa «Universitat i Territori»*, 4 (2014), p. 25-33.

for this goal. The conservation and promotion of this heritage has led to the creation of physical and virtual museums, collections and catalogues. In turn, the material aspects of education have been used to construct new narratives in interpreting education from the past through exhibitions of audiovisual content, where materiality plays a major role thanks to its visual value.

The increase in productions designed to promote aspects related to the history of education outside academic circles has also been driven by a memorialist current that aims to recuperate figures and revolutionary traditions in the field of education, strengthen positive discourses around valuing specific policies or boost the identity of centres and institutions.

In this arena, research interest in the materiality of education from the past is supplemented by the appealing and evocative nature these objects may have, as well as the history and stories that can be constructed around them for other professionals in the media. This confluence should lead education historians to reflect on their role as scientists in the ever-increasing development of what has been termed public history, in addition to the role they should play in collaboration with the media and outreach specialists. Moreover, the focus on materiality in education introduces new motivational elements into how the history of education collaborates in training teachers –a field that was fundamental in its development as a scientific discipline and where a large part of academic support and, to a certain extent, the reason for its presence on university curricula, can be found.

Given its extent, it is impossible to summarise the large number of activities linked to research into material aspects and historical heritage in education, as well as the outreach tasks that have been performed. We will limit ourselves to merely providing indications for interested readers so that they can delve further into the topic, placing greater focus on more recent contributions. In turn, we will supplement this article with observations on some which, in our opinion, are the driving forces in developing this area of research.

## 2. PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE «MATERIAL TURN» IN HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN SPAIN

By putting aside, the strictly historiographic reasons that have led to a paradigm shift that emphasises the material aspect of schooling and which is highly visible in other countries, as well as Spain, we are able to provide

a supplementary perspective to the strictly scientific reflection and the epistemological and conceptual analysis of the spread of this material turn.

The personal biographies of the authors of this article offer up two situations that may help us to understand the material conditions that have led to the successful focus on objects, materiality and, in short, what can be termed historical heritage of education. To illustrate the concept at play in this article, we present two situations linked to the topic, with over thirty years having passed between one and the other. In 1987, a few years after finishing his thesis, a young researcher in the history of education refused to accept the scant amount of funded research projects in his speciality. He asked his colleagues in physical and natural sciences, who were more accustomed to applying for projects, for some advice. They told him to submit his project on a topic that could be included in the priority areas of the National Scientific Research and Technological Development Plan that had recently been approved by Act 13/1986 of 4<sup>th</sup> April on General Promotion and Coordination for Scientific and Technical Research.<sup>11</sup> Article two in this act stated that: «The National Plan shall mainly focus on the following general interest objectives»;<sup>12</sup> amongst these, the only one where history of education research work could clearly fit was listed in point h.: «The protection and conservation of Artistic and Historical Heritage».<sup>13</sup>

Since the late 1970s, Alain Choppin had been working at the *Service d'Histoire de l'Éducation*, registered at the French INRP research institute, on the EMMANUELLE database that aimed to make an inventory of textbooks published in the country from the French Revolution to the present day.<sup>14</sup> The textbook publication topic fitted perfectly in the aforementioned National Scientific Research and Technological Development Plan from 1986. The project was submitted under the title *La Producción de Obras Escolares en Baleares (1775-1975)* [The Production of Textbooks in the Balearic Islands] and was awarded funding from the Dirección General de Investigación Científica y Técnica [General Scientific and Technical Research Directorate]

11 *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (BOE), 18/04/1986, p. 13767-13771.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

14 CHOPPIN, Alain. «L'histoire des manuels scolaires: une approche globale», *Histoire de l'Éducation*, 9 (1980), p. 1-25.

for the two-year period of 1988-89. The results were published in 1992.<sup>15</sup> The project analysed textbooks in terms of their being a written, edited, distributed and marketed product, without delving into their contents which were –and have been ever since– a topic covered much more extensively by educational historiography.<sup>16</sup>

The second situation is much more recent. One of the activities that has been positively assessed to attain the new six-year transfer research periods for university lecturers (for the few who can claim to work in the history of education) has been curating exhibitions. For those not involved in assessment activities at Spanish universities, it should be stated that these six-year periods (at least those for research to date) represent financial raises, the possibility of being part of thesis panels, contracting lecturers, promotions, department funding, etc.

These anecdotes are not meant to undermine the importance of the epistemological, conceptual and methodological reasons that have driven the material turn in history of education research, but merely examples that show how in recent decades in Spain –as in other European countries– everything with a link to heritage has received special attention and financial support in public calls for research, institutional grants and even in private funding. Although material elements from education in the past hold a modest place in the wider range of cultural heritage, they are identified as elements worth protecting. Research in this field, the efforts by academics or simply those interested in past schooling (with varying support from public and private institutions) to create museums, inventory heritage and promote it, has led to this status. Since the 1978 Spanish Constitution largely passed responsibility for protecting heritage to Autonomous Regions, in accordance with their statutes, this has also led to the latter making commitments to protect heritage.<sup>17</sup>

15 SUREDA GARCIA, Bernat; VALLESPÍ SOLER, Jordi; ALLÉS PONS, Elies. *La producción de obras escolares en Baleares (1775-1975)*. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 1992.

16 The analysis of textbooks as a product is an approach that can also be found in: SUREDA GARCIA, Bernat. «La producción y difusión de los manuales escolares», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Dir.). *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España: del Antiguo Régimen a la Segunda República*. Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1997, p. 69-100.

17 LÓPEZ RAMÓN, Fernando. «Fuentes y concepto del patrimonio cultural en el ordenamiento español», LÓPEZ RAMÓN, Fernando (Ed.). *El patrimonio cultural en Europa y Latinoamérica*. Madrid: Editorial Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, 2017, p. 17-30.

Studying historical educational heritage has received public and private support and funding that has enabled structures to be created and research groups to be bolstered. One example would be the MANES Research Centre, created in 1992 and based in the Faculty of Education (Department of History of Education and Comparative Education) at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) [Spanish Open University] in Madrid. This centre has developed a broad research programme on school textbooks.<sup>18</sup> The Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE) [International Centre for School Culture] is another example.<sup>19</sup> Created in Berlanga de Duero (Soria) and led by professor Agustín Escolano Benito, it began its work in 2006 after an agreement was signed between the Regional Department of Education in Castilla and León, the Germán Sánchez Ruipérez Foundation and the *Schola Nostra* Association. It is undoubtedly one of the benchmark global centres for school culture. In turn, we should highlight the Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa de la Universidad de Murcia (CEME) [Centre for Educational Memory Studies at the University of Murcia], created in 2009;<sup>20</sup> the Grupo de Estudios Históricos y Comparados en Educación [Historical and Comparative Studies in Education Group] at the University of the Basque Country (which has done a lot of work on the history of schooling);<sup>21</sup> the *Helmantica Paideia* Group at the University of Salamanca, which has adopted pedagogy and school magazines as a focus for one of its research areas;<sup>22</sup> the Grupo Claves Históricas y Comparadas de la Educación. Género e Identidades [Historic and Comparative Key Points in Education

18 The MANES centre website can be found at: <http://www.centromanes.org> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

19 The CEINCE website can be found at: <https://www.ceince.eu> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

20 MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. «El Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) de la Universidad de Murcia: una aventura académica en curso», *Cabás*, 14 (2015), p. 173-187. This article can be viewed at: <http://revista.muesca.es/centrosphel14/351-ceme> (last consulted on 20-10-2020); CARRILLO GALLEGU, Dolores; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, Encarna. «El Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) de la Universidad de Murcia y la investigación en historia de la educación matemática», *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, 11 (2020), p. 615-646. The CEME website is also particularly useful: <https://www.um.es/web/ceme> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

21 The Historical and Comparative Studies in Education Group at the University of the Basque Country website can be found at: <https://www.ehu.eus/es/web/garaian/home> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

22 *Helmantica Paideia* group website can be found at: <http://www.helmanticapaideia.com/wp> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).



Group: Gender and Identities] at the Complutense University in Madrid;<sup>23</sup> the Grupo de Investigación Educativa (GREUV) [Education Research Group] at the University of Vic,<sup>24</sup> and the Grup d'Estudis d'Història de l'Educació (GEDHE) [History of Education Study Group] at the University of the Balearic Islands.<sup>25</sup> The latter have focused their attention on photography and images in general.

Closely tied to the university research groups, a set of university museums has flourished, such as the Museo de la Educación [Museum of Education] at the University of the Basque Country; the Museo Pedagógico Andaluz [Andalusian Museum of Pedagogy] at the University of Seville; the Museo Universitario Virtual de Pedagogía [Virtual University Museum of Pedagogy] at the University of Vic; the Museum of Pedagogy at the University of Huelva; the Seminario de Historia de la Escuela [History of Schooling Seminar] in the Faculty of Teacher Training at the University of Valencia; the Museo Pedagógico [Museum of Pedagogy] at the University of Huelva; the Museo/Laboratorio de Historia de la Educación Manuel Bartolomé Cossío [Manuel Bartolomé Cossío Museum/Laboratory of History of Education] (created in 1995 at the Complutense University in Madrid); the Museo de la Educación (MEDULL) [Museum of Education] at La Laguna University; the Museo Virtual de Historia de la Educación de Murcia (MUVHE) [Virtual Museum of History of Education in Murcia], and the Museo Pedagógico [Museum of Pedagogy] at the University of Salamanca.<sup>26</sup>

In turn, the Autonomous Regions have established museums as a consequence of heritage protection legislation, such as the Museo Pedagógico de Galicia (MUPEGA) [Museum of Pedagogy of Galicia], created by regional government decree in the year 2000; the el Archivo y Museo de la Educación de las Islas Baleares (AMEIB) [Archive and Museum of Education of the

23 The CLAVES website can be found at: <https://www.ucm.es/grupos/grupo/168> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

24 The Education Research Group (GREUV) at the University of Vic website can be found at: <https://urcercer.uvic.cat/CawDOS/jsf/seleccionPersonalEstamento/seleccionPersonal.jspx?id=cd48840d65bb3b-c0&idioma=es&tipo=grupo&elmeucv=N> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

25 The History of Education Study Group (GEDHE) at the University of the Balearic Islands website can be found at: <https://gedhe.uib.es> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

26 ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo (Coord.). *Los Museos Pedagógicos en España. Entre la memoria y la creatividad*. Gijón/Sevilla: Trea-Universidad de Sevilla, 2016; RABAZAS ROMERO, Teresa; RAMOS ZAMORA, Sara. (2017). «Los museos pedagógicos universitarios como espacios de memoria y educación», *História da Educação*, 21/53 (2017), p. 100-119.

Balearic Islands], also created by regional government decree in 2001, which houses collections that began to be gathered in 1995; the Centro de Recursos, Interpretación y Estudios de la Escuela (CRIEME) [Centre for School Resources, Interpretation and Studies], created by the regional government of Cantabria in 2005, and the Museo Pedagógico de Aragón [Museum of Pedagogy of Aragón], created by the regional government there in 2006. Additionally, the Museo del Niño [Museum of Childhood], created at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century thanks to private initiative, has received support from the regional government of Castille-La Mancha since 2003.<sup>27</sup> Collaboration between the University of Malaga and Alhaurín de la Torre Town Council also enabled the foundation of the aforementioned Andalusian Museum of Education in the town in 2019.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the efforts made by private initiatives should be highlighted, such as the Museo Pedagógico [Museum of Pedagogy] in Otones de Benjumea (Segovia, Spain), which aims to recover and promote rural educational heritage that was designed and developed by El Corralón Cultural Association located in said town.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, after several meetings between university groups and museum representatives in Santiago de Compostela (2001) and Palma (2002), the creation of the Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE) [Spanish Society for the Study of Historical and Educational Heritage] in 2004 has also contributed to consolidating the area of study and information exchanges between different groups.

A further example of public support for research into aspects linked to history of education heritage is the *Cabás* journal, published twice a year online by the Regional Department of Education, Culture and Sport at the government of Cantabria, and edited by the Centre for School Resources, Interpretation and Studies (CRIEME).

27 For more about these museums, please see the article in ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo (Coord.). *Los museos pedagógicos en España.*, *Op. cit.*, p. 201-218 and 219-232.

28 SANCHIDRIÁN BLANCO, Carmen; MAÑAS VALLE, José Antonio; LÓPEZ MESTANZA, Manuel. «El Museo Andaluz de la Educación, un proyecto hecho realidad», *Cabás*, 23 (2020), p. 243-258. This article may be viewed at: <http://revista.muesca.es/centrospe22-2/514-el-museo-andaluz-de-la-educacion-un-proyecto-hecho-realidad> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

29 CEREZO MANRIQUE, Juan Francisco; CEREZO MANRIQUE, Miguel Ángel. «El Museo Pedagógico “La última escuela” de Otones de Benjumea (Segovia)», *Cabás*, 19 (2018), p. 130-144. This article may be viewed at: <http://revista.muesca.es/centrospe19/433-2018-06-25-11-51-31> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

The official support for conserving historical heritage from historical schools should also be mentioned; these centres provided secondary education from the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the general introduction of this level of education in the latter decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Consejo Escolar del Estado [National Governing Council for Education] –the ultimate authority in general education planning– has also run different activities to safeguard the heritage from these centres: architecture, laboratories, natural science departments, libraries, documents, etc. The initiative was highly focused on a certain type of school but has also contributed to underscoring the value of history of education heritage.<sup>30</sup>

Although it is true that all these public activities have created a protective space for studies focused on historical education heritage within the framework of a lack of funding for research in social and human sciences in Spain, public intervention in protecting this heritage is far from ideal.

30 In March 2008, the journal *Participación educativa*, edited by the National Governing Council for Education, released a single-themed issue entitled «Historia de un olvido: patrimonio en los centros escolares» [Overlooked History: Heritage from Schools] (issue 7, March 2008). This initiative drove the implementation of projects such as CEIMES *Ciencia y Educación en los institutos madrileños de enseñanza secundaria a través de su patrimonio cultural (1837-1936)* [Science and Education in Madrid Secondary Schools through Cultural Heritage], a programme of R&D activities amongst research groups in the Madrid region funded by the General Directorate for Universities and Research at the Regional Department of Education (2008-2011). The results from this research were published in a book: LÓPEZ-OCÓN CABRERA, LEONCIO; ARAGÓN ALBILLOS, SANTIAGO; PEDRAZUELA FUENTES, MARIO (Eds.). *Aulas con memoria. Ciencia, educación y patrimonio en los institutos históricos de Madrid (1837-1936)*. Madrid: CEIMES. Doce Calles. Comunidad de Madrid, 2012. On 24<sup>th</sup> March 2009, the lower house of the Spanish Parliament passed a non-legislative motion that urged the government to promote a specific action plan to recover, protect, value and promote historical education heritage in conjunction with the autonomous regions of Spain. The National Governing Council for Education held a working session at its headquarters on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2011, under the title *Los institutos históricos, memoria y patrimonio* (Historical Schools, Memory and Heritage), organised by the Council and the CEIMES project (Consejo Escolar del Estado. Jornadas de trabajo. *Los institutos históricos: memoria y patrimonio*, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2011, Madrid). The effectiveness of these initiatives has been less-than-stellar. A 2013 report from the Council itself states: «Hasta este momento no se ha articulado un auténtico plan específico de actuación en torno a este asunto, tal y como proponía la proposición no de Ley. Es cierto que se han realizado actuaciones concretas por parte de los poderes públicos, fundamentalmente por el Gobierno Central y las Comunidades Autónomas, pero no han dejado de ser acciones aisladas –aun cuando eficaces y encomiables– y por tanto sin una visión, definición y vertebración integral de los objetivos y fines a conseguir», [until this time, a real specific action plan for this topic has not been produced, as proposed by the non-legislative motion. It is true that specific activities have been run by public authorities, mainly the central government and autonomous regions, although they have been isolated activities (albeit effective and commendable), and therefore, with no comprehensive vision, definition and structure for the objectives and purposes to be attained], Informe del Consejo Escolar del Estado sobre la consideración y tratamiento del patrimonio histórico educativo a través de los Institutos Históricos. For further information, please see: <http://www.educacionyfp.gob.es/va/mc/cee/noticias/noticias-2013/jornadas-institutos-historicos.html> (last consulted on 08-08-2020).

### 3. THE MEMORIALIST MOVEMENT AS A DRIVING FORCE BEHIND HISTORICAL HERITAGE OUTREACH

As Antonio Viñao pointed out several years ago, one of the reasons underlying the increasing focus on historical education heritage is the possible nostalgic side of objects and school days in general. One facet of this approach to school heritage and materiality linked to memory is what is termed memorialist and commemorative use.<sup>31</sup> As Rubio Pobes has highlighted: «Desde los años noventa del siglo xx se ha venido produciendo una inédita proliferación de memoriales en todo el mundo; monumentos, santuarios, museos, espacios de todo tipo para el recuerdo –incluyendo lugares virtuales y archivos–, así como fechas conmemorativas. Se trata de un fenómeno global que puede considerarse ya característico del mundo actual» [Since the 1990s, there has been an unusual proliferation of memorials around the world: monuments, shrines, museums, all kinds of spaces for memory –including virtual spaces and archives– as well as commemorative dates. It is a global phenomenon that could be deemed characteristic of the world today].<sup>32</sup> This phenomenon has also affected the reclamation of historical education heritage in Spain. In this field, sensitive topics from the past have emerged with a greater or lesser extent of concealment and critical approach. Recovering memories from people, institutions or revolutionary and significant movements from before the Franco period has been a focal point in recent decades within the framework of a general movement to recover educational traditions that disappeared during the Franco Regime (1939-1975).

The eldest of the authors of this article recalls that some students on the Degree in Pedagogy at the University of Barcelona in the 1970s found the best collection of books to study for their subjects were housed at the Municipal Institute of Education Library that Barcelona City Council had established, naming the pedagogue Artur Martorell Bisbal as director. The library not only held a large bibliographical collection of works published before the Spanish Civil War, but also a collection of objects conserved from schools in Barcelona from before the start of the conflict in 1936. In 1981, the Centre

31 VIÑAO FRAGO, ANTONIO. «El patrimonio histórico-educativo: memoria, nostalgia y estudio», *Conciencia social: anuario de didáctica de la geografía, la historia y las ciencias sociales*, 15 (2011), p. 141-148.

32 RUBIO POBES, CORO. «Los rostros de la memoria. El fenómeno memorialista en el mundo actual y sus usos políticos», *Historia y Política. Ideas, procesos y movimientos sociales*, 35 (2016), p. 343-368.

de Documentació Històrico-Pedagògic [Centre for Historical and Pedagogical Documentation] was created, which organised the exhibition of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of eleven school groups in the Barcelona School Board from available materials.<sup>33</sup> The Municipal Institute of Education was a space to recall the shining educational movement in Barcelona from before the dictatorship; located in Plaza de España in Barcelona, it shared an entrance during that terrible period with the national police force headquarters. This memory shows the ever-complex relationship between history and memoirs.

Exhibitions have been one of the most common expressions of memoirs. Many have been organised in recent decades aimed at recovering the educational past, spotlighting authors and educators, and highlighting the value of past experiences and institutions. According to Pedro Luis Moreno, the annual issues of the *Boletín Informativo de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo* (BISEPHE) [Spanish Society for the Study of Historical and Educational Heritage Newsletter] reviewed 72 exhibitions from January 2006 to January 2014.<sup>34</sup> The newsletters from 2015 to 2018 covered a further twenty. The most significant are those with a memorialist or commemorative slant, such as the *Valencià a l'Escola Memòria i Testimoni* [Valencia at School: Memory and Testimony, Gandia, 2004]; the exhibition organised by Aldeanueva de la Serrezuela Town Council to commemorate the 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Victoriano Hernando, who founded the Hernando publishing house in 1828; *Mi Querida Escuela* [My Dear School] organised by the CEINCE in Berlanga de Duero in March 2007; the exhibition held in Santiago de Compostela in 2008 that looked at university life around May 1968; the exhibition entitled *Infancia, Literatura y Exilio del 39. Libros de la Colección de Ana Pelegrín* [Childhood, Literature and Exile in 1939: Books from the Ana Pelegrín Collection], held at UNED Central Library between 28<sup>th</sup> April and 30<sup>th</sup> June 2009 as part of the year-long UNED celebrations in 2009 dedicated to 70 years of Republican exile; *Escoles d'Ahir. Testimonis i Emprontes* [Schools of Yesteryear: Testimonies and Impressions], organised by CEIC Alfons Research Centre and the Department

33 RIBALTA, Mariona. «El servei de documentació pedagògica de l'Institut Municipal d'Educació», *Perspectiva escolar*, 76 (1983), p. 47-48.

34 MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. «La historiografía del patrimonio educativo en España: un balance crítico», *Educar en Revista*, 58 (2015), p. 90. For further information, please see the 13 issues published by the *Boletín Informativo de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo* (BISEPHE. Período 2006-2018). See: <https://sephe.org/bisephe/> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

of Comparative Education at the University of Valencia in Gandía in October 2009; the exhibition dedicated to the teacher Félix Martí Alpera (1875-1946) organised by the Centre for Educational Memory Studies (CEME) at the University of Murcia in November 2010, which was also shown in Cartagena and Barcelona; the exhibition dedicated to the lecturers from Teacher Training Schools, Pepita and Elisa Úriz Pi, who innovated the field of education, held academic, political and union posts during the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War, and who later worked with the French Resistance against the Nazis; *Infancia en Guerra, Tragedia y Utopía desde la Memoria Gráfica, 1936-1940*, [Children in War, Tragedy and Utopia in Graphic Memory] at the University of Seville, June-October 2016; the exhibition entitled *José María Eyaralar Almazán (1890-1944): la Renovación en la Enseñanza de las Matemáticas* [Renovation in Mathematics Teaching], which was held in the Faculty of Human Sciences and Education at the University of Zaragoza (Huesca Campus) in 2016; *Escoles i Mestres. Dos Segles d'Història i Memòria a València* [Schools and Teachers: Two Centuries of History and Memory in Valencia] which opened at the history building at the University of Valencia on 28<sup>th</sup> November 2017; the exhibition on Ferrer i Guardia, organised by the eponymous foundation in Barcelona in 2018, etc.

To round off this section, we refer to two recent exhibitions that showcase this memoir approach –one physical and one virtual– and intend to reclaim education spaces from the past. The first is *Madrid, Ciudad Educadora (1898-1938). Memoria de la Escuela Pública* [Madrid, Educational City. Memories of Public Schooling], held at the Madrid Museum of History from March to September 2019. The exhibition was organised by Madrid City Council (Office of Human Rights and Memory) and the Ángel Llorca Foundation, with Professor María del Mar del Pozo as curator –a renowned specialist in Free Schools in Spain. Thirty historical Madrid schools collaborated with the show. The aim was to recover the recollections of Madrid school groups from the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century through objects, photographs, and audiovisual and didactic material, as well as reconstruct schooling practices and the everyday life of its protagonists. On the one hand, the show aimed to highlight the quality and innovative capacity of public schooling in the decades preceding the Spanish Civil War and, on the other, the rupture caused by the conflict in the modernisation process of education. Alongside objects, texts and images, the exhibition included standout educators and teachers who made innovation and change possible. There was a particular

spotlight on the stories of Sidonio Pintado, Justa Freire, Estrella Cortichs, Asunción Rincón and Eduardo Canto –individuals who made great efforts to offer training and improve teaching. The exhibition was widely covered by the media. A catalogue was also produced with contributions from María del Mar del Pozo herself, Antonio Viñao and Ian Grosvenor.<sup>35</sup>

The second –virtual– exhibition is *Quan Anàvem a Estudi* [When We Went to School] organised by the Cultural Heritage Department of Barcelona Provincial Council and opened in June 2020. It comprises a selection of 118 documents (plans, photographs, books, magazines, drawings, etc.) from the mid-19th century to the end of the Franco dictatorship from 47 municipal archives in Catalonia.<sup>36</sup>

The objects and sources in both exhibitions are there to tell a story, explained in texts for the first exhibition (both at the venue and in the catalogue) and by an introduction and video in the second.<sup>37</sup> Both highlight recognition for the work done in Spain by public authorities and educators to modernise education from the end of the 19th century, intensifying during the 2nd Republic, to its sudden suspension due to the Franco dictatorship. The recognition of the role played by public authorities (national, provincial and local) is clear at both exhibitions and could provide highly thought-provoking current interpretations.

#### 4. AN EXAMPLE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HISTORICAL EDUCATION HERITAGE AND PUBLIC HISTORY

In 2003, the recently deceased Josep Fontana stated in his article *¿Qué Historia Enseñar?* [Which History do we Teach?] that «los historiadores nos hemos alejado de los problemas que importan al ciudadano corriente, que debería ser el destinatario final de nuestro trabajo, para recluirnos en un mundo cerrado que menosprecia el del exterior, el de la calle –justificándolo con el

35 DEL POZO ANDRÉS, María del Mar (Coord.). *Madrid, ciudad educadora, 1898-1938. Memoria de la escuela pública. Ensayos en torno a una exposición*. Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid. Oficina de Derechos Humanos y Memoria, 2019.

36 The exhibition can be visited at: <https://www.diba.cat/es/web/quan-anavem-a-estudi/el-tema> (last consulted on 02-08-2020).

37 The text is by Salomó Marquès and Saida Palou, and can be viewed on the website mentioned in the previous note. The video, with personal testimonials, can be viewed at the following link: <https://www.diba.cat/es/web/quan-anavem-a-estudi/video> (last consulted on 05-08-2020).



pretexto de que los habitantes de este mundo exterior no nos entienden—, y nos dedicamos a escribir casi exclusivamente para la tribu de los iniciados y, sobre todo, para otros profesionales» [as historians, we have moved away from the problems that concern everyday citizens, who should be the final audience of our work, to seclude ourselves in a closed world that undervalues the outside world, the streets (and justifying this under the pretext that those who live in this outside world do not understand us); we dedicate ourselves to writing almost exclusively for the tribe of the initiated and, especially, for other professionals].<sup>38</sup> Fontana warned us about the demand for history in the world outside academe, since in the same vein as individual memory, history fulfils a group purpose in constructing identity. If historians do not provide the history that is demanded, this need will be covered by others.

Fontana's opinion obliges us to consider the role of historians in what has been termed public history—history that merely goes beyond academic circles, appearing in the media and possibly affecting public memory.

There has been an increasing number of audiovisual material on the history of education in Spain in recent decades, with a particular intent to claim and recover moments, periods and innovative experiences, as well as highlight the rupture caused by the Spanish Civil War and later dictatorship. The materials and documents provide valuable visual content for all these productions. For example, in 2005 Agustín Coromines directed the documentary *Els Mestres Catalans de la Guerra a l'Exili* [Catalan Teachers in Exile from the War] with Rosa Murtra, as documentarian, as well as advice from historians and pedagogues such as Iñaki Echebarria, Salomó Marquès, Miguel Martínez and Mariona Ribalta. It was a coproduction from Metròpoli Vídeo Filmes and Televisió de Catalunya (TV3). The documentary received widespread attention in public media and many events were held around Catalan-speaking areas. In early 2007, TV3 dedicated an edition of its *Millennium* series to the work of education professionals during the Second Republic in Spain with the broadcast of Agustí Coromines' documentary. The programme was directed and presented by Ramón Colom, and invited as guests the journalist María Antonia Iglesias, the historian Salomó Marquès, the lecturer in the philosophy of education at the Autonomous University of Barcelona

38 FONTANA LÁZARO, Josep. «¿Qué historia enseñar?», *Clío & Asociados. La Historia Enseñada*, 1/7 (2005), p. 16.



Octavi Fullat, and a pupil from the Normal School run by the Republican Regional Government, Pedro Carbonell. María del Carmen Agulló, lecturer in history of education at the University of Valencia, also took part in the discussion. Alongside other history of education specialists, Agulló was also an advisor on the documentary *Las Maestras de la República* [Female Teachers in the Republic] directed by Pilar Pérez Solano and supported by the FETE-UGT union. The programme aired in 2013 and won the Goya award for best long-format documentary that year. The film also used personal testimonies and graphic resources combined with opinions from specialists. In early 2020, Televisión Española (TVE) broadcast the film *Ángel Llorca: El Último Ensayo* [The Last Essay] by Víctor M. Guerra, which was produced in 2011. The film presents the teachers Ángel Llorca and Justa Freire from the Cervantes School Group in Madrid, as well as the opening of El Perelló summer camps during the Civil War. Alongside other collaborators, the film included the history of education researchers Alejandro Tiana, María del Mar del Pozo and Eugenio Otero.

A recent popular phenomenon linked to the history of education and its materiality can be found around the figure of Antoni Benaiges i Nogués, the Mont-roig del Camp teacher (Montroig, Tarragona, 1903 – Villafranca Montes de Oca, Burgos, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1936). In 2010, the Agrupación de Familiares de las Personas Asesinadas en los Montes de La Pedraja [Association of Family Members of Those Killed in the Hillsides of La Pedraja] located human remains alongside bullet casings in a spot near the Burgos town of Villafranca Montes de Oca. Months later, the Aranzadi Science Society exhumed the grave. The remains of 104 people who had been the victims of fascist repression between July and October 1936 were found. The number of people killed whose remains can be found in this area could be around 400, including the Catalan teacher Antonio Benaiges. Benaiges was a modernising teacher who was posted to the small village of Bañuelos de Burgos in the province of Burgos in the 1934-35 school year. The school was in a stone building with scant resources, although Benaiges was able to enthuse his pupils through the techniques of French pedagogue Célestin Freinet. He promised his pupils, who were born and raised inland, that he would take them to the seaside – a promise that his killers' bullets made impossible. The story of Antonio Benaiges has been recovered and widely disseminated with major media impact by people outside the field of history of education research. Sergi Bernal, a self-defined geographer and photographer, discovered

the existence of the Catalan teacher when the magazine *Sapiens* commissioned him to shoot the opening of Republican mass graves in the Burgos town. Bernal undertook an investigation into the Catalan teacher that led him to come across testimonials from former pupils, letters and school magazines he made with his students, as well as the recollection of other teachers who exchanged the magazines published by the school. In 2012, Bernal opened a photography exhibition under the title *Desenterrando el Silencio* [Unearthing the Silence], which led to the essay *El Mestre que Va Prometre el Mar* [The Teacher who Promised the Ocean] (Blumen, 2013) and the documentary *El Retratista* [The Portraitist] (2013), in collaboration with the filmmaker Alberto Bougleux, retelling the story of the teacher brutally murdered by fascists. In recent years, Sergi Bernal has promoted a series of outreach activities including books, reproduction of documents, such as the school magazines produced by the Bañuelos de Bureba school, exhibitions, conferences, and a broad presence on social media.<sup>39</sup> These initiatives included the exhibition: *Antoni Benaiges, el mestre que va prometre el mar* [Antoni Benaiges: the Teacher who Promised the Ocean] at the Maritime Museum of Barcelona in 2019, curated by Bernal, which had huge coverage and was awarded the City of Barcelona prize in the education category that year. It can still be viewed online.<sup>40</sup> The memory of Benaiges has inspired the creation of an association in the town of Bañuelos de Bureba that has been the driving force behind the reconstruction of the old school and its conversion into a museum to promote the work of Antoni Benaiges and, in general, the methods of Célestin Freinet.<sup>41</sup>

The materiality of past education in Benaiges' story (human remains, building, school magazines, letters and personal testimonies) serves to construct a tale with popular impact that stirs more minds than endless academic articles. Is this a tale that slips from the grasp of professional historians? Do we remain on the side-lines suspiciously looking in or, on the contrary, do we get involved and contribute to the objectivity and critical analysis of stories?

39 See the Twitter account @antonibenaiges or the blog: <http://desenterrant.blogspot.com>. The following can also be viewed: <https://escuelabenaiges.blogspot.com/p/quienes-somos.html>, or the Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/AsociacionEscuelaBenaiges/> (last consulted on 07-08-2020).

40 It can be viewed at: <https://www.mmb.cat/blog/el-museu/recoregut-virtual-per-lexposicio-antoni-benaiges-el-mestre-que-va-prometre-el-mar/> (last consulted on 09-08-2020).

41 PÉREZ SIMÓN, Enrique; GONZÁLEZ MOLERO, Javier. «Asociación Escuela Benaiges de Bañuelos de Bureba (Burgos)», *Cabás*, 21 (2019), p. 132-151. The article can be viewed at: <http://revista.muesca.es/experiencias21/478-escuela-benaiges> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

As Marta Brunelli stated in allusion to P. Noiret, we should cease considering *Public History* as a manifestation of manipulation and instrumentalisation of history, to contribute to the construction of: «una historia diseñada para ser comunicada a través de los modernos medios de comunicación a un público no especializado y, al mismo tiempo, involucrarlo en la misma práctica de hacer historia» [a history designed to be communicated through modern media to a non-specialised public whilst, at the same time, include it in the same practice of making history].<sup>42</sup>

## 5. RESEARCH TOPICS

The scientific outlook for history studies on Spanish heritage has been the subject of different works that would render a detailed analysis here redundant. We instead refer the reader to a selection of publications that look into historiographic production, programme development and the museum movement in the field. One recent example is the aforementioned work by Pablo Álvarez Domínguez. Álvarez offers a thorough review of the wide range of scientific, institutional and outreach activities at pedagogy museums and the focus on materiality in education.<sup>43</sup> Another example that offers a global review of historiographic production in the field of school culture, heritage and history of education museums in Spain is by Pedro Luis Moreno Martínez, who particularly focuses on the papers presented at the six conferences organised between 2005 and 2014 by the *Spanish Society for the Study of Historical and Educational Heritage* (SEPHE).<sup>44</sup> Both authors take an optimistic view on development in this area of research. P. Álvarez states: «podemos señalar que la Museología de la Educación en España goza en el presente de un buen estado de salud, presentando un futuro satisfactorio por delante» [we can say that Education Museology in Spain currently enjoys excellent health, with a satisfactory outlook for the future].<sup>45</sup> In turn, Pedro Luis Moreno indicates

42 BRUNELLI, Marta. «La comunicación y la interpretación del patrimonio educativo en los museos: espejo y reflejo de una disciplina en la transformación», DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María (Coords.). *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*. Donostia: Erein, 2016, p. 86.

43 ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Mapping the museology of education in Spain: an examination of where the issue currently stands», *História da Educação*, 22/55 (2018), p. 293-313. From the same author, see the cited work ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. (Coord.). *Los Museos Pedagógicos en España*, *Op. cit.*

44 MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. *La historiografía del patrimonio educativo en España*. *Op. cit.*

45 ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Mapping the museology of education in Spain...» *Op. cit.* p. 310.

that: «revisadas las aportaciones a las Jornadas de la SEPHE, la cultura material de las instituciones educativas y el museísmo pedagógico constituyen las líneas de investigación sobre el patrimonio educativo dominantes en nuestro contexto» [after reviewing the papers from the SEPHE conferences, material culture in education institutions and pedagogy museology represent the dominant research areas into educational heritage in our context].<sup>46</sup> Other publications analysing the outlook of history of education research in Spain focusing on heritage that should be cited include the contribution edited by Julio Ruiz Berrio in 2010,<sup>47</sup> and the articles by Antonio Viñao, some of which are cited above.<sup>48</sup> We should also mention the conference papers that cover a range of the studied topics.<sup>49</sup>

46 MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. *La historiografía del patrimonio educativo en España*. Op.cit. p. 100.

47 RUIZ BERRIO, Julio. (Ed.). *El patrimonio histórico-educativo. Su conservación y estudio*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2010.

48 VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «El patrimonio histórico-educativo: memoria, nostalgia y estudio», *Op. cit.*; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «La memoria escolar: restos y huellas, recuerdos y olvidos», *Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scholastiche*, 12 (2005), p. 19-33; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «Memoria, patrimonio y educación», *Educatio Siglo XXI*, 28/2 (2010), p. 17-42. This work can be viewed at: <http://revistas.um.es/educatio> (last consulted on 11-08-2020).

49 JIMÉNEZ EGUIZÁBAL, Juan Alfredo, et. al. (Coords.). *Etnohistoria de la escuela. XII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación*. Op. cit.; PEÑA SAAVEDRA, Vicente. (Coord.). *I Foro Ibérico de Museísmo Pedagógico. O museísmo pedagógico en España e Portugal: itinerarios, experiencias e perspectivas*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003; PEÑA SAAVEDRA, Vicente. (Dir.). *I Jornadas Científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo. El museísmo pedagógico en España: actualidad y perspectivas, luces y sombras. Actas, documentos y testimonios*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2005; ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. (Ed.). *La cultura material en la escuela en el centenario de la Junta de Ampliación de Estudios, 1907-2007. II Jornadas científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE)*. Berlanga de Duero: Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar, 2007; MEDA, Juri; BADANELLI, Ana María. (Eds.). *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas*. Macerata: Edizioni Università di Macerata (EUM), 2013; DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA, Luis María. (Coords.). *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*. Donostia: Erein, 2016; COLLELDEMONT PUJADAS, Eulàlia; PADRÓS TUNEU, Núria; CARRILLO FLORES, Isabel (Coords.). *Memoria, ciudadanía y museos de educación*. Vic: Universitat de Vic, 2010; MAYORDOMO PÉREZ, Alejandro; AGULLÓ DÍAZ, María del Carmen; GARCIA FRASQUET, Gabriel. (Eds.). *El Patrimoni històric educatiu valencià. V Jornades d'Història de l'Educació Valenciana*. Gandia: CEIC Alfons el Vell, 2011; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. (Eds.). *Patrimonio y etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo XX*. Op. cit.; BADANELLI RUBIO, Ana María; POVEDA SANZ, María; RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, Carmen (Coords.). *Pedagogía museística: prácticas, usos didácticos e investigación del patrimonio educativo*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Facultad de Educación, 2014; COMAS RUBÍ, Francisca; GONZÁLEZ GÓMEZ, Sara; MOTILLA SALAS, Xavier; SUREDA GARCIA, Bernat. *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació*. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014; GONZÁLEZ GÓMEZ, Sara; MEDA, Juri; MOTILLA SALAS, Xavier; POMANTE, Luigi Aurelio. (Eds.). *La Práctica Educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*. VIII Jornadas Científicas de la SEPHE – I Congresso Nazionale della SIPSE. Salamanca: FahrenHouse, 2018.

If we take a look through the most common topics linked to historical education heritage in Spain over recent decades, there are several themes that emerge:

### 5.1. Textbooks

School textbook analysis has been one of the top topics in works on historical education heritage in Spain, in line with other countries. The MANES project, led by the Universidad Nacional a Distancia, was and continues to be the essential driving force in studying school textbooks.<sup>50</sup> The two volumes of the *Historia Ilustrada del Libro Escolar en España* [Illustrated History of School Textbooks in Spain], edited by Agustín Escolano, were a major source on the topic and different possible perspectives for study.<sup>51</sup> Although more focus has been placed on analysing the contents of school textbooks, there have been some works on the production and industry of school textbooks.<sup>52</sup>

### 5.2. Museums

Logically, museums have also been an important topic within the framework of research into historical education heritage. This topic has already been mentioned when we referred to support from public institutions

50 The centre's website can be found at: <http://www.centromanes.org/> (last consulted on 23-08-2020). The following are some publications linked to the MANES centre: TIANA FERRER, Alejandro. «La investigación histórica sobre los manuales escolares en España: el Proyecto MANES», *Clío & Asociados. La Historia Enseñada*, 4 (1999), p. 101-119; OSSENBACH SAUTER, Gabriela. «La investigación sobre los manuales escolares en América Latina: la contribución del Proyecto Manes», *Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 19 (2000), p. 195-203; OSSENBACH SAUTER, Gabriela. «Manuales escolares y patrimonio histórico-educativo», *Educatio Siglo XXI*, 28/2 (2010), p. 115-132.

51 ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España: del Antiguo Régimen a la Segunda República*. Op. cit.; ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España. De la posguerra a la reforma educativa*. Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1998.

52 GUEREÑA, Jean-Louis. «La edición escolar en España durante la Restauración (1875-1900)», LUDEC, Nathalie; DUBOSQUET LAIRYS, Françoise (Ed.). *Centros y periferias: prensa, impresos y territorios en el mundo hispánico contemporáneo: homenaje a Jacqueline Covo-Maurice*. Bordeaux: PILAR, 2004, p. 105-116; PAYERAS COLL, Pedro. *Miguel Porcel y Riera (1869-1933). Manuales escolares cíclicos y activismo escolar*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2008 [PhD thesis supervised by Alejandro Tiana Ferrer and Bernat Sureda García].

for studying and disseminating historical education heritage. In addition to the cited work by Pablo Álvarez on different pedagogy museums in Spain and the references to different museums, the work of Julio Ruiz Berrio should also be highlighted, which was useful as a guide to the theoretical aspects of pedagogy museums in Spain.<sup>53</sup> With regard to different types of history of education museums in Spain, readers may wish to consult the article by Pablo Álvarez, Paulí Dávila and Luis M. Naya.<sup>54</sup> Lastly, we should also point out that some recent work sets out the need for history of education museums at universities to incorporate a gender perspective in their organisation and activities.<sup>55</sup>

### 5.3. Didactic materials and objects

The general schooling process has led to the creation of what Pierre Moeglin termed education industries, which have created the many products used in schools.<sup>56</sup> As Juri Meda has shown, school is not just an ideal and symbolic universe, but is designed as a space where many material elements accumulate, order and come into play: furniture, blackboards, notebooks, books, didactic material and others.<sup>57</sup> Meda terms them mass education media. The corporeality of these objects, their materiality, involves design, construction, marketing, distribution, sales and use. These common classroom objects bring together history of education and industrial and business history,

53 RUIZ BERRIO, Julio. «La metamorfosi dels museus d'educació. Nous enfocaments i noves perspectives», *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 6 (2004), p. 172-185; RUIZ BERRIO, Julio. «Historia y museología de la educación. Despegue y reconversión de los museos pedagógicos», *Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 25 (2006), p. 271-290.

54 ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo; DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María. «Education museums: historical educational discourse, typology and characteristics. The case of Spain», *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, 53/6 (2017), p. 827-845.

55 REBOLLO, María José; ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Women and educational heritage in Spanish university education museums: good practices and pending challenges for the incorporation of the gender perspective», *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, Published online (2020), p. 1-21. This article can be viewed at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00309230.2020.1769149?journalCode=cpdh20> (last consulted on 14-08-2020).

56 MOEGLIN, Pierre. *Les industries éducatives*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France-PUF, 2010.

57 MEDA, Juri. «Mezzi di educazione di massa. Nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una storia materiale della scuola, tra XIX e XX secolo», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, vi/1 (2011), p. 253-279; MEDA, Juri. *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2016.

as well as advertising. Studies on this topic have often focused on cataloguing objects in museums and didactic material collections in laboratories and school offices, with scant attention being paid to their pedagogical or commercial contextualisation.<sup>58</sup> Other work has more systematically looked at the production and marketing of these objects, and their links to certain pedagogical systems or the teaching of specific subjects.<sup>59</sup>

58 This was the central theme in papers presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> Conference in 2007 of the Asociación Nacional para la defensa del Patrimonio de los Institutos Históricos [National Association for the Protection of Heritage from Historic Schools] (for more information, see the following link: <http://www.asociacioninstitutoshistoricos.org/> [last consulted on 28-08-2020]). A recent example of this type of work would be: MEDINA PÉREZ, Francisco José. «Las colecciones científicas de los institutos históricos de Andalucía. Investigación y análisis de su museografía y los procesos de conservación y restauración», *Cabás*, 23 (2020), p. 207-231. The article can be viewed at: <http://revista.muesca.es/experiencias23> (last consulted on 20-10-2020).

59 ESTEBAN MATEO, León. «Los catálogos de librería y material de enseñanza como fuente iconográfica y literario escolar», *Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 16 (1997), p. 17-46; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María. «Etnografía e historia del material de la escuela», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María. (Eds.). *La memoria y el deseo. Cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 2002, p. 225-246; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. «El mobiliario escolar en los catálogos de material de enseñanza: consideraciones metodológicas», DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María (Eds.). *La infancia en la historia: espacios y representaciones*. Donostia: Erein, 2005, p. 342-355; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis «La modernización de la cultura material de la escuela pública en España 1882-1936», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Ed.). *La cultura material en la escuela en el centenario de la Junta de Ampliación de Estudios, 1907-2007. II Jornadas científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE)*. Berlanga de Duero: Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar, 2007, p. 45-74; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ-FUNES, María José; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. «Los catálogos de material de enseñanza como recurso didáctico», ESPIGADO TOCINO, María Gloria et al. (Eds.). *Genealogía y desarrollo del sistema educativo liberal*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2013, p. 867-878; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. «Los catálogos de material de enseñanza y la cultura material de la escuela. La colección del Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) de la Universidad de Murcia», MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. (Eds.) *Patrimonio y etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo XX. Op.cit.*, p. 293-309; LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, José Damián; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ-FUNES, María José; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. «Patrimonio, cultura material e innovación docente: propuestas y experiencias», *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 26 (2015), p. 89-120; LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, José Damián. (Ed.). *Las ciencias en la escuela. El material científico y pedagógico de la Escuela Normal de Murcia*. Murcia: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Murcia, 2012; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ-FUNES, María José. *La cultura material y la educación infantil en España. El método Froebel (1850-1939)*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2013 [PhD thesis supervised by Pedro Luis Moreno Martínez]; CARRILLO GALLEGO, Dolores. «Los catálogos de material escolar como fuente de la Historia de la Educación Matemática: el caso de los ábacos», *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, 7 (2018), p. 573-613; CARRILLO GALLEGO, Dolores; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, Encarna. «El Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) de la Universidad de Murcia y la investigación en historia de la educación matemática», *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, 11 (2020), p. 615-646; CARRILLO GALLEGO, Dolores; OLIVARES CARRILLO, Pilar. «La difusión de los juegos de la Maison des Petits en España», *História da Educação*, 24 (2020), Published online. This article can be viewed at: [https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S2236-34592020000100505&script=sci\\_arttext](https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S2236-34592020000100505&script=sci_arttext) (last consulted on 09-08-2020).



#### 5.4. School spaces, architecture and furniture

The topic of school spaces and architecture has been looked into by history of education research in Spain, with Antonio Viñao being a standout contributor.<sup>60</sup> The work of Antón Costa and Pedro Luis Moreno on school furniture should also be mentioned.<sup>61</sup> In terms of school architecture, there has been a growing interest in recent decades from architecture specialists, which has led to several PhD theses and articles in specialised journals.<sup>62</sup>

#### 5.5. School notebooks

This has been another fruitful area in the framework of school materials. Notebooks are also a product with a commercial side, as well as being a part of everyday school life. Information on highly diverse aspects on the syllabus and school practice can be gleaned from this resource: writing and drawing models

60 VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «Del espacio escolar y la escuela como lugar: propuestas y cuestiones», *Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 12-13 (1993-1994), p. 17-74; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «La renovación de la organización escolar. La escuela graduada», OSSENBACH SAUTER, Gabriela. (Ed.). *Psicología y pedagogía en la primera mitad del siglo XX*. Madrid: UNED, 2003, p.73-104; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «Templos de la patria, templos del saber. Los espacios de la escuela y la arquitectura escolar», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín. (Dir.). *Historia ilustrada de la escuela en España: dos siglos de perspectiva histórica*. Madrid: Fundación German Sánchez Ruipérez, 2006, p. 47-71; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «El espacio escolar: viejas cuestiones, nuevos escenarios», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Dir.). *Historia ilustrada de la escuela en España: dos siglos de perspectiva histórica*. Op. cit. p. 289-308; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. «Escalarización, edificios y espacios escolares», *CEE Participación Educativa*, 7 (2008), p. 16-27.

61 COSTA RICO, Antón. «Mobiliario, dotación y equipamiento escolar en el siglo XX», *Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 16 (1997), p. 91-112; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. «El mobiliario escolar en los catálogos de material de enseñanza: consideraciones metodológicas», NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María; DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí. *La infancia en la historia: espacios y representaciones*. Donostia: Erein, 2005, p. 342-355.

62 For example: RODRÍGUEZ MÉNDEZ, Francisco Javier. *Arquitectura escolar en España (1857-1936). Madrid como paradigma*. Madrid: Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2004 [PhD thesis supervised by Miguel Ángel Baldellou Santolaria]; MAYOL AMENGUAL, Jaume. *L'arquitectura escolar de Guillem Forteza (1917-1943)*. Barcelona: Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2010 [PhD thesis supervised by Josep Quetglas Riusech]; MARTÍNEZ MARCOS, Anaya. *Modernidad y vigencia en la arquitectura escolar de Barcelona y Valencia 1956-1968*. Barcelona: Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2015 [PhD thesis supervised by Teresa Rivira Llobera]; GUTIÉRREZ TEJEIRO, Carolina *Arquitectura escolar en Extremadura desde 1931 a 1936*. Badajoz/Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2017 [PhD thesis supervised by Miguel Ángel Martín Sánchez]; DURÁ GÚRPIDE, Isabel María. «La arquitectura escolar de Martorell, Bohigas y Mackay: el modelo concentrado como oportunidad educativa», *Revista de Arquitectura*, 12 (2016), p. 71-80.



and templates, values and content, and didactic practice and resources. In recent decades, notebooks have been held in collections and exhibited.<sup>63</sup>

### 5.6. *The representation of school materiality and educational practice*

Where materiality, symbolism and school culture come together, we find a set of sources that are characterised by dominant iconic aspects. Images can be didactic resources; they are elements present in the normal comings and goings at schools; can show a more or less idealised or realistic representation of school practice, and be propaganda or support tools for school identities. The focus on iconic sources by education historians has seen exponential growth in the last two decades. This is evidenced by the appearance of several single-issue journals, different conferences, congresses and seminars, and a large number of publications/articles.<sup>64</sup> Postcards linked to education and,

63 One of these exhibitions was held at the Centre for Educational Memory Studies at the University of Murcia (CEME) in 2017, and led to the following publication: CARRILLO GALLEG0, Dolores; LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, José Damián; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ-FUNES, María José; SÁNCHEZ IBÁÑEZ, Raquel; SÁNCHEZ JIMÉNEZ, Encarnación; VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio. *Los cuadernos escolares: entre el texto y la imagen*. Murcia: Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa. Universidad de Murcia, 2017. The work contains a wide bibliography. Below are some more recent publications: FERNÁNDEZ GÓMEZ, Elena. «Entre lo impreso y lo manuscrito: viaje por España de la mano de un manual y un cuaderno escolar», *Cabás*, 17 (2017), p. 68-95. The article may be viewed at: <http://revista.muesca.es/articulos17/395-entre-lo-impreso-y-lo-manuscrito-viaje-por-espana-de-la-mano-de-un-manual-y-un-cuaderno-escolar> (last consulted on 20-10-2020); MARTÍN FRAILE, Bienvenido; RAMOS RUIZ, Isabel. «La intrahistoria escolar reflejada en los cuadernos: cuadernos de la escuela de Moreruela de Tábara (Zamora)», *Studia Zamorensia*, 16 (2017), p. 61-77; CID FERNÁNDEZ, Xosé Manuel. «Evidencias de renovación pedagógica en los cuadernos escolares de una escuela rural gallega (1925-1927)», *Imágenes, discursos y textos en Historia de la Educación. Retos metodológicos actuales. XIX Coloquio de Historia de la Educación*. Alcalá de Henares: Fundación General de la Universidad de Alcalá, 2017, p. 334-337; MARTÍN FRAILE, Bienvenido; RAMOS RUIZ, Isabel. «Le cahier de roulement. Un recurso para la renovación pedagógica en tres momentos históricos de la escuela primaria española», *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, 18 (2018), Published online. The article can be viewed at: [https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S2238-00942018000100208](https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2238-00942018000100208) (last consulted on 17-08-2020); MARTÍN FRAILE, Bienvenido; RAMOS RUIZ, Isabel. «La formación patriótica en los cuadernos escolares durante el franquismo: el Día de la Hispanidad», *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 35 (2020), p. 17-46; MARTÍN FRAILE, Bienvenido; RAMOS RUIZ, Isabel. «Exposiciones de cuadernos escolares: una aproximación a la historia de la escuela», *III Foro Ibérico de Museísmo Pedagógico y V Jornadas Científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico Educativo*, 2020, p. 625-637.

64 In issue 15, published in the year 2010, the journal *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació* released a monograph entitled «Fotografia i història de l'educació», edited by Francisca Comas Rubí. In November 2014, the Societat d'Història de l'Educació dels Països de Llengua Catalana [History of Education Society of Catalan-Speaking Regions] held its 21<sup>st</sup> conference in Palma (Majorca) around the topic *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació* [School Images, A Portrait of Education]. The conference papers were published in the book: COMAS RUBÍ, Francisca; GONZÁLEZ GÓMEZ, Sara; MOTILLA SALAS,

particularly, the marketing of different schools, are another aspect linked to images that has been worthy of attention. The activities undertaken by the Virtual History of Education Museum (MUVHE) at the University of Murcia stand out in this regard.<sup>65</sup>

### 5.7. The teaching use of material aspects of education

Materiality in education has clear potential as an educational tool for society in general, and especially for training future education professionals. The exhibitions are themselves evidence of the use of past education material in training.<sup>66</sup> Some papers have analysed the training possibilities of education heritage which, in certain instances, are supported by the potential offered by the *World Wide Web*.<sup>67</sup> In other cases, didactic material may offer a space of

Xavier; SUREDA GARCIA, Bernat. *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació*. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014. In issue 8, published in 2018, the journal *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* also included a monograph entitled «Fotografía, propaganda y educación» [Photography, Propaganda and Education], edited by Francisca Comas Rubí and María del Mar Pozo Andrés. The introduction included a comprehensive list of publications, research projects and scientific meetings on the topic up to that year. The 19<sup>th</sup> History of Education Colloquium should also be highlighted. It ran between 19<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2017 in San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Madrid), and was organised by the Spanish Open University (UNED), the University of Alcalá de Henares (UAH) and the Complutense University of Madrid under the title *Imágenes, Discursos y Textos en Historia de la Educación. Retos Metodológicos Actuales* [Images, Discourse and Texts in History of Education: Current Methodological Challenges]. As a result of this conference, the journal *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* published a new monograph in issue 10 (2019) under the same title, edited by Ana M. Badanelli and Sara Ramos. The work from the University of Vic group stands out with regard to documentaries and films. In 2018, the same topic was covered by a monograph in issue 31 of the journal *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació* which looked at history of education through films. The lecturers Josep Casanovas and Núria Padrós were the editors.

65 In turn, the exhibition *Tarjeta Postal Ilustrada y Educación (España, Siglos XIX-XX)* [Illustrated Postcards and Education (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>-Century Spain)] organised at the MUVHE by the Centre for Educational Memory Studies (CEME) can be viewed at the following link: <https://www.um.es/muvhe/exposicion/tarjeta-postal-ilustrada-y-educacion/> (last consulted on 12-08-2020). The exhibition catalogue can also be viewed: VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ-FUNES, María José; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis. *Tarjeta postal ilustrada y educación: (España, siglos XX y XXI). Exposición*. Murcia: Editum, 2016. The following is also useful to consult: DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María; ZABALETA IMAZ, Iñaki. «Internados religiosos: marketing del espacio a través de las memorias escolares en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX», DÁVILA BALSERA, Paulí; NAYA GARMENDIA, Luis María (Coords.). *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*. Donostia: Erein, 2016, p. 183-208.

66 LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, José Damián; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ-FUNES, María José; MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN VICENTE, Ana. «Patrimonio, cultura material e innovación docente: propuestas y experiencias», *Op.cit.*

67 ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo; PAYÁ RICO, Andrés. «Patrimonio educativo.es: un espacio virtual de aprendizaje para el estudio del patrimonio educativo español», MORENO MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Luis; SEBASTIÁN

dialogue between past education theories and current school practice. This latter objective underlies certain recent research projects.<sup>68</sup>

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

As has been shown, the interest in material sources has been one of the major driving forces for research in history of education in recent decades, both in Spain and other countries. This interest has been driven by the inclusion of educational objects and spaces in the framework of historical heritage. The increasing awareness in heritage conservation in general has led to support for research in history of education linked to materiality in schools.

This review of the state of the art leads us to believe that it is now the time to advance from studying objects and ways to conserve, catalogue and promote them, to using them as sources to look at old and new topics from different perspectives with the information they can provide. Material sources,

VICENTE, Ana. (Eds.). *Patrimonio y etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo xx*. Murcia: SEPHE-CEME, 2012, p. 583-596; ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo; PAYÁ RICO, Andrés. «Patrimonio educativo 2.0: hacia una didáctica histórico-educativa más participativa y la investigación en red», *Cuestiones Pedagógicas*, 22 (2013), p. 117-140; ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Los museos pedagógicos como espacios didácticos para difundir e interpretar el patrimonio histórico-educativo en tiempos difíciles: aproximación y apuntes para el futuro», *Revista América Patrimonio*, 6 (2014), p. 89-99; PAYÁ RICO, Andrés; ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Pertinencia y posibilidades didácticas de un espacio de colaboración científica o red social para el estudio del patrimonio histórico-educativo», BADANELLI RUBIO, Ana María; POVEDA SANZ, María; RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, Carmen (Eds.). *Pedagogía museística. Prácticas, usos didácticos e investigación del patrimonio educativo*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014, p. 333-340; PAYÁ RICO, Andrés; ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Ús professional i possibilitats docents de les xarxes socials en la història de l'educació "HistoEdu": un espai de col·laboració científica», COMAS RUBÍ, Francisca; GONZÁLEZ GÓMEZ, Sara; MOTILLA SALAS, Xavier; SUREDA GARCIA, Bernat (Eds.). *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació*. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014, p. 459-468; PAYÁ RICO, Andrés; ÁLVAREZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Pablo. «Història de l'educació 2.0 i Història de l'e-Educació. Les TIC i les xarxes socials al servei de la docència històricoeducativa», *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 26 (2015), p. 41-64; PAYÁ RICO, Andrés; MOTILLA SALAS, Xavier. «Web 2.0, social networks and the history of education in Spain: creating a scientific collaborative space (HistoEdu.net)», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, xli/1 (2016), p. 249-263.

<sup>68</sup> The History of Education Studies Group (GEDHE), coordinated by Sara González Gómez, at the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB) is developing the project «Elaboración de juegos y materiales didácticos en base al pensamiento pedagógico contemporáneo: una propuesta para acercar teoría y práctica en la formación inicial de los maestros de infantil y maestros en activo» [Producing Didactic Games and Materials based on Contemporary Pedagogy Approaches: A Proposal to Bring Theory and Practice Closer in Initial Teacher Trainer for Early Childhood Education and for Practising Teachers] (performance period: 2018-2021). This project is funded by the Regional Department for Education and University in the Autonomous Region of the Balearic Islands.

especially when appropriately contextualised, could improve our knowledge of highly diverse aspects from education in the past.

With a view to providing new value to material aspects in the history of schooling, we need to insist on what F. Herman, A. Van Gorp, F. Simon and M. Depaepe recommended in 2011 when they posited the need to further analyse the design, production, marketing, distribution, use and other circumstances behind school objects.<sup>69</sup> A series of factors that A. Viñao would term the following year, «the biography of the object».<sup>70</sup> This would help another area that requires exploration in order to move forward in a history that includes and values historical education objects: constructing new interpretation models and new narratives that include objects in wider instructive frameworks. Since we do not separate the strictly educational from the political, social, economic or other aspects when working with ideas and approaches, we should also not isolate the educational aspects of the use of objects in education since they have other lives and are linked to other areas of human activity (economics, politics, etc.). Once again, here and in other facets of modern history, an alignment with other sciences such as economics, ethnography and other branches of history such as archaeology or the history of industry and marketing is required.

We should also make objects dialogue with other sources, in order to ask more effective questions and improve the information we glean from them, opening up new perspectives for historical research. The complementary nature of sources, objects, texts, images and personal testimonials could truly enrich our interpretations of the past. All this should provide a way to reconsider topics that may have been overlooked due to our intense concentration on materiality in schooling, such as educational phenomena outside schools, the processes that shape teaching identities or the processes of change and modernisation in education. Material sources, in contrast to others, could open up new research perspectives into these topics.

Objects and materiality in education processes, and audiovisual alongside personal testimonials, provide wide visibility for the history of education, with its inherent advantages and disadvantages. These sources could likely be used

69 HERMAN, Frederik; VAN GORP, Angelo; SIMON, Frank; DEPAEPE, Marc. «The School Desk: from Concept to Object», *History of Education*, 40/1 (2011), p. 97-117.

70 VIÑAO FRAGO, Antonio «La historia material e inmaterial de la escuela: memoria, patrimonio y educación», *Educação*, 35/1 (2012), p. 7-17.

in manipulative ways to shape opinions and identities that serve the interests of those in power. Nonetheless, they may also be elements that facilitate communication between scientists and specialists, and the public at large. This open door to public history should be entered without misgivings, in an awareness that we may be heading into choppy waters. We should not allow the space that could be covered with contrasted information to be occupied by others with more flippant or malicious intentions. Collaboration between historians and communication specialists could be used for public assessment on our work and provide a way to disseminate the results of highly academic work.

As a final reflection, we should not overlook that historical research aims to discover, explain and interpret humanity's past in its entirety, and that old and new sources are merely clues, indications and testaments that we can question, with a view to improving our knowledge about what was happening in the past.

# Mémoire, patrimoine et matérialité de l'école: regard sur une approche française de la culture scolaire

## *Memòria escolar, patrimoni i materialitat: una mirada a un enfocament francès de la cultura escolar*

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### RESUM

La memòria i el patrimoni condueixen a un estudi per rastres on les pistes i els suports són múltiples: edificis, llocs, escrits íntims, entrevistes, objectes de tota mena, s'han de creuar amb altres fonts. L'escola té un patrimoni receptiu que canvia amb els temps, com ho demostra l'elecció exclusiva dels llibres de text d'extractes d'autors de la literatura francesa. Al mateix temps, els llocs educatius també produeixen coneixements que es poden qualificar per a l'ocasió escolar, mentre que la relació del professor o alumne amb l'objecte educatiu (llibre de text, bolígraf, tauleta, etc.) és essencial per entendre el funcionament de l'escola però es manté inert si no va acompanyat d'una memòria docent. De fet, hi ha diverses formes de patrimoni: receptiu, transmissiu i fabricat. No existeixen aquests patrimonis avui en dia per ajudar-nos a comprendre les operacions educatives passades?

PARAULES CLAU: escola; cultura material; història de l'educació; historiografia.

## ABSTRACT

Memory and heritage lead to a study by traces where the clues and supports are multiple: buildings, places, writings of the private forum, interviews, objects of all kinds, must be crossed with other sources. The school has a receptive heritage that changes with the times, as evidenced by the exclusive choice in textbooks of author extracts from French literature. At the same time, places of education also produce knowledge that could be qualified for the school occasion, while the relationship of the teacher or pupil to the educational object (textbook, pen, tablet, etc. .) is essential to understand the functioning of the school but remains inert if it is not accompanied by a teaching memory. There are in fact several forms of heritage: receptive, transmissive and manufactured. Are these heritages not there today, to help us try to understand past educational operations?

KEY WORDS: school; material culture; history of education; historiography.

## RESUMEN

La memoria y el patrimonio conducen a un estudio por huellas en el que las pistas y soportes son múltiples: edificios, lugares, escritos íntimos, entrevistas, objetos de todo tipo, necesariamente deben cruzarse con otras fuentes. La escuela tiene un patrimonio receptivo que cambia con los tiempos, como demuestra el uso exclusivo en los manuales de textos de autores de la literatura francesa. Al mismo tiempo, los lugares de educación producen conocimientos que podrían ser calificados como escolares, mientras que la relación del maestro o alumno con el objeto educativo (manual, bolígrafo, tableta, etc.) es fundamental para comprender el funcionamiento de la escuela pero permanece inerte si no va acompañada de una memoria activa. De hecho, hay varias formas de patrimonio: receptivo, transmisivo y fabricado. ¿Estos patrimonios no existen hoy en día para ayudarnos a comprender el funcionamiento de los sistemas educativos del pasado?

PALABRAS CLAVE: escuela; cultura material; historia de la educación; historiografía.

Le patrimoine et la mémoire scolaires sont liés car la mémoire peut être une forme de patrimoine et le patrimoine une forme de mémoire, ceux-ci sont indispensables à l'historien pour approcher la culture matérielle de l'école. Mémoire et patrimoine conduisent à une étude par traces où les indices et les supports sont multiples: bâtiments, lieux, écrits du for privé, entretiens, objets de toutes les sortes, doivent être obligatoirement croisés à d'autres sources, avec

un historien amené à exercer, à travers cette confrontation, un regard critique.<sup>1</sup> L'école est un lieu de culture, une culture qui est le reflet de la société.<sup>2</sup> Elle détermine en cela un patrimoine réceptif qui se transforme en fonction des époques comme en atteste le choix dans les manuels d'extraits de certains auteurs de la littérature française. Mais, l'école est également porteuse de valeurs et de règles qu'elle est amenée transmettre: l'engagement, le respect d'autrui, la tolérance, la solidarité... Parallèlement, les lieux d'enseignement fabriquent aussi du savoir, que l'on pourrait qualifier pour l'occasion de scolaire. Ce dernier existe par l'objet, il est du domaine de la culture matérielle tout en relevant également de la mémoire. Le rapport de l'enseignant(e) ou de l'élève à l'objet est essentiel pour comprendre le fonctionnement de l'école mais il reste inerte s'il n'est pas accompagné d'une mémoire enseignante que l'on capte dans des textes, les écrits du for privé, les traités d'éducation ou les transcriptions d'entretiens.<sup>3</sup> Parallèlement, les instituteurs de la Troisième République, qui ont fabriqué avec leurs élèves des herbiers ont utilisé un matériel spécifique et des méthodes pédagogiques qui nous renseignent sur des pratiques culturelles et matérielles de toute une société.<sup>4</sup>

Ces trois formes de patrimoine, réceptif, transmissif et fabriqué sont en construction et renouvellement constants, parfois complémentaires, parfois en conflit, ne sont-ils pas là aujourd'hui, pour nous aider à essayer de comprendre comment ils éclairent les fonctionnements éducatifs passés? Pour essayer de répondre à cette question il faudra examiner d'abord la place du patrimoine et de la mémoire dans le champ historique de l'éducation, puis s'arrêter sur le point très particulier de la culture matérielle avant d'en déceler les apports mais aussi les limites.

1 CONDETTE, Jean-François; FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Sur les traces du passé de l'éducation... patrimoines et territoires de la recherche en éducation dans l'espace français*. Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, p. 13-18.

2 CHERVEL, André. *La Culture scolaire. Une approche historique*. Paris: Belin, 1998, p. 191.

3 MARCHAND, Philippe. *Collèges et collégiens à travers les correspondances familiales 1767-1787*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2018; MORET-PETRINI, Sylvie. *Pratiques éducatives familiales et écriture du for privé en Suisse romande: (1750-1820)*. Université de Lausanne: 2016, thèse dactyl.; CASPARD, Pierre. «Éducation et progrès. Ce que disent les écrits personnels», *Musée neuchâtelois* (octobre 1996), p. 273-289; FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite. *Les enfants de l'Émile? L'effervescence éducative de la France au tournant des XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Berne: Peter Lang, 2015.

4 CASTAGNET-LARS, Véronique (Dir.). *L'éducation au patrimoine: de la recherche scientifique aux pratiques pédagogiques*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, coll. «Éducation et didactiques», 2013.



## I. AUX SOURCES DE LA CULTURE MATÉRIELLE: PATRIMOINE ET MÉMOIRE DE L'ÉDUCATION

### 1.1. *Le patrimoine et la mémoire comme sources*

Depuis les années 1980, *Les lieux de mémoire* dirigés par Pierre Nora avaient montré en France que l'on pouvait s'intéresser à des questions liées à des aspects d'enseignement, autrement. Ainsi, le *Dictionnaire de pédagogie* de Ferdinand Buisson mais également des personnages essentiels à la transmission d'une culture scolaire à l'instar d'Ernest Lavisse, pouvaient devenir à la fois des sources et des objets d'étude.<sup>5</sup> C'est ce que firent le philosophe Patrick Dubois et le pédagogue Philippe Meirieu<sup>6</sup> en s'intéressant à l'entreprise menée par Ferdinand Buisson et à un certain nombre d'occurrences du dictionnaire qui sont aujourd'hui des références pour les historiens de l'éducation.<sup>7</sup>

S'intéresser à la culture matérielle de l'école et à sa mémoire nécessite des sources aussi bien écrites qu'orales. Les travaux commencés par Thérèse Charamasson, conservatrice en chef du patrimoine (archives) et Directrice du Centre de recherche en histoire des sciences et des techniques à la Cité des sciences et de l'industrie (en 2008), sur les archives de l'enseignement, ont permis de montrer la grande variété des fonds.<sup>8</sup> Au moment du bicentenaire sur la création des lycées, elle a d'ailleurs mis en évidence ce lien susceptible d'exister entre le document, l'objet et le souvenir d'une pratique scolaire.<sup>9</sup> Parallèlement Annie Renonciat a montré, à travers un type de source, l'image, combien elle pouvait permettre d'appréhender des conceptions pédagogiques différentes.<sup>10</sup>

5 NORA, Pierre. «Le *Dictionnaire de pédagogie* de Ferdinand Buisson. Cathédrale de l'école primaire», NORA, Pierre (Dir.). *Les lieux de mémoire*, tome 1, *La République*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984, p. 247-289.

6 DUBOIS, Patrick; MEIRIEU, Philippe. «Le *Dictionnaire de F. Buisson et ses auteurs (1878-1887)*», *Histoire de l'éducation*, vol. 85, no. 1 (2000), p. 262.

7 Les références sont nombreuses mais en voici quelques-unes emblématiques: hygiène scolaire, instruction civique, écriture, enfance, instruction publique, musées scolaires, orthographe, préjugé, sensibilité/sentiment...

8 CHARAMASSON, Thérèse (textes présentés par). *Archives et sources pour l'histoire de l'enseignement*. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2005.

9 CHARAMASSON, Thérèse; LE GOFF, Armelle (Dir.). *Mémoires de lycées, archives et patrimoine*. Paris: Direction des Archives de France / INRP, 2003.

10 RENONCIAT, Annie. *Voir/Savoir. La Pédagogie par l'image aux temps de l'imprimé*. Paris: CNDP-CRDP, 2011.

Le deuxième élément patrimonial que l'on peut retenir à côté de l'archive, est l'objet. Ce dernier est difficile à saisir car l'école n'a pas toujours eu conscience de son importance et a beaucoup éliminé. Que faire en effet d'un vieux manuel dépassé et d'un microscope encombrants? La benne a été souvent la destination privilégiée. Néanmoins en France, l'esprit centralisateur associé aux réseaux associatifs a permis la sauvegarde de cette matérialité du passé. Le Musée National de l'Éducation (MUNAÉ)<sup>11</sup> installé à Rouen, conserve documents et objets de toutes sortes (peintures, gravures, estampes, mobiliers scolaires, cahiers et albums jeunesse...) et organise régulièrement des expositions. Parallèlement, s'est constitué autour un réseau *Amis des musées de l'école des Amis du Musée National de l'Éducation, des Musées de l'École et du Patrimoine Éducatif* (Amnépe)<sup>12</sup> dont le but est de mettre en relation et en synergie documentaire tous les musées de l'école qui existent en France, soit près de 200 à ce jour.

Face à ces éléments, il existe également une mémoire de l'école. Celle-ci n'est pas nouvelle, elle s'est développée depuis le milieu des années 1970, en lien avec une forme scolaire qui était en train de disparaître.

## 1.2. La mémoire de l'école et ses multiples facettes

La mémoire scolaire existe à travers des récits multiples sous forme orale ou sous forme écrite. L'oralité construit ou transforme le souvenir. En France des enquêtes ont été menées par les historiens et les sociologues de manière différente. On distingue l'enquête sur les pratiques d'enseignement de celles qui consistent à mieux cerner un milieu. Il ne s'agit pas là d'énumérer toutes les productions mais de citer quelques exemples en soulignant que depuis le xix<sup>e</sup> siècle, les enquêtes ont toujours existé permettant de mieux cerner des manques, on peut citer à ce titre celle de Guizot (1833) et celle du recteur Maggiolo (1880).<sup>13</sup> Dans la première, lancée après le vote de la loi de juin 1833, le ministre de l'Instruction publique, François Guizot, veut connaître alors

11 <https://www.reseau-canope.fr/musee/fr/connaitre/actualites-du-munae/actualite/news/detail/News/le-dispositif-culturecheznous.html> (consulté le 12/8/2020).

12 <https://www.amisdesmuseesdelecole.fr> (consulté le 12/8/2020).

13 MAGGIOLO, Louis. «État récapitulatif et comparatif, indiquant, par département, le nombre de conjoints qui ont signé leur acte de mariage aux xvii<sup>e</sup>, xviii<sup>e</sup>, xix<sup>e</sup> siècles», *Statistique de l'Enseignement primaire*. Paris: 1880, tome 2.

l'état de l'enseignement élémentaire et envoie pour cela cinq cents inspecteurs sur l'ensemble du territoire français hormis la Corse.<sup>14</sup> Les questions sont très simples mais permettent d'avoir un aperçu à la fois sur les pratiques de classe et sur la culture matérielle du moment. On y remarque que le maître d'école, souvent mal formé, dispose d'un matériel limité. La seconde enquête vise à mesurer à travers les signatures des registres paroissiaux, la progression, depuis le siècle de Louis XIV jusqu'au début de la Troisième République, de l'instruction. C'est là encore une sorte d'état des lieux. Les deux enquêtes, dans une France où l'on cherche à former le peuple, ont un arrière-plan politique important lié à un besoin d'affirmer des conceptions nouvelles et à montrer que les réformes sont nécessaires.<sup>15</sup> Mais ces deux enquêtes, si elles apportent des données quantitatives, donnent peu d'éléments sur les idées des enseignants et des élèves, leur conception de l'étude. Pour en savoir plus il faudra attendre Jacques Ozouf. Dans les années dix-neuf cent soixante, alors que, dans la prolongation du plan Langevin-Wallon, sont lancées de grandes interrogations sur l'école, cet historien décide de faire appel à 20.000 instituteurs ayant enseigné avant 1914 et ayant joué un rôle dans la construction de l'école républicaine, mais il ne reçoit au total que 4.000 réponses qui permettent de mieux saisir une manière d'être et de penser.<sup>16</sup> Ainsi, les nombreuses autobiographies d'instituteurs de la Belle Époque présentées par Jacques Ozouf, aident à reconstituer un univers à l'instar de ce récit: «Bien que la pension fût gratuite à l'École Normale, mon entrée avait nécessité pourtant pour mes parents de gros sacrifices: l'Économe, sitôt proclamés les résultats du Concours, nous informait que nous aurions à verser, à la rentrée 265 francs pour l'uniforme, les livres, la masse. Mon père vendit une de ses vaches (190 francs, une laitière superbe) pour aider à payer cette grosse somme».<sup>17</sup>

Avant et après mai 1968, Gérard Vincent, historien faisant de la socio-histoire, Formé à l'école du sociologue Pierre Bourdieu et Professeur à

14 Voir à ce propos: [http://www.inrp.fr/she/guizot/cadre\\_informations.htm](http://www.inrp.fr/she/guizot/cadre_informations.htm) (consulté le 12/8/2020).

15 FLEURY, Michel; VALMARY, Pierre. «Les progrès de l'instruction élémentaire de Louis XIV à Napoléon III, d'après l'enquête de Louis Maggiolo (1877-1879)», *In Population*, 12<sup>e</sup> année, n°1, 1957, p. 71-92.

16 OZOUF, Mona; OZOUF, Jacques. «Retour sur une enquête», *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, 8 (1991), mis en ligne le 18 mars 2009, consulté le 19 avril 2019. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ccrh/2817>.

17 OZOUF, Jacques. *Nous, Les maîtres d'école....* Paris: Gallimard/Julliard, Coll. Archives, 1967, p. 91. L'enquête Ozouf est aujourd'hui conservée au Musée National de l'Éducation de Rouen.

Sciences-Po Paris, se lance dans deux enquêtes l'une réalisée en 1967 et en 1969, l'autre en 1971-1972. Elles permettent de saisir le monde lycéen à un moment précis de mutation de la société française. Les données sont collectées grâce à des questionnaires mais également sous forme d'autobiographies, cela permettant de mieux comprendre les rapports avec les professeurs, les relations entre élèves, l'attitude vis-à-vis du travail scolaire. Une autre enquête, menée entre 1971 et 1972, est plus orientée, après 1968, sur l'engagement politique.<sup>18</sup>

Ces deux types d'enquêtes du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle qui relatent d'un monde qui s'est éteint constituent une forme de mémoire de l'école qu'il nous faudrait à nouveau essayer de cerner aujourd'hui dans un environnement en mutation où le numérique occupe une place de plus en plus grande dans les pratiques pédagogiques en classe et à l'extérieur de l'école.

À partir de la fin des années 1980, avec le développement des didactiques disciplinaires, des sciences de l'éducation, de l'histoire de l'éducation et la création des IUFM,<sup>19</sup> on analyse de plus en plus les processus d'enseignement et d'apprentissage à l'œuvre dans les situations éducatives précises, cela afin de contribuer à la construction d'un savoir scientifique susceptible d'aider à l'amélioration des systèmes et des démarches d'enseignement. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'énumérer tout ce qui a pu se faire dans toutes les disciplines, on retiendra par exemple, pour l'histoire, la série d'études menées par Jean Moniot<sup>20</sup> et Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon<sup>21</sup> et sous l'angle approche d'un métier, le livre de Patrick Garcia et Jean Leduc se sont intéressés à l'enseignement de l'histoire de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours.<sup>22</sup> Avec des questions du passé qui surgissent dans le présent, on voit que cette approche s'est faite également à travers ce que l'on a appelé, les questions sensibles ou socialement vives où la mémoire, sans

18 Les résultats ont été publiés notamment dans VINCENT, Gérard. *Les lycéens et la politique*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1973; VINCENT, Gérard. *Le peuple lycéen : enquête sur les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974; VINCENT, Gérard. *Le peuple lycéen. Enquête sur les enfants de l'enseignement secondaire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974.

19 Institut de Formation des Maîtres remplacés par les ESPÉ (École Supérieure du Professorat et de l'Éducation en 2013) puis par les INSPÉ (Institut National Supérieur du professorat et de l'Éducation, 2019).

20 MONIOT, Henri. *Didactique de l'histoire*. Paris: Nathan, Coll. Perspectives didactiques, 1993.

21 TUTIAUX-GUILLON, Nicole. «Histoire-géographie: un trait d'union pour traduire un modèle scolaire commun», *Didactique, épistémologie et histoire des sciences*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008.

22 GARCIA, Patrick; LEDUC, Jean. *L'enseignement de l'histoire en France de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2003.

forcément faire appel à la culture matérielle, prenait une place importante, on peut citer à ce titre, sans être exhaustif car ce n'est pas notre sujet, certains auteurs, à l'instar de Laurence de Cock ou de Benoit Falaize.<sup>23</sup>

Au total, si les orientations mémorielles dans un cadre éducatif peuvent avoir multiples facettes, elles se rapprochent des aspects patrimoniaux parce qu'elles se situent dans le temps présent tout en relatant de phénomènes passés et tout s'inscrivant dans une culture scolaire avec la redécouverte de pratiques qui peuvent devenir à tout moment innovantes.

### 1.3. *Le champ innovant de la pédagogie*

La notion d'innovation renvoie à celle d'oubli. Le milieu de l'enseignement a curieusement tendance plus que tous les autres, à gommer le passé, faisant des «redécouvertes» un instrument d'innovation. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de reprendre la *Didactica Magna* ou *Orbis Pictus* de Comenius, pour s'apercevoir que le célèbre pédagogue en défendant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle certaines postures et pratiques pédagogiques, énonçait déjà des principes qui allaient devenir aux XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles innovants car oubliés. Ainsi, dans sa thèse Ioana Ungureanu a pu souligner toute la complexité de la réception de l'œuvre de Comenius en France.<sup>24</sup> Elle cite à plusieurs reprises Eugène Rendu qui, en 1881, déclare par exemple: «Dut en souffrir la vanité de nos contemporains, disons que rien de tout de tout cela (allusion aux leçons de choses) n'est pas absolument nouveau, et que Froebel, voire Pestalozzi, ont répété très souvent Montaigne, Port-Royal, Fénelon et Rousseau. L'abbé Claude Fleury (XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle) a laissé, sur ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui l'enseignement par l'aspect et l'intuition, une page que Madame Pape-Carpentier se fût estimée très fière d'avoir signé. Ayons conscience de ce que nous avons: soit! Mais ne criions pas à tout venant que nous découvrons, chaque matin, l'Amérique».<sup>25</sup>

23 DE COCK, Laurence. *Dans la classe de l'homme blanc : L'enseignement du fait colonial en France des années 1980 à nos jours*. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, septembre 2018; DE COCK, Laurence; BONAFOUX, Corinne; FALAIZE, Benoit. *Mémoires et histoire à l'école de la République: quels enjeux?*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2007; FALAIZE, Benoit. *L'histoire à l'école élémentaire depuis 1945*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016.

24 UNGUREANU, Ioana. *La réception de l'œuvre pédagogique de Comenius en France, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Amiens: Université de Picardie Jules Verne, 2012. Thèse dactyl., sous la direction de Bruno Poucet.

25 RENDU, Eugène. *Manuel de l'enseignement primaire. Pédagogie théorique et pratique*. Paris: Hachette, 1881, p. 17.

Dès le <sup>xix</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, l'utilisation des sens dans la pédagogie est loin d'être une pratique nouvelle. Cette notion de transmission d'un savoir éducatif pose problème car au nom de l'innovation on en oublie parfois les héritages et les pratiques éducatives. L'histoire du bureau typographique mise en avant par Marcel Grandière<sup>26</sup> confirme totalement cette observation. Son apparition rentre dans ce que cet historien appelle, dans le contexte de réflexion pédagogique du <sup>xviii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, «les nouveaux processus d'acquisition et de construction de connaissances».<sup>27</sup> Louis Dumas invente une nouvelle méthode qui s'appuie sur les techniques de l'imprimerie pour apprendre à lire et ce bureau se veut évolutif en fonction de l'âge de l'enfant mais également de la langue enseignée. Or, il est intéressant de noter, deux siècles plus tard, que dans les malles de lettres mobiles Montessori<sup>28</sup> pour apprendre à lire et à écrire, on retrouve un procédé identique sans que des liens directs de filiation ne soient établis. Avec cette méthode, par l'utilisation de l'objet<sup>29</sup> et une culture matérielle qui aident sans nul doute à repenser l'histoire de l'éducation autrement, on rentre bien au <sup>xx</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle dans un processus d'innovation pédagogique.

## 2. REPENSER LE CHAMP HISTORIQUE DE L'ÉDUCATION PAR LE PRISME DE LA CULTURE MATÉRIELLE

Les traces matérielles de l'école permettent aujourd'hui de mieux se représenter certaines pratiques, de mieux comprendre l'attitude des enseignants et de mieux cerner l'univers mental de l'élève et du maître à une époque donnée. S'intéresser à l'objet scolaire dans toutes ses dimensions (tableau, bibliothèque, préau...) conduit en ne perdant jamais de vue le fonctionnement éducatif, à s'intéresser à la fois à la fabrication, à la diffusion et à l'utilisation de l'objet dans le cadre d'un enseignement précis, sans oublier bien entendu les questions de sauvegarde et de valorisation de ces traces du passé. C'est ce qui a été partiellement esquissé dans le livre *Éducation et culture matérielle en France*

26 GRANDIÈRE, Marcel. «Louis Dumas et le système typographique, 1728-1744», *Histoire de l'éducation*, 81-1 (1999), p. 35-62.

27 *Ibid.* p. 35.

28 POUSSIN, Charlotte. «Chapitre III. Une proposition pédagogique alternative et révolutionnaire: la pédagogie scientifique», POUSSIN, Charlotte (Éd.). *La pédagogie Montessori*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2017, p. 78-118.

29 Voir aussi LEJARD, Morgane. *L'apprentissage de la lecture au <sup>xviii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle*. Pessac: Université de Bordeaux-Montaigne, 2020, 339 pages. Mémoire de M2 recherche, sous la direction de Marguerite Figeac-Monthus.

et en Europe du *XVI<sup>e</sup>* siècle à nos jours.<sup>30</sup> Parallèlement, si on s'en tient à l'architecture scolaire, les travaux d'Anne-Marie Châtelet, de Marc Le Cœur et de Marie-Claude Derouet<sup>31</sup> aident à mieux saisir l'environnement dans lequel vivaient maîtres et élèves. On pourrait ainsi, s'interroger sur la classe en tant que cadre d'organisation et d'innovation pédagogique, sur la construction des écoles et en considérant l'établissement comme un tout, mesurer son importance dans le bâti urbain, sa place auprès de la population locale. Ce sont tous ces aspects réunis qui entraîneront une réflexion sur l'utilisation pédagogique de la matérialité, avec une place à part faite au manuel scolaire.

### 2.1. *Les manuels scolaires*

À la fin des années 1970, dans un rapport pour l'INRP, Alain Choppin a montré pour la France tout l'intérêt de travailler sur le livre scolaire et en dévoile pour cela ses multiples facettes.<sup>32</sup> Il est selon lui intéressant à plus d'un titre: par son contenu, reflet de l'éducation du moment, par son existence en tant qu'outil pédagogique utile à la classe et cela en lien avec toute une série de méthodes d'apprentissage, par sa place dans l'économie en tant qu'objet fabriqué mais aussi en tant que «produit institutionnel» témoin de choix politiques et sociétaux.<sup>33</sup> À partir de là, bien des pistes étaient lancées et le livre scolaire allait devenir l'un des symboles d'une approche matérielle de l'éducation. Les publications dans des domaines différents devaient alors se multiplier et le manuel devait contribuer à la construction d'une culture scolaire.

En 2008, presque trente après, un des derniers articles d'Alain Choppin dresse le bilan d'une évolution en parlant de «fausses évidence historique».<sup>34</sup>

30 FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir). Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du *XVI<sup>e</sup>* siècle à nos jours. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015.

31 DEROUET-BESSON, Marie-Claude. «Architecture et éducation: convergences et divergences des conjonctures politique et scientifique», *Revue française de pédagogie*, vol. 115, n° 115, 1996; DEROUET-BESSON, Marie-Claude. *Les murs de l'école. Éléments de réflexion sur l'espace scolaire*. Paris: Métailié, 1998; CHATELET, Anne-Marie; LE CŒUR, Marc. *L'architecture scolaire: essai d'historiographie internationale*. Paris: INRP, 2005.

32 CHOPPIN, Alain. *Perspectives de recherche sur l'histoire du livre scolaire*. Rapport manuscrit INRP-SHE, (décembre 1979), 140 p.

33 CHOPPIN, Alain. «L'histoire des manuels scolaires. Une approche globale», *Histoire de l'éducation*, 9 (1980), p. 10.

34 CHOPPIN, Alain. «Le manuel scolaire, une fausse évidence historique», *Histoire de l'éducation*, 117 (2008), p. 7-56.

Que veut-il démontrer alors? Le marché étant à la fois domestique et institutionnel, les contenus étant variables dans le temps et dans l'espace, il souligne la difficulté que le chercheur a à définir le concept de manuel. En citant Antonio Petrus Rotger,<sup>35</sup> il conclut qu'il y aurait deux temporalités dans l'existence du livre scolaire, l'Ancien Régime et les XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles. Il montre ainsi la nécessité de contextualiser, de souligner à la fois l'importance du capitalisme, de la construction des États-nations et le souci de développer de nouvelles méthodes d'apprentissage<sup>36</sup> car les manuels ne seraient finalement qu'un abrégé du fonctionnement de la société.

D'autres recherches ont été menées en sciences de l'éducation et sciences du langage autour d'Henri Bruillard. Il publie en 2005, un ouvrage collectif qu'il dirige<sup>37</sup> dans lequel il fait le point et affirme: «En France, à part quelques historiens faisant des manuels leur objet d'étude principal, il était difficile de repérer des recherches véritablement centrées sur les manuels. On observait des approches inscrites dans les différentes didactiques disciplinaires et divers travaux en sciences de l'information et de la communication ou en psychologie».<sup>38</sup>

L'intérêt de ce livre collectif a été de montrer la grande diversité de recherches aux origines desquelles se trouvait le manuel scolaire, avec quatre axes choisis: le manuel et ses évolutions, la place du manuel dans certaines disciplines comme l'histoire et géographie, les sciences et les mathématiques, l'importance des images, la place faite aux femmes, la question des stéréotypes, la confrontation des regards en dehors de l'espace français. Depuis, les recherches d'Éric Bruillard se sont encore élargies puisqu'il a pu s'intéresser aux producteurs de ressources et aux plateformes en ligne. En effet, grâce à l'ANR ReVEA (ressources vivantes pour l'enseignement et l'apprentissage, site du projet), l'association IARTEM, les contrats avec le ministère de l'éducation et la direction du numérique éducatif (groupe de travail sur le numérique, GTnum6), toute une série de recherches ont pu être menées depuis le début du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>39</sup>

35 PETRUS ROTGER, Antonio. «Tecnología del libro escolar tradicional: diseño, iconografía y artes gráficas», ESCOLANO BENITO, Agustín (Dir.). *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España. Del Antiguo Régimen a la Segunda República*. Madrid: 1997, T. 1, p. 102-103.

36 CHOPPIN, Alain. *art. cit.* 2008, p. 56.

37 BRUILLARD, Éric. «Les manuels scolaires questionnés par la recherche», BRUILLARD, Éric (Dir.). *Manuels scolaires, regards croisés*. Caen: CRDP de Basse-Normandie, Documents, Coll. actes et rapports sur l'éducation, 2005, p. 13-36.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

39 Voir: <http://eda.recherche.parisdescartes.fr/ressources-educatives/> (consulté le 21/08/2020);



Parallèlement certains chercheurs ont essayé de remonter dans le temps, c'est le cas d'Annie Bruter qui en s'intéressant à l'histoire enseignée au Grand Siècle,<sup>40</sup> a pu découvrir une ressource intéressante, les «abrévés d'histoire».<sup>41</sup> On notera parallèlement des travaux plus spécifiques comme ceux d'Emmanuelle Chapron qui a souligné toute l'importance du livre à l'École royale militaire.<sup>42</sup> Elle met en avant en particulier à partir de 1776, la volonté d'uniformiser les connaissances en proposant des livres pédagogiques spécialisés. Au-delà, les travaux d'Emmanuelle Chapron montrent le rapport de l'enfant et de l'homme à «l'objet livre» qui est aussi un témoin du passé.

## 2.2. *L'objet témoin d'un passé*

Lorsque l'on évoque l'utilisation de l'objet au niveau de l'école une mise en relation est à effectuer avec le patrimoine et la mémoire qui appartiennent à la culture scolaire. C'est André Chervel, agrégé de grammaire, qui est le premier à en définir le concept en soulignant: «La culture scolaire à proprement parler, c'est toute cette partie de la culture acquise à l'école, qui trouve dans l'école non seulement son mode de diffusion mais aussi son origine».<sup>43</sup>

Et, dans cette culture scolaire, les objets ont bien entendu leur importance: le tableau, le manuel, la bibliothèque mais aussi la cour de récréation. Quand on s'intéresse à la culture matérielle, la culture scolaire va bien au-delà de l'enseignement des disciplines, elle concerne l'espace et le temps de la classe, l'attitude des enseignants et des élèves. Elle concerne tous les objets et toutes les valeurs à transmettre et se manifeste par des actes précis qui ont marqué une génération Ainsi, la leçon de choses, la récitation, la récréation, la punition, lever le doigt pour prendre la parole, réaliser des colliers de perles avec des

BRUILLARD, Éric. «Qu'est-ce qu'un logiciel éducatif? Quelques éléments de réflexion», *Les nouvelles technologies de communication et l'accès aux savoirs: quels paris pour l'avenir?*. Reims: IUFM, 1999; BRUILLARD, Éric; BARON, Georges-Louis. «Vers des manuels scolaires électroniques? Résultats d'une étude en mathématiques en classe de sixième», *Revue Sciences et techniques éducatives*, 5/4, 1998, p. 343-370.

40 BRUTER, Annie. *L'Histoire enseignée au Grand Siècle. Naissance d'une pédagogie*. Paris: Éditions Belin, coll. Histoire de l'éducation, 1997.

41 BRUTER, Annie. «Les abrégés d'histoire d'Ancien Régime en France (xvii<sup>e</sup>-xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles)», JADOULLE, Jean-Louis (Dir.). *Les manuels scolaires d'histoire: passé, présent, avenir*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 2005, p. 15.

42 CHAPRON, Emmanuelle. «Des livres pour l'usage de l'École royale militaire: choix pédagogiques et stratégies éditoriales (1751-1788)», *Histoire, économie & société*, vol. 33<sup>e</sup> année, no. 1 (2014), p. 3-16.

43 CHERVEL, André. *La Culture scolaire. Une approche historique*. Paris: Belin, 1998, p. 13.

nouilles, la kermesse, les bourses aux livres, appartiennent à la culture scolaire. Plus récemment, un certain nombre de pistes ont été lancées par Annie Renonciat et Michel Manson qui se sont intéressés aux liens qui pouvaient se tisser, à travers un objet, le livre de jeunesse, entre la culture matérielle et l'enfance, soulignant qu'il s'agissait d'une question neuve. Un livre de jeunesse qui occupe une grande place dans la bibliothèque scolaire. Cette étude de l'objet pourrait regrouper trois ensembles qui s'emboîtent parfaitement: les objets pédagogiques et le mobilier de la classe, la matérialité liée aux apprentissages, l'architecture et les espaces scolaires. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'énumérer toutes les études mais de prendre quelques exemples évocateurs. Le tableau noir a été étudié sous toutes ses formes par Sylvain Wagnon qui a montré combien depuis le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il impliquait une organisation spécifique de la classe. Il souligne en effet combien dès 1720, on utilise, avec le crucifix, les images pieuses, les bons points, des cartes murales qui sont en fait des tableaux, un matériel spécifique. Cela se renforce bien entendu au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle avec une réglementation définie sous la Seconde République et le Second Empire. Il faut attendre l'installation de l'école républicaine avec Jules Ferry pour voir en France l'établissement de listes plus précises comme celle qui se trouve dans les annexes de l'arrêté du 18 janvier 1887.<sup>44</sup> On peut également mettre en avant tous les éléments liés à l'enseignement technique dans le cadre des écoles nationales professionnelles. Stéphane Lembré souligne le rôle des ateliers qui reconstituent les conditions de travail de l'entreprise afin de réduire les préjugés des professionnels vis-à-vis des jeunes formés à l'école. Cela dénote des efforts des autorités républicaines pour mieux former aux gestes professionnels et techniques.<sup>45</sup> Mais ces objets, dont les études se démultiplient aujourd'hui, sont obligatoirement à relier à des pratiques pédagogiques, le meilleur exemple est peut-être celui des herbiers.

On a commencé à s'intéresser aux herbiers comme objets très tôt: en 1885, le docteur Jean-Baptiste Saint-Lager fait pour la revue des *Annales botaniques de Lyon*, une mise au point historique intéressante et assez exhaustive.<sup>46</sup> Le

44 WAGNON, Sylvain. «L'Histoire du tableau noir: pour une archéologie du quotidien de la classe», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 77-79.

45 LEMBRÉ, Stéphane. «Culture technique et culture matérielle: les écoles nationales professionnelles en France (1880-1940)», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 74.

46 SAINT-LAGER, Jean Baptiste. «Histoire des Herbiers», *Annales de la Société botanique de Lyon*, tome XIII, Notes et Mémoires, 1885-1886, p. 1-120.

Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle nous montre aujourd'hui l'importance des herbiers qui «qualifiés d'historiques représentent des ensembles précieux pour les chercheurs car ils témoignent de concepts de classifications particulières et contiennent de nombreux spécimens de référence (types)». <sup>47</sup> Mais il a existé une vraie pratique en classe et dans le cadre de la formation des maîtres. Cet objet éducatif a des intérêts multiples: l'herbier permet une meilleure connaissance des plantes, moyen d'apprentissage, il permet de mieux connaître l'environnement proche tout en étant une véritable œuvre d'art. On le retrouve aussi dans le contexte de la «leçon de choses» développée au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle pour un meilleur apprentissage des sciences. Peu d'historiens ont travaillé sur cette question et on est parfois obligé de faire appel à une approche transdisciplinaire. Ainsi, ce sont surtout les scientifiques qui se sont penchés sur ce type d'étude. <sup>48</sup> Par ailleurs, l'herbier est indissociable de la «leçon de choses» où, dès l'établissement de l'école Ferry et peut-être même avant (Frères des écoles chrétiennes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), on recommande d'enseigner avec les «choses» plutôt qu'avec des livres trop théoriques et déconnectés des réalités. Il s'agit de développer également un apprentissage par les sens et de donner à l'élève le goût de l'observation en l'entraînant dans une démarche inductive. <sup>49</sup> Johann-Günther Egginger a très bien montré à travers l'utilisation de la «chose» en classe toute l'importance de la matérialité dans l'enseignement scientifique. <sup>50</sup>

Cette matérialité peut se retrouver également à l'extérieur de la classe et revêtir des formes différentes. Deux aspects pourraient être dégagés: les espaces spécifiques d'une part, comme la cantine, le préau, le gymnase, la cour de récréation, les constructions scolaires d'autre part. Nous avons là des

47 Voir page d'accueil du site : <https://www.mnhn.fr/fr/collections/ensembles-collections/botanique/herbiers-historiques> (consulté le 22/08/ 2020).

48 LIGER MARTIN, Jocelyne; VALQUE REDDÉ, Isabelle. «L'herbier, un objet patrimonial, scientifique et scolaire», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 275-293; KAHN, Pierre. «L'enseignement des sciences de Ferry à l'éveil», *Les sciences de 2 à 10 ans*, ASTER, n° 31 (2000), p. 9-35.

49 KAHN, Pierre. *La leçon de choses. Naissance de l'enseignement des sciences à l'école primaire*. Ville-neuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2002, p. 171-176; LEBEAUME, Joël. *L'enseignement des sciences à l'école. Des leçons de choses à la technologie*. Paris: Delagrave, 2008.

50 EGGINGER, Johann-Günther. «Matérialité de l'enseignement des sciences naturelles à l'école: de la chose en classe à un objet de collection muséale, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 294-312.

matérialités qui ne sont pas nécessairement pédagogiques mais qui ont un intérêt pour l'approche du milieu éducatif.

L'essor de la restauration scolaire, si elle apparaît de manière privée avant, ne se développe véritablement en France qu'à partir des lois Ferry (1880). Elle est liée bien souvent à l'hygiénisme et au bien-être de l'élève et la plupart du temps à une volonté de contrôle en particulier des boissons, Didier Nourisson a beaucoup travaillé sur ces aspects.<sup>51</sup> Jean-François Condette a également montré pour les lycées ce lien existant entre l'hygiène et cette importance grandissante, du Second Empire à la Belle Époque, des mesures pour améliorer le quotidien des élèves dont les repas font partie.<sup>52</sup> Dans sa thèse, Séverine Parayre a montré toute cette importance de l'hygiène.<sup>53</sup> À cela on peut ajouter les éléments concernant la santé des enfants dans un cadre scolaire étudié de manière approfondie pour Bordeaux par le Docteur Bernard Allemandou.<sup>54</sup>

À côté de ces éléments à la limite de la matérialité, la cour de récréation commence aujourd'hui à intéresser les chercheurs. Dès 2001, la publication de la thèse de Julie Delalande montre toute l'importance de cet espace qui a fait l'objet,<sup>55</sup> à la suite d'une journée d'études organisée par Caroline Barrera, d'une belle publication en 2016.<sup>56</sup> On y découvre un espace très varié qui accueille aussi bien des exercices de gymnastique que des cérémonies diverses. Ce n'est pas un espace neutre réservé seulement à la détente des élèves. Elle est le symbole d'une matérialité qui se veut aussi mémorielle à l'occasion de la traditionnelle photo de classe de début d'année. Tout cela nous permet de pénétrer un univers, celui d'une époque et d'un lieu.

51 NOURRISSON, Didier. «Les films fixes de santé: des documents pédagogiques riches d'enseignement», DOUGUET, Florence; FILLAUT, Thierry; SCHWEYER, François-Xavier (Dir.). *Image et santé. Outils, usages*. Paris: Presse de l'École des Hautes Études en Santé Publique, 2011, p. 159-172; FREYSSINET-DOMINJON, Jacqueline; NOURRISSON, Didier, «L'École face à l'alcool», *Histoire de l'éducation*, 127 (2010), p. 139-140.

52 CONDETTE, Jean-François. «Le régime du minimum de soins? État matériel des lycées et vie des élèves (1860-1900)», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 249-273.

53 PARAYRE, Séverine. *L'hygiène à l'école. Une alliance de la santé et de l'éducation (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Saint-Étienne: Presses de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2011.

54 ALLEMANDOU, Bernard. *La santé des enfants au cœur de la politique locale Bordeaux 1789-1989*. Talence: Maison des sciences de l'homme d'Aquitaine, 1999.

55 DELALANDE, Julie. *La cour de récréation. Contribution à une anthropologie de l'enfance*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001.

56 BARRERA, Caroline (Dir.). *La cour de récréation, Portet-sur-Garonne*. Toulouse: Éditions Midi-Pyrénéennes, 2016.

Mais, l'élément essentiel qui permet de mettre en avant la matérialité scolaire ce sont les constructions même si sur plusieurs siècles ces dernières ont été amenées à se transformer. Les travaux d'Anne-Marie Châtelet et de Marc Le Cœur ont pu mettre en évidence cette importance de l'école qui s'installe progressivement dans la ville ou dans les villages et qui devient avec devises et symboles, l'émanation d'une affirmation républicaine.<sup>57</sup> Les vagues de construction, les incendies comme celui de Pailleron à Paris (xix<sup>e</sup> arrondissement) en 1974, attestent de transformations liées aux métamorphoses d'une société. Au-delà, il y a toujours eu sur la longue durée, du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours, une réflexion menée sur l'espace scolaire<sup>58</sup> qui conduit parfois à l'utiliser à des fins pédagogiques.

### 2.3. À la recherche de l'utilisation de la matérialité

Les travaux de Véronique Castagnet-Lars<sup>59</sup> ont montré combien culture matérielle de l'école, culture scolaire et pédagogie pouvaient être mêlées. Elle interroge la culture matérielle de l'école à travers l'éducation au patrimoine sous l'angle de la transmission des savoirs, du développement des apprentissages et de l'acquisition des connaissances. Ainsi, plusieurs aspects apparaissent. Tout d'abord le fait d'utiliser des objets ou des documents patrimoniaux pour enseigner, faire passer un message qui peut être civique. Les archives marines, les herbiers, certains dictionnaires peuvent être des éléments de connaissance du passé et des méthodes pédagogiques. Ensuite, on peut choisir le document patrimonial parce qu'il est beau, parce qu'il peut être exemplaire, on peut s'interroger sur son statut, sur la place par exemple de l'imagerie scolaire et sur les

57 CHÂTELET, Anne-Marie. *La naissance de l'architecture scolaire. Les écoles élémentaires parisiennes de 1870 à 1914*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999; LE CŒUR, Marc; CHÂTELET, Anne-Marie. «L'architecture scolaire. Essai d'historiographie internationale», *Histoire de l'Éducation*, mai 2004; LE CŒUR, Marc. «L'architecture et l'installation matérielle des lycées», CASPARD, Pierre; LUC, Jean-Noël; SAVOIE, Philippe (Dir.). *Lycées, lycéens, lycéennes. Deux siècles d'histoire*. Paris: INRP, 2005, p. 263-376.

58 CHÂTELET, Anne-Marie. «L'architecture scolaire», CONDETTE, Jean-François; FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Sur les traces du passé de l'éducation... Patrimoines et territoires de la recherche en éducation dans l'espace français*. Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, p. 60; FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite. *Les enfants de l'Émile. L'effervescence éducative de la France au tournant des XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Berne: Peter Lang, 2015, p. 103-129.

59 CASTAGNET-LARS, Véronique (Dir.). *L'éducation au patrimoine: de la recherche scientifique aux pratiques pédagogiques*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, coll. «Éducation et didactiques», 2013.

idées qu'elle est susceptible de diffuser. On découvre qu'il existe un patrimoine éducatif qui atteste d'un passé qui peut être utilisé. Mais on apprend aussi que l'enseignant peut aussi éduquer au patrimoine.

En fait, en ce qui concerne la matérialité scolaire deux aspects apparaissent, sa découverte d'une part pour mieux comprendre un passé éducatif, son utilisation d'autre part pour rendre ce passé palpable. Ainsi, Baptiste Jacomino a souligné combien certaines pédagogies à l'instar de celle diffusée par Célestin Freinet, conduisent à un aménagement scolaire spécifique.<sup>60</sup> Parallèlement, Renaud d'Enfert dans un article récent sur «Matérialité(s) de la culture scolaire en Europe, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle»<sup>61</sup> établit un lien avec la culture scolaire et essaie de dégager des temporalités différentes: les années 1800-1850 où sous l'influence de l'enseignement mutuel en vogue à cette époque-là, des objets, à l'instar des tableaux, des gravures..., sont utilisés, puis en 1830/50-1920 où sous l'influence du développement de l'industrie, de l'innovation pédagogique, de l'hygiénisme, les espaces se transforment, le matériel se modifie, et enfin, «un espace scolaire renouvelé» à partir de 1920, où l'on s'affranchit alors des normes pour laisser place à des aspects plus innovants. Les XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles laissent apparaître une temporalité mais on s'aperçoit que sur le long terme, à partir du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle les objets très présents par exemple dans l'enseignement jésuite mais aussi dans celui des frères des écoles chrétiennes, contribuent à l'innovation pédagogique. Les plans d'éducation en sont les témoins.

Renaud d'Enfert souligne très bien ce lien susceptible d'être établi entre l'objet, son utilisation dans la classe et les fabricants, avec des constructeurs d'instruments scientifiques qui restent en France sous étudiés,<sup>62</sup> et ce, malgré les expositions organisées par le Musée National d'Histoire de l'éducation à Rouen.<sup>63</sup> Il montre aussi combien le lien du matériel pédagogique avec l'enseignement des disciplines est intéressant et combien il peut nous donner des

60 JACOMINO, Baptiste. «Que peuvent apporter des structures matérielles souples? Penser l'espace scolaire et son aménagement avec Freinet», FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018, p. 325-336.

61 <https://ehne.fr/article/education-enseignement-et-formation/du-local-au-global-circulations-educatives/materialites-de-la-culture-scolaire-en-europe-xixe-xxe-siecle> (consulté le 24 août 2020)

62 D'ENFERT, Renaud. «Les objets de l'école, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles. Une approche matérielle de la culture scolaire», CONDETTE, Jean-François; FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Sur les traces du passé de l'éducation... Patrimoines et territoires de la recherche en éducation dans l'espace français*. Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, p. 161.

63 <https://www.reseau-canope.fr/musee/fr/connaitre/les-collections.html> (consulté le 24 août 2020).

éléments sur l'évolution des pratiques pédagogiques. Les photographies constituent pour cela des documents précieux, elles nous permettent de voir comment l'objet pouvait être utilisé dans le cadre de la classe.<sup>64</sup>

Au total, les aspects patrimoniaux, mémoriels et le rapport à l'objet en histoire de l'éducation est en France une question assez neuve. Elle montre que l'instrument pédagogique ne peut pas être étudié pour lui-même, que le contexte est important et qu'il est nécessaire de croiser les données. En France, la culture matérielle peut-être approchée grâce au Musée National de l'Éducation qui se trouve à Rouen, par les musées privés, par les fonds anciens des établissements scolaires et universitaires, par les Archives municipales, départementales, nationales. Beaucoup d'éléments ont été détruits, la conservation est un véritable problème et les recherches sur ces thématiques restent nécessaires.

Par ailleurs, quelles que soient les formes de sources et quelles que soient les démarches, le regard critique reste important et l'historien se trouve à la fois, quand il aborde ces questions, dans le présent et dans le passé. La culture matérielle en situation d'éducation implique, et est reliée au patrimonial et au mémoriel. Ces derniers éléments apportent beaucoup, tout en laissant apparaître un certain nombre limites: ce ne sont jamais des sources neutres et il est nécessaire de les confronter à d'autres.

Les trois formes de patrimoine décrites en introduction, réceptif, transmissif et fabriqué, alliées aux aspects mémoriels, nous aident à mieux comprendre les fonctionnements éducatifs passés. L'historien, le sociologue, le philosophe, le linguiste, le littéraire en se servant de la mémoire et du patrimoine comme d'une source, en la critiquant et en la croisant avec d'autres, parviennent à mieux comprendre certains phénomènes éducatifs passés, à s'intéresser à leur insertion dans la société et à mieux saisir la place des objets éducatifs dans et à l'extérieur de la classe. Le seul problème qui se pose à nous aujourd'hui, c'est que cette matérialité de l'école que l'on perçoit à travers le patrimonial et le mémoriel reste fragile. Elle contribue néanmoins à identifier une culture scolaire donnant du sens à certaines pratiques pédagogiques et au métier d'enseignant, il ne faut pas pour toutes ces raisons qu'elle sombre dans l'oubli.

63 <https://www.reseau-canope.fr/musee/fr/connaitre/les-collections.html> (consulté le 24 août 2020).

64 D'ENFERT, Renaud. *art. cit.*, in CONDETTE, Jean-François; FIGEAC-MONTHUS, Marguerite (Dir.). *Sur les traces du passé de l'éducation... Patrimoines et territoires de la recherche en éducation dans l'espace français*. Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, p. 160.

TEMA MONOGRÀFIC

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# History of education in Greece: towards a new material culture of education?

## *Història de l'educació a Grècia: cap a una nova cultura material de l'educació?*

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### RESUM

A Grècia, l'orientació cap als models d'Europa Occidental, no solament del sistema educatiu, sinó de l'Estat grec en el seu conjunt, és molt fort. La imitació dels paradigmes europeus no es va produir per la seva eficàcia, sinó per l'absència a l'Estat grec de l'existència d'una teoria i una pràctica educativa tradicional i autònoma. En aquest marc, la «cultura material de l'educació» a Grècia segueix sent un camp inexplorat en els estudis històrics de l'educació, amb un grapat d'excepcions. Però aquests esforços no es van incorporar en un enfocament sistemàtic dels estudis històrics de l'educació. No obstant això, la cultura material de l'educació a Grècia ha tingut un paper crucial en l'elaboració dels programes escolars. Un paradigma de la cultura material de l'educació ofereix l'hermenèutica del material d'arxiu inèdit, en part amb fotos, en part amb informació sobre els edificis escolars i els alumnes de l'illa de Quios.

PARAULES CLAU: Grècia, història de l'educació, cultura material.



## ABSTRACT

In Greece the orientation towards Western European models not only of the educational system, but of the Greek state as a whole, is very strong. The imitation of European paradigms, didn't take place due to their efficiency, but rather due to the absence in the Greek state of an existing traditional and autonomous educational theory and practice. In this framework the material culture of education in Greece remains an unexplored field in the historical studies of education, with a handful of exceptions. But these efforts were not embedded in a systematic approach in the historical studies of education. Nevertheless material culture of education in Greece has played a crucial role in the development of school curricula. A paradigm of material culture of education offers the hermeneutic of unpublished archival material, partly with photos, partly with information on school buildings and pupils in the island of Chios.

KEY WORDS: Greece, history of education, material culture.

## RESUMEN

En Grecia, la orientación hacia los modelos de Europa Occidental no solamente del sistema educativo, sino del Estado griego en su conjunto, es muy fuerte. La imitación de los paradigmas europeos no se produjo por su eficacia, sino por la ausencia en el Estado griego de la existencia de una teoría y una práctica educativa tradicional y autónoma. En este marco, la «cultura material de la educación» en Grecia sigue siendo un campo inexplorado en los estudios históricos de la educación, con un puñado de excepciones. Pero estos esfuerzos no se incorporaron en un enfoque sistemático de los estudios históricos de la educación. Sin embargo, la cultura material de la educación en Grecia ha desempeñado un papel crucial en la elaboración de los programas escolares. Un paradigma de la cultura material de la educación ofrece la hermenéutica del material de archivo inédito, en parte con fotos, en parte con información sobre los edificios escolares y los alumnos de la isla de Quíos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Grecia, historia de la educación, cultura material.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In Greece the orientation towards Western European models not only of the educational system, but also of the Greek state as a whole, is very strong.

The constitution of the Greek educational system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century provided for a wide range of ideas originating from the European enlightenment and the post-enlightenment era, such as the idea of perfectibility of mankind through the power of education, combined with the ideal of the ancient Greek period, dominated by its «great» past and its memory. In the same line, lies the necessity to transform Greece into a modern western European state. Under the influence of new-humanism, the reconstruction and preservation of the ancient Greek culture everlastingly dominates the content and the goals of education. Within this framework, education is aiming not only at transmitting «knowledge» but also at improving man to be «humane», to be a «responsible citizen», who could and should be moulded to a morally perfect being through education. The imitation of European paradigms, didn't take place due to their efficiency, but rather due to the absence in the Greek state of an existing traditional and autonomous educational theory and practice.<sup>1</sup> In this context the «material culture of education» in Greece remains an unexplored field in the historical studies of education. This, by no means implies that the material culture of education in Greece is unknown. On the contrary, it has played a crucial role in the development of school curricula. Nevertheless these efforts were not embedded in a systematic approach in the historical studies of education. In fact, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century we notice only a handful of publications, which refer to a material culture in schools.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: THE ALLELODIDACTICAL SCHOOL

In 1830 Ioannis Kokkonis, a Greek educator, published the *Reader for the Allelodiclactical Method*, a study on the implementation of didactical media in primary schools. This type of Greek monitorial school, the so called *Allelodiclactical* school, is the leading paradigm of Greek primary school in the 19<sup>th</sup>

1 TZARTZAS, Georgios. *Schule im gesellschaftlichen Umbruch. Die Entwicklung des modernen griechischen Bildungswesens (1833-1862)*. Münster-New York-München-Berlin: Waxmann, 1988.

2 See: BURKE, Catherine; CUNNINGHAM, Peter; GROSVENOR, Ian. «“Putting Education in its Place”: Space, Place and Materialities in the History of Education», *History of Education*, 39/6 (2010), p. 677-80; VAN GORP, Angelo; SIMON, Frank; DEPAEPE, Marc. «The school desk: from concept to object», *History of Education*, 40/1 (2011), p. 97-117; DI MASCIO, Anthony. «Material Culture and Schooling: Possible New Explorations in the History of Canadian Education», *Material Culture Review*, 76 (2012), p. 82-92.

century. School furniture and didactical material is the medium of educating, disciplining and shaping Greek pupils through the domestication of the body. The *Allelodidactic School*, is an adaptation of the model of French monitorial school, and in particular of the method developed by Charles Louis Sarazin,<sup>3</sup> who followed himself the method of Joseph Lancaster (1805).<sup>4</sup> Monitorial schools in Greece were established even prior to the war of independence against ottoman rule in 1821. Nevertheless, the first systematic attempt to organize monitorial schools took place in the period of Capodistrias, the first Governor after the war of independence. The new method was a translation of Sarazin's book *Manuel des écoles élémentaires ou exposé de la méthode d'enseignement mutuel* by Ioannis Kokkonis, a scholar of him, and became the single authorized school method in 1830 with the declaration 1032/12.7.1830<sup>5</sup> or simply the "Reader" (Οδηγός) and was reprinted and edited several times. The most important editions were that of 1842 and 1860.<sup>6</sup> The new method was introduced by the *Model School* in Aegina, founded by Capodistrias and which was attended by pupils and future school teachers. Consequently, the monitorial school dominated the educational system in Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.

The *Allelodidactical* school, played a crucial role in the formation of Greek pupils. Under this system, concepts like time and space, observation and the encoding of body movements, were placed into the center of teaching practice. It is precisely the implementation of these processes, the detailed methodological techniques, the hierarchical observation, the control of the body, assisted by school equipment and furniture, the regulation of class space, as well as the examinations and the regulation of time, which rendered effective these strategies towards a particular type of pupil. Thus, the monitorial school

3 SARAZIN, Louis-Charles. *Manuel des écoles élémentaires, ou Exposé de la méthode d'enseignement mutuel*. Paris: Colas, 1829.

4 LANCASTER, Joseph. *Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrious classes of the community containing, among other important particulars, An Account of the Institution for the Education of one thousand poor children*. London: Darton & Harvey, 1805.

5 «Official Government Gazette», No. 68, 1830. This book became known as: *The Reader for the Allelodidactical Method* (Εγχειρίδιον διά τὰ Αλληλοδιδασκτικά Σχολεία ή Οδηγός Αλληλοδιδασκτικής Μεθόδου... υπό Σαραζίνου).

6 KOKKONIS, Ioannis. *Reader for the Allelodidactical Method, new* (Εγχειρίδιον ή Οδηγός Αλληλοδιδασκτικής Μεθόδου νέος). Athens: N. Papadopoulou, 1842; KOKKONIS, Ioannis. *Reader for the Allelodidactical Method, new, edited* (Εγχειρίδιον ή Οδηγός Αλληλοδιδασκτικής Μεθόδου νέος, τελειοποιημένος και πληρέστερος του μέχρι τούδε εν χρήσει Οδηγού του Σ.). Athens: Ch. Nikolaidou, 1860.

gradually became an institution of learning, of supervision, of hierarchisation and reward with the aim to register, domesticate and normalize the pupil's bodies in order to increase their performance and efficiency. In order to achieve this, the school made use of the hierarchical observation or hierarchical eyesight, the normalising judgment, the punishment in addition to the exams and the regulation of time and space.

It is obvious that the *Reader* describes in detail everything about the monitorial school. The selection of the school place, the architecture of the school-house and the schoolroom, the playground (school court), the hygiene places, the equipment of the school class, the school desk and the school methods, the day program are all determined and described in every detail<sup>7</sup>. No changes are permitted and so this method gets a dogmatic character. Any detail of the teaching method is regulated in such a way that the teacher took only a regulative role.

The monitorial school was separated in eight classes and the pupils were divided according to their knowledge, which means that there was no correspondence between school class and age and so pupils could participate in more than one class. Teaching was assigned to the monitors, who were the best pupils, as far as their knowledge or behaviour were concerned. The monitors were separated in several categories according to their function. So they were called general monitors, part monitors or monitors for dictation, explanation, etc. In the monitorial school the teacher had only the role of the supervisor.

The discipline of the body transpired by mechanisms, which allowed for the continuous observation of the pupil, where nothing, even the slightest detail could not escape from the *pedagogical eyesight*, as a source of protection and truth. At first, the body became a subject of study and after that, the docile body of the pupil became transparent, domesticated, functional and useful. The monitorial school functioned as a mechanism of learning, which kept pupils always busy. With the support of a code system of orders aimed to domesticate the body and to focus the power in order to achieve the goal. In this way the observation and the control of the pupil were the main characteristics of the didactic method, which aimed at the increased efficiency of the pupil. With the subordination of the body the discipline of the pupil was achieved.

7 ΚΟΚΚΟΝΙΣ, Ιωάννης. *Reader for the Allelodiactional Method* (Εγχειρίδιον διὰ τὰ Ἀλληλοδιδασκτικά Σχολεῖα ἢ Ὁδηγὸς Ἀλληλοδιδασκτικῆς Μεθόδου...ὡπὸ Σαραζίνου). Aegina: Ethniki Typografia, 1830.

In the monitorial school the architecture plays a crucial role, because the discipline depended on the observation, the *hierarchical eyesight*. First of all, the school had to be built within the community but not close to a busy street, so that the principle of the isolation would not be followed always. The architecture of the schoolhouse followed two principles. Firstly, there must be a complete division between the inside and outside. So, the playground should be surrounded by a high wall, which did not allow the contact of the inner-with the outer space. Secondly, the inner space must be characterized from transparency, to allow the observation of the inner space and the control of the pupil. The schoolhouse should be a rectangular with high walls, and their measures depended on the pupils, because every pupil had to occupy a strict space. The schoolhouse had high windows, which allowed the air to transfer, according to the hygiene of the time, which assumed that dirty air was dangerous and transmitted diseases. The high windows separated the inner- from the outer space, since the eye contact was not possible. On the contrary, the inner space was always transparent. The teacher's desk was high and allowed the complete control of the school class through the *pedagogical eyesight*. The same strategy followed the hygiene places. The toilets were constructed in such a way and they had doors that permitted the teacher to observe the foot and the head of the pupils, but they had high sidewalls, which did not allow the eye contact between the pupils.

The enclosure, or the isolation, in combination with the «plotting» of the body and the separation of the individual in the space allowed the appearance of a new mechanism of classification and controlling, that is the *series*. In this hierarchisation belonged also the pupils with the final aim the absolute control of the children's body and their urge for movement. The Reader focused this principle in the phrase «each place for one thing and everything in its place» (*Εἰς τόπος διά καθέν πράγμα καί καθέν πράγμα εἰς τόν τόπον του*).<sup>8</sup> In a political level, this culminated in the Panopticism of Bentham, which allowed the perfectibility of the power mechanism and the escalation of the efficiency.

The punishment was an important aspect by the discipline of the pupil. Anything that was escaping from the rules, did not fulfil the intended goal and could not be adapted to the social model, became an aim of the disciplinary

8 ΚΟΚΚΟΝΙΣ, Ioannis. *Reader for the Alleloddidactical Method* (Εγχειρίδιον διά τὰ Ἀλληλοδιδασκτικά Σχολεῖα ἢ Οδηγός Ἀλληλοδιδασκτικῆς Μεθόδου...υπό Σαραζίνου). Aegina: Ethniki Typografia, 1830, p. 31.

system, intending the limitation, correction and the restriction of deviation. The punishment and the reward were the means for the adjustment, formation, harmonisation and the homogenisation. The consequence of this classification was the evaluation in good and bad behaviour of the pupil. In the *Reader* there was a detailed report on all the types of punishment, such as report, blame, humiliation, etc., as well as of reward,<sup>9</sup> developing a complicated system of symbols and in an *economy of numbers*.<sup>10</sup>

The exam is also an important aspect of the disciplinary system and of the monitorial school, because it combined the hierarchical observation with the punishment. The exam functioned as a mechanism of supervision which led to the acquisition of capacities and on other hierarchies and punishments, creating a transparency in the pupils that takes a ritual form.<sup>11</sup> The exam, which is at same time hierarchisation and punishment, combined a certain form of power with a particular form of knowledge. The power was incorporated in the exams, because it captured the pupil in an «objective» mechanism of evaluation, which hid exactly this power. The exam is the core of those procedures which regards the pupil as product and object of power and knowledge. So, with the help of the exam, the greatest use of power was achieved, as well as time, the continuous increasing of capacities, the hierarchy and finally the choice. In this framework, the *Reader* provided for every lesson several exams beyond the regular exams of the school law of 1834, which established the Greek primary education.

Finally, a key role in the discipline of the pupil was time. This development influenced the monitorial school where with the help of new methods sought for the registering, accumulation, dominance and efficiency of time. In this procedure, helpful methods which derived from the military practice, the military discipline and later were adopted in educational practices. So, time was divided in small unities, which had continuity but different goals. Every unity ended with an exam, which led to the next unity. These unities got organized in more complicate and connected unities, in series, where every individual

9 ΚΟΚΚΟΝΙΣ, Ioannis. *Reader for the Alleloddidactical Method, new, edited* (Εγχειρίδιον ή Οδηγός Αλληλοδιδασκτικής Μεθόδου νέος, τελειοποιημένος και πληρέστερος του μέχρι τούδε εν χρήσει Οδηγού του Σ.). Athens: Ch. Nikolaidou, 1860, p. 71.

10 FOUCAULT, Michel. Überwachen und Strafen. Die Geburt des Gefängnisses. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977, p. 233.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

had a certain position which depended on his level and hierarchy. The school program of the monitorial school reflected this picture and every movement of the pupil was strictly regulated on time. Exactly this regulation of time allowed the intervention of power and their dominance on body and time. With the organization of time, social rules, models and power relationships got incorporated. The monitorial school played a crucial role in these procedures because children learnt time rules as rules and in this way learnt new form of discipline, and capacities of work and forms of rationality.<sup>12</sup> In particular, linear time dominated already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century life and was closely connected with the idea of progress and development.<sup>13</sup> The irreversibility of time, which means not only the temporary nature of man itself but even of nature and universe led to the phenomenon of shortage of time. Subsequently, the acceleration of life, of progress and of the development of humanity seems to have a possible answer to the acceleration of time itself.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. 21<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: FRAGMENTS OF A MATERIAL CULTURE OF EDUCATION

After this first initiative, which took place outside of any theoretical framework, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there followed a long period of research work lacking research in the field of material culture of education. This period of the Greek education, in particular the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is not adequately documented, because of the lack of research material. In this context it would be very challenging and demanding to reconstruct a «monumenta graeca paedagogica» and a Greek pedagogical paradigm, as it happened in Germany or in Italy.<sup>15</sup> Only in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries a few new publications were released. Noteworthy is the research work on *Girl's education and instruction, Greek considerations (1830-1910)*

12 GEBAUER, Gunter; WULF, Christoph. *Mimesis. Kultur, Kunst, Gesellschaft*. Reinbeck: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1992.

13 KAMPER, Dietmar; WULF, Christoph. *Im Schatten der Milchstraße*. Tübingen; Konkursbuchverlag, 1981; STING,

14 WULF, Christoph. «Lebenszeit: Zeit zu leben? Chronokratie versus Pluralität der Zeiten», KAMPER, Dietmar; WULF, Christoph (Eds.). *Die Sterbende Zeit. Zwanzig Diagnosen*. Darmstadt und Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand, 1987, p. 266-275.

15 MEDA Juri. *I «Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica» e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2019.

(*Εκπαίδευση και Αγωγή των κοριτσιών. Ελληνικοί προβληματισμοί*) in 1987 by Eleni Fournaraki.<sup>16</sup> In her documentary work, she analyzes the woman education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, based on archival material, which also includes a very short photographic material. However, this interesting research work, did not represent a paradigm of material culture of education. Likewise, is the *School buildings in primary schools, 1821-1929 (Τα σχολικά κτίρια της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης)* in 1988 by Eleni Kalafati.<sup>17</sup> She examines, based on archival and photographic material, the role of school buildings as a basic instrument to create a national educational policy and a nationwide teaching method in primary schools. In this framework the aspect of architecture and space in primary schools is of key importance. In *The Alleloddidactical Method in 19<sup>th</sup> century in Greece (Η αλληλοδιδασκτική μέθοδος διδασκαλίας στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα)* from 1992, Lydia Papadaki demonstrates the teaching principles of this method, used in the Greek Alleloddidactical School in 19<sup>th</sup> century and the way in which it influenced the primary school.<sup>18</sup> Iosif Solomon, in his *Power and order in new Greek schools. A typology of school places and praxis 1820-1900 (Εξουσία και Τάξη στο Νεοελληνικό σχολείο. Μία τυπολογία των σχολικών χώρων και πρακτικών)* from 1992, analyses effectively the connection between school spaces and praxis with the power mechanisms in Greek schools and the Greek society of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> The same author together with Gerasimos Kouzelis in *Discipline and Knowledge (Πειθαρχία και Γνώση)* in 1994, refer to disciplining mechanisms in primary schools and the connection between power mechanisms and knowledge in the classroom.<sup>20</sup> Georgios Tzartzas follows a similar approach on his *Alleloddidactical school in service at the disciplinary society (Το Αλληλοδιδασκτικό Σχολείο στην υπηρεσία*

16 FOURNARAKI, Eleni. *Girl's education and instruction, Greek considerations (1830-1910). An Anthology (Εκπαίδευση και Αγωγή των κοριτσιών. Ελληνικοί προβληματισμοί)*. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth, 1987.

17 KALAFATI, Eleni. *School buildings in primary schools, 1821-1929 (Τα σχολικά κτίρια της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης)*. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth, 1988.

18 PAPADAKI, Lydia. *The Alleloddidactical Method in 19<sup>th</sup> century in Greece (Η αλληλοδιδασκτική μέθοδος διδασκαλίας στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα)*. Athens: Giannina, 1992.

19 SOLOMON, Iosif. *Power and order in new Greek schools. A typology of school places and praxis 1820-1900 (Εξουσία και Τάξη στο Νεοελληνικό σχολείο. Μία τυπολογία των σχολικών χώρων και πρακτικών)*. Athens: Alexandria, 1992.

20 SOLOMON, Iosif; KOUZELIS, Gerasimos. *Discipline and Knowledge (Πειθαρχία και Γνώση)*. Athens: Society for the Study of the Human Sciences, 1994.



της πειθαρχημένης κοινωνίας), published in 2003, analysing the application of educational media and power mechanisms in order to form a new type of pupils in Allelodidactical Schools.<sup>21</sup> This type of monitorial school plays a crucial role with respect to the aim of disciplining, forming and normalizing Greek pupils. In these processes, concepts like time and space, observation and the encoding of bodily movements, move to the center of teaching practice. It is just the domestication of these processes, the detailed methodological techniques, the hierarchical observation, and the control of the body, assisted by school equipment and appliance and the regulation of class space, the normalizing judgment, the exams and the regulation of time, which finally make effective these disciplinary strategies. In this way, the Allelodidactical school becomes an institution of learning, of supervision, of hierarchisation and reward with the aim to register, to domesticate, to normalize the pupil's body and consequently to utilize him, to increase his performance and efficiency.

However, these studies don't consider school media and praxis as an important source of producing cultural characteristics. Max Liedtke<sup>22</sup> demonstrated exemplary, how institutional school influence the production of the Western «Sitting Society».<sup>23</sup> According to Liedtke school media, desks, books and architecture, the teacher's «cathedra», played a crucial role in these processes. In this context it is interesting to consider the development of educational museums in Greece. In the last two decades educational museums have been created or reorganized in Greek Universities and foundations, providing a new perspective by researching material culture of education. Educational museums are not only oriented to preserve the cultural inheritance related to education, but even to explore material culture of education. It is relevant here to mention

21 TZARTZAS, Georgios. *The Allelodidactical school in service at the disciplinary society (Το Αλληλοδιδασκτικό Σχολείο στην υπηρεσία της πειθαρχημένης κοινωνίας)*. Patras: University of Patras, 2003.

22 LIEDTKE, Max. «Der Platz für Schüler: Verlaufsformen in der Entwicklung der schulischen Sitzmöbel», *Zeitschrift für Museum und Bildung*, 60 (2004), p. 84-91; LIEDTKE, Max. «Der Platz für Schüler. Kulturethologische Aspekte in der Entwicklung der schulischen Sitzmöbel», HELLER, Harmut (Ed.). *Raum – Heimat – fremde und vertraute Welt. Entwicklungstrends der quantitativen und qualitativen Raumansprüche des Menschen und das Problem der Nachhaltigkeit*. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2006, p. 217-241.

23 Also EICKHOFF, Hajo. *Sitzen: Eine Betrachtung der bestuhlten Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Broschert-Anabas, 1997.

the *Museum for Education of the University of Athens* (Μουσείο της Παιδείας),<sup>24</sup> the *Museum for Education of the University of Patras* (Μουσείο Εκπαίδευσης), the *School Life Museum of Chania* (Μουσείο Σχολικής Ζωής),<sup>25</sup> the *School Life and Education Museum* (Μουσείο Σχολικής Ζωής και Εκπαίδευσης) in Athens. In particular is to refer the *School History Museums & Collections and Teachers Profession* (LSRHETP) at the University of Crete (Κέντρο Μελέτης και Έρευνας της Ιστορίας της Εκπαίδευσης και του Διδασκαλικού Επαγγέλματος) a newly founded Center by Antonis Hourdakis, an educational historian at the same University. Its aim is to explore the concept of historical culture both at the level of relations with the educational past and its dealing and the level of its acquired and mediated meanings with the present. Thatfore, focuses on the research and study of past school education and the development of the Teaching Profession, during the later period of the Greek history as well as the historical education of future teachers. Combining space and time, archival material and school equipment, is giving an excellent paradigm of material culture of education in Greece.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. THE EDUCATION COUNCIL AND ITS ARCHIVE: A NEW PARADIGM

In this framework, it is interesting to disclose a photographic archival material, which is part of the national *Archives of Ministry of Education*, archived by the Center of Education Research, which is now the Institute of Educa-

24 GELADAKI, Sonia. «University-Based Museums of Education: The Pedagogical Dimension of Re-viving the Educational Past», *4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of History of Education. University of Patras, 6-8 October 2006* (available at: <http://www.eriande.elemedu.upatras.gr/eriande/synedria/synedrio4/praktika1/geladaki.htm>; last access: 08.12.2020); GELADAKI, Sonia; PAPADIMITRIOU, Giota. «University Museums as Spaces of Education: The Case of the History of Education Museum at the University of Athens», *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 147 (2014), p. 300-206.

25 DRAKAKI, Maria. *School Life Museum of Chania* (available at: [https://skolehistorie.au.dk/fileadmin/skolehistorie/Abstract\\_Maria\\_Drakaki\\_School\\_Life\\_Museum\\_Greece](https://skolehistorie.au.dk/fileadmin/skolehistorie/Abstract_Maria_Drakaki_School_Life_Museum_Greece); last access: 08/12/2020).

26 HOURDAKIS, Antonis; KARRAS, Konstantinos; POLYZOU, Angeliki; SUKA, Marina. «School History Museums & Collections and Teachers Profession: the example of the Laboratory for the Study and Research of the History of Education and Teachers' Profession (LSRHETP) at the University of Crete, Greece», *Sølska kronika / SchoolChronicle*, 3 (2019), p. 404-420; KARRAS, Kostas G.; CALOGIANNAKIS, Pella; ELEFTHERAKIS, Theodoros. «Challenges facing school museums in a time of globalization and digitization, the case of the museum of education of the University of Crete, Greece», *18<sup>th</sup> Symposium for School Museums and History of Education Collections «Challenges for the school museums and history of education in a time of globalization and digitization»*. Emdrup, Copenhagen, 3-5 July 2019 (available at: [https://skolehistorie.au.dk/fileadmin/skolehistorie/Abstract\\_Kostas\\_G.\\_Karras\\_University\\_of\\_Crete\\_Greece](https://skolehistorie.au.dk/fileadmin/skolehistorie/Abstract_Kostas_G._Karras_University_of_Crete_Greece); last access: 08/12/2020).

tional Research, in Athens. The main part of this archival material contains the proceedings of the *Education Council* (*Εκπαιδευτικό Συμβούλιο*), from 1928 until 1958. The *Education Council*, an institution of the Greek Ministry of Education, was the supervising body of the Primary and Secondary Education. It was established on 1914 and emerged from the unification of the following institutions, the *Local Supervising Council for Primary Education* (*Τοπικών Εποπτικών Συμβουλίων της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης*) established on 1895, the *Supervising Council for Secondary Education* (*Εποπτικών Συμβουλίων της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης*) established on 1905 and the *Central Supervising Council for Primary Education* (*Κεντρικού Εποπτικού Συμβουλίου της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης*) established on 1911. The new established *Education Council* took over their tasks and other supplementary work. It was divided in two sections, in that of Primary and of Secondary Education, and had as a main function the organization, governance and supervision of Primary and Secondary Education. The efforts of the *Education Council* to improve quality in education are of key importance. The analysis of this archival material indicates the influence of New Education at the beginning of the 20th century in Greece, in particular in the second and third decade. In this period we observe a strong effort to reform Greek education system, to establish and to build new schools, to improve teacher training and school programs through new educational methods, to define the standards for the production of new school books and their selection, to produce new school curricula, to prepare new school laws and decrees for education matters, to promote teachers' careers, to discipline teachers and pupils.<sup>27</sup> In this framework, vital questions emerged, such as, in what extent ideas from Progressive Education are introduced in the Greek educational system and how strongly it influenced the development of Primary and Secondary Education or if one could speak for a «pedagogic turn» in Greece. The main thesis of this analysis is that here more is planned than a simple educational reform. Moreover, it is an attempt to create a new image of the teacher and the pupil through a new anthropological approach of educational matters. Furthermore, the fact that in 1930 several of the five board members of the *Educational Council* have studied in Germany at the

27 TZARTZAS, Georgios. «The Education Council and the educational policy of E. Venizelos (*Εκπαιδευτικό Συμβούλιο και η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική του Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου*)», *Proceedings of Conference for the educational policy in the period of Eleftherios Venizelos*, Athens: Hellenika Grammata, 2007, p. 375-386.

begin of the 20s, such as Miltos Kountouras and Maria Amariotou, who returned in Greece in 1926 and were appointed in important governmental posts, support this thesis.

These educationalis were influenced by the German progressive education, which at that time reflected new educational processes. The goal of the progressive education was the production of a new type of pupil and was based on a education «from the child» and «for the best of the young man» as well as on autonomy, rationality, individuality, democracy and not least on the child's own experience. It is a new paradigm, standing in opposition to Herbart's normative pedagogy. A new «feeling of life» led to new types of school, such as the *Activity School* of Kerschensteiner and Gaudig, (*Arbeitsschulbewegung*), the *Country Boarding Schools* (*Landerziehungsheime*), and the *Artistic Awakening* (*Kunsterziehungsbewegung*). It is exactly this period of the anthropologic turn in humanistic studies in Germany, influenced by Helmuth Plessner (1928), Hermann Nohl (1929), Max Scheler (1929) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1958) in the late 20's (Tzartzas, 2007).<sup>28</sup>

The progressive education in Greece forms part of a general claim on democratic progress and the development of Greek society. It should be noted that the Greek educational system until the present-day is characterized by an endless reform and counter reform and a continuous antagonism between an antiquated ancient Greek tradition and a realistic and democratic approach of educational matters. Therefore the Greek eminent Educators and the most important representatives of *demoticism*, that is the democratic reorganization of education, participate in this attempt to reform the Greek school system. The new ideas stand in opposition to the educational tradition in the country, which was dominated by Herbart and his pedagogy. The Herbartianism, as a closed normative system of knowledge, was introduced in Greece on 1880 and was exclusively the one and only used educational method in Greek schools. The Greek educational system follows a new path, avoiding the normistic

28 PLESSNER, Helmuth. *Die Stufen des Organischen und der Mensch*. Berlin und Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1928; SCHELER, Max. *Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1929; NOHL, Hermann. «Pädagogische Menschenkunde», NOHL, Hermann; PALLAT, Ludwig (Eds.): *Handbuch der Pädagogik*, Bd. 2. Langensalza: Beltz Verlag, 1929, p. 51-75; DILTHEY, Wilhelm. *Die geistige Welt. Einleitung in die Philosophie des Lebens. Abhandlungen zur Grundlage der Geisteswissenschaften*. Stuttgart-Göttingen: Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft-Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1958; TZARTZAS, Georgios. «The Education Council and the educational policy of E. Venizelos (*Εκπαιδευτικό Συμβούλιο και η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική του Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου*)», *Proceedings of Conference for the educational policy in the period of Eleftherios Venizelos*. Athens: Hellinika Grammata, 2007, p. 375-386.

pedagogic system of Herbart, with its monolithic and pure mimetic way of ancient Greek tradition. Consequently, the compulsory school includes all classes of the primary school, the educational standards in secondary education were achieved, new measurements were taken for vocational and woman education, new curricula were developed according to the educational needs. The improvement of teacher training was effective, which made the teacher role efficient and more influential in school policy. The feeling is, that there was an effort to produce a new image of teachers characterized by rationality and reflexivity, teachers who get involved in the educational process. Reports to *Education Council* from supervisors in primary and secondary education, confirm this thesis. These reports describe errors, inaccuracies, faults, punishments and other activities in schools. They indicate a clear idea of the microcosmos in school, the daily effort of teachers to improve educational processes, pupil's behavior in the school, and their everyday life in country, in a small town or in a village. Moreover, they mirror the society and its structure, their hopes and fears, they show us not an ideal image of a teacher but a realistic one in their daily life in school. The *Education Council* intends to replace the old image with a new one and to create a new, democratic school, characterized by the educational relationship between teacher and pupil, functioning not only as a place of learning, but even more as a place connected with the society.<sup>29</sup>

A paradigm of material culture of education offers the hermeneutic of the above mentioning archival material. It contains an album of unpublished material, partly with photos, partly with information on school buildings and pupils in the island of Chios from 6<sup>th</sup> April of 1955 until the 31<sup>st</sup> December of 1960. The album was created by Spyros Chondrogiannis, a school inspector in the district of Chios, and includes 32 photos or architectural designs from school buildings.

This little photographic archive demonstrates the efforts, which are made to improve the quality in education through the construction of new buildings in the island of Chios. The photos document the improvements in terms of numbers, like the pupil's population or the construction of new school buildings, mainly by donators, local or immigrants in America, and by governmental assistance. In the following appendix the whole documental material is presented.

29 TZARTZAS, Georgios. «The Education Council and the educational policy of E. Venizelos... Op. cit.

## 5. EPILOGUE

In the last two decades in Greece, we observe various publications particularly in the field of didactic media or in the implementation of new technologies in primary and secondary education. But these researches are not embedded in the field of historical studies in education and often follow commercial interests. Publication in this field remains rare and we cannot notice a systematic approach. Consequently, it is more than questionable to reach the conclusion that we observe the rise of an innovative trend or even a Material Turn in the historical studies in education in Greece.

Moreover, the systematic efforts of educational historians in Greece, as paradigmatic indicated above, have the responsibility to explore the material history in education, to stimulate a historical turn in Greece and to visualize its contents through a new, systematic and innovative interpretation of historical materials.

## APPENDIX

ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ ΧΙΟΥ.		
ΔΙΑΔΗΤΗΡΙΑΚΗ ΚΙΝΗΣΗ		
Από 6 <sup>η</sup> Σεπτεμβρίου 1955 μέχρι 31 <sup>ης</sup> Δεκεμβρίου 1960.		
Επιβλεπτής Σπ. ΧΑΝΔΡΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ.		
Αντιστάσεις Διδασκασίων		
6/ετία	2/ετία	1/ετία
1. Γ' Βροντάδου	1. Δασκάντες	1. Ρυγώνημαν
2. Οίνουσεων	2. Βαθύλων	2. Τρυπών
3. Θ' πόλεως Χίου	3. Ζυγιά	3. Μυρμηγκιάς
	4. Μπαρμπανιάς	4. Επτοπέδων
	5. Χαμπίων	5. Διεοκίων
	6. Καταράκτου	6. Χοινηές
	7. Κουρουνίων	7. Φλατειών
	8. Πιτυούδων	8. Μελενιού
	9. Βασιλειωτίκου	9. Έγχορδων
		10. Νένητοριων
		11. Αφροδιτείων
		12. Χαλκιδέων
		27 11.31

Fig. 1

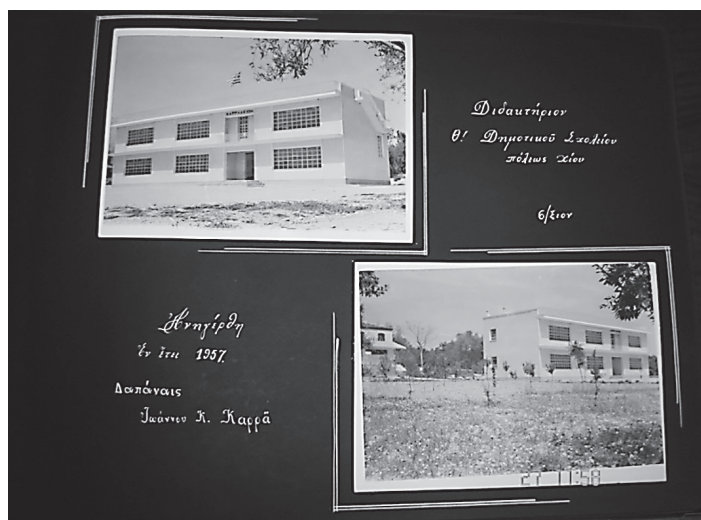


Fig. 2

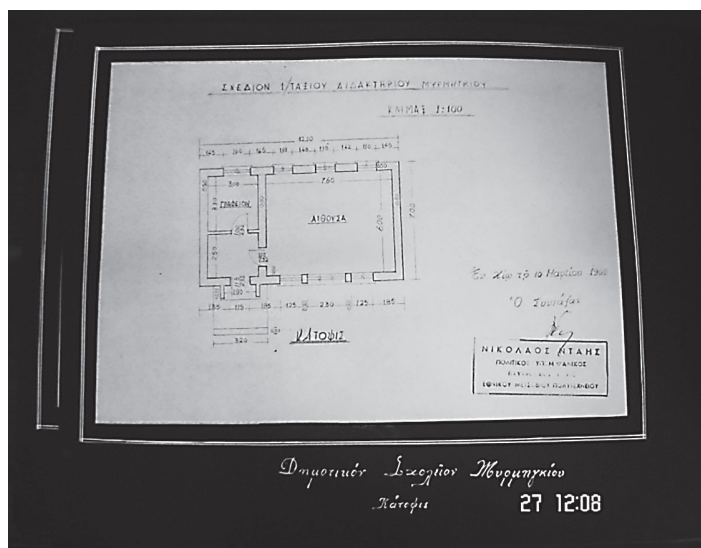


Fig. 3





Fig. 4

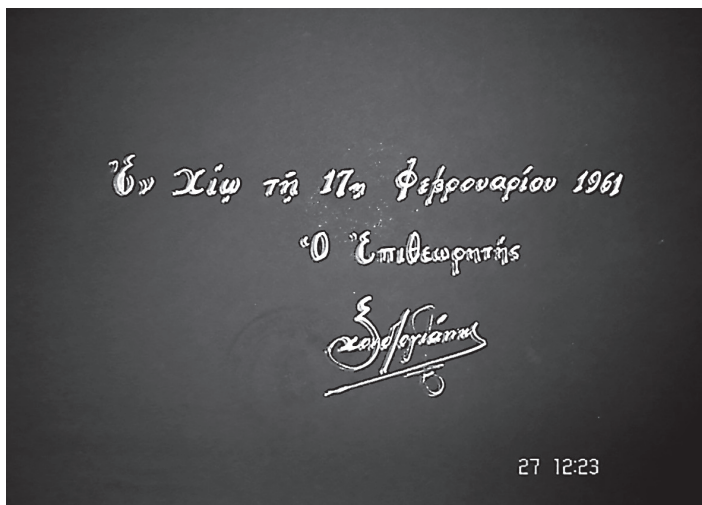


Fig. 5



INFORMACIÓ SOBRE ELS AUTORS DELS ARTICLES  
*INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES*

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