

PROOF COVER SHEET

Journal acronym: CPDH

Author(s): Myriam Southwell

Article title: Schooling and governance: Pedagogical knowledge and bureaucratic expertise in the genesis of the Argentine educational system

Article no: 744063

Enclosures: 1) Query sheet
2) Article proofs

Dear Author,

1. Please check these proofs carefully. It is the responsibility of the corresponding author to check these and approve or amend them. A second proof is not normally provided. Taylor & Francis cannot be held responsible for uncorrected errors, even if introduced during the production process. Once your corrections have been added to the article, it will be considered ready for publication.

Please limit changes at this stage to the correction of errors. You should not make insignificant changes, improve prose style, add new material, or delete existing material at this stage. Making a large number of small, non-essential corrections can lead to errors being introduced. We therefore reserve the right not to make such corrections.

For detailed guidance on how to check your proofs, please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/checkingproofs.asp>

2. Please review the table of contributors below and confirm that the first and last names are structured correctly and that the authors are listed in the correct order of contribution. This check is to ensure that your name will appear correctly online and when the article is indexed.

Sequence	Prefix	Given name(s)	Surname	Suffix
1		Myriam	Southwell	

Queries are marked in the margins of the proofs.

AUTHOR QUERIES

General query: You have warranted that you have secured the necessary written permission from the appropriate copyright owner for the reproduction of any text, illustration, or other material in your article. (Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/permission.asp>.) Please check that any required acknowledgements have been included to reflect this.

AQ1	Please rewrite or clarify ‘Inspectors were concerned with how teaching methods could answer the problems stemming from actually operating schools. It was not through the renewal of teaching as we understand it in the twentieth century, but by establishing predictable and generalised methods that could be easily controlled.’
AQ2	Please rewrite or clarify ‘The mechanisms described were also absorbing forms of representation of the state in a wide variety of functions competing with other social actors such as religious institutions and family. It meant creating a new local institutional network – no longer associated to international organizations such as the Church – to order and regulate exchanges between people in a new way.’
AQ3	Please rewrite or clarify ‘ To avoid a long numeration, refer to Claudia Freidenraij’s systematisation’

How to make corrections to your proofs using Adobe Acrobat

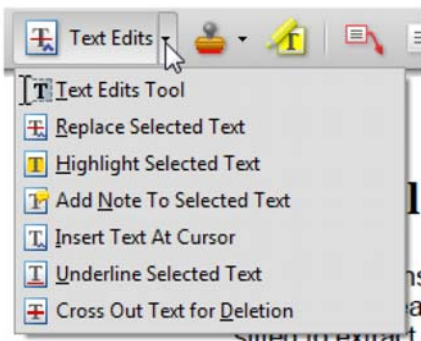
Taylor & Francis now offer you a choice of options to help you make corrections to your proofs. Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can edit the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. This is the simplest and best way for you to ensure that your corrections will be incorporated. If you wish to do this, please follow these instructions:

1. Save the file to your hard disk.
2. Check which version of Adobe Acrobat you have on your computer. You can do this by clicking on the "Help" tab, and then "About."

If Adobe Reader is not installed, you can get the latest version free from <http://get.adobe.com/reader/>.

- If you have Adobe Reader 8 (or a later version), go to "Tools" / "Comments & Markup" / "Show Comments & Markup."
- If you have Acrobat Professional 7, go to "Tools" / "Commenting" / "Show Commenting Toolbar."

3. Click "Text Edits." You can then select any text and delete it, replace it, or insert new text as you need to. If you need to include new sections of text, it is also possible to add a comment to the proofs. To do this, use the Sticky Note tool in the task bar. Please also see our FAQs here: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/index.asp>.



4. Make sure that you save the file when you close the document before uploading it to CATS using the "Upload File" button on the online correction form. A full list of the comments and edits you have made can be viewed by clicking on the "Comments" tab in the bottom left-hand corner of the PDF.

If you prefer, you can make your corrections using the CATS online correction form.

Schooling and governance: Pedagogical knowledge and bureaucratic expertise in the genesis of the Argentine educational system

Myriam Southwell*

School of Educational Sciences, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina; Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación

5

(Received 15 August 2012; final version received 23 October 2012)

The consolidation of the Argentine Federal Government by the 1870s aimed to modernise local society, establish state institutions and reach political stabilisation. Building a modern schooling system articulated both utopia and bureaucracy by establishing the use of knowledge as an instrument of social intervention, vindicating and legitimising the concept of rational control. This approach established the formal and material bases for the constitution of a field of pedagogical knowledge on one hand, and a field of bureaucratic knowledge on the other. These two fields approached the articulation of regulating devices of the educational system in distinctive ways. While normalist pedagogical knowledge involved a set of instructions on schooling, the bureaucratic knowledge of inspectors resulted in regulation of the schooling process.

10

15

Keywords: Schooling; pedagogical knowledge; bureaucratic expertise; governance; inspectors

20

When focusing on the origins of the Argentine educational system we tend to be dazzled by its positivistic pedagogical outcome and its forceful centralising regulations and requirements as the main sources shaping school practices. However, this perspective does not take into account that in the early 1870s, a process of progressive differentiation of two fields of knowledge was in evidence in the developing educational system. The creation of normal schools and the enactment of the National Subsidies Act in 1897 – which authorised the national funding of public education in the provinces – were two simultaneous processes that embodied the formal and material foundations for pedagogical knowledge on the one hand, and bureaucratic expertise on the other. Furthermore, these two types of knowledge involved different modes of articulating the educational system’s regulatory devices. The aim of this article is to analyse the complex interaction of these two fields of knowledge in a period (the late nineteenth century) in which the federal government was most actively creating rules and regulations applicable to the schooling process.¹

25

30

35

*Email: islaesmeralda@gmail.com

¹This article takes up part of a previous paper written in collaboration: M. Southwell and M. Legarralde, “Saber Pedagógico y Saber Burocrático en los Orígenes del Sistema Educativo Argentino” presented at the Congreso Iberoamericano de Historia de la Educación, SAHE, Buenos Aires, 2007.

2 M. Southwell

5 While on the one hand, normal school pedagogical knowledge implied a set of regulations regarding classroom and school procedures, the bureaucratic knowledge of the inspectors of the National Council led to regulations about the governance of provincial educational systems and the schooling process.

10 The differentiation and articulation between these fields of knowledge places the creation of the National Council at a crossroads of three trends: the more general process of formation of the federal government, the establishment of government agencies to regulate civil society and the design and implementation of classrooms and school devices. In this regard, this article accounts for the simultaneous process of differentiation and imbrication of these two fields of knowledge when monitoring school structures and practices in the building of the Argentine educational system.

15 Modern educational systems were constituted through a systematisation process,² through which the widely scattered practices and institutions articulated around the idea of Nation or organisations such as religious orders were transformed into an educational system which articulated institutions of different levels and modalities and had a regulatory body providing orientation and cohesion. Certainly, a telling aspect that suggested a qualitative change in this process was the configuration of an administrative structure for educational institutions, as well as stable and institutionalised circuits providing training for their own teachers.

20 From the formal point of view, at least three pressing issues encouraged the establishment of these structures and institutions: the federal issue, the relationship between state and civil society and the distinction between bureaucratic and pedagogical knowledge. In this article, I will introduce the first two and analyse the third issue, as reflected in the contents of the reports of national inspectors³ on topics such as the construction of knowledge on teaching, teachers, schools and governance of educational systems.

The federal issue

30 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the provincial elites of Argentina focused on the institutionalisation of a new project for organising the national education system. Section 5 of the National Constitution enacted in 1853 stated that each province was responsible for the provision of educational services at the primary level, as a way of ensuring the federal system. The responsibility of supporting primary education was thus conferred to the provincial states.

35 This constitutional mandate for primary education transformed the relationship between national and provincial political powers into a central issue concerning the training of officials and teachers. In this setting of dissimilar articulation of educational proto-systems and intermingled jurisdictions, the organisation of the first councils of school system administrators and the training of the first officially certified teachers took place. A legal framework for elementary education laid the

²Detlef K. Müller, Fritz Ringer, and Brian Simon, *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³This material is available because those reports were published in full in the *Monitor de la Educación Común*, official journal of the National Council of Education, which was first published in 1881.

foundation for the national system of school governance between 1870 and 1890.⁴ With the enactment of the National Subsidies Law, Provincial Commissions were charged with administrating the resources allocated by the federal government (always referred to as the “national” level in Argentina, in spite of the constitutional adoption of the federal regime) and determining the performance of national inspectors in the provinces under their jurisdiction. The distribution of responsibilities between the national level and the provinces then gained effective strength. Nevertheless, between 1871 and 1881, the National Subsidies Law framed a transfer of funds without establishing effective control mechanisms. In 1881 effective measures were finally taken to assure the national control of provincial education.⁵

During the first stage of the process of systematisation, inspectors seemed to concentrate on a survey conducted to find out the material situation of schools by registering building conditions, available resources and hygiene.⁶ The limited role given to inspectors was mainly due to the heterogeneity of the school system at a time when schools were barely beginning to be built, districts employed unlicensed teachers and diverse school techniques and devices coexisted, as observed in the reports.

In 1870, the first Normal School was founded in the city of Paraná, paving the way for a period of creation of normal schools aimed at training teachers for an expanding educational system. The national government created, supported and regulated these schools, even though they trained teachers who were to work in provincial schools. The complex governance of the educational system was partly constituted by this sort of intersection of jurisdictions. Both the regulation of the provincial educational systems by means of grants set by the Subsidies Law and the regulation of normal schools provided the national government with structuring and regulating mechanisms that went beyond the federal rationale of the educational system. The organisation of the state was then structured around a set of attributions that were often the object of debate and argument between the national government

⁴The Common Education Law of the Province of Buenos Aires was enacted in 1875; it was one of the most significant background aspects of the national Common Education Act 1420. During the following 20 years, common education decrees and legislation were enacted in all the provinces: Córdoba (1888 provincial decree and 1896 Law); Catamarca (1882, Law); Corrientes (1886, Law); Entre Ríos (1886, Law); Mendoza (1872, Law); Jujuy (1885, Law); La Rioja (1875, Law); Salta (1886, Law); San Juan (1884, Law); San Luis (1883, Law); Santiago del Estero (1887, Law); Santa Fe (1887, Law); Tucumán (1883, Law).

⁵In 1882, Argentine President Julio Argentino Roca passed a decree that established a new regulation for the national subsidies scheme.

⁶The information which the Inspector was expected to collect referred to the characteristics of the *locality*, extension and sanitation of the terrain and the lot occupied by the building, its position in relation to the core of the population and the difficulty or ease of access to class attendance; *capacity* in relation to the number of children attending classes, which also included a diagram showing the distribution of every building compartment; *building and sanitary conditions*, comparing them to the norms for school architecture; *surrounding gardens or open spaces*; *public or private property*, mentioning – in case of public property – the municipal, provincial or national participation. Inspectors were also asked to discover whether teachers had or did not have teaching degrees, the source of school funding and its purpose, issues concerning the furniture, kitchenware, curriculum, school rules, school records if kept by the teacher, existence of libraries and teaching methods. See Inés Dussel, “Pedagogía y burocracia. Notas sobre la historia de los inspectores,” *Revista Argentina de Educación* 13, no. 23: 55–82.

4 M. Southwell

5 and the provinces, both in relation to the governance of educational systems and to school practices.

10 In this way, Argentina, and South America at large, did not significantly differ from the previous experience of other countries,⁷ where it was possible to transcend religious and regional peculiarities only after a long period of time. Centralised states organised these institutions, laying the foundations for the development of education on a national scale with an internal differentiation and functional articulation, as evident in the English, French and German systems towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁸ But at the same time, the consequences of state intervention should not be overestimated. Actions taken by the state led to the institutionalisation of the modern educational system, and the establishment of infrastructure. The state controlled the increasingly ordered development of the education process; however, it did not determine this process. Research suggests that the image of an overpowering state-controlled system, organising educational institutions according to plans, monitoring them under statutory provisions and regulating them in order to achieve certain political and social objectives, should give way to a much more nuanced perspective.⁹

The eyes and soul of the federal government

25 Domingo F. Sarmiento's work (1811–1888) includes doctrinal formulations that marked the formation of the Argentine educational system and its administration.¹⁰ In *Educación Popular*, Sarmiento explored the French, German, Dutch and North American cases, and presented insights on educational governance. In this report, after introducing a political definition of the meaning of popular education and its conceptual scope, Sarmiento devoted two chapters to addressing the subject of governance of the educational system.¹¹ The first of them, “De la renta: (Revenues), was devoted to financing models for funding school systems. The second one was devoted to “Inspección de las escuelas” (school inspection).

35 Sarmiento's analysis of systems for funding public education sparked ideas about the distribution of responsibilities between the federal state and local communities. Based on his concern with the need for a community to value the role of its local school, Sarmiento argued that educational financing should acknowledge the local community's will to add to the resources allocated by the state to support schools. Concurrently, this was thought to result in each community being able to express its demands concerning the school system.

⁷See, for example, Andy Green, *Education and State Formation. The Rise of the Educational Systems in England, France and the USA* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1990).

⁸Müller, Ringer, and Simon, *The Rise of the Modern Educational System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Sarmiento's vast work exercised a great influence on the development of the federal governments and the educational systems in Latin America. His influence was projected from his work as a teacher, legislator and president into other positions. His publications combine a conceptual view of educational action with the formulation of public policies. An example of this is the book *Educación popular* (1849) – quoted extensively in this article – which starts as a report for the government and becomes a treaty on educational policy, ranging from discussions on educational funding to the practice of grammar at school.

¹¹Domingo F. Sarmiento, *De la educación popular* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta de Julio Belin i Compañía, 1849).

As analysed in the cases of Canada¹² and Mexico,¹³ among others, in the early twentieth century,¹⁴ a permanent tension emerged between the local and federal levels, where national inspectors developed their own projects although they represented a centralised mandate, while provincial inspectors developed projects bound to urgent local concerns.

The City Council, a place where the community expressed itself on local matters, played a role in debating on the provision of schooling. It expressed the dimension of the social need for education and determined the efforts that the community would devote to achieving this goal. Even though the role of the local community was determined by its participation in financing these schools, it is clear that its actions went well beyond the allocation of resources. Another element included in this scheme was the provision of schools and delimitation of school districts, which in fact established “local communities” where there had been none before:

... It is the school district which, like the parish, divides the country in particular jurisdictions around each school, so that the parents included in its boundaries may adhere to its school, call it theirs, because it is in their neighbourhood; they support it at their own expense and their children, their relatives, friends and neighbours' children attend it. The annual taxpayers' meeting is held in the same terms; it is formed by the same individuals: it is a small republic, or a small congress, deliberating, no longer about public interests that often did not affect those involved very seriously, but rather about domestic, personal business.¹⁵

Thereby, a societal model was configured for making decisions about the administration, expansion and development of the school system. It involved first, a division of the demographic and social spaces in school districts,¹⁶ then the formation of Councils at each district level reporting on local needs and demands, and committing to meeting them to the extent made possible by collective decisions. Finally, the state supported them in terms of ensuring a minimum degree of common education for the entire school-age population. Concurrently, as the other side of this model, Sarmiento identified the need to create a specialised body of inspectors for monitoring school activities.

The creation of special entities for inspecting primary education is therefore evident. Teaching is then a simple branch of the administration, such as the police, justice, revenues, spread through a chain of officials that reaches every place of the State, and is concentrated in groups and categories leading to the head of State, which imposes direction and motion. Inspecting schools belongs to that genre of functions that, besides including the functions inherent to councilmen that every citizen is compelled to perform, partakes of professional functions requiring special skills from those who

¹²Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

¹³Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); Susana Quintanilla-Mary Kay Vaughan, *Escuela y sociedad en el periodo cardenista* (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997).

¹⁴Elsie Rockwell, *Hacer escuela, hacer estado: la educación posrevolucionaria vista de Tlaxcala* (México: El Colegio de Michoacán – CIESAS – CINVESTAV, 2007).

¹⁵Sarmiento, *De la educación popular*, 99.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 101.

perform it. The individual who is going to examine an establishment is obviously expected to have the same professional enlightenment as those he inspects (...). Parents, municipal authorities, literate or influential neighbours may judge the teacher's morality, punctuality and daily attendance, as well as the results of these qualities, or lack of them, on children's development and behaviour; but not even delegates from universities or other learned people may be judged as absolutely competent for the inspection of primary education, if they do not add to their ordinary knowledge the special knowledge of teaching inherent to the teachers' own competence.¹⁷

The Argentine school system had its own particularities in comparison with other countries. In the case of Spain, by 1849, many local committees were not even functioning, or only met sporadically. Thus, the emerging educational administration lacked specific territorial agents until the creation of the primary education inspectorate in 1849; even then, the small number of inspectors – only one per province – and the difficulties they faced when travelling and visiting schools in the province contrasted sharply with the expectations placed on this body. The Argentine inspectorate mirrored the one created in France 14 years earlier, in 1835, where – unlike in Spain – a group of sub-inspectors were assigned to assist performance of the tasks entrusted to the body.¹⁸

Community participation in the governance of the school system, built around the school, was to be followed by another regulatory mechanism of a very different nature. Here, expertise based on practice led to the formation of a highly specialised skill. The creation of an inspectorate was deemed essential in order to bring federal state policies to all institutions, and it was not a task that could be performed by any other actor. For this reason, the inspectors required greater professional skills than those assigned to a bare administrative role.

Several studies¹⁹ have analysed the debates on community participation in school management and the limits to federal intervention in education. Those arguments triggered tensions between the democratising rhetoric invoked as the foundational basis of the District School Councils and a series of institutional practices that subordinated these councils to the National Council of Education or to the provincial head bodies. These conflicts, and the at times difficult relationship between the state jurisdiction and the federal government (and their interrelation with civil society), offer interesting reflections on the institutional practices displayed within the schooling process.

Forms of knowledge production

Just as it gradually came to be required that teachers holding a position in the educational system, which was in the process of formation and stabilisation, should be certified by normal schools, there was also a concern that national inspectors should be graduates of normal schools. In this sense, normal schools became the institutional headquarters for the training of specialised staff throughout the entire

¹⁷Ibid, 107.

¹⁸Antonio Viñao Frago, *Sistemas educativos, culturas escolares y reformas. Continuidades y cambios* (Madrid: Morata, 2002), 16.

¹⁹To avoid a long numeration, refer to Claudia Freidenraij's systematisation, "Entre la administración general y el gobierno inmediato. Los conflictos en torno al gobierno escolar. Buenos Aires, 1875-1905", *Historia de la Educación Anuario* 11 (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación-Prometeo, 2010), 93–116.

system, from the classrooms to the National Council of Education. However, this was not an automatic process. Several studies²⁰ outline the struggle to repopulate all schools in the emerging educational system with graduates from normal schools.

Likewise, the type of knowledge and the forms of discursive production used by actors in different areas were not homogeneous. Yet, at the same time, along with institutional specialisation, territorial dispersion and the ever-increasing complexity of the institutions, a progressive differentiation of at least two forms of knowledge developed within the educational system: pedagogical knowledge and bureaucratic knowledge. This differentiation became particularly evident in the opinions that different actors had on the central topics of the schooling process – that is, on schools, teaching and teachers.

The reports of national inspectors that examined the development of the schooling process followed a format with a series of aspects. One of them was teachers' training and performance, as well as the quality of their teaching. Analysis of these documents offers examples of inspectors' interventions, including their exchanges with governors, claiming of resources for school support, design and development of regulations, plans and syllabi, dialogue with teachers and even door-to-door student recruitment.

As shown below, the extent and limits of federal state intervention were at stake under the watchful eye of the inspectors. While national subsidies enabled the payment of teachers' salaries, evaluations of teaching performance meant thorough intervention in the educational system. In contrast to the educational governance in the provinces, the instructions included in the Subsidies Law and its regulations did not provide accurate definitions of teaching performance. Actually, they only indicated the need for a survey of teachers' professional certifications. However, in this matter as well as in others, national inspectors exceeded this limited goal and assessed teaching quality, teachers' training, methods and other issues. The presence of both bureaucratic and pedagogical knowledge in these reports, and the distance between the inspectors' performance and the norms of the federal government, may be seen in the following example. Before the enactment of Act 1420 (a law passed in 1884 that enshrined elementary education as free, secular and compulsory), a debate was opened among inspectors regarding the need to enact legislation on compulsory education. In this regard, most reports from the years 1881, 1882 and 1883 on the issue agree on the difficulties of implementing such legislation, taking into account the precarious process of schooling in the provinces.

Is it so vital to pass legislation that it is impossible to comply with, given the state of affairs in the country, and whose tools that are not going to be available in a long time? There are not enough buildings, nor ware, nor school supplies, nor money to teach the pupils that voluntarily attend school today, in spite of the fact that the current quality of teaching does not really attract them. The urgency to improve teaching is infinitely greater, so we can guarantee that the same lesson is taught everywhere. (...) Good teaching will be more attractive and more fruitful than the violence

²⁰Pablo Pineau, *La escolarización de la provincia de Buenos Aires (1875–1930). Una versión posible* (Buenos Aires: Edic. del CBC-FLACSO, 1997); Daniel Pinkasz, "Escuelas y desiertos: hacia una historia de la educación primaria de la Provincia de Buenos Aires," in *La Educación en las Provincias y Territorios Nacionales (1885–1945). Historia de la Educación en la Argentina* Tomo IV, ed. Adriana Puiggrós (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1993): 13–58.

8 *M. Southwell*

of a law that would be unfair to apply due to the factual impossibility of enforcing it, either on an individual basis or a community basis.²¹

5 This discussion not only focused on the quality of the schooling offered, but also
on the mechanisms through which the schooling process should be extended. We have
already mentioned that the activity of national inspectors, especially in the 1880s,
10 focused on measuring the evolution of schooling in the country and, in that way, on
the production of a series of objects related to the formation of a school system. But it
is also possible to find a series of thoughts about the way in which this school system
should recruit its population. Mistrust in compulsory education arose from the fact
15 that schools themselves did not attract students due to their precariousness. With the
exception of some institutions, mainly in districts with normal schools, the rest of the
schools seemed to always be on the verge of having to force pupils to attend school.

Even with the enactment of Act 1420, and with legislation stating compulsory
education in most provinces, in 1887 it was necessary to appeal for personal
recruitment:

20 I invited the local inspector and the priest to visit neighbours' homes and together we
demanded them to send their children to school. The result of these visits was that we
were able to bring 14 children to school and register them, adding up to 30 when
we consider the existing 16 students. Out of the 14 children, 6 were already on the list
but 8 were not. Someone told us: they will never return after you leave. The local
inspector and you should stay here to avoid that – we answered.²²

25 This mechanism seems to have been exceptional in the consolidation of school
routines. However, it reveals the penetration of the position of inspector, and its key
role in schooling.²³

Bureaucratic requirements, pedagogical interventions

30 Another important element concerning the improvement of teaching was the
training of teachers who were in service. The replacement of qualified teachers by
normal-school graduates was slow, and even in the early twentieth century there
was a high percentage of teachers who did not have a degree or who only had
degrees conferred by the provincial councils of education.²⁴ In the face of the

²¹Lindor Sotomayor, "Informe sobre la instrucción primaria en la provincia de Entre Ríos," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 1 (1881): 41.

²²Juan M. De Vedia, "Informe del Inspector Nacional de Escuelas en la provincia de Santiago del Estero," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 113 (1887): 400.

²³We have further addressed these aspects in Myriam Southwell and Mariana Manzione "Elevo a la superioridad Un estado de la cuestión sobre la historia de los inspectores en Argentina," *Historia de la Educación Anuario* 12 (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación-Prometeo), 125–55.

²⁴If we take the data of the largest jurisdiction into account, i.e., the Province of Buenos Aires, Pinkasz shows that in 1876, less than half of the 531 teachers working in the province had a degree and "if we consider the three school categories – ordinary, subsidized and private – the 531 teachers were distributed in 346 educational institutions... In 1882, Normal school graduates accounted for 43% of teachers and in 1883 the rate decreased to about 31%, which is explained by the increased pace in opening new educational institutions ... In 1910, Normal school graduates were nearly 70%, but in 1913 there was a further decline to 60%." Pinkasz, "Escuelas y desiertos," 39–40.

precariousness of teachers' situations, derived from a lack of motivation and incentive – mainly due to the difficulties related to regular payment of salaries – inspectors implemented pedagogical conferences and free publications, which were considered a palliative until certified teachers could fill in the positions throughout the system. 5

Inspectors did not identify a distinction between the pedagogical aspects of training and the normative regulations on school activities, teaching and educational administration. Regulatory aspects were as much a part of training as teaching methods. For this reason, they considered themselves as sources of knowledge to be spread through specialised publications. 10

There are four teachers at the most who have a diploma; the others do not. It is true that teaching offers so little incentive here that a person of regular culture and ambitions could not be content with the payment obtained. (...) As of February 1st, a biweekly, with 8 to 10-pages like those of the "The Monitor", will be available. There I will discuss the principles, systems, methods and best procedures of the art of teaching and how to cultivate children's faculties. I shall provide examples of pedagogical criticism, lessons, models, and give some notions of good school administration. (...) There are ninety-eight schools in the Province, and it will be distributed free of charge to all of them.²⁵ 15 20

In this case, the list of the publication's topics can be clearly seen: principles, systems, methods and best procedures in the art of teaching; illustrations with pedagogical criticism, lessons, models, notions of good school administration and discipline. These lists of topics also speak of the weak points which inspectors often identified in teaching. The issue of teaching methods was crucial in the development of a pedagogical debate per se. Even though inspectors were involved in these debates only laterally, they operated as mediators between academic and theoretical production and classroom practice, in the sense of both introducing methodological novelties to school and theoretical reflection on what happened in the classrooms. 25

Moreover, normal school graduates were in charge of producing a renewal in teaching within the schools. Implementation of practices beyond the traditional, rote and repetitive patterns was to be the result of an expanded influence of normal schools, even in provinces with long-established school systems. 30

The demands made on school management, mainly regarding teaching methods, punctuality and teachers attendance, could seem excessive for those who knew the actual conditions under which schooling was being performed. But at the same time, inspectors strongly questioned attempts to renew the teaching staff on a massive scale. They considered that the critical mass of normal school graduates that could replace teachers working without a degree had not been yet reached. 35

Trying to separate a considerable part of the teaching staff that is already working would be senseless, given the fact that the only people that could replace them would have the same or lower conditions. For this reason, and in order to use the elements already available, the undersigned took the liberty of submitting a project of Pedagogical Conferences of essentially doctrinal character for Council approval, in order to compel each teacher to study their profession, which is considered as much as art as a science.²⁶ 40 45

²⁵Julio Aguirre, "Inspección en Córdoba," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 24 (1883): 149.

²⁶Juan Sánchez, "Informe del Inspector Nacional de Escuelas de Santa Fe," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 101 (1886): 11.

10 M. Southwell

Occasionally pedagogical conferences, in the form of lectures, and publications adopted an openly prescriptive character. Inspectors expressed their distrust of teachers' ability in contents and teaching methodology by means of model lessons that could be replicated by teachers. The inspectors, rather than giving a positive assessment of teachers' autonomy, voiced their concern to avoid letting teachers' free will influence contents.

I opened the fourth period of the Pedagogical Conferences, which took place in this Capital in 1883, on the initiative of this Council. (...) After inquiring about teachers' training and the most urgent needs of our schools, the conferences are almost essentially pragmatic because although they include some dissertations on education, there are also always three lessons a week. This brochure will be (...) an excellent guide for teachers – mainly for those in the hinterland – because they will find a series of lesson plans that will cover every subject included in the regulatory program of primary education.²⁷

As in other national experiences,²⁸ national inspectors transformed the syllabi into a series of regulations on teaching, indicating the appropriate lessons for each topic. Inspector Demidio Carreño summarised the relationship between pedagogical conferences, training in normal schools and the difficulties derived from salary instability for the formation of a good teaching staff:

Concerning the school service, I do not have anything new to add to what I have already mentioned many times in previous reports because it is the same staff with no further consideration and without any likely change in the near future. This is a very difficult problem to solve because for now, there are no other means to achieve it than by a good remuneration for teachers, regular payments, and that a sufficient number of teachers graduate from normal schools to fill the positions in every school; but we cannot think of that now because we are still at the starting line of a long race. It would be most convenient to establish Pedagogical Conferences, which could be attended in turn by all the teachers of each of the school districts in which the Province is divided.²⁹

The regulation of teaching methods may be interpreted as another component of the schooling process. Inspectors were concerned with how teaching methods could answer the problems stemming from actually operating schools. It was not through the renewal of teaching as we understand it in the twentieth century, but by establishing predictable and generalised methods that could be easily controlled. For example, pupils' incorporation into schools sometimes exceeded convenient numbers. In such cases, inspectors considered that methodological decisions could minimise the difficulties derived from overcrowded schools.

In other cases, the concern with methodology was related to the advancement and progress of knowledge in the school environment. Normal school graduates were considered responsible for spreading a true teaching method based on

²⁷Baltasar Lema, "Informe del Inspector de Escuelas en Tucumán," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 106 (1886): 161.

²⁸Bruce Curtis has pointed out that school inspection is a key process by which the modern state was built and its surveillance of local populations extended. Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men?*

²⁹Demidio Carreño, "Informe del Inspector Nacional de Escuelas de la Provincia de La Rioja," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 114 (1887): 63.

scientific development, which would make its way between the remnants of religious practices or spontaneous practices of teachers who had built a practice on their own.

Another critical and serious difficulty that the progress and development of Common Education has to deal with is the absence of a well-trained staff, using the most advanced knowledge currently applied to awaken children's intelligence, enriched with varied and useful knowledge, teaching them to think for themselves on everything they sense.³⁰

While exclusion from school implied ignorance and thus curtailed citizenship, the use of methods with no scientific basis did not seem to be linked to the citizenship issue but to children's intelligence. In this regard, many reports made reference to a faculty psychology, according to which school should promote the balanced exercise of different intellectual faculties in children. Excessive repetition, repeated emphasis on a single activity, was considered harmful, and a deviation arising from the implementation of methods used before normal schools' training.

In any case, although inspectors also had to monitor the methodological aspects of teaching, this function was not anticipated in the activities to be performed by national inspectors. This slide toward a didactic and pedagogical observation inside the classroom was a concern for the inspectors, who regarded methodological questions as a critical element of the schooling process. Opening schools was not enough; nor was incorporating children into the schooling system. It was necessary to promote a methodological renewal consistent with progress in teaching methodology.

Similar to the case in other countries, even those with different political traditions, inspectors did not limit themselves to criticising and describing the situation but considered that part of their specific role was to promote the establishment of teaching methods through pedagogical conferences, educational publications, and even by teaching in the schools they visited or evaluating children and advising teachers.³¹ In this regard, many inspectors provided descriptions of their participation with provincial education authorities in the elaboration of regulations, plans, and programmes.

Some months ago the Government appointed a Commission chaired by the General Inspector of Schools, to develop Regulations and a Syllabus to regulate our schools. (...) In the first place, it was necessary to correct this deficiency because as schools did not have a syllabi, they were left to the discretion of their Directors, so they could teach what best suited them in their institutions (...). Mr. Inspector, however, has done his best by giving teachers written pedagogical or regulative instructions permanently. In this sense, another effective aspect has been the inspection of the Visitor of Schools who, as I have been told, has taken the trouble to give lessons in many schools he visited, as a means of correcting some vicious practices and providing teachers with more meaningful examples. (...) I joined the Inspector and Visitor of Schools and we began our task. In a few days, we shall present our work for Government's prompt approval; it is not only the Regulations and a Syllabus, but is actually a Teachers' Guide and

³⁰José Hernández, "La educación común en San Luís," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 13 (1882): 389.

³¹Thomas Gerran, "A Brief History of the Genesis of the New Schools' Inspection System," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 46, no. 4 (Dec. 1998): 415–27; David C. James and Brian Davies, "The Genesis of School Inspection in South East Wales 1839–1843: Issues of Social Control and Accountability," *History of Education* 38, no. 5 (2009): 667–80.

12 M. Southwell

we have made it as such fearing some teachers in the countryside would not be able interpret the articles properly.³²

5 As can be seen, inspectors considered that by disseminating regulations they would produce a change, and an improvement, in teaching skills. Regulations were considered to be guides for teachers' performance at school. The mediation between norms and customs seen in connection with school management provided solid confidence in the quality of the regulations as a tool to configure practices.

10 However, this confidence did not apply to just any rule, as occasionally inspectors gave their opinion on regulations issued by the National Council of Education based on their knowledge of education and on the specific conditions under which school activities were carried out.

15 Mr. President considers it *simple and easy* to submit the forms mentioned before, and I might point out that if this is so in other provinces, in this one it is an issue that presents a thousand problems. (...) Teachers across the province have been given several recommendations to be more accurate and punctual when developing the forms, and in his last visit, the Visitor taught them personally one by one how to prepare these forms, but they have not even understood the instructions that are so clearly stated in the printed document. Logical consequences of the bad teachers we have! Natural consequence of the poor conditions our teachers are subject to due to low salaries and poor training.³³

The nature of teacher training was also an obstacle to enforcing the norm. These critical conditions became a severe constraint in the struggle to improve education.

25 As far as I am concerned, visiting schools in this province implies the disappointment of seeing these teachers violate with impunity the pedagogical principles of Spencer, Wilkershan, Pestalozzi, Orden, etc. (...). I do not know how we could get good teachers by paying them forty *pesos* and without giving most of them even a building for the school!³⁴

30 Conclusions

As mentioned above, the inspectors' task was shaped around the development of a centralised authority for education administration. An important part of that activity had to do with checking the qualitative progress of schooling, but reference was frequently made to the conditions under which this process was carried out, such as school features, teacher training or teaching methods which tended to produce a very low quality of schooling. With regard to these concerns, inspectors' observations and direct interventions turned towards a pedagogical agenda, even though they did not enter into the debates that were beginning to take shape among normal-school pedagogues at that time.

40 Besides salary increases, training through pedagogical conferences and a concern with teaching methods, inspectors considered that a way to improve the school setting was to draw up and apply regulations concerning teaching tasks.

³²Julio Aguirre and Javier Castro, "Informes sobre el estado de la educación en Córdoba y Catamarca," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 25 (1883): 185.

³³Julio Aguirre, "Informes de los Inspectores Nacionales de Escuelas en las Provincias de Mendoza, Jujuy, Córdoba y Santiago del Estero," *El Monitor de la Educación Común* 41 (1883): 8.

³⁴Ibid, 8-9.

In this way, they considered that they were moving towards achieving a higher quality teaching staff, regulating the knowledge necessary to perform as a teacher and setting preferences for hiring normal-school graduates. 5

It could be argued that the teacher has been one of the recurring issues of bureaucratic intervention. In this case, the most outstanding concern of the period analysed was to identify the progress of the normal-school teachers within the school system itself. In the first stage, this progress appeared to be slow, and was hardly supported by poor, irregular wage policies depending on unstable funding. 10
This proved to be an obstacle for the school system's expansion policies, which did not by themselves secure progress in educational efforts. In spite of the sustained effort to expand schooling, lack of competent teachers limited the strategies available to maximise results by simply distributing and controlling resources.

In any event, as a counterpart of the role that inspectors played in relation to the Subsidies Law, what they observed in terms of teachers' salaries coincided with the described precariousness of facilities. Payment of salaries depended on periodic remittances, often delayed, and led the best teachers to move away from teaching. Several practical solutions were implemented to provide answers to these limitations, including a return to teaching systems that had gone out of use halfway through the nineteenth century, the implementation of pedagogical conferences, the elaboration of educational publications or new rules and regulations regarding teachers' work. 20

Thus, the federal government played a key role in policies to sustain educational expansion: founding schools, implementing systematic methods and teachings, developing inspection policies and conferring degrees and certifications, among others. The mechanisms described were also absorbing forms of representation of the state in a wide variety of functions competing with other social actors such as religious institutions and family. It meant creating a new local institutional network – no longer associated to international organisations such as the Church – to order and regulate exchanges between people in a new way. Inspectors did not identify a division between the pedagogical aspects of training and the normative regulations on school activities, teaching and education administration. In this deployment, mechanisms of school administration, teachers and inspectors were key components of the intermediation between the micropolitics of schools and the expanding state policy. A specialised and homogeneous body designed to direct and sustain school was thereby consolidated. This purpose bound the normal-school as a project and institutional device of inspection to the ordinary and massive school system, under the political control of the State and the scientific control of pedagogy. 30
35

AQ2

Notes on contributor

Myriam Southwell, PhD, is a Professor of History of Education at the School of Educational Sciences of the Universidad Nacional de La Plata (Argentina), Associated researcher of the CONICET and President of the Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación (*Argentine Society on History of Education*). She studied in La Plata (Argentina) and Essex University (England). Her recent publications include: Southwell, Myriam and Antonio Romano (eds.), *La escuela y lo justo: ensayos acerca de las medidas de lo posible* (La Plata: UNiPE: Editorial Universitaria, 2012); Myriam Southwell “*Vecinos, niños y educadoras: ciudadanía y escolarización en la Buenos Aires del siglo XIX*”, in Frago Anayanci (Comp.) *Historias de Mujeres e Infantes en Latinoamérica*, México D.F. (in press); and Southwell, Myriam and Arata Nicolás, “Aportes para un programa futuro de historia de la educación argentina”, in *History of Education & Children's Literature* (Universita Degli Studi De Macerata, Italy, 2011). 40
45
50