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Society*

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Review of Periodical Literature on the History of Education Published in 2017

Malcolm Noble and Susannah Wright

Introduction

This report reviews periodical literature published on the history of education during 2017, following a first review of periodical literature from 2016 which was published in *History of Education* in 2017.¹ This review is again based on the *Exe Libris* online bibliographical database produced by the History of Education Society (HES). Content from the 55 current English-language journals within the database has been analysed to identify articles on the history of education, broadly defined. As noted in 2016, *Exe Libris* is the most comprehensive specialist database resource for history of education published literature. However, it is important to note that many journals within *Exe Libris* are British-based ones, and that history journals receive more coverage than general education ones. As in 2016, our purpose is to identify key patterns in the periodical literature. We do not attempt to repeat the 2016 'Review of Periodical Literature' survey of trends over time but focus only on literature published in 2017. We have, however, used sub-headings from 2016 as far as possible, to enable readers to make comparisons in relation to a particular area.

We identified a strong reflexive turn, with anniversary-related collections in several publications providing opportunities to reflect on past, present, and future developments in the history of education and associated fields, often drawing on biographical and autobiographical insights. This reflexive turn seems to reflect a broader anxiety within humanities and social science research which arises in part from a perceived need to provide a rationale and justification for scholarship at a time of straitened finances and a policy and funding emphasis, arguably, on Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics; in a context where politicians claim the population has 'had enough of experts', and in which the subfield of critical university studies thrives, this is perhaps unsurprising.

We note also a strongly methodological orientation in a number of the articles discussed under thematic sections below, which offer theoretical framings and approaches to source analysis as much as 'findings'. As noted for 2016, shifts in scholarship since the original bibliographical categories were devised in the 1960s are evident; this is particularly notable under the theme of race, ethnicity and colonialism, where corollaries of the original themes, such as postcolonialism and multiculturalism, are included under dated or otherwise unsatisfactory headings. Users of *Exe Libris* will note too that subsections are arranged in an out-of-date fashion: we would not offer three sub-sections to England but lump Scotland and Wales together under one. The headings in this article follow those of the previous year, and we offer some cross references to other sections where appropriate.

Three tables mirror those in the ‘Review of Periodical Literature’ published in 2016. In each case, 2016 figures are provided for comparison.² For the main part, these tables show continuities more than change. A broad trend has been increasing emphasis placed twentieth-century topics across the database’s coverage, but the decades which have passed since 1960 are now themselves subjects of study. Partly through the reflexive turn noted above, 146 of the 295 articles were concerned with the most recent period 1964-present. The earliest periods continue to attract the least attention from historians of education. The subject analysis in table three intimates more attention to race and ethnicity, and to universities. The original 2016 dataset saw 25.1% of articles tagged with this; with the *History of Universities* number included this rose to 27.2%. Of those published in 2017, however, 31.2% were concerned with universities. Until 2015, the highest proportion had been 16.8% as part of a sustained upward trend. It is tempting to suggest this is driven by the increasing self-awareness of the academy, part of the reflexive turn. A modest shift towards ‘Gender’ rather than ‘Women and girls’ education’ might indicate more nuanced approaches to questions of gender history.³

Table 1. Chronological distribution of articles included in the *Exe Libris* database, 2016-2017

Chronological grouping	2016 (revised)		2017	
	n	%	n	%
Ancient (pre-500)	4	1.2	1	0.3
Medieval (500-1500)	4	1.2	2	0.7
1500-1750	27	8.3	16	5.4
1750-1868	42	13.0	34	11.5
1869-1910	72	22.2	59	20.0
1911-1963	124	38.3	108	36.6
1964-present	95	29.3	146	49.5
Bibliography	0	0.0	2	0.7
Historiography	36	11.1	75	25.4
General histories	0	0.0	1	0.3
Total number published	324		295	

Notes: 1. This table follows the format of the previous literature review to enable direct comparison. 2. Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be placed in more than one chronological category. 3. As articles may have more than one category ascribed to them, the numbers and percentages sum to number higher than the number of articles or one hundred. 4. As ascribed categories may be revised on *Exe Libris*, it should be noted that this is based on data on 11 February 2019.

Table 2. Geographical coverage of articles included in the *Exe Libris* database, 2016-2017: selected categories

Geographical area	2016 (original)		2017	
	n	%	n	%
England and Great Britain	81	25.7	46	15.6
Wales/Scotland/Ireland	11	3.5	18	6.1
Empire, colonies, Commonwealth	31	9.8	24	8.1
Other countries	131	41.6	90	30.5
Comparative and international	42	13.3	39	13.2
Total number published	315		295	

Notes: 1. This table follows the format of the previous literature review. 2. Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be assigned several areas. 3. As ascribed categories may be revised on *Exe Libris*, it should be noted that this is based on data on 11 February 2019. 4. With the exception of 'Wales/Scotland/Ireland', the categories in the table are amalgamations of categories used in *Exe Libris*. For example, 'England and Great Britain' combines 'England', 'England and Great Britain', 'England: general' and 'England: specialist studies'. 5. For technical reasons, the 2016 figures are unrevised here, and presented only for convenient, immediate comparison.

Table 3. Articles on selected subject areas in the *Exe Libris* database, 2016-2017

	2016 (revised)		2017	
	n	%	n	%
Childhood and youth	38	11.7	18	6.1
Churches, religions and education	39	12.0	13	4.4
Gender	3	0.9	10	3.4
Local administration	0	0.0	2	0.7
Policy	51	15.7	25	8.5
Private and 'public' schools	4	1.2	0	0.0
Race and ethnicity	19	5.9	25	8.5
Role and status of teachers	21	6.5	5	1.7
Textbooks	9	2.8	0	0.0
Universities	88	27.2	92	31.2
Women and girls' education	26	8.0	15	5.1
Youth movements	12	3.7	1	0.3
Total number published	324		295	

Notes: 1. This table follows the format of the previous literature review to facilitate comparison. 2. Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be assigned several subject areas. 3. As ascribed categories may be revised on *Exe Libris*, it should be noted that this is based on data on 11 February 2019. 4. Gender here means ‘Genders in education’ rather than ‘Genders compared’. 5. ‘Local administration’ is the category ‘Local administration, school boards, LEAs’. 6. ‘Policy’ is the category ‘The state, policies, planning, administration’; the overlapping ‘Policy and administration: general’ is not included in this table.

Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern History

Once again 2017 has seen relatively few articles covering time periods before 1750. Only one article addresses the ancient world. Victoria Pichugina and Vitaly Bezrogov consider Xenophon’s (c.430 – 354 BC) writings for insights into the concept of ‘care of the self’ in Greek education, focusing particularly on specific situations involving parents and children and mentors and their pupils to consider modes of teaching and learning about upbringing in the family and the wider *polis*.⁴ The Medieval period, similarly, is represented in two articles. Björn Weiler examines letters of advice from abbots and bishops in Medieval Europe, outlining key principles of royal power. These letters, framed to demonstrate the mode of the ‘remonstrating cleric’, fitted within shared norms about the role and nature of clerical counsel when interacting with kings.⁵ Carol Symes considers early accounts of the First Crusade. These, she argues, were produced by lay combatants and clerics – and circulated in humble and fragile formats, suggesting higher levels of engagement with writing among a wide population at the time than has previously been assumed.⁶

The early modern period is better represented. Religious – specifically Christian – ideas and organisations have been the focus of much attention. Emily Michelson considers the popularity of conversionary sermons forced on Jews in early modern Rome among Christian residents and tourists, concluding that these sermons not only taught Jews about Christianity, but also affirmed post-Reformation Catholic identity on the part of Christian listeners.⁷ Lutheranism is examined by Ronald K. Rittgers, who focuses on portrayals of the suffering body in devotional literature, and Anna Linton, who draws on pamphlets and illustrated broadsheets by poet-shoemaker Hans Sachs from 1522 onwards to suggest that medieval symbolic landscapes could be reinterpreted and imbued with Lutheran meaning.⁸ Outside Europe, Aysha Pollnitz investigates the Franciscan Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlateloco (now Mexico), where educators worked with indigenous college students and alumna collecting and disseminating orations of the ‘ancients’. She discusses adaptations to the orations when prepared for publications to make them suitable for a new colonial society, and the liberal approaches to education adopted at the Colegio, drawing on European pedagogical theory.⁹ A different institutional context, the pre-modern University, is addressed in a periodical book of *History of Universities*, which examines Scottish philosophers and their impact on their universities in the seventeenth century – this special issue is discussed further under University and Vocational Education below.¹⁰

Employment, training and mobility is a further area of interest. Ruben Schalk uses data about over 400 apprentice boys in Leiden and Utrecht to explore the ways in which early modern apprenticeship operated in the Netherlands, finding that the abolition of the guilds led to a growth in numbers of apprenticed orphans, and, he

argues, better opportunities for training in skills demanded by employers which would lead to future work. Franziska Tollnek and Joerg Baten analyse numeracy and literacy evidence from six countries in Europe and Latin America, suggesting that farmers contributed significantly to the formation of human capital and, consequently, to modern economic growth.¹¹ ‘Useful knowledge’ of a more elite social group is examined by Kelly Whitmer, who examines a handbook written by an early political economist (c. 1700). Whitmer notes the emphasis on imagination in helping readers make connections between what they observed in collections while travelling and possible uses, helping them to participate in a ‘transnational culture of innovation’.¹²

Schools and Education Policy

Work on schools and education policy reflects a breadth of themes, and varied levels of policy and provision – from national and international administrative and legislative frameworks, to localised provision, to grounded activities of educators – reflecting diverse theoretical and methodological approaches as well as wide-ranging geographical foci. As noted in 2016, there is relatively limited attention paid to individual schools, compared with governance, provision and policy across schools, and in other educational settings.

Educational administration and governance is addressed through studies of individuals, as in Malcolm Thorburn’s investigation of William Wirt’s and John Dewey’s collaboration with the aim of realising Dewey’s vision – through the Gary plan – in urban and industrial contexts in the United States in the early twentieth century. It is also considered through local authorities’ or states’ processes and provisions, as in David James’ and Brian Davies’ study of school attendance in Monmouthshire, Wales from 1839 to 1865, and Helen Proctor’s and Ashleigh Driscoll’s analysis of the bureaucratic processes and narratives encountered by female teachers who appealed against the marriage bar in New South Wales, Australia, in the 1930s.¹³ Municipalities in Portugal and their role in educational modernisation over a 200-year period are examined by Justino Magalhães.¹⁴

A further cluster of articles focuses on providing education for defined groups with, potentially, distinctive needs. Bryan Ayres examines provision for the semi-itinerant population of children of railway navvies in the UK Midlands in the 1890s. Robyn Sneath discusses tensions between the Canadian state, and the Mennonite ethno-religious sect, which emerged between 1890 and 1920 in tensions over how to run, and what to teach in, Mennonite schools, whilst, again in the Canadian context, Mona Gleason considers rural settler families in Western Canada in the interwar who campaigned, while reliant on correspondence courses, for the state to provide them with teachers and schools.¹⁵

The ways in which educators were affected by and addressed features of national and international political climates of their times are a fruitful line of inquiry. Tim Mueller addresses the responses of staff who had worked in Nazi elite schools in Germany to denazification policies in the immediate post-Second World War years, whilst Justyna Gulczynska examines the influence of the totalitarian system of the Polish People’s Republic (1945 – 1989) on the secondary school and its students.¹⁶ Lottie Hoare considers John Newsom’s contributions to BBC radio and television coverage of education, poverty and social disadvantage in Britain from the 1930s

to early 1970s.¹⁷ Autobiographical accounts are used to examine teacher and pupil response to government policies. Jiří Zounek, Michal Šimáně and Dana Knotová investigate teachers' memories of, and attitudes to, the Communist Party's secularisation policy between 1948 and 1989, and how this affected their practice in schools, whilst Fabiana Loparco draws on teachers' and pupils' accounts to argue that corporal punishment, although prohibited under Fascist school regulations, was used in practice in Italian rural schools, highlighting the potential gap between rules and reality. Tomas Wedin, examining the Swedish context, argues for antecedents to individualised and marketised reforms of the 1990s in educational policies from the late 1940s on.¹⁸ Japanese colonial policies, meanwhile, are examined by Huan-Sheng Peng & Jo-Ying Chu in their study of primary education in Taiwan and Korea from 1937 to 1945 also discussed later (under Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism).¹⁹ Legislative processes themselves receive only limited attention, but are the focus of two articles from a United States context, namely Daniel Amsterdam's consideration of resegregation processes in Southern states following a 1992 judgement, already mentioned under Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism, and David Casalaspì's study of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act.²⁰

University and Vocational Education

With government, police, and the media attacking the status of Higher Education as a public good, it is perhaps no coincidence that it has received considerable scholarly attention again. Many articles demonstrate the potential value of the history of education to policy making. Historians have addressed a wide range of themes, but many are essentially concerned with the purpose and value of universities and the teaching and research done within them. In the introduction to this review, we noted a 'reflexive turn'. Two journal numbers were dedicated to collections of autobiographical pieces on the careers of individual scholars: one of the *History of Education Researcher*, and one of the *International Journal of the History of Sport*.²¹ More reflexion comes in Onni Gust's essay on 'What is radical history now?', following from a conference, which considered to what ends history might be deployed to radical ends in neoliberal universities.²² Carl Hammer's follows the complex history of the Amherst Charity Fund in establishing Amherst College in nineteenth-century Massachusetts, with reflexions on 'the larger American Myth'.²³ Lottie Hoare considers representations of university education, with specific reference to the use of a clip of Isaiah Berlin in *This is the BBC* (1959), the editing of which Berlin felt presented him as a less-than-serious figure.²⁴ We speculated in our introduction that the reflexive turn may be in response to professional identities under attack; the construction of teaching roles at Aalborg in the 1970s, the subject of Virginie G. C. Servant-Miklos and Claus M. Spliid's article, for example, appears in part to support this view.²⁵

Ruth Watts in the *History of Education*, takes a biographical approach, using the works of three female scientists, Marianne North, Rachel Carson and Alice Stewart, and assesses the contribution they made to public understanding in the context of their own careers and education.²⁶ Alexander Clarkson looks at two universities, the Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University and the Kaliningrad State Technical University, and their roles in the maintenance of public memories and identity in a Russian enclave bordered by Lithuania and Poland, both EU members.²⁷

If the interest in universities might be explained by the policy climate, then historical studies help historically situate the present. Hannah Forsyth looks at how universities in Australia and the knowledge produced in them related to government policies and capital interests from 1945 to 1965.²⁸ The issue of how universities in the UK related to their local communities in the 1960s, something which arguably has been lost as many institutions are noticeably less-civic-facing than previously, is the subject of Keith Vernon's article.²⁹ Lyn Yates explores what audit culture and testing within universities has meant for skills and knowledge in the twenty-first century.³⁰ Of the currents to which universities have been subjected, the widening participation agenda is now of sufficient vintage to warrant historical treatment, and the response of school principals to these government policies, considered by Jill Blackmore, Kirsten Hutchison and Anne Keary offers a valuable perspective on this product of the 2000s.³¹

Robert Anderson's article on the particularly Scottish approach to consolidated examining and teaching in contrast to the separation of these powers in England is relevant not only to the debates around reform in the nineteenth century, but questions of academic rigour and university governance today.³² Another example of resistance to reforms comes from Natalia Tsvetkova's article on Kabul University, which considers how geopolitical rivalries around American and Soviet transformations as each attempted to export their models of higher education (HE) on the Afghan university in the 1960s and 1980s.³³ The same ideological conflict presented a challenge to communist academics in US universities when a lack of academic freedom in the McCarthy era followed from Sidney Hook's anti-Communism, according to Julian Nemeth's research.³⁴ Lin Li's article on the ideological context of education in Chinese at the University of Hong Kong is discussed in the section on Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism below.³⁵

Pedagogies within Higher Education have also received attention. Modernist architect Renaat Braem's approach to the use of a painting of a staircase as a pedagogic tool at the Antwerp National Higher Institute for Architecture and Urban Planning is discussed by Elke Couchez.³⁶ On what was actually taught within universities in the pre-modern era, the two volumes of *History of Universities* published in 2017 offer considerable insight, with a strong focus on religion. The special issue edited by Alexander Broadie and his contributors consider the philosophy of seventeenth-century universities, but in so doing highlighting much broader issues too. Steven J. Reid looks at the role of the Covenanters in universities from 1638 to 1649.³⁷ Giovanni Gellera's article is concerned with how Cartesianism was received in seventeenth-century Scottish universities in the latter half of the seventeenth century.³⁸ International elements to the philosophy of Scottish universities include Marie-Claude Tucker's analysis of the role of Scottish Masters in Huguenot Academies.³⁹

Sites of knowledge production and control for an adult population range beyond universities. Belfast Working Men's Institute and Temperance Hall as a site of class conflict and co-operation is examined by Alice Johnson.⁴⁰ Duncan Taylor's piece on botanical gardens in eighteenth-century Jamaica helps us understand the political economy in which they operated.⁴¹ Museums may or may not be linked to a university, but are repositories of expert scholarly knowledge. Pablo Álvarez, Pauli Dávila and Luis M. Naya use the development of education museums in contemporary Spain in order to understand the history of education as a discipline.⁴² A micro

study by Diana Gonçalves Vidal looks at a single object circulated transnationally to understand pedagogic practice in France, Portugal and Brazil.⁴³ Similarly utilising a material culture approach, Heidi Egginton looks at the role of the newspaper *The Bazaar, Exchange and Mart* in opening up collecting to a broader audience in the second quarter of the twentieth century.⁴⁴

Medical knowledge and training, privileged in so many ways as it is, has received attention too. Debates over the very nature of medical knowledge in seventeenth-century Aberdeen are the subject of Simon J. G. Burton's article on Samuel Rutherford's conflict with doctors in the northern city.⁴⁵ Mark Somos offers select translations of John Warren's *Lectures on Anatomy*, given at Harvard Medical school between 1783 and 1812.⁴⁶ Laura Kelly looks at how gender identity was performed through Irish medical student culture, and how the created masculine figure was used to exclude women from the profession.⁴⁷ The contribution made by Arthur F. Hurst by filming soldiers suffering from shell shock to educate medics is the subject of Julie M. Powell's article which again demonstrates the relevance of the history of education to current concerns.⁴⁸

Vocational education, broadly conceived, has been analysed, with scholars incorporating a wide range of activities and occupational foci. Fia Sundevall discusses how policy makers in early twentieth-century Sweden used vocational education of conscripts to secure much broader aims in society.⁴⁹ In two studies focusing on the pre-1750 period (see Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern History section), Schalk offers a statistical study of apprentices in Leiden and Utrecht before and after guilds were abolished with the attendant loss of the hitherto dominant mechanism for providing vocational training,⁵⁰ while Tollnek and Baten consider the implications of the basic numeracy skills needed by farmers in early-modern Europe.⁵¹ At a later stage in industrial development, Mark J. Crowley considers the training implications resulting from the health consequences of increased coal production 1938-45, so drawing a line from war-time coal demand to reskilling in the postwar economy.⁵² Another health-related study is offered by Stephen M. Davies, on how productivity was promoted through training in the early NHS between 1950 and 1966.⁵³ Provision for teacher training and professional development is addressed through studies located in different national settings from the 1940s onwards. Brendan Walsh analyses oral history accounts of teacher training in Ireland from 1943 to 1980, and Agus Suwignyo the American influence in Indonesian teacher training in the 1950s and 1960s (as noted under Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism). Richard Willis examines the nineteenth century teacher registration movement in both England and South Australia, seeing in the former a preference for voluntarism and self-help, and willingness to attach to state apparatus in the latter.⁵⁴ Moving forward in time, Barry Hake's article considers the European Economic Commission's 1973 Janne Report and the failure of member states to agree on paid educational leave, and explores the development of Lifelong Learning.⁵⁵

Biography and Gender

As in 2016, a considerable number of articles address gender. Masculinity is considered in two articles in relation to the informal educative processes of sport. Progressive politics and touch rugby in South Africa in the late 1980s, and changing mascu-

linities evoked in connection with football in Socialist Yugoslavia, are examined by Robert Morrell, and Dario Brentin and Dejan Zec, respectively.⁵⁶ Gender identity within sport was similarly prominent in many of the biographical submissions in the *International Journal of the History of Sport* mentioned in the introduction as part of the reflexive turn.⁵⁷ Male educational and family relationships in the ancient Greek setting are discussed by Pichugina and Bezrogov in their analysis of Xenophon's writings which has been noted already under Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern History. Kate Rousmaniere considers representations of masculinity and femininity in a 1953 painting of the disciplining of students in an American school.⁵⁸ Masculine gender identity is similarly addressed in Emma Robertson's study of men and the BBC empire service, discussed further under Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism.⁵⁹ Kelly considers the construction of the masculine identities of Irish medical students to exclude women (see under University and Vocational Education).⁶⁰

Gender, however, has primarily been considered as an analytical category in relation to women and femininity. Many studies pertain to settings outside formal educational institutions. The theme of women and employment is considered in two articles relating to the First World War. Beth Jenkins considers women's take up and learning of new occupational roles during the conflict in Wales, and Kate Luck the recruitment and training of women for agricultural work in Wiltshire – both note tensions inherent in what was considered a temporary substitution of women in 'male' occupations.⁶¹ Professional associations, pressure groups, and more informal groupings, emerge in several studies as forces shaping women's professional knowledge, opportunities and identities. These themes are considered in national contexts by Mina Roces, in relation to elite Filipino women campaigning against infant mortality from 1906 to 1940, and by Tomoko Seto, who discusses the Japanese chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union between 1900 and 1905.⁶² The construction of women's transnational identities are considered by Stephanie Spencer, through the International Federation of University Women from 1945 to 1960, and in Kimberley Jensen's and Kay Whitehead's discussions of international women's medical organisations and graduates of Gipsy Hill Training College which are discussed further below.⁶³ The theme of women as educational pioneers is well represented. In the British context, Krista Cowman examines women's participation in local campaigns for 'play streets' in the mid-twentieth century, and Elizabeth Darling the 'humanitarian, feminist practice' of a group of women who established a free kindergarten in one of the poorest areas of Edinburgh at the turn of the twentieth century.⁶⁴

Facilities for girls' schooling are considered in different international settings. Julie McLeod discusses feminist narratives of gender equity and identity in 1970s Australian school reform, as well as their subsequent remembrance and forgetting.⁶⁵ Education for females outside of formal settings is also a prominent theme, evident particularly in a cluster of articles which focus on mid-twentieth century Britain. Sian Edwards examines domesticity from a rural perspective within the Young Farmer's Club Movement in 1950s Britain, noting an emphasis on agricultural skills as well as domestic crafts. Citizenship, a popular theme discussed primarily under the heading of Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism, is discussed by Kristin Skoog with reference to BBC Radio's *Woman's Hour* from the 1940s to 1960s.⁶⁶ The role of sport in informally constructing notions of womanhood is examined by Katarzyna Sierakowska in the context of the Second Polish Republic from 1918 to 1939.⁶⁷

The popularity of biographical and autobiographical approaches noted in 2016 is evident again in 2017. In most cases, such approaches are used in relation to female educators and students. Shaul Bar-Haim discusses Susan Isaac's critique of aspects of the liberal discourse of progressive education in the 1930s, through analysis of her interactions with parents and others in connection with her experimental school, Malting House, in Cambridge. Badreya Mubarak Sultan Al-Ammari examines Amna Mahmoud Al-Jaydah, considers the first woman teacher in Qatar, and her educational efforts in the 1930s to promote education for females in a context in which only boys had been educated outside the home. The 'public life' of Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, and methodological issues inherent in its reconstruction, are examined by Stephanie Green.⁶⁸ Sian Edwards focuses on the student career of Dorothy M Gladish at University College Nottingham.⁶⁹ Amy Palmer, on the other hand, applies a biographical approach to a male educator, considering the impact of personality in the case of the founder of Mansfield House University Settlement in London, Joseph King.⁷⁰ Biographical approaches are likewise applied to women in groups. Meryem Karabekmez considers women instructors and their education in Ottoman Turkey as a challenge to gender norms enforced by the state, and Angela Davis uses oral testimonies to discuss the sense of belonging and 'unbelonging' that Jewish women refugees and survivors experienced in 1950s Britain.⁷¹ Methodological aspects of constructing biographies are discussed by Lieselot de Wilde and Bruno Vanobbergen, who question how far former residents of orphanages in Ghent, Belgium, could use their personal files to construct and reconstruct their life histories.⁷²

Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism

A considerable number of articles appeared on education for citizenship and the construction of citizenship through education. In the context of a resurgent right, populism, another pattern in the history of education scholarship of 2017 reflects current anxieties. These topics are discussed over a broad chronological and geographical scope. Adam Nelson's presidential address to the History of Education Society (United States) was concerned with the earliest historical period in under this heading. Nelson looks at debates around whether the scientist ought to be a cosmopolitan or international figure with obligations to their scholarly community, or answerable to the national state, in American colleges in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷³ Indeed, the United States received scholarly attention along these lines, with scholarship informed by the context of the settler-colonial project in a state formed by successive waves of migration. Americans – in the exclusionary sense of non-indigenous people – had to be explicitly created and recreated. Zevi Gutfreund examines the different ways in which immigrants in Los Angeles were made American through education in the first half of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ Eileen Tamura follows similar lines of enquiry, but in 1960s and 1970s Seattle, exploring tensions in American identity through the role of social service provision in the context of 'multi-ethnic communities'.⁷⁵ Broader in geographical reach is Campbell Scribner's work on American teenagers participating in Cold War exchange programmes in high school, reflecting on how experiences abroad threw home into sharper relief.⁷⁶

Much of the scholarship on America classified under this heading is concerned with the African-American experience. A special 'policy forum' in the *History of Education Quarterly* was concerned with the Coleman Report (1966), considering questions of resource, racial equality, and social and economic progress.⁷⁷ Given the centrality of the American translation of the lad 'o'pairs', idea of able individuals to rise up to any level in society, these questions get to the very core of what is to be *American*, and the extent to which the state is helping or hindering this. In the same number, anxieties around the precarious nature of desegregation were explored in articles by Chris Rasmussen and Amsterdam (the latter already mentioned under Schools and Education Policy).⁷⁸ Perhaps the concentration of essays on these topics reflects contemporary concerns. A substantial review essay by Françoise Hamlin looks at schools in Mississippi and the Civil Rights struggle.⁷⁹ The Museum of African American History and Culture which opened in 2016 is the subject of Paul Gardullo and Lonnie Bunch's consideration of education and race in contemporary America, and how these themes fit into narratives about American history, as related by institutions.⁸⁰

Themes of nationalism are considered elsewhere. Friedemann Pestel looks at how the children of émigré elites were educated against the French Revolution in the 1790s, and the challenges posed by what political settlement might follow.⁸¹ Two articles consider issues around citizenship and languages in the context of multilingual Switzerland.⁸² Tensions between national and pan-Nordic identities are the subject of an article on early-twentieth century Sámi education by Otso Kortekangas.⁸³ Through analysis of reading primers, also considered under curriculum and textbooks below, Casten Heinze and Kristin Straube-Heinze look at how heroism was constructed in National Socialist education in Nazi Germany.⁸⁴ Two articles consider this in relation to Egypt: one around the framing of educational reform around the Arab Awakening, another on how the perception of a need for education was politically constructed, between 1820 and 1920.⁸⁵ Megan Threlkeld approaches citizenship through movements in ideological opposition to nationalism: internationalism, albeit US-dominated internationalism, in Fannie Fern Andrews' and the American School Peace League's (1908) attempts to educate American schoolchildren in 'world citizenship'.⁸⁶

The intersection of race and education and the British Empire featured: both in terms of curriculum and the language(s) in which it was taught. From the technocratic perspective of acquiring knowledge about education, Ankur Kakkar looked at nineteenth-century enquiries in India under the East India Company.⁸⁷ Linked to this, Callie Wilkinson's article on public debates about the East India College in Hertfordshire, in the first half of the nineteenth century whilst India was still under the rule of the East India Company, reveals tensions around the prospect of imperial expansion.⁸⁸ Two articles demonstrated how imperial ideologies determined the language used for teaching indigenous populations in settler dominions: one examines textbooks for teaching English to Māori students; the other complicates views of English instruction in Indian residential schools in nineteenth-century Canada by using the testimony of survivors to consider the prospect of teaching 'English *and*' an indigenous language, so raising questions of agency.⁸⁹ Language was also a concern in the University of Hong Kong between 1911 and 1941, over the teaching of Chinese as it moved from marginal to central importance.⁹⁰ Tensions around education and empire redounded at the metropole: Robertson looks at the perceived role of the BBC's Empire Service

in educating isolated males with only a short-wave wireless through which to receive information, between 1932 and 1945.⁹¹ That the long-run consequences of the British Empire can be appraised is shown by a number of articles. Whitehead explores how Gipsy Hill Training College propagated ideals and ideas in colonies and former colonies after the Second World War (see also under Biography and Gender). Ian Grosvenor and Kevin Myers look at how anti-racist politics influenced representations of bodies in multicultural Britain, especially in education.⁹²

How issues of colonialism and race have been handled in educational settings has provided fertile ground for scholars. Federico Guillermo Serrano-López and Miguel Somoza-Rodríguez contrasted how the physicality and sexual energy of different racial groups were handled in Spanish and Colombian classrooms in the first half of the twentieth century.⁹³ Ellen Vea Rosnes looks at how education functioned in French colonial Madagascar – as a tool of the colonisers and for resistance.⁹⁴ Sudipa Topdar considers how the bodies of the young were culturally contested and politicised in late colonial Bengal.⁹⁵

Post-colonial influences were not limited to former European colonial powers, as Suwignyo's work on Cold-War American co-operation over the training Indonesian teachers shows (see also under University and Vocational Education).⁹⁶ Views about racial hierarchies are complicated through views of Japan and the Japanese empire. A trio of articles consider education policies in Taiwan when under Japanese rule: around language in the 1920s, ideas around nativist education and national identity in the 1930s, and policies aimed at Japanization (Kominka) the Second Sino-Japanese War.⁹⁷

Youth and Youth Movements

A point of continuity between articles published on youth and education in 2016 and 2017 is a focus on organisation and politics. Interwar international co-operation is one clear theme within the literature on youth movements, particularly for university students. Bettül Batır explored how, in a climate of optimism about what institutions might achieve, the Turkish National Student Union was founded, and sent delegates to the Second Warsaw Congress of the International Student Union in 1924.⁹⁸ Daniel Laqua explores activism more generally and politics at the *Confédération Internationale des Étudiants* in between the wars.⁹⁹ University students are not necessarily left-wing or international in their outlook. George Gilbert argues the right-wing Academist movement in Russia contributed to political stability or instability between 1900 and 1914.¹⁰⁰ Zornitsa Keremidchieva's article on the Young Women's Christian Association's considers both its international work to build peace internationally and the spreading of Americanisation after the First World War.¹⁰¹

Movements *for* youth have also featured as subjects of enquiry. Julien Fuchs considers French holiday camps for children changed under state policies from 1944 to 1958, responding to concerns about hygiene and educational needs of children, as numbers grew from 300,000 to 1.3m attendees by the end of the period.¹⁰² At an angle to this comes work on the intellectual hinterland of the New Education Fellowship. John Howlett provides important context on the movement's fore-runner, the New Ideas in Education conferences.¹⁰³ Sue Middleton likewise looks backwards to the New Zealand Theosophists as forerunners of the New Education Fellowship in the 1880s to 1938.¹⁰⁴

Scholarship in 2017 has shone a light on some different modes of pedagogy. As noted under *Biography and Gender*, Edwards has written on how the education provided by the Young Farmers' Clubs for their female members in 1950s Britain articulated notions of rural femininity – both in the domestic and in the agricultural spaces of farms.¹⁰⁵ Physical sites were less relevant to radio broadcasts, which Melanie Tebbutt explores the contribution to youth culture of BBC broadcasts in the 1930s and Second World War.¹⁰⁶

Scholars have considered categories and discourses of childhood and youth, and changing conceptions of what is considered productive use of time and knowledge. Laura Tisdall focuses on 'progressive' conceptions of childhood in discourses of education and parenting from 1945 to the late 1970s.¹⁰⁷ Ewelina Szpak takes community meetings and organised youth events to explore changing conceptions of how leisure time might be spent in rural Poland, as new conceptions of private leisure time emerged.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to rural pastimes, as noted under *Biography and Gender*, Cowman writes about English campaigns for urban streets from 1930 to 1970, in search of traditional sociability.¹⁰⁹ A different approach to judgement of the young is taken by Peter and Clio Stearns in their article on the use of shame in American schools, and the retreat from this after the Second World War.¹¹⁰ The moral dangers posed by youth delinquency in 1950s and 1960s Greece reflected much about the political and social context in which it occurred, in Efi Avdela's article.¹¹¹

It is perhaps unsurprising, given the broad appeal of questions of childhood to historians, that a number of articles consider critically what sources might be available. De Wilde and Vanobbergen consider the personal file of those in residential care in postwar Ghent orphanages (see also under *Biography and Gender*).¹¹² Sandra Cumming presents marginalia in eighteenth and nineteenth century collections in Dunimarle Library as possible source material for education research.¹¹³ Heidi Degerickx, Griet Roets, Kris Rutten and Angelo Van Gorp explore documentary photobooks as sources on childhood poverty in 1990s Belgium, and how some specific examples reveal these as 'objects to think with'.¹¹⁴ Karin Priem takes photographs of children in postwar Europe as a source on a continent traumatised by conflict, whilst Ines Dussel considers images of children in revolt in children's films of the 1930s.¹¹⁵ If these European sources help historians to obtain greater clarity and realism in their view of the past, Rousmaniere explores the opposite in America: Norman Rockwell's distorting, nostalgic views of violent school discipline (see also under *Biography and Gender*).¹¹⁶

Science, Medicine, Health and Welfare

Various aspects of the history of science, medicine, health and welfare relate to the history of education. One obvious area is the communication of public health. Alex Mold, for example, wrote on the development of public education about alcohol in 1970s Britain for drinkers, helpfully conceptualizing in terms of consumers, the population, and citizen-consumers, preconditions for neoliberal dominance.¹¹⁷ Stephen M. Davies looks at how internal education campaigns were used with the early stages of NHS (1950 to 1966) to encourage efficiency.¹¹⁸ Ciara Breathnach looks at how professional education in early twentieth-century Dublin sought to reduce the extremely high infant mortality rate, with reference to the case of Mrs Sarah T., ac-

cused of having practised baby farming.¹¹⁹ In two articles also considered under Biography and Gender, Roces looks at the role of non-health practitioner Filipino elites involved in campaigns to reduce infant mortality during American rule,¹²⁰ whilst a more formal associational culture – the Medical Women’s International Association and the Women’s Foundation for Health after the First World War – is the subject of Jensen’s enquiry into how activists and professionals organised themselves.¹²¹ Jane Hand looks at how health education was marketed by using visual culture methodologies to understand how the marketing of Flora had a pedagogic function.¹²² Two articles are concerned with health education and schools: one with health education in Spanish schools under Franco, and a second with health education initiatives in the state of Victoria, Australia in the 1980s.¹²³ Marta Brunelli and Juri Meda, on the other hand, focus on health related uses of the material culture of the classroom, namely uses of the school desk in Italian primary schools from 1870 to 1970 for postural enhancement and as a piece of gymnastics equipment.¹²⁴

Inspection processes in schools prove a popular focus of research activity. School medical services internationally are examined in a special issue of *History of Education Review*. Heloisa Helena Pimenta Rocha and Henrique Mendonça da Silva consider the introduction of school medical inspection in Brazil in the early twentieth century, noting a public-health oriented remit of limiting the spread of infectious disease; Nelleke Bakker shows how medical inspection in the Netherlands changed between 1904 and 1970, reflecting changing conceptions of the ‘healthy child’. Rima Apple analyses the evolution of school nursing in the USA in the early twentieth century, and Anna Larsson discusses mental health services in Swedish schools from the early 1900s to the 1980s, identifying changing ideas about school health care, children’s needs and professional responsibilities.¹²⁵ Physical education in tertiary education in South Korea since the 1950s is examined by Hyun-Duck Kim.¹²⁶ Anne Koskela and Kaisa Vehkalahhti move away from the focus on physical health to the production of categories of ‘normality’ and ‘deviance’ in teacher statement forms from Northern Finland between 1951 and 1990.¹²⁷

The analysis of hygiene regimens has focused on the home as a pedagogic site. In two articles already noted under biography and gender, Sean Nixon looks at how television advertising the dissemination of American ideal of domestic modernity in the late 1950s and 1960s,¹²⁸ and Helen Proctor and Heather Weaver examine how *Australian Women’s Weekly* promoted ideas of an educational home from 1943 to 1960.¹²⁹

A burgeoning area is the study of disability, perhaps reflecting contemporary concerns about equality. David Turner considers eighteenth-century attitudes to ‘impaired children’, and shifts from views of them as ‘burden’ to having ‘utility’; Andy Byford writes about similar themes in early twentieth-century Russia as ideas shifted in the early Soviet period under the ‘defectology’ field and changing diagnostics.¹³⁰ More specific aspects of disability are considered too. Mike Mantin looks at how deaf students in Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century had entire moral characters and religious identities forced upon them.¹³¹ Maria Cristina Galmarini-Kabala considers rights and equalities for deaf people in revolutionary Russia.¹³² Eyesight too, provides an area for enquiry. Through investigations into early nineteenth-century schoolchildren’s eyesight, Patrice Milewski’s article reveals the biopolitics of the period.¹³³

Given contemporary interests, it is perhaps unsurprising that ADHD and Autism have received attention. Matthew Smith's global study of the history of ADHD is likely to be considered very important not least for encompassing 'Canada, the UK, Scandinavia, China and India'.¹³⁴ Patrick Kirkham looks in a much more focused way, but still with some transnational perspective, at the emergence of Applied Behaviour Analysis in the Anglophone world.¹³⁵ Bakker considers a broader category of 'learning and behavioural problems', arguing that attempts to school children categorised in this way in the Netherlands between 1949 and 1985 stimulated broader testing processes and the study of 'learning problems' and their treatment.¹³⁶

Curriculum and Textbooks

Curriculum, approaches to teaching and learning, and teaching materials remain popular themes of enquiry. Articles in 2017 have focused on teaching and learning in formal educational institutions, but many also have addressed the acquisition of knowledge, skills and norms and the formation of identities through 'informal' means.

A suite of articles addresses subjects taught in schools and Higher Education. Peter Mandler discusses subject choice in English secondary schools and British Universities since 1945, indicating long-term trends of increased diversity in subjects studied; there are very recent indications that this trend might be partially reversing.¹³⁷ Individual curriculum subjects have been the focus of a number of studies. Jonathan Doney, Stephen Parker and Rob Freathy draw on oral life histories for insights into religious education in English schools. Jacqueline Manuel and Don Carter examine the first secondary school English syllabus in New South Wales, Australia, from 1911.¹³⁸ Yates examines concepts of 'knowledge' in relation to history teaching, and changes in these concepts over time perceived by school and teachers and university historians in Australia (see also under University and Vocational Education).¹³⁹

A more dispersed 'curriculum' sat outside of or across regularly timetabled teaching sessions. Gideon Dishon discusses the utilisation of organised games as pedagogical tools in character formation in the British public schools 1850-1900, whilst Threlkeld, as noted above under Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism, focuses on peace education initiatives in Progressive Era America.¹⁴⁰ A form of hidden curriculum within American schooling is offered by Stearns and Stearns in their historical analysis, already mentioned under Youth and Youth Movements, of changing uses of shame.¹⁴¹

In addition to curriculum content, approaches to the teaching and learning of different skills and processes within schools are addressed in a number of studies. Juan Viacava examines the introduction by state officials of increasingly standardised and rationalised approaches to handwriting in Uruguayan elementary schools in the 1930s, Christine Ogren analyses complexities around the introduction of simplified spelling as an efficiency measure in American schools from the 1870s to 1920s, whilst Susan Schulten examines the practice of map drawing common in early nineteenth century American schooling as a set of practices of graphic literacy.¹⁴² Jane Insley considers the use of paper model-making to teach crystallography in a long perspective, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, using a material culture approach.¹⁴³

Textbooks continue to feature in 2017, though perhaps less prominently than in 2016. Textual content is the focus in an international set of analyses already mentioned under Race, Ethnicity and Colonialism; Serrano-López and Somoza-Rodríguez' study of Spanish and Colombian texts, Shef Rogers' examination of New Zealand reading books, and Heinze and Straube-Heinze's studies of reading primers in national socialist Germany.¹⁴⁴ Jane Dove examines Victorian and Edwardian textbooks, alongside games and puzzles, for insights into the resources available to children at that time for learning about the geography of England and Wales.¹⁴⁵ Mariano González-Delgado offers a historiographical analysis of the treatment of the Holocaust in history textbooks for Spanish secondary schools.¹⁴⁶ Others discuss processes of textbook production and textbook use. Betül Açıkgöz analyses textbook approval and disapproval processes in Turkey during the late Ottoman Empire, while Andrew Fiss investigates rituals of burying mathematical textbooks by college students in nineteenth century America, arguing that these rituals changed after the American Civil War (see also under University and Vocational Education).¹⁴⁷ Konstantina Papakosta addresses both the content, production, and use of history textbooks in Greek schools between 1952 and 2010.¹⁴⁸

Outside of formal educational institutions, attention has been devoted to identity and cultural formation through sports. This theme is addressed by Austin Duckworth and Thomas Hunt in relation to United States Government and private entities funding of the training of athletes from developing nations in the 1960s, seen as an only partially successful attempt to maximise American influence during the Cold War era. International developments are also significant in Bogdan Popa's investigation of Romanian sporting life, which found internal competitions and debates influenced by shifts in the location of political power after the defeat of the Central Powers in the First World War. Ana Petrov focuses on the cultural politics of sport in post-Second World War Yugoslavia, and its intended role in forming a new Yugoslav identity.¹⁴⁹ Articles on informal learning through sport and in other collective and domestic settings have been considered above, under Biography and Gender.

Learning through art and aesthetics, and audio and audiovisual media, and culture in various forms, within and beyond formal institutions, has received considerable attention. Concepts of artistic and aesthetic education are examined in varied international contexts. Karin Priem and Christine Mayer discuss Alfred Lichtwark's concept of artistic and aesthetic education, while Kayoto Komatsu offers a genealogical analysis of discourses of self-expression in art education in nineteenth and early twentieth-century England and Japan. Eulàlia Collelldemont and Conrad Vilanou examine late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Spanish anarchist visions of aesthetic education, Sian Roberts discusses exhibitions of refugee children's art in the UK during the Second World War, and Ian Grosvenor and Gyongyver Pataki offer 'critical case studies of possibilities' in three schools in the UK, America and Australia which sought to connect school learning with collective consciousness, art, and culture. Frederik Herman and Ira Plein consider visual representations of industrialisation and working-class culture in 1880s to 1920s Luxembourg, whilst Iveta Kestere discusses school theatre in Soviet Latvia from the 1960s to the 1980s.¹⁵⁰

Beyond this special issue, architectural educational innovations are addressed by Isabelle Doucet through case studies of innovation and experimentation in architectural education in the 1960s and 1970s, and in Couchez's discussion of the modern-

ist architect Renaat Braem's educational programme noted under University and Vocational Education above.¹⁵¹ Audi and audio-visual media are aligned with such developments, discussed by Laura di Spurio with a focus on radio and youth leisure cultures in 1940s to 1960s Belgium, and by Victoria Cain in her examination of uses of educational screen media in American schools since the 1970s.¹⁵² Interest in sensory histories and embodiment, seen in 2016, continues to be a feature of scholarship in 2017. A suite of articles addresses varied educational uses of silence and sound. Pieter Verstraete considers changing educational meanings of silence over time, Josephine Hoegaerts offers a 'semiotic' analysis of the 'silent' pupil in nineteenth century vocal education, whilst Joyce Goodman examines auditory histories of schooling, drawing on a 1970s project aiming to introduce creative approaches to music education in 1970s England.¹⁵³ A different axis of analysis, a reflection on encounters between the human and mechanical, and the specific forms of knowing and acting embodied in sources arising from these encounters, is addressed by Frederik Hermann, Karin Priem and Geert Thyssen.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that the field flourishes: history of education sees international scholars publish in English-language journals on a broad range of topics. The sites of education and the conceptualisations of the process have moved far beyond formal teaching institutions. With this in mind, it is unsurprising that the original categories seem sometimes odd to a modern audience: the occupation of England in several geographical categories, but Scotland, Wales and Ireland placed into one heading, for example. A case might be made to revisit these, but would be a major undertaking, with 6211 records in the database at time of writing. This review has shown that in the literature published in 2017 has broadly followed the trends of previous years. It is striking to see that contemporary concerns are strongly reflected, such as disability and gender. Studies on gender in the history of education have, as elsewhere, moved beyond women's history but are still predominantly about femininity and by female authors. There was no work on education and the history of sexuality in the covered titles. Despite this inward-looking reflexive turn, historians of education seem confident that their work might inform the present, looking outwards towards policy across a range of areas.

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