

Early 20th Century American Schooling, Education Sciences and Making Social Exclusions

Thomas S. Popkewitz¹

La escuela personifica temas de salvación de la modernidad norteamericana y europea. Los temas de salvación son mutaciones de los proyectos de emancipación de la Ilustración, a través del uso de la razón y la racionalización, con el propósito de lograr un progreso universal para la humanidad, de modo que la escuela produjera los modos de vida en los que la libertad cosmopolita podría llevarse a cabo. El proyecto emancipatorio implicaba tesis culturales acerca del niño y la sociedad que involucraban ironías y paradojas de la modernidad en, al menos, dos diferentes capas. La primera, mientras las nociones de cosmopolitismo trascenderían lo local y lo provincial, estaban ligadas a la formación del estado moderno que dependía de hacer al ciudadano, de cuya participación dependía, a su vez, la nueva nación y su propia existencia. Segunda, las esperanzas de la libertad cosmopolita implicaban temores ante los peligros y la gente peligrosa que no personificaban las cualidades y características del nuevo ciudadano. Este escrito explora la manera en que las esperanzas y temores están fijamente internalizados en las prácticas de las ciencias pedagógicas de principios del siglo xx, en lo que concierne a la planeación de lo que el niño y su familia deberían ser. Las prácticas de las ciencias comprendían un estilo comparativo de la razón a través de la cual la esperanza de inclusión establecía principios que dividían y diferenciaban cualidades y personas a excluir en los gestos inclusivos.

135

¹ Catedrático de Curriculum en la Universidad de Wisconsin (Madison, Estados Unidos). Uno de los principales exponentes de las teorías críticas en educación. De su vasta producción incluyendo la más reciente, particularmente referida al campo de la historia de la educación y traducida al español, puede mencionarse: Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin, Miguel A. Pereyra, compiladores, *Historia cultural y educación. Ensayos críticos sobre conocimiento y escolarización*, Barcelona-México, Ediciones Pomares-CESU, UNAM-IMCED, colección Conocimiento y educación, 2003.

Educación progresiva • Ciencias de la educación • Reforma • Inclusión y exclusión social

136

Schooling embodies salvation themes of North American and European modernity. The salvation themes are mutations of Enlightenments' project of emancipation through the use of reason and rationality in achieving a universal progress for humanity. The school was to produce the modes of life in which the cosmopolitan liberty and freedom could be produced. The emancipatory project entailed cultural theses about the child and society that entailed ironies and paradoxes of modernity in at least two different layers. First, while the notions of cosmopolitanism was to transcend the local and provincial, it was linked to the formation of the modern state that was dependent on making the citizen whose participation in the new nation was dependent on for its existence. Second, the hopes of cosmopolitan freedom embodied fears about dangers and dangerous people who did not embody the qualities and characteristics of the new citizen. This discussion explores the manner in which hopes and fears are embedded in the practices of the pedagogical sciences at the turn of 20th Century concerned with planning in which the child and the family were and should be. The practices of sciences embodied a comparative style of reason through which the hope for inclusion established principles that divided and differentiated particular qualities and people so as to exclude in the inclusionary gestures.

Progressive education • Education sciences • Reform • Social inclusion and exclusion

* * *

Schooling embodies salvation themes of North American and European modernity. The salvation themes are mutations of Enlightenments' project of emancipation through the use of reason and rationality in achieving a universal progress for humanity. The child is the future cosmopolitan citizen of the nation whose reason and rationality produce liberty, freedom and progress. The emancipatory project of schooling embodies historical ironies and paradoxes of modernity in at least two different layers.

First, schooling joins the social administration of progress and the freedom and liberty of individuality, two central registers of modernity. The founders of the American and French Republic recognized that the

citizen was not born but made. The modern state was dependent on making the citizen whose participation the new nation was dependent on for its existence.² Schooling was to contribute to making the new society through making the new child. The theories of the child and teaching from the late 19th century were technologies to transcribe Enlightenment hopes about human agency, reason and the rationality of science into principles of everyday life.

Second, the irony is that the hopes for the social administration of freedom embodied fears about dangerous people who did not embody the qualities and characteristics of the new citizen. Curriculum and teaching were comparative systems that recognized and differentiated “the civilized” from “others,” the uncivilized, the savage, the backward, and today’s “socially disadvantaged” child.

The hope and fears of cosmopolitanism are pervasive in the schooling. The aspirations of its transcendental values are expressed in the language of making the knowledge of research “useful”, in the to emancipation, and with today’s discourses about globalization to create a more cosmopolitan society and, to promote the world citizen whose allegiances to human rights, environmental balances, and hospitality to diversity are to shape local actions. Cosmopolitan aspirations are carried in efforts for collaboration and democracy to achieve self-realization and the collective betterment.

137

This placing of cosmopolitanism into narratives of the school and the nation might seem odd. The Enlightenment is seen as an attitude to transcend the local and provincialism of the nation through its quest for a universal, emancipatory reason of a world citizen. Ideally this may be correct, but historically ironic. The universal values of the Enlightenment’s cosmopolitan individual were inscribed in the new republics and its citizen to ascribe to the nation those transcendental values and purposes. But there are other elements that go unquestioned about cosmopolitanism in schooling. The school embodies double gestures in the making of the cosmopolitan child. Cosmopolitanism entails comparative installations that differentiate and divide those who are enlightened and civilized from those who do not have those qualities. School reforms bring forth the hope of an inclusive society where “all children learn” that overlaps with fears of the child whose characteristics are not cosmopolitan and a threat to the moral

² I use the notion of modern hesitantly in this text for literary convenience. My concern is not to engage in the periodization. It is to explore the slow and uneven changes in the categories, epistemologies, and distinctions that make possible the school as it overlaps with other institutional developments that are often placed together as modernity.

unity of the whole - the disadvantaged, the poor, and those populations designated as ethnic and immigrant, signified in the U.S. context as the child “left behind”.

This article first explores the double gestures of hope and fears in the sciences of pedagogy in the turn of the 20th Century American schooling. I argue that school pedagogy is a strategic site in the changing of society through changing the child. Theories of the child and teaching are viewed as cultural theses about cosmopolitanism. Enlightenment’s notion of “agency” and science are brought into ways of organizing everyday life to link individuality with collective belonging and the nation. Agency, however, entails particular characteristics discussed in the next section as an individuality who rationally organizes and plans life; and as “a homeless mind” where action and reflection entail simultaneously distancing oneself from the immediate through universal concepts that seem without historical location. Childhood, learning, development and growth function to perform to enable one to “see” and distance oneself so as to become an object of reflection and for action. At the same time, the homeless qualities of such concepts are brought back into organizing modes of daily living as the parent and child “see” themselves as “learners”. The next section explores the cultural theses of cosmopolitanism in planning related to the making of the family and community. School subjects serve as an exemplar; an alchemic that transforms disciplinary knowledge into cultural theses about who the child is and should be. The final section explores how the images and narratives of cosmopolitanism as cultural theses produce double gestures about the child the hope of inclusion and fear of the excluded.

138

The discussion is drawn from a broader study of the systems of reason in present schooling, policy, and research as double gestures of inclusion and exclusion.³ My focus on cosmopolitanism is on its systems of reason in governing who the child is, who the child should be, and who does “fit” in the images and narratives of that child. The analysis plays with the politics of knowledge through Foucault’s notion of governmentality.⁴ Pedagogy is political through its inscriptions of rules and standards by which experiences are classified, problems located, and procedures given to order what is seen, thought about, and acted on.⁵ The use of “ism” in cosmopolitanism gives attention to the different historical assemblies and

³ POPKEWITZ, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform: Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child*.

⁴ M. FOUCAULT, “Governmentality”.

⁵ Also see Ranci ere, *The Flesh of Words: The Politics of Writing*.

connections that distinguish reason and “the reasonable person” rather than treating the word as a distinct doctrine.

Science as Cultural Theses about Modes of Living

American Progressive political movements and the American Progressive Education joined the international movements into national themes of salvation and redemption through reform Protestantism.⁶ The spread of mass schooling embodied “salvation stories” that connected the individual to a larger collective sense of mission and progress. Lasch⁷ has argued, for example, that ‘new’ ideas of childhood in the 19th century helped to precipitate the new idea of the family as interwoven problems of the social administration of the State, public health and moralists.

Science was central to the reforms of society and people. Science was seen as part of the Enlightenment heritage in which progress was obtained. The faith in science had a millennialist belief in rational knowledge as a positive force for action. From city government reforms to the studies of the family, child and urban housing, progressives sought to rescue those who suffered from or fell from grace in the debilitating qualities of the city and to change their modes of living. The *urbane* of the city in Progressivism would use the expertise of science to study the *urban* conditions that produced moral decay, and work with government for effective reform to eliminate evils and purify its citizens of moral transgressions. Protestant elites felt that the social sciences, for example, would counter the disintegration of the moral order in urban life. Science was to identify the causes of alcoholism, delinquency, prostitution, among other practices, from which interventions could be devised to correct the dysfunctional norms and rectify the social conditions.

139

Science had two different trajectories in social planning.

One was the mastery promised to calculate and change the conditions of social life. Studies of urban planning, health conditions, labor conditions, for example, were done and new laws produced for the social betterment of urban populations.

The development of the child embodied the technologies of science to artificially intervene in order to produce a more progressive society and individuality. The sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, one of the early

⁶ For a discussion of the secularization of religion into civic society, see Bellah (1968).

⁷ C. LASCH, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged*.

American sociologists and a founder with George Herbert Mead of what later was called “symbolic interactionism,” evoked the cosmopolitanism of the American Exceptionalism when talking about the social sciences and urban conditions. Cooley saw the United States as “nearer, perhaps, to the spirit of the coming order”⁸ that is totally different from anything before it “because it places a greater emphasis on individuality and innovation” and does not inherit the class culture of Europe”.⁹ In his second edition of *Principles of Sociology*, Edward Alsworth Ross (1920/1930), an early founder of American sociology, evoked an international perspective in talking about the civilizing qualities of American society and its schools. Ross believed that the common school replaced the medieval church in providing for the cohesion, “concord and obedience”¹⁰ necessary for modern societies. Education, he argued, is the social institution to produce a like-mindedness among diverse populations through stressing “the *present* and the *future* rather than the *past*.”¹¹ Social and individual change was installed as an incessant element of that vision.

140

Second, science was a way of thinking about the ordering and planning everyday life. Theories of the family and child development gave attention to cultural theses for ordering and constituting experience, reflection and action in daily life. Research on “thought,” behavior, communities, and interactions, for example, generated principles about action. These principles were a more general cultural disposition about reflection and acting that had little to do with the realms of interpreting and understanding formed in the natural and physical sciences. Thorndike’s behaviorism and Dewey’s pragmatism, although different in its notions of psychology of the person, brought into pedagogical thought generalized notions about how individuality ordered the present and gave personal mastery to their future.

The double quality of the sciences of education - to enact changes in the conditions of people produced changes in people is embodied in the turn of the th 20 Century Social Question, a cross Atlantic Protestant reform movement concerned with the moral disorder of the city.¹² These reform movements brought important changes to the city: mass public ownership of transit system, garbage and sewage treatment, laws to Project the poor, and public heath, among others.

⁸ C. H. COOLEY, *Social organization: A study of the larger mind*, p. 167.

⁹ In D. ROSS, *G. Stanley Hall: The psychologist as prophet*, p. 245.

¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 524.

¹¹ *Idem*, p.259, italics in original.

¹² D. RODGERS, *Atlantic crossings: Social politics in a progressive age*.

But the reforms also focused on the making and remaking of the urban family and child. The formation of sociology and psychology in the US that were instrumental in the construction of the pedagogies of the modern school. The sciences problematized and calculated *thought*, talk, feelings, and actions to shape moral agency through governing the principles of reflection and participation. Albion Small,¹³ a former Baptist minister hired to start a Department of Sociology at the new Rockefeller sponsored University of Chicago,¹⁴ gave attention to the family, urban reform and the future of the nation. For Small and later for his colleague, John Dewey, the teacher held the key to the future of society through remaking the inner qualities of the child. This anthropological psychology was expressed as: "Sociology knows no means for the amelioration or reform of society more radical than those of which teachers hold the leverage. The teacher . . . will read his success only in the record of men and women who go from the school eager to explore wider and deeper these social relations, and zealous to do their part in making a better future".¹⁵

The domestic sciences evident in multiple societies from Europe through Australia, for example, focused on of reforming the urban family. The sciences gave attention to the physical and moral conditions of the urban family by ordering and classified the health conditions of the home. But health was not only about physical issues of disease. Medical discourses were metaphors for child rearing that overlapped concerns about home cleanliness, and nutritional practices of the home with the moral well-being of the child. Daily life in the family was rationalized as parents (typically mothers) were to practice hygienic approaches in preparing foods and organizing patterns of daily diets. Child psychologies were introduced through notions of child development whose values embodied images of the moral life that one should life.

The sciences embodied the hope for future that also entailed a destabilizing of the past. Old traditions were feared, to be shed and new ones installed so the future, Dewey argued, will be without an authoritarian system of religious and civil institutions, and any fixed classes and ancient institutions. "The old culture is doomed for us because it was built upon an alliance of political and spiritual powers, an equilibrium of governing

141

¹³ Albion SMALL, *Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy*.

¹⁴ It is important to note that eastern elite universities as Yale, Columbia, Harvard, Dartmouth, Princeton, were initially schools to train clergy.

¹⁵ Albion SMALL, *op. cit.*, p.184.

and leisure classes, which no longer exists".¹⁶ The dismantling of the old and the inscription of the future embodied a cosmopolitan individuality in which intelligent action and a problem-solving voluntarism contributed to the making of the national character.

The de-stabilizing of the past and the making of the future embodied cultural theses to order everyday living. The psychological construction of the child in John Dewey's pragmatism and Edward L. Thorndike viewed their sciences of education as contributing to progressive education in the tradition of the Enlightenment. Each saw science as a useful and vital social agent in making a progressive society. That progressive society required that the school construct the freedom and liberty of the child through inscribing principles of reason and the reasonable person. Dewey viewed individuality as having plasticity and a social basis. Dewey's pragmatism was a designing project of the individual who consciously deployed the creative power of science in daily life. In contrast to the anthropological psychology of Dewey, Thorndike's science was to bring out what was natural or innate in the child to produce a more humane society and moral order.

142

The sciences of the school and home transported early Puritan salvation themes into narratives of an *American Exceptionalism*, a narrative of the nation as the Chosen People whose enlightenment's vision placed the nation and its citizen as a unique human experiment for moving civilization toward the highest ideals of human values and progress. The cultural theses of the sciences narrated an individual who was action-oriented and problem-oriented as was American society at large. The individual was a purposeful agent of change in a world filled with contingency. The future had no guarantees as it was ordered through the decision making and agency of its citizen.¹⁷

Notions of progress in the *American Exceptionalism* brought forth narratives of the future without an authoritarian system of religious and aristocratic institutions and without fixed classes. Pragmatism as a particular American philosophy embodied this belief in the exceptionalism of the nation. It looked to the future through the concept of action. "Intelligent Action" was to shed the Old World's traditions because they prevented

¹⁶ J. DEWEY, *American Education and Culture*, pp.501-502.

¹⁷ I use the notion of exceptionalism as an historical concept about the narratives and images of collective belonging, and not to argue the US was exceptional. All nations, from my reading, embody narratives of their national exceptionalism within their location in relation to other nations.

progress and salvation. “The old culture is doomed for us because it was built upon an alliance of political and spiritual powers, an equilibrium of governing and leisure classes, which no longer exists”.¹⁸ The future was to disregard present traditions: There is no turning back “the hands of time” and one needs to plan for the future!

“The Homeless Mind”: Planning Agency in the Rational Movement of Time

The riding of the dangerous past in the making of the child embodied particular historical cultural theses about modes of living. The mode of living can be considered as “the homeless mind”.¹⁹ The “homeless mind” is a particular way of ordering who one is and should be that is associated with modernity. The individual lives as both an object and a subject of reflection. If one takes the concepts of schooling that relate to a child’s learning, growth and development, for example, the concepts seem as transcendental categories that seem to have no particular historical location or author to establish a home. This re-inscription of home through distancing one’s self is a function of the modern expertise of the human sciences from Freud to Thorndike through Vygotsky and Dewey, for example, is to enable the self-reflection in which individuality “lives” in the flows between universals, where the self is an object of reflection, and the immediate site of acting and experiencing. Yet the distancing qualities of this concepts from the immediate function to reestablish belonging and home as they become tools to interpret and plan who the child is and should be.

143

The qualities of the homeless mind make possible the notion of one’s having a career. *Career* was a word that literally signified the track that horses ran around in the beginning of the 19th century. Over time it began to signify middle-class males whose identities belonged in their attachment to an occupation. The idea of an individual having a career signals a broader shift in locating the self in the temporal world.²⁰ Career symbolized an identity in which life trajectories and social positions are separated from the family and immediate community. Life was a continuous event of

¹⁸ J. DEWEY, 1929a, *The Sources of a Science of Education*, pp. 501-502.

¹⁹ P. BERGER, B. BERGER and H. KELNER, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*.

²⁰ B. BLEDSSTEIN, *The Culture of Professionalism, the Middle Class, and the Development of Higher Education in America*.

planning through time, shedding the past through the development of the self for the future. Continued calculations organized one's career to assign identity, self-image, and material prospects in an expanding universe.²¹

Life as the planning of a career is articulated in the reflections of Charles Eliot, the president of Harvard University and a leader in secondary school reform in the late 19th century U.S. Eliot expressed a more general optimism of American Exceptionalism—that the nation was a unique experiment in producing universal cosmopolitan values. Schooling was a civilizing project through educating children in the systematic use of reason to train them “for the duties of life.” Eliot argued that

I have always believed that the individual child in a democratic society had a right to do his own prophesying about his own career, guided by his own ambitions and his own capacities, and abating his aspirations only under the irresistible pressure of adverse circumstances.²²

144 The comment about the child's career expressed a narrative of cosmopolitanism. The child is to become an agent of his future, guided by “his own prophesying” and “his own ambitions and his own capacities.” The reason that guides the child's ambitions and aspirations is placed as the universal of humanity, expressed that the “individual child ... had a right” that signified the nation as a personification of the democratic society.

The cosmopolitanism that Eliot assigns to the agency of the child enunciates simultaneously the hope and fears about dangers to civilization from those who do not have the proper modes of reasoning and living. The fears underlie are the irrationality in what Eliot calls “the irresistible pressure of adverse circumstances”. I will talk more about the historical grid in which Eliot's concerns with “adverse circumstances” are enunciated in chapter 3. What I want to draw attention here is schooling as practices that are to replace nonreason or irrationality with the forethought of planning for preparing for the future.

One is fortified against the acceptance of unreasonable propositions only by skill in determining facts through observation and experience, by practice in comparing facts or groups of facts, and by the unvarying habit of questioning and verifying allegations, and of distinguishing between facts

²¹ *Idem*, p. 159.

²² C. ELIOT, “The Fundamental Assumptions in the Report of the Committee of Ten”, p. 331.

and inferences from facts, and between a true cause and an antecedent event. One must have direct training and practice in logical speech and writing before he can be quite safe against specious rhetoric and imaginative oratory.²³

Eliot recognized that such a society was differentiated, but the essential equality of the school was that all students would learn the same logic of reason and thus would ensure the survival of the republic.²⁴ The fact that all children learn systematic modes of argument, he argues, is not a theoretical problem but a practical one of “the study of arguments which have had weight in determining the course of trade, industries, or public affairs, or have made epochs in discovery, inventing, or the progress of science”.²⁵ The use of the word *all* gave a unity and sameness to the nation and its people.

Why is this quality of “the homeless mind” important to this discussion of pedagogy? Its brings into pedagogy a particular way in which the individual cultural thesis about how the individual is to “see”, think, act and feel in everyday life. The child is to understand itself in a sequential and progressive time. Reason is made into something that is calculable as a sequence of past, present, and future in the planning change. The 19th century produced, for example, the awareness of change, the future, and history, with the Faustian notion of becoming rather than being. John Stuart Mills pointed out that “the idea of comparing one’s own age with former ages, or with our notion of those which are yet to come, had occurred to philosophers; but it never before was itself the dominant idea of any age”.²⁶ The ability to distance one’s self from the immediate, face-to-face interactions in reflection and to re-emerge that distancing to establish belonging as a tied to notions of progress and agency is embodied in “the homeless mind”.

145

The ordering of the self-in-time has its paradoxes. It memorializes cosmopolitanism as a break from traditions to enable the cultivation of things not burdened with past traditions. This theme is central to modern social science. Yet at the same time, the past is to be re-memorialized to “write for a future that the present cannot recognize: to develop, to cultivate the untimely, the out-of-place and the out-of-step”.²⁷

²³ C. ELIOT, “Wherein Popular Education has Failed”, p. 424.

²⁴ *Idem*, p. 426.

²⁵ *Idem*, p. 428.

²⁶ M. EKSTEINS, “History and Degeneration: Of Birds and Cages”, p. 3.

²⁷ E. GROSZ, *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely*, p. 117.



The placement of the self-in-sequential-time was a comparative method in the name of the universal that colluded with the violence of colonialization and racializing. The modern concept of history, argues,²⁸ presupposes a politics of time whose universality about human emancipation through reason was punctured at the moment of its conception with a “rational irrationalism” in philosophy, anthropology, and geology. Race was raised to an ontological principle of violence. Human time was placed in a sequence as a connection between ontology, nationality, and theories of racial difference. Race was associated not only with the idea of authenticity and national principles but also with the elevation of race to a determining position in theories of history, especially those that spoke of “war and conflict, naturalizing them in the convenient idea of specifically race-based imperial conflict”.²⁹

Urbanizing the Pastoral Images of Community in Progressive Movements

146 The new disciplines of sociology and psychology were instrumental technologies in the reforms of the child and the family. The rationalizing of the *habitus* of the urban home of the poor entered into bourgeois living as well to change gendered relations. The family was an administrative practice that brought love and sympathy into the industrial world. The image of the family was the earliest and the most immediate place for the paradigm of self-abridgement of culture and linking of individuality to collective belonging and “home.” The school curriculum narrated images of the family, yet had to supersede the latter’s norms and cultural values in order to produce the citizen whose future actions guaranteed the future of the Republic.

The new community-oriented sociology and social psychology embodied a systematic knowledge pinpointing of the individual citizen as the normative figure in social, civic, moral, and economic relations. Community and family were the intermediary sites to establish a home that connected collective obligations and intimate relations. Newer and finer distinctions of the mind, social interaction, and community emerged

²⁸ P. GILROY, *Against Race: Imaging Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*.

²⁹ *Idem*, p. 64.

to direct attention to processes mediated through a social-psychological language.³⁰

German social theories about the fall and resurrection of the city as a center of culture, belonging, and home were translated and reassembled in the Social Question about the American urban context. The pastoral world of community (*Gemeinschaft*) was where God would be found and where neighbors prior to modernity would come closest to nature. The moral and spiritual conditions of community were contrasted with modernity expressed in the notion of society (*Gesellschaft*) by German sociologist Tönnies (1887/1957). *Gesellschaft* embodied the laws, conventions, and rule of public opinion that were without the moral or ethical grounding of the memorialized pastoral past envisioned in Christian Puritanism. In a variation of contemporary debates about alienation in modern society, the moral order of the pastoral community was viewed as lost through the abstract and impersonal systems of communications and social relations produced by urbanization and industrialization. The soullessness of society was represented by unbridled capitalism and by robber barons such as Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Mellon.

The Chicago sociology urbanized the pastoral of community (*Gemeinschaft*) in its theories of society and community. The sociology took up the Social Question. Theories about changing the conditions and populations of the city joined Protestant pastoral images of community with the foundation stories of American of technology transforming the wilderness into a prosperous and egalitarian cosmopolitan society.³¹

147

The notion of community embodied spiritual and religious traditions in the processes of secularization.³¹ Community articulated a liberalism shaped by national exceptionalism in which the American spirit was an embodiment of “a more general spirit of human nature”.³² Community mediated and created collective belonging in the abstract and impersonal relations of modern *Gesellschaft*. The sociologist Charles Horton Cooley directed attention to the remaking of urban moral order by the linking of the self to community. The center for the development of social organization, social consensus, and order was the urban family and its environment. The family was no longer a hindrance to developing a universal reason and a reasonable person but one that linked the family/

³⁰ D. ROSS, *The Origins of American Social Science*, pp. 230-239.

³¹ W. CRONON, “The Trouble With WilderMesses or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature”.

³² D. ROSS, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

community and interpersonal (*Gemeinschaft*) with the conditions of modern society (*Gesellschaft*). The family was an administrative practice that brought love and sympathy into the industrial world. Its interactions and communications were central to placing America at the forefront of progress.

The cathedral of community in the city landscape embodied a face-to-face relation with God's creations of nature through the authenticity given by the networks of interactions found in urban communities. The pastoral image of *Gemeinschaft* was revisioned so that it was no longer irreconcilably divided from *Gesellschaft* in governing the urban poor and immigrant family. Community was a fabrication to change the modes of living of the urban family and thus ensure the future of the American experience in democracy. America, Cooley said, was like a family in which "there was never before a great nation in which the people ... had so kindly and cheerful a sense of a common life".³³

Gemeinschaft was coupled community with the concept of primary groups to focus on the social relations and networks of the family and child. The urban family was to act through face-to-face relations that inserted images of the pastoral community into an urban narrative about American democracy and its exceptionalism.³⁴

148 The categories of communities and primary groups provided distinctions of individuality located in networks for developing collective bonds. Cooley³⁵ saw the family as a *primary group* where a child learns of civilization through face-to-face interaction—an assumption that persists in various forms in contemporary social and psychological thought.³⁶ The focus was on the processes of intersubjective mediation for the self-realization of the individual in social or communal patterns.³⁷ The communication systems of the family would, for Cooley, establish "Christian" principles in the family that stressed a moral imperative to life and self-sacrifice for the good of the group. Cooley thought that proper socialization of the child by the family and the neighborhood would enable the child to lose the greed, lust, and pride of power that was innate to the infant, and thus the child would become fit for civilized society.

The concepts of community and primary group were conceptually

³³ C. H. COOLEY, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*, p. 168.

³⁴ See, e.g., B. FRANKLIN, *Building the American community: The school curriculum and the search for Social Control*; Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001.

³⁵ C. H. COOLEY, *op. cit.*

³⁶ *Idem.*

³⁷ See, e.g., B. Franklin, *op. cit.*; H. Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum.*

inscribed in social psychologies of John Dewey and his colleague George Hebert Mead, first at the University of Michigan and then at the University of Chicago. Mead's social interactionism, for example, revised the imagined *Gemeinschaft* as an urban idea of community "without doing violence to liberal democratic values".³⁸ Mead focused on the reciprocal interaction between individual and society using the notion of community. He linked "the general social attitudes" that made possible the organization of the self in community to broader social- institutional practices as they became habitual in one's life. The reciprocal interaction was concerned with a presupposed social administration of the self through the ordering of language and communication.³⁹

It is the ability of the person to put himself in other people's places that gives him his cues as to what he is to do under a specific situation. It is this that gives to man what we term his character as a member of the community; his citizenship, from a political standpoint; his membership from any one of the different standpoints in which he belongs to the community. It makes him a part of the community, and he recognizes himself as a member of it just because he does take the attitude of those concerned, and does control his own conduct in terms of common attitudes.⁴⁰

There is, looking back at this argument, an irony. The cultural theses embedded in social interactionism and pragmatism to produce belonging among the city's urban populations requires the homeless mind to effect the loss of belonging. The connection of self and family through the distinctions of community and primary group involved a particular self-reflexivity. Thought was simultaneously distanced from and reattached to the immediate through ordering what constitutes experience. It became possible, for example, to think of one's conduct through notions of problem solving, socialization, personality, attitudes, motivation, and learning-words of sociology and psychology. The categories enabled daily life to become an object of one's reflection through universalized distinctions yet at the same time were brought to daily life as principles to classify experience, purpose, and intentionality.

149

³⁸ B. FRANKLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³⁹ See, e.g., *Idem*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ G. H. MEAD, *Mind, Self & Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (Edited, with Introduction, by Charles W. Morris), p. 270.

School Subjects, Alchemies, and Cultural Theses about the Child

Although curriculum studies have approached school subjects through Herbert Spencer's question about "What knowledge is of most worth?" the question of selection and organization of school subjects had less to do with that knowledge. What became mathematics, physics, literature studies and social studies were determined through principles generated, as I argued in earlier chapters, in the converting ordinances of pedagogy.. Psychology was the translation and transportation device in mapping content. Until at least 1901, school books were to organize the concepts of school subjects into the logical basis of what was considered the knowledge of the field. By 1920, teachers were to apply scientific methods of child psychology to teaching, practices that related back, for example, to earlier discussions of Thorndike's studies of arithmetic.

Forming Subjects/Forming the Child

150 School subjects was, in one sense, an invention of the 19th century. The early decades of the 19th-century school curriculum can be expressed by the names of the books read. For example, high school students were to read two books of Caesar and three of Virgil for the study of Latin. Colleges prescribed what books students should read in English for their admission and for examinations that were given for entrance up to at least 1885.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the primer books that organized teaching were replaced by textbooks designed around school subjects.⁴¹ They were organized by faculty psychology. School subjects were taught to discipline the mind by training it in the rules of logic and reason and by shaping the powers of observation. Charles Eliot expressed this purpose as chair of a major Committee of Ten Report to standardized the high school curriculum for college admission. The curriculum emphasized the child's membership in a world community, but that world community was realized through images of the nation expressed through the triumph of science as the apotheosis of cosmopolitan reason. The freedom of the child was bound to the learning of arithmetic and reading "to acquire the feelings,

⁴¹ See Th. POPKEWITZ, "The Formation of School Subjects and the Political Context of Schooling"; also see I. Goodson, *School Subjects and Curriculum Change*.

sentiments, and ideas of mankind.” Government was “charged with the interests of civil society, and thus directly concerned in the creation and distribution of wealth and the personal well-being of the individual in the community”.⁴² Pedagogy was for “the completion of the individual” and involved “individual cooperation and perfecting the development of that individuality”.⁴³

School subjects were designed to teach a universal reason that tamed passions, desires, and sentiments. Psychology provided organizing principles. Responding to the pedagogical psychologist G. Stanley Hall for not taking into consideration child study research, Eliot reflected on this omission and suggested that psychology was essential as a principle of the curriculum. This need entailed the consideration of the

bodily changes in childhood and youth, and undertakes to mark off the years between birth and maturity into distinct, sharply defined periods, bearing separate names like childhood and adolescence, and to prescribe appropriate pedagogical treatment for each period in the formation of the curriculum.⁴⁴

Eliot concluded that “the idea of individual differences and a scientific educational theory” was essential for the school curriculum.

151

The content of school subjects had a normative function. It signified the moral grace bestowed on the nation and the promise of progress. That grace was not of the pastoral garden but of the technological sublime in which useful knowledge enabled the nation’s triumph over nature. But that mastery of nature and society also embodied a continuum of values that differentiated the nation and its people as the most advanced civilization in a natural chain of being. The American race would civilize the western lands once occupied by Native Americans and Americanize the immigrants coming from non-Protestant shores.

Although seeming far-fetched today, school textbooks taught that geometry and chemistry would promote this scheme of bringing progress to the lands of the west through their use in mining and smelting.⁴⁵ Chemistry, wrote Edward L. Youman, a founder of *Popular Science*

⁴² U.S. Government Printing Office, *A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States of America as Approved by many Leading Educators*, p. 11.

⁴³ A. W., *Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy*, p. 175.

⁴⁴ C. ELIOT, “The Fundamental Assumptions in the Report of the Committee of Ten (1893)”, pp. 342–343.

⁴⁵ W. REESE, *The Origins of the American High School*, p. 111.

Monthly, taught “the processes of human industry, connects its operation with our daily experience, involves the conditions of life and death, and throws light upon the sublime plan by which the Creator manages the world”.⁴⁶ Geology taught the truths of Genesis, and zoology provided learning of classifications that placed man at the top of nature’s hierarchy. “Understanding scientific laws drew people closer to God, partly by enhancing productivity,” and by teaching students that life and death were shaped by a chemical process that was part of “an endless cycle of dust to dust”.⁴⁷

The curriculum of science and mathematics education and the newly formed school subject of social studies were to function as the instruments of progress. The teachings of science, mathematics, literature, and history were to improve “mankind” and develop a world community centered from the narratives of the nation and salvation themes of Protestant reformism.⁴⁸ The rise of mathematics as a school subject, for example, was considered providential. It was to contribute to the spread of Protestant, republican, and civilized views about people and society. School subjects would provide what Herbert Spencer spoke about as education for complete living. The aims of the new comprehensive high school –or what some called “the cosmopolitan high school”– and curriculum theories were to order a cosmopolitan life generated by the principles of reason calculated through the sciences of the mind and communication.⁴⁹

152

Changes in the city and Protestant Reformism related to the Social Question provoked criticism of the school curriculum with respect to the demands of teaching “to the needs of masses of pupils”. The criticism brought to the fore questions about learning the skills and dispositions that would enable urban children to become productive citizens. Race as well as ethnicity entered into the discussions about providing unity of all classes. Thomas Jesse Jones, associated with the settlement house movement and the 1916 report on *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, spoke optimistically of the “Negro and Indian races” as not being able to develop properly, but would now be able to do so through education (cited in Krug, 1964, p. 343).

The fears of child backward child were expressed in the double gesture with hope. The high failure rate and pressures on children not able enough,

⁴⁶ *Idem.*, p. 108.

⁴⁷ YOUAMAN, in *Idem.*, p. 109.

⁴⁸ E. KRUG, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920*, p. 342.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., H. KLIEBARD, *op. cit.*; B. FRANKLIN, *op. cit.*; KRUG, *op. cit.*

one critic of the teaching of algebra argued, produced pressures that injured “the mind, destroyed the health, and wrecked the lives of thousands of children”.⁵⁰ Others complained about disturbing harmony and consensus through, for example, teaching girls mathematics, which would make her “lose her soul” and contribute “nothing to their peace, happiness, and contentment in the home”.⁵¹

The Alchemy of School Subjects: translating Academic Knowledge in Pedagogical Psychologies

At first glance, school subjects of literature, mathematics, and music education would seem as representing different traditions of knowledge: humanities, science, and the arts. The differences, however, dissipate when the translation tools that bring these traditions in schooling are examined. They are ordered through psychological principles about modes of living.

School subjects were order through the social and psychological sciences. The relation of school “content” and pedagogical knowledge can be understood as an “alchemy.” The 16th- and 17th-century alchemists and occult practitioners who sought the possibility of transforming base metals into pure gold, practices that are seen as contributing to the emergence of modern chemistry and commerce.⁵² Just as the alchemists of the Middle Ages concerned themselves with transformations from one space to another, pedagogy magically transforms sciences, social science, and humanities into “things” taught in schools.⁵³ The alchemy functions here as a “tool” to consider the limits of pedagogical models, by asking about the *cultural theses generated*. The use of the notion of alchemy is not to suggest something wrong. Academic fields of knowledge production need filtration processes and models of translation for teachers and children to work on in schooling. Children are not scientists or concert musicians. Since all translations are never replicas of originals but creations, what is at issue in pedagogy are the particular inscription devices or intellectual tools that translate and order school subjects.

153

⁵⁰ Cited in E. KRUG, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁵¹ *Idem*, p. 347.

⁵² McCALMAN, 2003; B. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*.

⁵³ TH. POPKEWITZ, *op. cit.*

The mapping of knowledge around psychologies of the child recognized and differentiated the children who came to the new school. The teaching of modern English literature in British mass schooling of the 19th century, for example, emerged through two different historical movements that did not evolve from prior “cultivating” aspects of writing or reading.⁵⁴

First, there was the public concern for the administration of social problems. Mass schooling was opened up to the “inarticulate and illiterate” of the working classes. The child was to learn English literature to develop a cosmopolitan outlook but within the hierarchy of social structure. Second, the subject of English related to the governmental provisions for social welfare. The narrative structures and ethical messages of literary texts were to help the reader become the moral agent who embodied cosmopolitan values and its notions of “civility.” The rules of moral conduct were accomplished by making the stories of literature relevant to the everyday experiences of working-class children. Relevancy was to show how the rules and standards for moral conduct could be practiced in daily life.

154 The high school mathematics curriculum initially was to provide for the mental discipline of the child. Character training was to occur by mentally exercising and training the mind. By the early decades of the 19th century, mathematics education was to train the individual in observation, experimentation, and reflection. Faculty psychology ordered pedagogical practices to produce “higher emotions and [the] giving [of] mental pleasure”.⁵⁵ In this context, school subjects were represented as stable “entities” for children to reflect on and to order the possibilities of their worlds.

Later in the century, the principles of school subjects shifted to giving relevancy to planning of everyday life. Mathematics education, for example, was seen as a practical subject that students needed for understanding everyday activities as well as necessary in “the practical needs in building homes, roads, and commerce”.⁵⁶ Thorndike’s learning theory was influence in the forming the mathematics curriculum.

Seemingly with different priorities about learning and knowledge than the orderly worlds of mathematics, music is perceived as expressing aesthetics, spiritual and emotional qualities. Yet as with mathematics, music education transmogrifies the “music” found in the academy or conservatory

⁵⁴ I. HUNTER, *Rethinking the School*.

⁵⁵ G. STANIC, “Mathematics Education in the United States at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century”, p. 155.

⁵⁶ W. REESE, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

traditions into a normalizing pedagogy about cosmopolitanism and its double gestures.

The music curriculum from 1830 to 1930 added music appreciation to that of vocal music.⁵⁷ The changes were part of changing cultural theses about the child. Changes in the music curriculum were generated by fears of moral decay and degeneration of mass education and the civilizing of the child. The inception in Boston in the 1830s of school music linked the tradition of singing in Prussian schools to the governance of the child as the future citizen. Horace Mann's 1844 "Report to the Boston School Committee" supported vocal instruction classes as a practice in which the harmony of song was the model for the child's own self-regulation in society.⁵⁸ Mann discussed music education in relation to the risks that epidemic disease posed to civil society. Vocal instruction was to provide regimens to stimulate circulation that would serve to prevent poor health among the urban populations. Health was moral as well as physical. Teaching the proper songs would remove the emotionalism of tavern and revival meetings and provide a way to regulate the moral conditions of urban life with a "higher" calling related to the nation.

Music appreciation joined vocal instruction in the curriculum by the beginning of the 20 century. The curriculum was to eliminate juvenile delinquency, among other evils of society. German traditions of self-cultivation, or *Bildung*, focused on the productive use of leisure and self-cultivation in their daily lives. Its prescriptions for comportment entailed the avoidance of degenerate characteristics associated with racial and immigrant populations.

The categorizations of music establish a continuum from the civilized to that uncivilized through ethnological comparisons. Physiological psychology about the proper amount of stimulation for the brain and body was coupled with notions of musical aesthetics, religious beliefs, and civic virtue. Singing, for example, was to give expression to the home life of industriousness and patriotism that was set against racial stereotypes of Blacks and immigrants. Minstrelsy, a satiric version of Black music and spirituals, were contrasted with the complexity of music of European "civilization." A medical expert in the 1920s, employed by the Philadelphia High School for Girls, described jazz (by this time a rubric that included ragtime) as causing disease in young girls and society as a whole.

⁵⁷ R. GUSTAFSON, *Merry Throngs and Street Gangs: The Fabrication of Whiteness and the Worthy Citizen in Early Vocal Instruction and Music Appreciation, 1830-1930*.

⁵⁸ *Idem*.

Psychology ordered the selection and organization of music. The staging of musical response in the classroom classified listening habits with age-appropriate behavior. A scale of value was constructed that compared immature or primitive human development with those of a fully endowed capacity that corresponded to race and nationality. The progression of musical knowledge outlined in teacher manuals calculated music as a form of psychometrics associated with psychoacoustics. The physical aspect of music (acoustics) was combined with the notion of a musical and interior apparatus for the perception of acoustics. The “attentive listener” was one who embodied the cosmopolitan mode of the civilized life. That child was contrasted with the distracted listener in the group. Carl Seashore, a psychology professor, claimed that a full 10% of the children tested for musical talent were unfit for musical appreciation. In teaching manuals, the child who did not learn to listen to the music in a particular way was “distracted,” a determinate category bound to moral and social distinctions about the child as a drifter, a name caller, a gang joiner, a juvenile offender, a joke maker, or a potential religious fanatic, having acute emotional stress and an intense interest in sex.

156

Modes of living “scientifically” were ordering devices in the selection of school subjects in mathematics, science, music, and literature.⁵⁹ The content of school subjects drew upon academic disciplines but the selection and organization of knowledge “fit” into and were to serve psychological purposes of child development and learning. Classroom didactics, instructional materials and the time-slotting of school subjects shaped and fashioned the knowledge of the curriculum.⁶⁰ Teaching transmogrified disciplinary knowledge into technologies of lesson planning, hierarchies of objectives in a basal reading series, and the administration of achievement tests.

The alchemy of school subjects was related to a broader shift in what Hamilton⁶¹ calls “the instructional turn.” The development of syllabus, curriculum, and method occurred in the 16th and 17th centuries. These developments placed an emphasis on teaching rather than on learning. Prior to this, the medieval teacher was to give a faithful representation and transmission of the inherited teaching or doctrine. A new pedagogical literature directed at schoolteachers mapped the knowledge that gave rise

⁵⁹ See, e.g. *Idem*.

⁶⁰ I. GOODSON, *op. cit.*; Th. POPKEWITZ, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ D. HAMILTON, “The Pedagogic Paradox (or why no Didactics in England?)”.

to the curriculum (the course of modern schooling). School subjects were organized around a set of principles related to upbringing and ordered through the notion of method, the delivery of instruction (Hamilton, 1999, p. 139). When dealing with the selection and organization of school subjects, the sciences of the curriculum focused on the logical qualities of the content to efficiently order action and reflection by intervening in the interior of the child. *The fixing of the content knowledge of school subjects overlapped with and functioned in casting principles of who the child is and should be.*

The Hope of Inclusion and Fear of the Excluded

Ironically, planning for a more inclusive society had its dark side in the fears of moral order and the dangers to the future of society. The hope in planning lied in the belief of science to plan and artificially produce a more inclusive society and individual. The locus of change was the urban conditions that inscribed a comparative method to establish a continuum of values that compared and divided the qualities of those who do not and cannot participate in the progress of society. *The comparative mode of thought recognized and differentiated the poor and racialized groups from the social "body."* The distinctions and comparison were expressed in The Social Question discussed earlier as linking the perceptions of moral disorder of the city to race, social class and ethnicity.

157

Particular populations were targeted as a special problem in the gesture toward the interests of the whole, signified as the hope of progress and freedom. The urbane Protestant reformers of the city studied the poor as what Jane Addams, a leader of the Settlement House Movement working with urban immigrants and African Americans, called "types and groups." Research was to identify the conditions that produced urban moral decay and work with government for effective reforms to eliminate the evils of the city and purify its citizens of moral transgressions. Surveys, ethnographies and interviews –tools of the new disciplines of sociology and psychology– mapped the conditions of the city and daily life of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, the poor, and Negroes.⁶² George Herbert Cooley⁶³ notions of community, for example, focused on communication systems re-establishing the family on universal Reform

⁶² See, e.g., LASCH-QUINN, *op. cit.*

⁶³ George HERBERT COOLEY, *op. cit.*

Protestant principles that stressed a moral imperative to life and self-sacrifice for the good of the group. Cooley thought that proper socialization in the family and the neighborhood would enable the child to shed the greed, lust, and pride of power that were innate to the infant, and thus mold the child as fit for civilized society.

158 School subjects memorialized collective narratives through the twin hopes of progress and the fears of the dangerous. Music education by the turn of the 20th century, for example, was to mold the population into cosmopolitan, democratic citizens (the hope) and eliminate juvenile delinquency and other evils of society (the fears) through providing for productive use of leisure and self-cultivation.⁶⁴ Listening habits were classified as age-appropriate behavior that inscribed a scale of value from an immature or primitive human development to a fully endowed capacity that corresponded to race and nationality. Singing embodied the child who expressed a home life of industriousness and patriotism set against racial images and narratives of Blacks and immigrants. Music was related to the health of the child with jazz described in the 1920s as causing disease in young girls and in society as a whole. A growing body of psychoacoustics literature gauged the effects of musical sound and systematized means of observing music's internal "motor" nature in external behaviors such as dance movements, inattentiveness, musical taste, excitation, and foot-tapping. Carl Seashore, a psychology professor, claimed that a full 10% of the children tested for musical talent were unfit for musical appreciation. In teaching manuals, the child who did not learn the music was "distracted," a determinate category bound to moral and social distinctions about the child as a drifter, a name-caller, a gang-joiner, a juvenile offender, a joke-maker, a potential religious fanatic, having acute emotional stress and an intense interest in sex.

Conclusions

The production of schooling and its sciences were not produced through an evolutionary process. They were assembled through an uneven flow of events, ideas, institutions and narratives. Further and to play with a fashionable of globalization, schooling and its sciences were embodied in a field of practices that transverse and were differentiated across Europe and

⁶⁴ R. GUSTAFSON, *op. cit.*

North America into the early 20th century. The urbanizations of pastoral images that gave intelligibility to the moral ordering of the child made sense not only in Tönnies' Germany but to others sites in the transatlantic transformations. Once saying this, however, it was not a universal process that I speak to but one that requires historical specificity to the field of nuances and differentiations.

This essay considered schooling as planning to change the conditions of people that changed people. The politics of schooling is, I believe, in this social planning the self and the comparative modes reason that differentiated individuality in a global set of changes to make modern pedagogy and notions of childhood possible. Embodied in schooling were cultural theses about modes of living. The cultural theses in pedagogy embodied values and norms about the hope of the future of the nation through making of the child; and with that hope was the recognition and production of differences. The hopes and fears were embodied in principles that differentiated the qualities of the cosmopolitanism of the child from the populations who does not "fit" those qualities and thus can never "of the average."

References

159

- BLEDSTEIN, B., *The Culture of Professionalism, the Middle Class, and the Development of Higher Education in America*, Nueva York, Norton, 1976.
- BERGER, P., BERGER, B. & KELLNER, H., *The homeless mind: Modernization and Consciousness*, Nueva York, Vintage, 1974.
- COOLEY, C. H., *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger min*, Nueva York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.
- CRONON, W., "The Trouble with Wildernesses or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature". In W. Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon ground: Rethinking the human place in Nature*, Nueva York, W. W. Norton, 1996, pp. 69-90.
- DEWEY, J., *The Sources of a Science of Education*, Nueva York, Horace Liveright, 1929.
- American Education and Culture Joseph Ratner (ed.), *Character and Events; Popular Essays in Social and Political philosophy; Volume II*, Nueva York, Henry Holt and Company (1916/1929), pp. 498-503.
- EKSTEINS, M., "History and Degeneration: Of Birds and Cages". In J. E. CHAMBERLIN & S. GILMAN (eds.), *Degeneration: The dark side of progress*, Nueva York, Columbia University Press, 1985, pp. 1-23.

- ELIOT, C., "The Fundamental Assumptions in the Report of the Committee of Ten (1893)", *Educational Review*, 30, 1905, 325-343.
- ELIOT, C., "Wherein Popular Education has Failed". *The Forum*, 14, 1892-1993, pp. 411-428.
- FOUCAULT, M., "Governmentality". *Ideology and Consciousness*, 6, 1979, pp. 5-22.
- FRANKLIN, B., *Building the American Community: The School Curriculum and the Search for Social Control*, Nueva York, Falmer Press, 1986.
- GILROY, P., *Against Race: Imaging Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2001.
- GOODSON, I., *School Subjects and Curriculum Change*, Barcombe, Lewes, Londres, Falmer Press, 1987.
- GROSZ, E., *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2004.
- GUSTAFSON, R., *Merry Throngs and Street Gangs: The Fabrication of Whiteness and the Worthy Citizen in Early Vocal Instruction and Music Appreciation, 1830-1930*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, 2005.
- 160 HAMILTON, D., "The Pedagogic Paradox (or why no Didactics in England?)". *Pedagogy, Culture, and Society*, 7 (1), 1999, pp. 135-152.
- KLIEBARD, H., *Struggle for the American Curriculum*, Londres, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986.
- KRUG, E., *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1964.
- LASCH, C., *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged*, Nueva York, Basic Books, 1977.
- LASCH-QUINN, E., *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- MEAD, G. H., *Mind, self & Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist (edited, with introduction, by Charles W. Morris)*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934.
- MORAN, B., *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific revolution*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2005.
- POPKEWITZ, T., *Cosmopolitanism and the age of school reform: Science, education, and Making Society by Making the Child*, Nueva York, Routledge, 2008.

- POPKEWITZ, T. S. (ed.), "The formation of School Subjects and the Political Context of Schooling". in T. S. Popkewitz (ed.), *The Formation of School Subjects: The struggle for Creating an American Institution*, Londres, Falmer Press, 1987, pp. 1-25.
- RANCIÈRE, J., *The Flesh of Words: The Politics of Writing*, C. Mandell, Trans., Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2004.
- REESE, W., *The Origins of the American High School*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1995.
- RODGERS, D., *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive age*, Cambridge, MA, The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1998.
- ROSE, N., *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*, Cambridge, MA, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- , *G. Stanley Hall: The psychologist as prophet*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- ROSS, D., *The Origins of American Social Science*, Nueva York, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- ROSS, E. A., *Principles of Sociology (First revision)*, Nueva York, The Century Company, 1929/1930.
- SMALL, A. W., *Demands of Sociology Upon Pedagogy*, Paper presented at the National Educational Association Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting, St. Paul, MN., 1896.
- STANIC, G., "Mathematics Education in the United States at the beginning of the Twentieth Century". In T. Popkewitz (ed.), *The formation of the School Subjects: The Struggle for Creating an American Institution*, New York, Falmer Press, 1987, pp. 145-175.
- TÖNNIES (1887), *Community & Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, Translated and Edited by Charles P. Loomis. Publisher, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1957.
- US Government Printing Office, *A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States of America as Approved by Many Leading Educators*, Washington, Author, 1874.