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oder vielmehr, er wird durch den Lehrer selbst repräsentiert. Es handelt sich um die schlichte und unabweisliche Tatsache des *Vorbildes* desjenigen, der hinter allem, in allem und durch alles hindurch gegenwärtig ist und ganz durch das wirkt, was er *ist*, und nicht durch das, was er tut und sagt» (Guyer 1967, S. 398f.).

Auch in Lehrplänen, Protokollen der Aufsichtskommissionen und weiteren Quellen zeigt sich, dass in der Schweiz oder mindestens in den beiden erwähnten Kantonen, die Lehrerbildung vom deutschen Konzept der «Lehrerpersönlichkeit» geprägt ist. Die These, dass die «Lehrerpersönlichkeit» aufgrund ihrer sozialen Konstruiertheit je nach nationalem Kontext ein unterschiedlich starkes (oder gar kein) Gewicht hat, zieht die Frage nach sich, ob das Konzept der «Lehrerpersönlichkeit» innerhalb der Lehrerbildung ein bloss deutschsprachiges oder ein internationales Phänomen darstellt. Denn dass «Persönlichkeit» primär ein deutsches Phänomen sei, davon waren mindestens deren Propagandisten überzeugt. In seiner Entgegnung zu William James' Charakterisierung der Bildungsziele europäischer Universitäten in seinen *Talks to teachers* (1899, dt. 1900) schrieb der Greifswalder Philosoph Günther Jacoby: «Die deutsche Universität macht es sich nicht zur Aufgabe, einen deutschen Herrn zu lehren, wie sich ein deutscher Herr zu benehmen hat. Nach unserem Herkommen ist das ausschliesslich Sache der Kinderstube. Dagegen macht es sich die deutsche Universität in hervorragendem Masse zur Aufgabe, einen deutschen Studenten zur Persönlichkeit zu erziehen – eine Tatsache, die William James natürlich nicht berücksichtigt, die aber nichts

desto weniger wichtig und wahr ist. England ist das Land der gentlemen; Deutschland ist das Land der Persönlichkeiten. Gentleman und Persönlichkeit aber stehen sich im Grunde feindlich gegenüber. Nicht als ob ein gentleman nicht auch etwas Persönliches an sich haben, und eine Persönlichkeit kein gentleman sein könne. Aber das Ideal des gentleman ist unverträglich mit dem Ideal der Persönlichkeit und das Ideal der Persönlichkeit unverträglich mit dem Ideal des gentleman» (Jacoby 1912, S. 217).

1 Am 10. Dezember 2004 fand am Institut für Historische Bildungsforschung Pestalozzianum (IHBF) im Rahmen eines Eintages-Kolloquiums ein interinstitutioneller Austausch zum Thema «Persönlichkeit und Lehrerbildung: kulturelle Vision, religiöser Slogan, pädagogische Attraktion» statt. Die nachfolgenden Thesen sind das Ergebnis einer regen Diskussion zwischen Meike Baader (Universität Hildesheim), Rita Casale (Universität Zürich), Fritz Osterwalder (Universität Bern) und Mitarbeitenden des Instituts.

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Comments on the «Person of the Teacher»: Character and personality in the definition of the teacher's personae in Argentina

■ Inés Dussel

Sylvia Bürkler, Moritz Rosenmund and Christoph Schmid advance powerful hypothesis on their discussion on the concept of the «person of the teacher», and I thank them for making me reflect on whether this is a German-speaking tradition or a more encompassing one. I believe this question is particularly interesting in terms of the debates on the «internationalization» of schooling and pedagogics, and gives us a good example to discuss the ubiquitous nature of pedagogical concepts.

Was there ever a similar concept in the Southern Cone? From a preliminary review of historical sour-

ces (books and journals) on the definition of teacher's personae in the turn of the nineteenth century, one could easily conclude that there was no talk of the «person of the teacher». The term that is mostly referred to in Argentinean educational literature between 1880–1900, when speaking of teachers, is that of «character». Is it the same? Is it different? I will claim that this idea of «character» comes from a different tradition than the «Lehrerpersönlichkeit», and that during the 20th century it has suffered profound transformations that speak of new regulations and requirements for teachers.

I ground my comments on Melanie White and Alan Hunt's work on the transformation of the notion of citizen from the 19th to the 20th century,

which focuses on the shift from «character» to «personality». While Bürkler, Rosenmund and Schmid use these terms indistinctly, I believe it is important to set them apart to get a deeper grasp of what is meant by the notion of «the person of the teacher».

According to White and Hunt, character implied a conformity with some public virtues that defined the citizen's moral constitution and was organized around the idea of respectability (obedience to God and moral rules, sexual probity) (White/Hunt 2000, p. 95). The key to build this virtuous character was the training of the will through a rigid discipline that sought to create habits (cf. Valverde 1998). Character also had a gendered quality into it: while men were formed under the ideal of a «muscular Christianity», women were to be respectable, keeping themselves attached to the domestic sphere and to motherhood (White/Hunt 2000, p. 104). Although it was distinctively defined by class, the idea of building the character penetrated the whole array of political organizations, and it was not rare to find anarchists or other radical politicians defending the importance of self-monitoring and self-improvement for the working classes (idem).

During the 19th century, most of the definitions of teaching were based on this idea of character. It has to be remarked that, while the notion of the teacher's character was a dear one for the Normal Schools, it was not without problems that it was adopted. Is the teacher born as a moral self or does she or he become moral and virtuous after the process of training? The educationists of that time did not reach a consensus on this. But what they did agree on was the importance of what the teacher *is*, the example he or she give to their students (and in that respect, Argentina, despite being a Republic, appears along the autocratic traditions described by Bürkler/Rosenmund/Schmid) (cf. Pineau 1997). Teacher's character could be probed through examinations at the entrance and exit of their training, but also through close surveillance along their careers. In school codes, the reasons for teachers' dismissals referred basically to two types of character «faults»: political activity and immorality (presumably, sexual inconduct). In a hygiene textbook from the golden era of Normal Schools, it is said that students of the Normal Schools who have broken moral codes should not be allowed to work at co-education schools; and those who have committed serious offenses, should be prevented from graduating (Tello 1886, p. 42).

But character, again understood as a set of qualities that one shows or displays outwardly, from the inside to the outside, soon had a competitor in scientific discourse. If teachers were conceived as flawless, perfect figures, representatives of the Republic and in charge of a superior mission to which she or he had to devote all her or his forces, this mission was increasingly conceived in psychological terms, and that implied the emergence of another code or

authority that was superior to morals. Inspector Félix María Calvo, in an article entitled *Generative Principles as the Basis of Education and Instruction* (1900), claimed that: «The teacher must follow step by step the evolution of child intelligence in order to subject the march of teaching to a gradual and methodic order; a deceptive step, an unforeseen jump, an immoderate requirement, disturb the spirit, such as the march of a clock is disturbed when one alters the mechanism [...] A good teacher, a true pedagogue, does not make any mistakes in the application of principles and laws that rule the physical and intellectual development, or in the way [he/she] infuses noble feelings that will shape the child's character» (Calvo 1900, p. 68).

Inspector Calvo's psychology was as mechanical and deterministic as there ever was, but the path it opened implied a brutal change in pedagogy and teaching. The teacher had to look at the child through science's lenses, talk in scientific categories, and adapt teaching to its precepts. The movement turned inwardly, but also turned «movement», that is, stopped being done once and for ever, and became a perpetual work.

«Personality» was to be the key to a good teaching, with its emphasis on self-control and self-growth. «[Personality, ID] does not involve a fixed set of attributes, but focuses on self-realization, self-esteem and fulfillment. Personality reflects the construction of a set of dispositions unique to each individual which has no necessary or fixed content. [...] To acquire personality, the individual must develop those traits (moral, intellectual, physical, and practical) that will enable her to think of herself and have others think of her as «somebody» – in order to be somebody, one must «be oneself» (White/Hunt 2000, p. 104). Personality thus was not something private but intensely governed and defined by others, as it implied that the measure of success was pleasing others (White/Hunt 2000; Rose 1989).

Personality meant the introduction of new technologies of the self. The methods of self-development, self-mastery and presentation of the self were based on the coupling of introspection and the penetration of quasi-professional expertise. It was «a reflexive project of the self. Personality required a complex interplay between the discovery of the self through practices of truth-telling and work in order to enhance distinctive capacities and attributes» (White/Hunt 2000, p. 105). It laid less on prohibitions than on enhancements: enhancements of the ability to reflect, to seek for advice, to decide. But it «should not for one minute be thought that this is a shift from compulsion to choice; the choices forced on subjects can be highly coercive» (idem).

While the notion of «the personality of the teacher» has been present since the New School Movement, I will claim that it has acquired protagonism only recently, with current debates on professionalism. According to the rhetorics of educational re-

form in the 1990s, teachers have acted as vocationists, not giving enough time nor energy to rigorous content training or teaching, and behaving as bureaucrats of the state apparatus rather than as independent, reflexive practitioners of their «métier». Interestingly, in recent years «profession» has been pitted against «vocation». The professionalists argue that the old tradition of the Normal Schools («Normalists») have relied on the primacy of «calling» or «vocation» (one is tempted to say «character») over «scientific knowledge», turning teacher training into a moralizing endeavour instead of focusing on the content-knowledge that teachers have to impart.¹ But it is not only a matter of imparting content knowledge. The catch-word of «post-professionals» or socially-active educators has been coined, which shows a shift from the autonomous professional to a collegial one, emphasizing the role of teachers in the local communities and strengthening the role of collective groups in teachers' professional development (Hargreaves 1996). The post-professional is characterized by a renewed leadership in their schools and communities. This leadership will be developed through new areas of communication with parents (increased accountability basically), and through the fostering of the professional teaching communities in order to achieve a life-long professional learning. There is a new emphasis on collegiality, on collective projects that will multiply energies and resources in schools. Teachers do not have to behave as isolated professionals, as doctors and lawyers do, but rather have to build communities of knowledge that interact productively to create an enriching, democratic environment.

In discourses on post-professionalism, personality takes the pivotal role in defining what a good teacher is: his or her modes of work, habits of collegiality, good-humourness, resilience, flexibility, and problem-solving capacities make the whole difference. «Knowing» is not good enough, because if one does not have the appropriate personality, one will never be or become a good teacher. These personality traits are acquired through a conscious and sophisticated work on the self, on which programs of induction to teaching are much more effective than traditional subject-matter programs. Again, the emphasis is put on what the teacher is, and how this being is reflected on her or his behaviour; however, we are far removed from what the 19th century educationists thought of as «good character» and virtuosity.

I hope by now the reader understands why I have tried to draw distinctions between «character» and «personality» in the definition of teachers' work. Coming back to Bürkler, Rosenmund, and Schmid's reflections on the «person of the teacher», I would say that the relevance given to the «person of the teacher», of what the teacher is, over what she or he does or says, seems to be a common trait for most educational systems in the last two centuries. However, how this «person» is defined – through which categories, discourses, and technologies –, makes a big difference. Maybe in Spanish, as it happens in English and French, we have the advantage of having two different words to refer to these sets of discourses on the person of the teacher. But also there is the question of what we, as researchers, look at or miss when we search for continuities. I hope the discussion will help us refine our arguments, and again I thank the authors for such a thoughtful and provocative paper that enticed our appetite for more work on the subject.

1 What this argument forgets is that «profession» shares the same religious roots of «calling»: profession meant initially a public declaration of one's faith, an ideal of faithful service rendered to the community (La Vopa 1988). This «forgetting» conveniently helps construct an image of the teacher as a neutral practitioner, one whose knowledge and role is prescribed by the objective sciences of teaching. Here, again, one can see how «science» is presumed as superior to «morals».

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Teacher Constructs and Dispositions: Self-Governing and the Proper Teacher

■ Katharina E. Heyning

Who and what is a teacher in the United States today? How did this person come to be? As elsewhere, the teacher construct or «*Lehrerpersönlichkeit*» continues to be shaped by tension between what the public expects teachers to be and what teachers actually do. I suggest here that in addition to the various ideals outlined in the article a new self-governing conception of teacher has emerged based on shared notions of «proper disposition». I will illustrate this through a brief examination of how, during the early part of the 20th century, the teacher construct came to be understood through emergent identities of science, welfare and psychology. This is particularly noticeable during the creation of early childhood teaching profession in the U.S. I then shift the discussion to more recent events in teacher education reform laws that outline proper forms of teacher-thinking and doing that are visible but often go unstated in the discourse. These new forms of discipline have significantly changed the teacher-person from the inside-out.

The teacher construct in the U.S. has always been shaped by various expectations, both internal and external. One excellent example is the particular identities that developed with early childhood teachers. Early childhood or nursery school teachers have been a part of the educational fabric in the United States since establishment of infant, dame, primary, or petty schools from the time of colonial rule through the establishment of the first English-language kindergarten in the 1860's. By the early part of the twentieth century the teaching of young children had shifted from a pleasure of the wealthy to a crusade against poverty and a need to «Americanize» working-class immigrant children in large urban areas. Nursery schools were established and sponsored by settlement houses and philanthropic agencies with the belief that these children were lacking specific socio-emotional experiences. Teachers in these schools developed particular identities related to gender-linked notions of welfare and nurture.

Unlike their elementary and secondary school teachers, early childhood teachers have historically identified with the need to protect children by elevating motherhood, housekeeping, child rearing, and child nurture to a more specialized moral status. In America as elsewhere, women have been seen as the agents of moral and cultural nurture, as child advocates, and custodians of the young. These notions were also backed by popular early child-

hood theorists of the time such as Fröbel who expressed the special gift women had to teach young children as an «educational calling». The «proper» early childhood teacher of the day was to be female, unmarried, and matronly – the mother of society's children.

Teachers of this period also popularized the «scientific» ideas of educators such as Hall and Thorndike to provide authorization for women as natural guardians of the young. Heavily influenced by the emerging field of psychology, early childhood teacher certification courses were trained to use new «scientific» methodologies of child study. As teachers were trained in these new methods and innovations, they began to equate their role as teacher with scientific method instead of the earlier notions of (largely) maternal nurture.

While I use the history of childhood teachers as my example here, similar things can be said for teachers of older children during the same time-period. Elementary and secondary teachers were assumed be male-oriented (or not maternal) a disciplinarians. The emerging use of scientific method was applied to curricular innovation to provide the most efficient means of delivering lessons to older students. Teachers now had a specialized form of knowledge (pedagogy) that could be learned, but more often was seen as a «calling» akin to preaching or the ministry. At this time in history one could state that the «*Lehrerpersönlichkeit*» or person of the teacher consisted of a personification of gender specific and scientific ideals, a specialized effect or prestige in «helping» poor immigrant children become truly American and forms a power of control in a particular assumptions that teachers had a specialized or godly calling to do the work they did.

The emergence of early childhood teachers as a group also marked the beginning of one of the first «women's professions» in the United States. It was through teaching and advocating for early childhood programs and welfare that women first began to be seen as «professional» workers outside the home. Although it appears sexist by today's standards to underscore the educational calling of women, the continued emphasis on nurture, child care and advocacy – long associated with women's work – still dominates debates about what constitutes the conception of «teacher» today. On one hand the teacher identifies with the science of education and the application of psychologically-derived child development practices. On the other hand, the historical commitment to child welfare often indicates a teacher construct based on maternal nurturing. Both of these identities are still vi-

sible through the use of psychological language in teacher certification programs today.

For instance, the «science» of teaching children is visible when psychological terms are used to judge the ability of teachers on scientific grounds. The increasing dependence on testing children became common after psychologists popularized intelligence testing in America. It was through psychometrics that psychology first began to establish its claim as the appropriate authority to judge children and administer them in a way that would increase their utility to society. Today, good teachers are those who embrace the scientific practice of intelligence testing to help determine both «normal» and «defective» children by society's standards. A proper teacher is one who assists in the establishment of norms of behavior for children through testing. A teacher is expected to be able to discuss and analyze children using psychological terms.

Nurturing and child welfare issues are also inscribed within the teacher construct. As children are measured against statistical norms of behavior, deviance from those norms are often linked to family culture. The proper teacher knows how to judge families for their ability to produce «normal» well-adjusted, psychologically-sound children. Teachers are trained to believe that parents may need help in producing stable children. Already comfortable with the maternal advocacy role, good teachers are those who include attention to the family and its influence in the child's life. A greater emphasis on the child's family and community is now part of the curriculum the teacher creates.

Starting in the mid-1990's new teacher constructs have become visible in teacher education reform discourse in the United States. I believe they represent a shift in the way the teacher is formed and equate a particular type of self-governing that is largely unexamined. For instance, new teachers in the state of Wisconsin must demonstrate that they have proper knowledge, skills and *dispositions* before they are given a license to teach. According to the state, a proper teacher disposition would:

- show enthusiasm for the discipline of teaching,
- be committed to reflection, assessment, and life-long learning,
- be sensitive to community and cultural norms,
- be a thoughtful and responsive listener,
- value critical thinking and self-directed learning as habits of mind.

While knowledge and skills have been a part of the teacher construct for a century, the public examination of internal character is a fairly recent development.

In the past, teachers had to know proper pedagogical techniques and content knowledge and explain how they could improve their teaching practice based on student performance in the classroom. Now they have to be able to do these things plus reflect on how classroom events help them learn and grow as a teacher. I believe this represents

a new conception of the teacher; a teacher that has a soul aligned with state standards. The means for achieving this is a very public examination of private character.

Teachers must now achieve a correct disposition using «reflective practice.» The use of reflection in teacher education is grounded in notions of discourse analysis. It is often accomplished through a narrative statement or some sort of examined writing placed in a portfolio. The teacher is asked to write about what happened in the classroom and then relate what happened to how they think and learn as a professional. The learning or reflecting comes about when the teacher re-reads what he or she has written and then adjusts his or her disposition (or attitude) toward the past event and creates new meaning. The new meaning is recorded and rated by the new teacher's superiors; usually university professors or peer mentors. As society continues to demand proof that the candidate holds the proper dispositions to be a good teacher, the «devices of reflection» are re-read as a discursive practice that links power and authority in the text, placing it in a social space that can be examined, interpreted and validated.

However sincere the plan may be, this appeal for validation and authentication topples its own methodological cornerstone by engaging the politics of hegemony. When teachers-to-be are asked to «reflect» upon their learning and adjust their disposition, what are they gauging themselves against? Objectivism, as a measure of validity, necessarily requires an appeal to some socially constructed internal measuring stick.

There are multiple levels of assumption taking place during this process. On one level society believes that this method will actually change the teacher's attitude toward their teaching practice. This relates to society's belief in abstract or mechanized processes as a way to improve life. On another level it is assumed this new teacher-person will embrace the proper dispositions laid-out by the state without question. One is not allowed to be an «unenthusiastic» teacher, for instance. On yet another level is a self-governing teacher desiring to change his or her disposition using the self-reflective process.

In my opinion the teacher construct or «*Lehrerpersönlichkeit*» continues to be shaped by various tensions and assumptions in society, but it is more than what they do or what the public expects. As with earlier times, the teacher-person is still someone who has a godly or spiritual calling. However, the internal soul is more visible than ever before and attempts are being made to normalize the very character of teaching in society through the reflective process. The emergent teacher is one who personifies culture and one who desires to self-govern, embracing a particular understanding of dispositionality. These are more than ideals or power of effect. It is a particular teacher construct that holds

specific meanings and assumptions about society. As discussed in the article, the teacher of old was a direct emanation of spirit that could cultivate pupils without speaking a word. I suggest that the teacher of today is one who still speaks without ut-

tering a word. It is a teacher that is governed by society, by god and by self – a powerful example of being.

Parenting teachers: care for the individual and national spirit, practice and communality

■ Anja Heikkinen

The many meanings of education and personality

The personality (Persönlichkeit) of the educator has all over the world been crucial for education, since the moulding of the character – currently under the label of social skills and competences – is its major function. The «Lehrerpersönlichkeit» should not be a very German phenomenon. However, the *meaning and implications* of educator's personality vary according to historical and cultural context¹.

What is striking for me in the German-speaking education, is the persistence of dualisms, which the authors of «Person of the Teacher» do not discuss. The citation from Günther Jacoby is indicative: «England is the land of gentlemen, Germany is the land of *Persönlichkeiten*». Thinking and acting, spiritual and corporeal, general and specific, liberal and occupational, masculine and feminine, public and private remain key oppositions in educational theorizing since Hegel and Schleiermacher. «Educator» personifies this: e.g. the masters of vocational education and schoolmasters embed different cultural spheres, not to speak of the «Lehrerpersönlichkeit» in university auditoriums. I believe that the aims and ideals of education and educators may only be comprehended as embedded in wider, holistic cultural projects and programs: understanding requires specific contextualisation in the political, economical and social development.

According to mainstream educational rhetoric, Finnish educator is an expert on learning and guidance, a reflective practitioner and a researcher of his or her own work. She or he supports learners to self-directed, life-long engagement in gaining knowledge, updating skills and managing one's life. Faculties of education provide MAs and doctorates in class teaching, special education and early childhood education, in vocational and adult education; and pedagogical studies for subject teachers, university staff etc. Pedagogy is a science supporting learning and managing learning environments, use-

ful for the making of learning societies, regions and organizations. «Personality» is only a component in a teacher's competence, based on substantial and pedagogical knowledge and skills. If teacher is an example for learners, she or he should represent an ideal learner. Understanding this controversial situation historically and culturally requires recognition of the dawdling and negotiated nature of culture and of the imbalance between popular expectations and hegemonic definitions and ideals of education and educators.

The heritage of popular education: collective self-cultivation

Nordic countries have been influenced by German-speaking educational tradition, but it has always been domesticated and modified to native conceptions and intentions. What may be specific to the Nordic space is the incorporation of spheres of life, also among sexes and age groups. The basic social units – totalities – have been rural or small town communities, where individual and collective necessities and aspirations had to be negotiated. Especially since the 19th century, popular enlightenment/education (*folklig upplysning/bildning, kansanvalistus/sivistys*) crystallized indigenous Nordic educational ideals. Still, distinctive ethnic, geographical, political and economical factors contributed to the «Finnish Sonderweg».

The Finns are the best-survived group of Finno-Ugrians in Europe (and North-West Asia). Even if they had their unique language, habits and religion, their Finnishness remained problematic for themselves and others until 19th century. Since the 12th century, the Christianising and subordination of Finland by Swedes and Russians disseminated formal education, which was based on Latin and Swedish language. The turning point for education was the separation of Finland from Sweden and becoming an autonomous grand duchy of Russia since 1809. From this on the economic, industrial, political, religious and social life had to develop as distinctively Finnish, even though the elites remained Swedish-speaking. In a poor, sparsely populated

country with minor natural resources and with no financial, religious or military elites, education was a component in the struggle for economical and political autarchy. The long-term tendency in all cultural programs was to resist the fragmentation of society (civil society), to enable individuals in their collectives to identify with the cultural totality, which potentially could turn into a nation-state. In the idea of popular education, *personality* was a *bridge between an individual and the cultural totality*, where material progress was as important as the spiritual.

Johan Vilhelm Snellman, most important Fennoman politician and academic in Finland since 1830s to his death 1881, saw education as a way to enter into the process of cultivation (Finnish *sivistys* better translates into *Bildung*). Cultivation meant becoming of individual and collective (national) reflexive consciousness and its practical actualisation in societal institutions and life. It was parallel for collaborative making of a nation by the common people and the educated. «The Finnish people will never achieve anything through force, but only through the power of their cultivation». Because the cultivation process was diverse, education in family, different schools and university had their own functions and educators were different (Snellman 1861). The Fennoman movement was accompanied by popular religious awakening negotiating Lutheranism with popular values and habits. The Fennomans managed to incorporate into their concept of nation-state both religious and family/community ideals, which related the individual directly to the caring and guardian state. However, until 1860s teaching was maintained as part of priests' career (though reformation had subsumed religion under the state) in order to defend Finnish schools against the influence of Russian state. Since 1860s liberal period, secular folk schoolteacher seminar and National School Board were quickly established. Vocational education started as part of promotion of industries, integrated to branch ministries, not to educational administration.

The opaqueness of Snellman's speculations was politically considered, and the activists of popular movements translated it into concrete educational statements and programs. The leading Fennoman politician Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen argued during late 19th century, that a true cultivation of the people must respond to the practical and spiritual realities of their lives. For this, educating children was not enough: the self-cultivation of adult population also improved the folk school and other spiritual and political activities (art, literature, reading or associations). According to him, folk enlighteners should promote such forms of cultivation, which respond to the needs of masters and mistresses of the nation. Educating a few rural children into elitist habits would be wrong, since there already were too many «gentlemen» to feed and intelligent and engaged farmers would better run the life in com-

munities and the nation (Halme 2002). The founders wanted folk high schools to be exemplary educational collectives, where teachers and pupils (men and women) engaged in self-cultivating life, which pupils should continue the rest of their lives. A folk high school was to be an ideal extended family and a productive unit of democratic nation-state society. Similar aims nourished the folk-school teacher education. School should holistically relate to the lives of pupils and support a spirit for the land, soberness, vigour, diligence, honesty, tolerance, modesty, kindness, benevolence and inner and outer straightness and purity (ibid.; Kuisma et al. 1999). The ideas of collective self-cultivation spread widely in various popular movements since 1880s until 1950s. The largest was the co-operative movement, whose spiritual and organizational leader Hannes Gebhard developed since 1890s an alternative model both for industrial capitalism and socialism. The pragmatist educational core (William James!) in co-operation was the cultivation of spirit and habits through practically and economically progressive action, the formal part of education being limited to dissemination of knowledge and to societal activation. The educator was to represent the pragmatic, rational, communitarian and duty-bound Finnish culture (ibid.).

During 1890s–1920s Gebhard's colleague Mikael Soininen (Johnsson), head of the Teacher Seminar, inspector and head of Board of Education, developed his programme for all forms of education. After the universal suffrage in 1905, he wrote: «Since adult age, every girl and boy has to enter the ballot box and decide about the fates of the country ... Where is she or he going to get comprehension from the structure and needs of the society, in order to become able as its legislator and governor? ... In a more mature age they need educational workshops, where the mentality and ability for citizenship can grow freely and thoroughly. We have these workshops ready: the folk high schools ... From these workshops should those men and women grow, who as the closest stewardess of the common people guide its economical enterprises, in municipalities and the nation-state and in its material and spiritual efforts. They have to establish the educated estate, which is independent from the bureaucracy and which in any hardship will be the nearest support and guardian of the people» (Johnsson 1906, translation AH).

The majority of common people would not have accepted the ideas of popular education either for adults or for children without seeing their practical and political relevance. Instead of passive, superior representation of the spirit or God in his or her personality, the teacher had to prove him or herself through concrete action, responding to the aims of the people.

From parenting and didactical expertise to management of learning environments

After Russian revolution, national independence and civil war, functions of schools and teachers were challenged. During 1930s, but especially after the World War II, empirical knowledge of the child and learning became important in (folk school) teacher's competences. While personality as the aim of education was still important, it meant cultivation of latent individuality, which was required also from the teacher. The ideal of educator as an expert of experimental psychology became widely adopted in all forms of education and in organizational and staff management. The compensatory functions of general and vocational education are well indicated in the statement of Aarno Niini, head of the Department of VET at the Ministry of Trade and Industry during 1940s–1960s: «The prevailing aim of Finnish education must be the formation of personality, which is willing and capable to consciously build the Finnish culture ... we have to stress capability as much as will. Thus, in the similar way that we ... consider societal and economic activities to belong into the cultural life, because cultivation of the spirit is highly dependent on them, we also include ... the provision of occupational cultivation into educational activities ... In the area of general education, we can expect that every citizen acquires some basic knowledge, adopts and manages certain common, shared habits and customs ... In vocational education, on the contrary, educational activities should be divided into various parallel and sequential institutional forms, which correspond to the multiplicity of occupational life-forms themselves ... The school-based VET guided by teachers ... obviously more recommendable, both because of its efficiency and functionality as education and because of promoting the spiritual development of the learners» (Niini 1945, translation AH).

Becoming a teacher was a life-long self-educative process. His or her key competences were knowledge and love of the subject, knowledge, skills and love of encouraging and instructive interaction with children. Beside, she or he was to be a behavioural model (Koskenniemi/Valtasaari 1954/1965). The transformation of Fennoman ideals of education was accomplished since 1960s, alongside with collapse of small farming, with forced modernization and urbanization and adjustment of goals of export industry to individualist welfare state. Despite resistance, convergence of all forms and stages of education into a system started from the comprehensive school. Teachers became professionals with distinctive schooling based on educational science. Subject competence and didactic skills were crucial until 1990s. The global move to neo-liberalist regime modified the rhetoric and governance of education (Heikkinen 2002). The market-ideology required teaching and learning to become commo-

dities. Teachers should turn into managers of effective learning environments, and to be ready to constantly update their expertise. Instead of personality, both teachers and learners should develop social and collaborative competences, crucial for self-management in a competitive environment. The longevity and tardiness of culture and self-understanding of educators have, however, maintained the pedagogical ideals of caring (and control) for individual and collective integrity, growth, human dignity and social recognition as central also in the context of trans-nationalisation of economies and politics (Heikkinen et al. 2001). The educational challenges caused by the civil war 1918, by the catastrophes of World War II, by the collapse of rural industries in the turn of 1960s–70s, the recession and adaptation to the EU during 1990s are not easily eradicated from the long-term professional memory of educators.

1 E.g. the discussion on PISA studies ignores the complexity of «education»: the Finnish success in lower secondary should be related to adult literacy and importance of adult education, the German failure to the strengths of vocational education etc. The same applies to complexity in the concept of a teacher.

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Fabricating the Teacher through the Idea of the Person: an «English» case

■ Martin Lawn

The idea of the «person of the teacher» was a commonplace within the discourses and management of the education system in England¹ in the late 19th Century and through the main part of the 20th Century. It was a moral (expressed as forms of behaviour) and religious (expressed in terms of vocation) concept and often implicit within it was the assumption that these qualities were present in the great public schools of England and should be present elsewhere in the common school teachers. It was an elite code, through which a governing discourse is expressed as a reflection of the symbolic qualities of an elite. It was an ideal by which all teachers could be judged. Perhaps «the person of the teacher» is better expressed as a form of professional identity, where individual qualities come to represent an ideal version of the teacher and a way of governing them. While it will be difficult to achieve the high standards expressed within this discourse, it is clearly possible to fail to achieve them, both institutionally and publicly. This is what I shall argue here, based upon a socio-historical reading of the English case. Managing teacher identity is crucial to understanding national systems of education and shifts in identity are engineered by the state through discursive mediation, that this is a sophisticated method of control and an effective way of managing change. I would argue that ideas about governing through discourse, constructing official identities, policing the boundaries of identity and connecting teaching identity to national identity and work, are all useful in understanding particular phases in the development of state education across nation states.

Teachers can appear invisible in descriptions of educational systems, or at least, act as ciphers, an unchanging and undifferentiated mass, remaining constant across time and space. This common sense description of teachers slips into academic study, especially when it is focussed on other educational phenomena, such as assessment, learning, subject knowledge, in which teachers appear as shadows, agents or subjects. They appear in focus when there is a moral panic about society and children, or their collective actions, then they are in the foreground, scrutinized and failing. Their identity appears insecure and is subject to alteration, often forcibly, always modernizing. Yet teacher identity has been an important part of the management and operation of the education system. It is a constant feature of official descriptions, papers on educational change and ministry reports. The production of identity in-

volves the state through its regulations, service and policy meetings, public statements, training programmes, media interventions and so forth. It is an essential component of the system, manufactured to manage problems of order and regulation.

Identity is «produced» through a discourse which explains and constructs the system at the same time. Teacher identity symbolizes the system and the nation which created it. It reflects the «imagined community» of the nation at times when this is crucial to the establishment or redesign of the economic or social aims of the nation, as defined by the state. It is produced for a reason which, within the English context, was the problem of governing teachers. Identity has to be managed for several reasons. Firstly, teacher identity has to fit the image of the nation building state's own education project, the same images must apply to both; for example, if the system is endeavouring to produce the moral individual, then the teacher identity must reflect this. Secondly, there were few ways to manage teachers effectively in a democracy and the creation, through official discourse of a teacher identity, is one. Thirdly, teacher identity is flexible within systems based on the solidity of buildings, pedagogic technologies, examinations and university based knowledge, and it can be subtly massaged to stress one aspect rather than another, depending on circumstance. Teacher identity has the potential not just to reflect or symbolize the system but to be manipulated to engineer its change. To attempt to alter the identity of the teacher is a sign of stress in the governing of education or a signal of educational restructuring.

Professional identity in teaching is treated in a partial way here, as a way to shape and manage teachers, through the promotion and sanctioning of official, collective identities. It is not to be viewed within the fuller sense of cultural studies, which emphasises choice and difference. Fixing identity has the same intent as any restructuring of work in production or commercial arenas but because of the nature of the labour process in schools (like other forms of public service work, perhaps) the emphasis has been on the collective identity of the worker. Identity is important because of the way in which, in public service work, the discourses of work shape it. Fixing identity has the power to determine work in public sector (mass schooling) work which shapes itself through discourse. The attempt to fix identity is waged by means of essentialist notions of the worker identity, appeals to social function, determining roles etc. So, shifts in teacher's work may be characterised by manufactured shifts in identity as much as in technical shifts in work skill,

material technologies and management. Indeed, it may be in the changes in the representation of the teacher, in different key periods in this century, that reveal shifts in the stable identities of teachers and so produce a sure sign of the restructuring of work. The problem of deciding national educational goals and systems was never far removed from the problem of constructing new teacher identities. As state servants, delivering state policy, teachers were the front line of an effective state. A new system of schooling could not be delivered without new technologies, the most important of which was the teacher.

So, as the mass education system in the century was developed and became significant within the state's planning, the production of a reliable teacher identity also became significant. This was a problem in several parts: firstly, it is related to their collectivity – teachers grew in number and sometimes met in large groups; secondly, to their social positioning – state teachers were a socially unstable group, they had a low income but they were educated; thirdly, to their duties – teachers were seen as moral exemplars, even missionaries or civil servants; and lastly, to their work process – teachers had to be regulated and efficient. For example, in the early decades in England, the growing idea of the teacher, their increasing numbers and then their politics caused several panics about the social danger they represented to the natural order of things. Selecting people to become teachers and controlling them in their work became seen as more and more important.

Creating a «community of ourselves» in national education systems meant that an imagined community of teachers was invented using a range of references to the type of teacher, their moral and social qualities, their virtues and capabilities, which had to fit the national project. These images had to be effective, resonating with significant groups of teachers and excluding and dominating significant others. But as a discourse is circulated and in the process translated, performed and subscribed, it has the potential to be manipulated and occupied. The language of professionalism, argued as a moral case, for example, could be used to justify teacher strikes (withdrawal of labour). The effectiveness of an official discourse used to manage teachers or promote structural change must be sustained by its

constant reworking and restatement. Its boundaries must be policed otherwise it may be occupied by those who disguise their own projects within the same discourse (of moral purpose) as their managers.

How does this argument work in the neo-liberal economy of education which is being created in England today? The gradual acquisition of the dominant business model in education means that teachers are becoming mass employees of near-private organizations, homogenized by this process at the same time as they differentiate themselves from each other by competition. To be able to manage their work, teachers are regulated within a discourse which accentuates the idea of performance, individuation and leadership. The new teacher identity (in effect, identities) is assembled out of these requirements. A new generic identity to achieve these goals is being built around attitudes. Without the right attitude, there cannot be the right effects. An attitude is a significant switch of term from qualities, the earlier modern criteria. The teacher today has to have the right attitudes; these are then translated into skills. For example, they have to be able to work in a team, they have to be motivated, they have to be responsible. A discourse of skills disguises the fact that the teacher has to have these identity practices; enthusiasm, teamwork, collegiality are identity requirements and have to be displayed and monitored within a «new sociality of the corporate workplace». Performance and surveillance now have a presence in the school and so enable more focused attempts to judge whether the «person of the teacher» is being created. No longer the ideal versions of the teacher self nor the epitome of national aspirations for itself through education, now the «person of the teacher» is less obviously distinct from the general corporate employee in other kinds of work. They have to act their «person», their work identity, in full view of the others and be judged accordingly.

1 My account is based on research within the English system but it is expressed here as a general account, creating possibilities of interpretation within other systems. For example, it may well apply to Scotland, a very different context of education, but the cases studied would be different.

Die erlernbare Persönlichkeit.

Betrachtungen zu einem Eignungskriterium für den Lehrerberuf in Japan

■ Toshiko Ito

1. Genese der Lehrerpersönlichkeit aus freiem Willen oder aus zwingendem Druck?

Die bemerkenswerte «Überladung» oder die semantische «Schwellung» der «Lehrerpersönlichkeit» ist der japanischen Kultur keineswegs fremd. Japan teilt mit dem deutschsprachigen Raum die Neigung, die Lehrerpersönlichkeit mit «Verkörperung von Idealen», «Wirkungsmacht» und «Ganzheitlichkeit» zu verbinden. Es ist daher wohl kein Zufall, dass sich die Japaner in der Deutung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit immer wieder auf Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) beziehen. Masataro Sawayanagi (1865–1927), ein Wegbereiter der japanischen Reformpädagogik, rief 1895 die Lehrer zur Nachahmung Pestalozzis auf, weil dieser die Lehrerpersönlichkeit mustergültig verkörperte. Die unerlässliche Bedingung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit war Ehrlichkeit und Fleiss. Jeder Lehrer konnte damit Pestalozzis Nachfolger werden, sofern er sich Ehrlichkeit und Fleiss zu eigen mache (Sawayanagi 1977, S. 44).¹ Das religiös übersteigerte Bild Pestalozzis diente direkt und indirekt der Sakralisierung der Lehrperson und des Lehrerberufs überhaupt.

In Japan wurde schon immer ein grosses Gewicht auf die Lehrerpersönlichkeit gelegt, eine Tradition, die bis zum heutigen Tag anhält. Die Lehrerpersönlichkeit ist einerseits unentbehrliche Voraussetzung der Lehrtätigkeit. Der Lehrer muss andererseits während seiner ganzen Laufbahn danach streben, seine Persönlichkeit zu verbessern. Die Persönlichkeit steht damit als Anfang und Ende seiner Berufstätigkeit.

Bildungspolitisch gilt die Lehrerpersönlichkeit seit der Gründung der ersten Lehrerbildungsanstalt von 1872 als Grundlage der Lehrerbildung. Die Zulassung an die Lehrerbildungsanstalt wurde meist nicht wegen der Kenntnisse, sondern wegen der Persönlichkeit gewährt. In den allerneusten Bestimmungen zur Lehrerbildung, die auf der Revision des Lehrerdiploms von 1998 beruhen, verstärkte sich die Betonung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit. In den Erziehungsausschüssen der Präfekturen, die für die Berufungen zuständig sind, wurde die Persönlichkeit zum obersten Kriterium der Lehrerwahl.

Aus welchem Grund halten die Japaner die Lehrerpersönlichkeit in so hohem Ansehen, dass kaum jemand sich traut, daran Bedenken zu hegen? Die Hochhaltung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit hat meines Erachtens zweierlei Ursprünge: Zum einen ist sie historisch in der Mentalität des japanischen Volks verankert, zum anderen ist sie ein Mittel der politischen Manipulation. Die Lehrerpersönlichkeit, die in der Regel den Anschein macht, Ergebnis indivi-

dueller Geistesbildung zu sein, ist faktisch das Ergebnis einer gesellschaftlichen und politischen Konditionierung.

2. Die Hochhaltung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit als gesellschaftliche Konstante

In Japan gibt es ein beliebtes Sprichwort: «Erziehung gleich Person (Kyoiku wa Hito nari)». Die weite Verbreitung dieses Sprichwortes weist darauf hin, dass der Persönlichkeit mehr Bedeutung zuerkannt wird als der fachlichen und didaktischen Kompetenz. Dies ist eine traditionsreiche Ansicht.

Die Bedeutung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit stützte sich im Mittelalter vor allem auf die buddhistische Wertvorstellung². Dem Kriegerstand allein, der die Bildung ausserhalb des häuslichen Kreises suchte, standen buddhistische Tempel zur Verfügung, in denen Mönche Erlösung vom Leid der Seelenwanderung suchten und in Übereinstimmung mit ihren ethischen Kriterien lebten. Der Nachwuchs des Kriegerstandes, der künftig ins Feld ziehen sollte, lebte mit den Mönchen unter einem Dach und strebte nach geistiger Erbauung. Die durchschnittlichen Lehrenden der Bildungsanstalten jener Zeit waren vornehmlich buddhistische Mönche, die durch ihre ganze Wesensart Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung der Zöglinge nahmen. Die Mönche galten dabei nicht als Vermittler von Wissen oder Fertigkeit, sondern als Lenker. Die Persönlichkeit nahm damit beim Ausüben der Lehrtätigkeit den Mittelpunkt ein.

In der Tokugawa-Ära (1603–1867) wurden zahlreiche standesabhängige Bildungsanstalten gegründet. Die meisten dieser Anstalten spiegelten die Wertvorstellung des Shogunats wieder und waren konfuzianistisch orientiert. Der Konfuzianismus ist eine Morallehre mit einer patriarchalischen Soziälethik und religiösen Untertönen; er macht vornehmlich Vorschriften zugunsten der Erhaltung der bestehenden ständischen Gesellschaft³. An den Bildungsanstalten für die Krieger, die meist von Lehnsherren gegründet wurden, unterrichteten hauptsächlich Gelehrte des Konfuzianismus, während an den Anstalten für das gemeine Volk verschiedene Lehrer tätig waren: buddhistische Mönche, Schinto-Priester und rangniedrige Krieger. Aufgrund der relativistischen Sittlichkeit des Konfuzianismus wurde der Persönlichkeit dieser Lehrer das grösste Gewicht beigemessen. Die Lehrenden genossen nach der konfuzianistischen Vorstellung einen höchst angesehenen Status und es wurde erwartet, dass sie eine Wesensart präsentierten, die dieses Ansehens würdig war. Die Lehrenden, die ihre Hauptbeschäftigung anderswo hatten und bloss als Nebenbeschäftigung unterrichteten, führten meist ein mate-

riell bescheidenes und geistig ehrliches Leben und verdienten damit ihren hohen Respekt. Die Lehrer gehörten zur privilegierten Klasse und ihre Persönlichkeit hatte mustergültig zu sein.

Die Meiji-Restauration (1868–1912) zog einen Schlussstrich unter das feudalistische Zeitalter und ihre Zentralregierung führte 1872 ein modernes Schulsystem ein. In diesem System wurden rasch Lehrer ausgebildet, die für eine moderne Schule tauglich waren und die – zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte Japans – Lehrer von Beruf waren. Die Lehrerpersönlichkeit, die anfänglich weiter kraft der konfuzianistischen Vorstellung Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zog, gewann mit der Steigerung der imperialistischen Gesinnung zusehends eine shintoistische Prägung. Der Shintoismus, die einzige in Japan heimische Religion, verbindet Animismus, Ahnenkult und einen Kaiserkult, in dem der Kaiser als der direkte Nachkomme der Götter gilt⁴. Das Kaiserreich verstand die Lehrer als Diener des Kaisertums und verlangte von ihnen nachdrücklich, die Vaterlandsliebe und die Kaiserverehrung – nicht mit blossem Worten sondern durch die Persönlichkeit – zu propagieren.

Nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs wurde der Lehrer zum «Diener des Volks». Die Vorstellung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit blieb aber bis heute unangetastet. Die Reaktion auf einen Lehrer, der eine gesetzwidrige Tat begeht, ist ein Beleg dafür. Der Lehrer wird in der Öffentlichkeit viel härter angefasst als eine Person, die die gleiche Tat begangen hat, aber einen anderen Beruf ausübt, weil der Lehrer durch seine Übertretung das Vertrauen in seine Persönlichkeit enttäuscht.

Dieser Streifzug zeigt, dass die Lehrerpersönlichkeit immer im Vordergrund stand, auch wenn ihre Wertschätzung in verschiedenen Zeitaltern verschieden begründet wurde. Nach einer weit verbreiteten Vorstellung wachsen die Schüler heran, indem sie sich der Persönlichkeit des Lehrers aussetzen. Der Lehrer hat aufgrund dieser Erwartung schon an seinem ersten Amtstag als volle Persönlichkeit den Schülern gegenüberzustehen, dann durch ständige Anstrengung seine Persönlichkeit immer weiter zu erhöhen.

3. Die Wertschätzung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit als politisches Kalkül

Mit der Begründung des modernen Schulsystems wurde 1872 in Tokio auch das erste Lehrerseminar aufgrund staatlicher Initiative eingeführt. Weitere Lehrerseminare folgten in anderen Städten. Die Lehrerseminare versuchten den Wert der Lehrerpersönlichkeit bildungspolitisch zu legitimieren. Die «Vorschrift zur Immatrikulation am staatlichen Lehrerseminar (Kanritsu-Schogaku-Shihan-Gakko-Seito-Nyugaku-Kokoroe)», die 1875 erlassen wurde, hielt nicht Kenntnisse in Lesen und Rechnen, sondern einen «makellosen Lebenswandel (Gyojo todashi)» für das wichtigste Zulassungs-

Kriterium.

Gemäss dem «neuen Erziehungs-Erlass (Kaisei-Kyoiku-Rei)» von 1880, der die Schule vom Intellektualismus wegbringen wollte und der den Moral-Unterricht als neues Zentrum der Lehrpläne festlegte, erliess die Meiji-Regierung im Juni 1881 die «Vorschrift für die Grundschul-Lehrer (Shogakkō-Kyōin-Kokoroe)». Am Anfang dieser Vorschrift steht: «Die Anleitung der Zöglinge zur guten Tat ist wichtiger als deren Anleitung zu umfangreichem Wissen. (...) Der Lehrer soll daher besonders auf die moralische Erziehung Gewicht legen, damit die Zöglinge der Kaiserfamilie Treue und dem Vaterland Liebe (...) erweisen.» Der Lehrer hat nun «beständig mit seiner Persönlichkeit ein Vorbild zu leisten, um auf die Zöglinge moralisch einzuwirken und sie zu gutem Handeln zu bewegen.» Einen Monat später, im Juli 1881, folgte die Bekanntmachung der «Regeln zur Gutheissung des Lebenswandels der Schullehrer (Gakko-Kyōin-Hinko-Kentei-Kiso-ku)», die den erwarteten Standard konkretisierten.

Der erste Kultusminister Arinori Mori⁵ (1847–1889), auf dessen Initiative der «Erlass zum Lehrerseminar (Shihan-Gakko-Rei)» 1886 ausgearbeitet wurde, hielt den Lehrerberuf für heilig, denn der Lehrer, der die Zöglinge heranbildet und moralisch beeinflusst, hat selber eine vorbildliche Person zu sein. Der Lehrer ist, nach Moris Auffassung, nicht ein blosser «Gehaltsempfänger», sondern ein «Mönch der Erziehung», der sich «mit seiner ganzen Persönlichkeit der Erziehung widmet.» Der «Erlass zum Lehrerseminar» hält im ersten seiner zwölf Artikel fest, dass das Lehrerseminar in den angehenden Lehrern «Treue, Anstand und Würde (Junryo, Shinai, Ichō)» fördern soll. Der angehende Lehrer hat sich gut zu disziplinieren und ist vor allem zur nationalistischen Gesinnung verpflichtet. Zum Lehrerseminar führten zwei Wege: Seminaristen mussten entweder einen Leistungsnachweis an einer Prüfung erbringen oder durch einen Gemeindebezirksleiter empfohlen werden. Der zweite Weg hatte den Vorrang, denn die Leistung erschien als Eignungskriterium für den Lehrerberuf weniger relevant als die Persönlichkeit. Auch nach dem Beginn des Studiums wurde die Eignung der Studierenden – also ihre Persönlichkeit – während einer dreimonatigen Probezeit überprüft.

Die Studierenden am Lehrerseminar waren vornehmlich Jugendliche, die gerne studierten, aber finanzielle Schwierigkeiten hatten. Sie konnten sich ihr Studium vom Staat finanzieren lassen, waren aber verpflichtet, nach dem Studienabschluss das schlecht entlohnte Lehramt anzutreten und ihre Zöglinge zu kaisertreuen Untertanen zu erziehen. Die Lehrpläne des Seminars richteten sich auf Disziplinierung, die in ihrer reinsten Form durch militärische Gymnastik vertreten war. Der Tagesablauf ausserhalb der Lehrpläne richtete sich auch nach disziplinarischen Vorschriften: Die Seminaristen wurden in einem kasernen-ähnlichen Internat unter ständiger Kontrolle zu «Treue, Anstand und Würde» ge-

drillt⁶. Um die gegenseitige Kontrolle unter den Seminaristen zu fördern, wurde auf Moris Empfehlung ausserdem das «Gesetz zum geheimen Rat der Lehrerseminar-Studenten (Shihan-Seito-Himitsu-Chukoku-Ho)» eingeführt. Das Resultat dieser Überprüfung wurde später beim Lehramtsantritt zur Bestimmung der Gehaltsgruppe berücksichtigt.

Die Begnügen mit einem minimalen Gehalt wurde als Zeichen der gefestigten Lehrerpersönlichkeit gesehen: Der Lehrer war aufgefordert, trotz oder wegen seiner materiellen Misere auf sein Leben stolz zu sein. Diese Tradition hielt auch in der Nachkriegszeit an, bis 1974 die Gehaltsbestimmung revidiert wurde. Seither etablierte sich die Auffassung, dass die traditionelle Lehrerpersönlichkeit im Schwinden begriffen sei. Darauf folgte eine neue Betonung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit: 1998 wurde ein Vorschlag zur Änderung des Lehrerdiploms im Parlament angenommen, der im Jahr 1999 in Kraft trat. Das Kultusministerium reformierte auf dieser Grundlage die Lehrerbildung. Das Fachwissen der Schulfächer verlor dabei an Gewicht, während die Fächer zur Förderung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit an Bedeutung zunahmen. Das «Fach zur Gestaltung der Orientierung und der Identität zum Lehrerberuf (Kyoshoku eno Shiko to Ittaikan no Keisei ni kansuru Kamoku)» wurde als oberstes obligatorisches Fach neu gegründet.

Gemäss der Ansicht des Kultusministeriums, dass die Lehrer-Kandidaten bei der schriftlichen Prüfung bloss ein minimales Fachwissen auszuweisen hätten, griffen die Erziehungsausschüsse, die für die Anstellung der Lehrer an den öffentlichen Schulen zuständig sind, die Reform an. Die Stellenausschreibungen der Erziehungsausschüsse begannen an der Jahrtausendwende das Wunschbild der neuen Lehrer zu definieren. Der Erziehungsausschuss der Präfektur Mie zählt beispielsweise drei Punkte des Wunschbildes auf: (1) erzieherische Leidenschaft und Berufungsbewusstsein; (2) Fähigkeit zum Problemlösen nach fachlichen Kenntnissen und Fertigkeiten; (3) reiche Persönlichkeit.

Die Lehrerpersönlichkeit ist gegenwärtig das Aushängeschild der Bildungsreform. Die Politik drängt auf zunehmende Betonung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit: die angehenden Lehrer werden mit dem Schwerpunkt der Persönlichkeit ausgebildet; die Lehrer-Kandidaten werden angesichts der Persönlichkeit ausgelesen; die tätigen Lehrer werden zur Erhöhung der Persönlichkeit angehalten.

4. Lehrerpersönlichkeit als diffuse Vorstellung

Der Lehrerberuf ist ein Sonderberuf. Obgleich der Lehrer selber ein fehlbarer Mensch ist, erwarten sowohl die Gesellschaft als auch die Bildungspolitik, dass er den anderen Menschen, unter anderem den Schülern, ein absolutes Vorbild ist. Obgleich der Lehrerberuf ein Fachberuf ist, ist das Fachwissen oder die Fachfertigkeit beim Lehrer,

im Unterschied zum Rechtsanwalt oder Arzt, weniger gefragt als die Persönlichkeit. Die Lehrerpersönlichkeit, die wesentlich das Ergebnis des gesellschaftlichen, bildungspolitischen Drucks ist, zieht immer mehr Aufmerksamkeit auf sich.

Was immer als Symptom der Schulkrise Schlagzeilen macht – Zusammenbruch der Disziplin im Unterricht, Verweigerung des Schulbesuchs, Misshandlung von Schulkameraden – die Ursache wird meist auf den Mangel der Lehrerpersönlichkeit zurückgeführt. Die Lehrerpersönlichkeit dominiert also die öffentliche Diskussion. Diese Dominanz bringt jedoch eine Verlegenheit mit sich. Was genau können die angehenden Lehrer machen, um eine gefestigte Lehrerpersönlichkeit zu erlangen? Genügt es, wenn sie während der Ausbildungszeit mit möglichst verschiedenen Leuten zu kommunizieren versuchen? Wie genau können die Erziehungsausschüsse die Persönlichkeit der Lehrer-Kandidaten einschätzen? Reicht es, wenn sie möglichst lange Vorstellungsgespräche mit den Bewerbern führen? Verhilft ein Weiterbildungskurs den tätigen Lehrer zur Erhöhung der Persönlichkeit? Trotz ihrer Dominanz ist die Vorstellung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit äusserst diffus.

Der Druck zur Lehrerpersönlichkeit erregt heute ausserdem Besorgnis. Die Erwartung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit wirkt zum einen zugunsten des Lehrers: Sie reduziert die Reibung im Unterricht, denn die meisten Schüler sind aufmerksame Zuhörer. Die Erwartung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit kann aber auch zur Belastung der Lehrer werden, wenn ihre Bedeutung überbetont wird. Wenn der Lehrer seine ganze Persönlichkeit erwartungsvollen, prüfenden Augen auszusetzen hat, kann dies seine seelische Belastbarkeit überschreiten. Die Tendenz, dass immer mehr Lehrer an Burnout-Syndromen leiden und dass eine beträchtliche Zahl der Lehrer sich vorzeitig pensionieren lässt, steht möglicherweise in einem direkten Zusammenhang mit dieser Belastung.

- 1 Sawayanagi war seit seinem 23. Lebensjahr als Beamter des Kultusministeriums tätig: Er leitete verschiedene Kaiserliche Universitäten und wurde Vize-Kultusminister. Er verliess aber mit 49 Jahren die Beamtenstellung und gründete 1917 die reformpädagogische Seijo-Schule, eine Institution, deren Ideale sich auf Pestalozzi stützten.
- 2 Die buddhistischen Lehren gelangten 538 vom Südwesten Koreas, dem Paekche-Königreich, nach Japan, als der König Song (523–554), der den Buddhismus für eine segensreiche Religion hielt, dem japanischen Kaiser Kimmei (531–571) eine Buddhastatue und einige Sutras sandte.
- 3 Nach offizieller Auffassung datiert die Aufnahme des Konfuzianismus in Japan auf 513, als die Gelehrten der fünf konfuzianistischen Klassiker aus China nach Japan kamen. Der Konfuzianismus teilt die Ethik in fünf Kategorien zwischenmenschlicher Beziehung: zwischen Herrscher und Untertanen, Vater und Sohn, älterem Bruder und jüngerem Bruder, Mann und Frau, Älterem und Jüngstem. Diese relativistische Sittlichkeit entsprach dem Ideal des feudalen Regimes und regelte das Benehmen des Volkes.
- 4 Das Wort «Schintoismus» trat 720 in einer altjapanischen Chronik (*Nihon-Shoki*), im Artikel über Kaiser Yomei

(585–587), zum ersten Mal auf. Yoshio Toda sieht darin das aufkeimende Nationalbewusstsein der Japaner (vgl. Hori 1985, S. 26).

- 5 Mori wurde 1885 bei der Bildung des ersten Kabinetts zum Kultusminister ernannt und fiel 1889 einem Attentat zum Opfer. Während seiner kurzen Amtszeit legte er den Grundstein des modernen Bildungswesens mit der Proklamation der vier schulischen Erkläre – dem Erlass zur Kaiserlichen Universität, dem Erlass zur Grundschule, dem Erlass zur Mittelschule und dem Erlass zum Lehrerseminar.
- 6 Aus dieser Disziplinierung entstand der Lehrer-Typus: Lehrer sind in der Regel ernst, ordentlich und zuverlässig;

aber auch autoritär, selbstgerecht, heuchlerisch, hochmütig und stur.

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From a pedagogy based on imitation to one founded on the scientific understanding of child development.

The century-old confrontation of two role models for teachers

■ Charles Magnin

In the article discussed here, three theses concerning the impact of the «person» or the «personality» of the teacher on the scholastic education of their pupils appear to have relatively greater importance and will therefore be the focus of our attention.

The first of these theses asserts that, in the 19th and 20th centuries, as far as the German-speaking part of Switzerland and Germany are concerned, the question of the effect of the personality of the teacher on what the pupil was able to learn was thought to have nothing to do with the teacher's teaching ability. Based on citations of documents of the 19th and 20th centuries, the second thesis suggests that this situation prevailed until at least the second half of the latter century. The third thesis asserts that the personality of the ideal teacher was not the result of training; rather, it was seen as a gift of God in which the intervention of man had little to do. This made the teaching profession look like a sacerdotal function exercised by people who had received a divine calling.

In this article I have been asked to demonstrate whether such a «construct» of the person or personality of the teacher existed or not in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and in France, and to verify, in these two cases, if it varied or not, depending, amongst other things, on the political or religious contexts in which the teaching profession developed.

To answer these questions, I will deal first with the historical situation I know best, that is, the case of Geneva, extending briefly my reflections to the case of the French-speaking part of Switzerland and to that of France.

A model that was anything but ideal

With regard to the role of the person or the personality of the teacher in public education and in teaching itself, it appears that the course of history has been quite different in the case of Geneva in the 19th and 20th centuries from that described by my colleagues.

In 19th-century Geneva, neither primary-school teachers, nor teachers of the first grades of the «Collège», which paralleled the upper grades of the primary school, were viewed as ideal models, even less so the teachers of country schools, whose «image», in Geneva as elsewhere, was worse still. In that context, the initial thrust in the construction of the identity of the teacher appears to have been a vision of the political, economic, social and religious functions of the school, first expressed in political circles, at a time of new developments in capitalism and of democracy as a political system founded on the «universal» male vote. In 19th-century Geneva, the teacher appears to have been viewed as an instrument for initiating and stabilizing the realisation of this vision, thanks to his or her capacity to teach the elementary skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, the mastery of which was supposed to guarantee the male individual's economic, financial and intellectual, and thus political, independence.

The cult of reason – i.e. the mastery of «passions» through their submission to the supremacy of «reason» – also sums up that vision of society, of school and of the relationships uniting them. The cult of reason was seen as a means of freeing the «masses» from the «superstitions» being kept alive by the Catholic priests, and later, during the last quarter of the 19th century, from «social utopias» disqualified as «arbitrary».

In those days, Genevan teachers were not at all seen as having received some sort of God-given gift

of the moral qualities and technical skills required to be a teacher. On the contrary, they were viewed as persons who had to be trained for that purpose. Not only did they have to be trained but they needed moreover to be regularly inspected in the performance of their duties, in order to improve little by little their abilities, and thus progressively their financial status too. Indeed, for most of the 19th century, Genevan teachers were divided into several categories and subcategories (*régents*, *sous-régents*, *aide-régents*, etc.) with noticeable differences in revenue amongst them, a state of affairs which enabled rural villages with low communal coffers to contract systematically teachers of the lesser-paid categories.

Thus, with regard to the third thesis of my colleagues, I respond that in the case of Geneva, at least in the 19th and 20th centuries, if there was a «mystique» about education, it was far more related to the supposed political, economic and social effects of the generalisation of public education than to the way the person or the personality of the teacher came into being.

Indeed, during the entire 19th century, Genevan laws on public education (1834–1836, 1848, 1872, 1886) and the political debates on which they were founded made the teacher look like a second-class figure, who for a long time was completely isolated in his or her confrontation with the cantonal or communal political powers. Also, it is noteworthy that throughout that century, the teacher was destined to become a more and more intrinsically lay person, and anything but mystical.

It is only at the turn of the last third of the 19th century that Genevan teachers, as well as their colleagues in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, really started existing as a collective entity, notably through the creation in 1864 of the first association of teachers from this region (the *Société des instituteurs romands*), followed in 1865 by the publication of the first issue of *Educateur* and in 1866 by the first congress of that society.

In the communes of the Genevan countryside, the figure of the teacher as a member of the communal elite, alongside the mayor and the priest or pastor, also dates back only to the last part of the 19th century.

Through comparisons with French-speaking cantons having «normal schools», it would be interesting to verify if the model of the teacher in which the teacher had to be a «model in everything», and not only in his or her ability to teach, was not favoured by the type of training given in those schools, whereas in Geneva, aspiring teachers (both male and female) were educated more banally, on the one hand, in the first grades of the *Collège de Genève*, founded by Calvin in 1559, and after that in the pedagogical sections of the *Gymnase*, or on the other hand, in the *Ecole secondaire et supérieure des jeunes filles* and in its pedagogical section. I propose the hypothesis that this way of preparing

primary-school teachers, largely amongst students who were not to become teachers, led to a lesser degree of idealisation of male as well as female teachers role mode.

From a major similarity to a fundamental difference

The differences mentioned above must not let us forget that beyond them there existed a fundamental similarity between the situations which we are presently comparing, since the pedagogy practised by the teacher who had to be a «model in everything» was itself a «model-based pedagogy», that is, a pedagogy based fundamentally on the pupils' imitation and repetition of what the teacher wanted them to learn. This type of pedagogy – and here lies the similarity – was also fully practised by Genevan teachers, and in fact more generally by their colleagues of the French-speaking part of the country, but at the turn of the 19th century, and much more so during the first two decades of the 20th century, at least in Geneva, the model of what the ideal teacher should be on a pedagogical level changed profoundly.

Thanks to Edouard Claparède and Adolphe Ferrière, as well as to the *Institut J.-J. Rousseau*, the *École des sciences de l'éducation* founded in 1912 by Claparède, and soon after thanks also to Jean Piaget, Geneva went from the type of ideal teacher identified with the «model (or the imitation/repetition-based) pedagogy» mentioned above, to an ideal teacher identified with the practice of a pedagogy anchored in a new understanding of the way the child learns, of its so-called «development», a representation which we will call «bio-cultural», to emphasize its quasi-«organic» component.

Thus, in Geneva during the 20th century, the imitation/repetition-based pedagogy slowly lost its dominant, if not monopolistic, position because of the birth and development of new pedagogical conceptions based on scientific and no longer solely philosophical ambitions.

In Geneva, in the aftermath of World War One, contestation of the «imitation/repetition pedagogy» increased sharply, as shown for example in the organisation in 1923 by elementary and primary-school teachers, in collaboration with the *Institut J.-J. Rousseau*, of the so-called *Semaine de l'enfant*, which sought to demonstrate to the public what was meant by *école active* and the superior effectiveness of this way of teaching when compared with the so-called «traditional» way. In the same year, the Geneva Department of Public Education issued a new programme for the primary school which was also based on the principles of the *école active*, although, beyond the declarations of intent introducing the document, it appears to be very traditional when it comes to the definition of what children should study and know at given ages.

Last but not least, in 1924, the 21st Congress of

the *Société pédagogique romande* had as one of the two points on its agenda the following theme: «The adaptation of the *Ecole active* to the primary school». And here too, up until the very end of the congress, during the votation on the theses it was to adopt, the discussions remained very ambiguous concerning the notion of the «activity of the child». After a harsh debate, the teachers of the French-speaking part of the country did indeed accept a thesis pretending that the child's activity could be either «spontaneous» or «imposed», both conceptions being in their eyes perfectly legitimate. This conclusion appears to have been aimed at reconciling, almost at any cost, the teachers true to the «imitation/repetition-based pedagogy» with the new model of the teacher based on recent knowledge of child development, the teacher appearing in fact as the «awakener» of the child rather than as an authoritative or authoritarian figure.

From then on, the model of the model teacher is that of the «gardener», devoted to the development of the child and his or her intelligence, both seen as a «grain» containing within a whole programme of development whose realisation was seen to be largely independent of the teacher's intervention, his task being only to stimulate as much as possible this development, and, above all, to do nothing to impede it.

This is very far indeed from the model of the model teacher that children should try to imitate as perfectly as possible, a pedagogy designed to have them memorize, indeed incorporate, the essential components of the long thread of imitations they should be able to produce instantly in an automatic way, as far as reading, writing and arithmetic skills were concerned.

In the 20th century, the ideal Genevan teacher was far from incarnating values alone. Society wanted him or her to be competent and endowed with a scientific knowledge of education and with pedagogical methods stemming logically from that knowledge. That vision already began spurring ideological rifts still being cultivated up today and no doubt for some time to come between «practitioners» and «theoreticians». So much so that Genevan teachers soon defined themselves as solely competent in the practical matters of teaching, rejecting even their mentors of the *Institut J.-J. Rousseau* – although they too were practitioners of education – as «theoreticians», a term meant to disqualify in advance any intervention on their part in the practical fields of teaching.

A few considerations about France

If one compares the situation described by our colleagues with what happened in France regarding the role of the person or personality of the teacher, one may consider that there have been similarities between these situations because of the very important role which the Catholic Church and

the male and female teaching Congregations played in France in the field of education, both for boys and for girls, during most of the 19th century, and in the last one as well, although to a lesser degree. Indeed, for a long time, these teachers received very little, if any, pay and were often teachers by vocation. For a long time as well, the personal motives which dictated their choice of life, notably the spiritual and the moral aspirations of the Congregations they had entered, must have been a profound source of inspiration for them and encouraged them to aspire to model behaviour in everything, a trait which, in any case, their superiors and the general public as well expected from them. In this respect, the French situation may be considered to be analogous to the one described by my colleagues regarding the teachers of the German-speaking part of Switzerland or Germany itself, excluding, of course, the celibacy requirement of the Congregations. One must also take into account the fact that teachers of the Congregations embraced their vocation through a divine calling rather than through a specific preparation for that profession.

Moreover, in the case of France, one may add that when the public schools finally became officially lay schools (through a series of reforms initiated in the beginning of the 1880s by Jules Ferry), the State itself produced a model of the teacher vested with the quasi-mystical mission of destroying the hold of the Catholic Church over the minds of the people, considered to be a reign of pure superstition. Hence, the name of the *Hussards noirs de la République* given to these lay teachers, to indicate the combative spirit intended to pit them against the teachers submitting to the priests dressed in black who were teaching the superiority of the monarchy over democracy.

Trained in «normal schools», which were boarding schools that imposed a routine akin to monastic life, these «warriors of secular education», like their religious counterparts, were also called upon to live lives which had to be model lives in every respect, and not only to be the model teachers of the «model pedagogy» defined above.

A further hypothesis

The preceding affirmations concerning France certainly need further historical discussion, but if they proved to be fully relevant, one could then formulate more surely the following hypothesis: the expectations Society has nourished towards teachers have been much less technical or pedagogical, in the strict sense of this word, where the context of the teacher's action was largely influenced by religious thinking – be it, in this case, Roman Catholic or Lutheran – which was more inclined to insert individuals into densely-knit social ties rooted deeply in rigid hierarchical societies.

On the contrary, then, it comes as no surprise to find in a Calvinist society favouring fulfilment of

the individual as such, and therefore personal achievement in school, facilitated by the specifically pedagogical qualifications of the teacher, the birth of the educational sciences first dreamed of by the liberal Calvinist Edouard Claparède. They were the outcome of a renewed understanding of child development, and a new conception of the «model teacher», defined as the «awakener» of the individual's potential.

A conclusion in the form of a suggestion

Let me conclude by a methodological consideration. This article gathers several elements of historical information lending themselves to a dialogue *a posteriori* with the theses defended by my colleagues, but ideally it would have been more meaningful and more rigorous to build such comparisons from the start on an international and/or intercultural level. This implies first of all the formulation of a research question which can be asked in the different contexts one intends to compare. Another point of great importance for the quality of the comparative results obtained is to work on the same type of historical sources or documents. In this respect, much too often, researchers compare

apples with pears, which is acceptable if you want to deal with fruits in general, but not if one seeks specific comparative results about apples or pears. The same principle applies to the quality of the explanations able to be given about the similarities and the differences identified by the comparative analysis.

Of course, the preceding considerations can be extended to the history of education and schooling in Switzerland, a history, whose evolution, at least in principle, is defined on a cantonal and not on a national level, especially concerning the similarities and differences one can observe in this domain. This is why comparative research formulated as such on an intercantonal basis would yield richer results and counter the all too numerous studies – and I don't have in mind here the work of my colleagues who define from the start very clearly and honestly the «geopolitical» context in which they inscribe their study – which pretend to discuss education and schooling «in Switzerland» without an ounce of consideration for even one, much less two, of the three distinct linguistic regions of the country, thus promoting a harmful mystification and seriously limited, if not false, understanding of Switzerland's intra-national dynamics in the field of education.