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Interweaving Educational Sciences and Pedagogy with Professional Education: contrasting configurations at Swiss universities, 1870-1950

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ABSTRACT This article presents some results of research aimed at analysing the emergence of pedagogy / educational science(s) in Switzerland. It focuses on the evolution of academic chairs, their holders, their denominations and their relationship to professional fields and other disciplines. In a first, empirical part, professorial chairs are analysed in four Swiss universities (Basle, Bern, Geneva and Zurich). The data show important differences between Geneva, where autonomous chairs were introduced quite early and where an empirical approach dominated, and the other universities, where pedagogy remained dependent on philosophy and became autonomous only in the 1950s. In order to understand these differences, the evolution of the universities in Geneva and Bern is analysed in more detail, particularly the relationship between the disciplinary field and teacher education. The institutional articulation between teacher education and the academic chair(s) and the orientation toward primary or secondary teacher education seem to be important distinguishing factors that led to different evolutions in the two sites. Other factors, like the relationship to school reform, to political administration, and to teacher trade unionism reinforced the differences. The question of larger cultural influences is raised in conclusion, contrasting the Swiss-German universities, clearly oriented towards Germany, with the Genevan site, which is more multifaceted, and even eclectic.

This article presents the results of a collective research project into the origins of the pedagogical (educational) sciences within Switzerland.[1] We sought to identify the dynamics which created a new disciplinary field at the turn of the

last century, known in Switzerland alternately as *Pädagogik/pédagogie* or *Erziehungswissenschaft/sciences de l'éducation*. [2] Here we seek to determine whether and in what way the establishment of professional qualification requirements within pedagogy affected the interaction of the 'process of disciplinarisation' of the educational sciences with the evolution of professional educator training. Situated in contrasting cultural areas, Swiss universities exhibit equally contrasting institutional configurations, making them a particularly interesting case for the comparative analysis of the institutionalisation of both pedagogy and teacher training.

Problem and Method

Our research is based on recent studies in the history and sociology of the (social) sciences, which advocate a 'social history of social sciences' (Matalon & Lécuyer, 1988; Pestre, 1995; Bourdieu, 1995, 1997; Blanckaert et al, 1999 [3]). These studies consider science a human activity taking place within a given social context. They empirically analyse institutions and the concrete material and social conditions of scientific production as well as the theoretical reconstruction of those actions and operations which constitute the practice of science (forms of communication, validation methods, evolution of the investigatory object, etc.) The basic thrust of these works urges the necessity of contextualising the internal history of intellectual production and the workings of a discipline or disciplinary field [4] in order to comprehend how scientific practice is articulated within socio-professional contexts – themselves heavily influenced by social, political, cultural and economic demands and pressures. Also of import is the inverse: how changes in knowledge and comprehension transform these same practices and pressures.

Studying of emerging disciplines is fraught with challenges: any point of departure would necessarily be framed by current disciplinary divisions, themselves in dynamic transformation. Additionally, several fields are multidisciplinary, the educational sciences in particular. [5] Several of the authors from whom we have borrowed concepts and methods (particularly Blanckaert, 1993, and Mucchielli, 1998) focus their research on the study of the *process of disciplinarisation*. By this they mean the long-term analysis of how intellectuals, researchers, and institutions grow to specialise in research and teaching. They seek to understand how new research areas are (re)defined and new disciplinary fields emerge out of new social and scientific communities. Particular attention is paid to the process of (internal and external) differentiation by which domains of knowledge or disciplinary fields are mutually (re)defined via fission, fusion, or by extension to virgin territory within the system of disciplines. [6]

In this article, we privilege the *institutional dimensions* of this process while examining pedagogy. Other dimensions must also be studied. A disciplinary field is not only characterised by its institutions, but also by its contents and objects of research, by networks of communication, by rules and

social conventions, by programmes and practices of education (see the definitions by Favre, 1985; Stichweh, 1987; Becher, 1989). But a minimum institutional base is a necessary – though not sufficient – condition for the establishment and long-term recognition of a discipline. By ‘institutional base’ we mean places, instances, networks and professional bodies engaged in the systematic production of new knowledge. This base has cognitive effects in so far as it allows specialisation, differentiation, institutionalisation, production, and discipline-relevant knowledge renewal; in other words, what we call the ‘process of disciplinarisation’.

We first examine academic chairs dedicated entirely or in part to pedagogy. We have chosen four academic institutions that have created chairs of pedagogy or educational science(s): the Swiss-German universities of Basle, Bern and Zurich and the Swiss-French University of Geneva. The following questions have guided our investigation. What similarities and differences can be observed between the four sites and how should they be understood? What are the relationships between these chairs and professional education? (See section 2.)

Our efforts to answer this last question led us to extend our empirical investigations with detailed monographic studies on the different sites. We took into account not only the institutional integration of the discipline (chairs, academic programmes of study, research institutes, researcher posts, etc.), but also that of the educational professions (particularly primary and secondary teachers). These monographs describe how discipline and profession evolved and interacted, explicate how these two movements influenced and contradicted each other, and how they responded to similar or conflicting demands. In this article, we synthesise the studies conducted on two sites, Geneva and Bern. The latter city, capital of the Swiss Confederation, is representative of all three Swiss-German universities, which, according to our analysis, share a similar structure; Geneva’s development followed a different path.

Methodological proposals within the historiography of the history and sociology of social sciences, and more particularly reflection on approaches to comparative history, have been most valuable (see, among others, Lepenies, 1991; Wagner et al, 1991; Badie, 1992; Schriewer et al, 1993; Charle, 1994; Novoa, 1998; Schriewer, 1999, 2000; Ricoeur, 2000). They led us to conceive of the studied sites first as autonomous and contextualised units which could be studied monographically. This demanded the detailed analysis of how the process of disciplinarisation works in specific contexts (social, cultural, economic, political and, of course, scientific), based on a diversity of sources [7], levels of analysis, points of view, and fields of knowledge (see section 3 for monographs).

We then sought common features to serve as an analysis grid, such as a questionnaire. This grid allowed us to make comparisons that both refined the individual descriptions (showing specificities and similarities) and also

provided new forms of comprehension for individual cases beyond their local context (see section 4 for comparative approach).

Charle (1996) considers comparative history a privileged instrument for refining working hypotheses because it allows for a larger context than a single cultural space; but, more importantly, it gives access to social practices, to modes of perception, and to the definition of intellectuals and academics (in so far as the scientific networks and institutions extend beyond national contexts). A comparative approach is all the more valid for Europe, Charle argues – virtually describing the Swiss case – as it is structured by ‘linguistic spaces that are imbedded and intertwined and by the specificity of intellectuals as actors of a culture with several spatial dimensions’ (1996, p. 29). Our conclusion presents a working hypothesis to explain the observed phenomena by virtue of the fact that the sites belong to different cultural areas.

Evolution of the Chairs of Pedagogy in Four Swiss Universities: Basle, Bern, Geneva, Zurich

We have taken *academic chairs* as an indicator for the process of disciplinarisation because they guarantee a discipline’s institutional base. This has become a most important indicator since the birth of the modern university in the Humboldtian sense with its combination of research and teaching (Marcacci, 1987; Stichweh, 1994; Charle, 1994). And indeed, holders of a chair since the end of the nineteenth century have had a double function. S/he is a researcher – a research professional; this professionalisation is a condition of specialisation and differentiation. S/he is also a teacher who socialises students in research practice; the post allows for the creation of courses, seminars, laboratories, doctoral theses. A chair is therefore a necessary – although not sufficient – condition for the establishment and recognition of a discipline, particularly by other disciplines.

On the basis of an exhaustive study of all programmes, curricula, and study regulations of the universities and of archive documents related to the nominations of professors, we have documented at each university when, under which title, and for which reasons, chairs were created. The evolution of these chairs (title, holder, mandate, integration into the faculty and a discipline, courses given, etc.) has also been studied in detail. The short monographs on each site permit an initial comparison. Since the sources and results of the study of each site have been presented elsewhere in detail (Späni, 2001), we have here summarised only the most important features in order to examine comparatively the universities studied.

For each site we provide a figure listing all chairs in whose title the words ‘pedagogy’, ‘educational science(s)’, or their equivalents appear between 1870 and 1950, whether in combination with other disciplines or as an autonomous chair (see Figure 1).





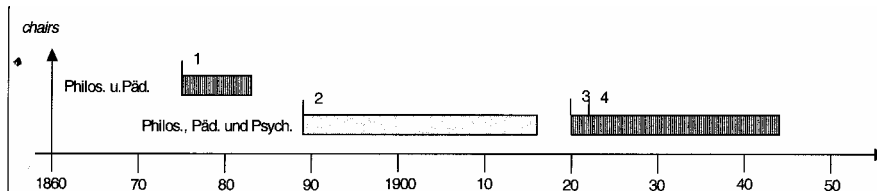
| | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
|  | Extraordinary chairs in other disciplines containing pedagogy |  | Extraordinary chairs in pedagogy |
|  | Ordinary chairs in other disciplines containing pedagogy |  | Ordinary chairs in pedagogy |

Figure 1. Legend for Figures 2 to 5.

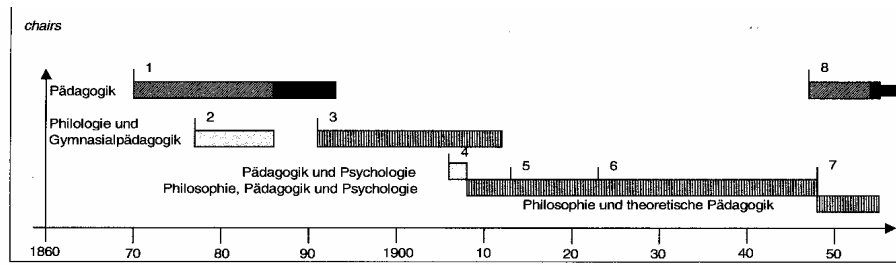
The horizontal line shows chair continuity and succession; changes in chair titles are indicated in the legends.



Legend: 1. H. Siebeck (1875-1883, P for Philosophie und Pädagogik); 2. F. Heman (1889-1916, aP mit Vertretung einzelner philosophischer Fächer, insbesondere der Pädagogik); 3. O. Braun (1920-1922, P for Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychologie und der Pädagogik); 4. P. Häberlin (1922-1944, P for Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychologie und der Pädagogik).

Figure 2. Chairs related to pedagogy at the University of Basel 1860-1950.

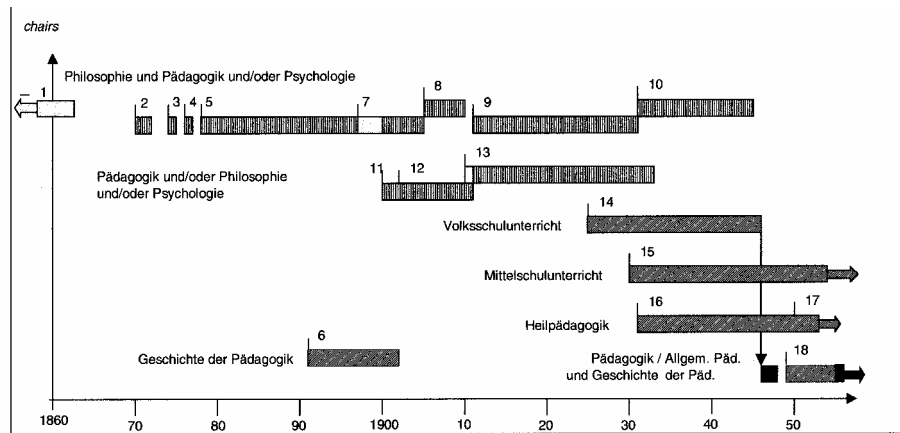
Basle. The example of Basle (Figure 2) shows the continuity of pedagogy's academic presence, although fragile and dependent upon other disciplines. Except for two short periods, pedagogy is present from 1875 to 1944. Pedagogy is not autonomous, however; it is joined to other disciplines, principally philosophy. During the entire period under examination, pedagogy remains a subdiscipline, disappearing finally in 1944.



Legend: 1. H. Rüegg (1870-1886, aP for *Pädagogik*; 1886-1893, P for *Pädagogik*); 2. H. Hitzig (1878-1886, aP for *Klassische Philologie und Gymnasialpädagogik*); 3. F. Haag (1891-1914, P for *Klassische Philologie und Gymnasialpädagogik*; zwischen 1894 und 1906 zusätzlicher Lehrauftrag an der Lehramtsschule. Rücktritt von dieser Aufgabe); 4. E. Dürr (1906-1908, aP for *Pädagogik und Psychologie*; 1908-1913 P for *Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychologie und der Pädagogik*); 5. P. Häberlin (1914-1923, P for *Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychologie und der Pädagogik*); 6. C. Sganzini (1923-1946, P for *Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychologie und der Pädagogik*); 7. A. Stein (1948-1955, P for *Philosophie, theoretische Pädagogik und Geschichte der Pädagogik*); 8. J.R. Schmid (1948-1955, 1/2 aP for *praktische Pädagogik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der psychologischen und pädagogischen Problematik der Schule*; after 1955, P for *Pädagogik mit Einschluss ihrer philosophischen und psychologischen Grundlagen*).

Figure 3. Chairs related to pedagogy at the University of Bern 1860-1950.

Bern. Three periods can be distinguished in Bern (Figure 3). During the first (roughly 1870-1910), pedagogy is present at the university in the form of an ordinary chair and as *gymnasiale Pädagogik* (pedagogy for higher secondary teachers), though as a subdiscipline of philology. For the following four decades, pedagogy is treated as a subdiscipline of philosophy. Finally, in the 1950s, the discipline once again received an autonomous chair.

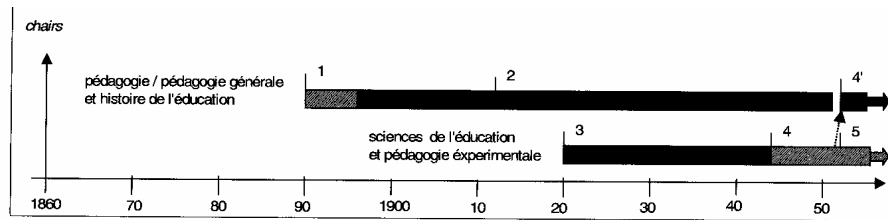


Legend: 1. O. Jäger (1859-62, aP for Philosophie und Pädagogik); 2. F.A. Lange (1870-1872, P for systematische Philosophie, Pädagogik und Psychologie); 3. W. Wundt (1874-1875, P for systematische Philosophie, Pädagogik und Psychologie); 4. W. Windelband (1876-1877, P for systematische Philosophie, Pädagogik und Psychologie); 5. R. Avenarius (1876-1896, P for systematische Philosophie, Pädagogik und Psychologie); 6. O. Hunziker (1891-1902, aP for Geschichte der Pädagogik und der schweizerischen Schulgeschichte); 7. E. Meumann (1897-1900, aP for induktive Philosophie und allgemeine Pädagogik; 1900-1905, aP for systematische Philosophie, Geschichte der Philosophie und allgemeine Pädagogik); 8. F. Schumann (1905-1910, P for systematische Philosophie, allgemeine Pädagogik und experimentelle Psychologie); 9. G. Lipps (1911-1931, P for Philosophie, Pädagogik und Psychologie); 10. E. Grisebach (1931-1945, P for Philosophie und Pädagogik); 11. H. Maier (1900-1902, P for Geschichte der Philosophie in Verbindung mit Geschichte der Pädagogik, Logik, Metaphysik und Erkenntnistheorie); 12. G. Störing (1902-1911, P for Geschichte der Philosophie, Logik, Erkenntnistheorie und Geschichte der Pädagogik); 13. G. Freytag (1910-1911, aP. for Philosophie und Pädagogik; 1911-1933, P for Philosophie und Pädagogik); 14. Stettbacher (1925-1946, aP for Methodik und Didaktik der Unterrichtsfächer der Volksschule; 1946-1948, P ad personam for Pädagogik); 15. M. Zollinger (1930, aP for Allgemeine Didaktik des Mittelschulunterrichts); 16. H. Hanselmann (1931-1950, aP ad personam for Heilpädagogik); 17. P. Moor (1951-1974, aP ad personam for Heilpädagogik); 18. L. Weber (1949-1955, aP for allgemeine Pädagogik und Geschichte der Pädagogik; 1955, Beförderung zum P for allgemeine Pädagogik und Geschichte der Pädagogik).

Figure 4. Chairs related to pedagogy at the University of Zurich 1860-1950.

Zurich. In Zurich (Figure 4), pedagogy first appeared in 1870 as a subdiscipline of philosophy, a status it held until the mid-twentieth century. During this period, pedagogy was characterised in various forms and by frequent changes of individual holders (and their qualifications). One also notes that there are

two extraordinary chairs of didactics linked to specific school levels (primary school, higher secondary school) and a chair of curative pedagogy. Only in 1946 was an autonomous chair of pedagogy created for the first time in Zurich, definitively institutionalised only after 1955.



Legend: 1. P. Duproix (1890-1896, aP for *pédagogie*, after 1896-1912, P); 2. A. Malche (1912-1951, P for *pédagogie*); 3. P. Bovet (1920-1944, P for *sciences de l'éducation et pédagogie expérimentale*); 4. R. Dottrens (1944-1952, aP for *pédagogie expérimentale*; after 1952, P for *pédagogie générale et histoire de la pédagogie*); 5. S. Roller (1952- aP for *pédagogie expérimentale*).

Figure 5. Chairs related to pedagogy at the University of Geneva 1860-1950.

Geneva. An autonomous chair of pedagogy (initially extraordinary, later upgraded to ordinary) was first established in Geneva in 1890 and has remained active for the entire period under study. This chair was supplemented in 1920 by a chair specifically dedicated to experimental pedagogy. This second chair took the form of a *charge de cours*, i.e. a professorial post (see Figure 5).

A short comparative summary. There are similarities and differences concerning the orientation and the number of chairs, the moment of their academic autonomy, the profile of their holders, but also the duration of the posts. We shall not engage with the details of these specificities, but rather, will demonstrate their most important characteristics. At each of the four universities under study, pedagogy had been institutionally integrated (in one form or another) by the end of the nineteenth century. In German-speaking Switzerland, chairs of philosophy explicitly mentioning pedagogy appeared in 1870, but autonomous chairs were only created after 1950. At Geneva, however, a dedicated chair was established in 1890 and a second chair for experimental pedagogy 30 years later. The existence of one, even two, chairs specifically dedicated to pedagogy and the continuous presence of pedagogy distinguish Geneva from the other universities.

How can we better understand these differences? A more thorough monographic approach is necessary in order to comprehend the reasons, tensions, factors, and actors at the core of pedagogy's history and to articulate the evolution of the discipline within the sociopolitical, institutional, scientific, and school context in which it is embedded.

Monographic Approach for Bern and Geneva: points of contact between discipline and profession

We now direct our attention to one of the main sources of disciplinary development: the relationship of discipline to profession (see on this question the stimulating reflections of Novoa, 1987; Stichweh, 1987, 1991; Tenorth, 1989, 1998; Hamel, 2000; see also the contributions in Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2001). We seek to understand how concrete decisions concerning teacher education [8] interfere with or act on the evolution of the discipline, and inversely, how the discipline transforms – or fails to transform – professional education. In order to understand this intricate relationship it is necessary to enlarge the study by taking into account institutional facts that form the context of chairs of pedagogy and play a decisive role in the emergence of our disciplinary field. Our data are taken from those sources referenced earlier: regulations, curricula, documents concerning nomination, and installation of study programme.

Space limitations do not permit the elaboration of each of the four selected sites. Inasmuch as we are interested in the differences in evolution between Geneva and the three other Swiss-German universities, we take Bern as representative of the situation in German-speaking Switzerland.

Bern: secondary teacher education as a discipline integration base at the university

Primary teachers in Bern were educated at normal schools (*seminars*) created in the first third of the nineteenth century. As there was no contact between this institution and the university until the end of the twentieth century, however, we will not consider it here.[9] Of concern to secondary teachers were Bern's efforts to regulate access to the profession beginning in 1860, and the creation of a programme for teacher education whose basic structures were fixed before 1900 and maintained for the entirety of the following century.

The history and evolution of *lower secondary teacher education* begins with the establishment in 1856 of accreditation via examination; as of 1863, candidates for a 'teaching licence' were encouraged to follow university courses in pedagogy. This encouragement became obligatory in the 1878 curriculum, which imposed courses in general pedagogy, the history of pedagogy, and in general didactics or in *gymnasiale Pädagogik*. These courses were conducted by the two ordinary professors of pedagogy and of philology (including *gymnasiale Pädagogik*). The nomination of a professor for pedagogy took place in 1870; that is, just in those years during which university courses were merely encouraged (1863) and when they became compulsory (1878). The documents concerning this autonomous chair of pedagogy show that while an individual was chosen, the institutional structure – so important for the autonomy of the discipline at the university – was not created. A worthy director of the *école normal* could be maintained in Bern by the professorship.

That the chair was poorly integrated into the university is demonstrated by the fact that when the holder died, the chair disappeared and the courses were reassigned first to the chair of philology and later that of philosophy. There is thus continuity of the courses (because they were part of the course of study), but not of the chair itself, proof of the discipline's fragility. Finally, it is of some note that these lower secondary level teachers themselves actively defended the integration of pedagogy into philosophy and were opposed to the creation of an autonomous chair of practical pedagogy.

Higher secondary level teacher education was licensed in 1883 and consisted of (a) a theoretical examination in psychology and *gymnasiale Pädagogik* (integrated, as we have seen, in philology; it was later replaced by general pedagogy) or in psychological pedagogy, a special branch of philosophy; and (b) a practical examination of a sample lesson performed for a jury. Brief training courses became compulsory in 1911. In short, pedagogy was considered marginal. The essential orientation was the didactic and practice of the information to be taught.

In taking a stand concerning their education, the teachers attacked general, scientific, and autonomous pedagogy; they explicitly preferred a pedagogy that treated educational questions from a philosophical or ethical point of view, or a pedagogy conceived as an application of empirical psychology, linked thereby also to philosophy.

Bern is thus characterised by the fact that pedagogy, philosophical in nature, was strongly interwoven with the needs of secondary teacher education; these needs were the first argument for pedagogy at the university.

*Geneva: interweaving of discipline and profession as
a condition for the acceptance of primary teacher
education and the educational sciences at the University*

In Geneva, strong contact between discipline and profession appears in the education of *primary teachers* (and not of secondary teachers).[10] The principal phases of the evolution of teacher education and integration of the discipline into university are as follows.

Primary teacher education was institutionalised only at the end of the nineteenth century and took the form of ad hoc training and 'normal' courses (some of which were given by university professors); no stable institution for the education of teachers existed. Given this absence, the chair of pedagogy was created in 1890 in order to assume the role of 'moral guide' in the general pedagogical discourse. Note that secondary teacher education (optional in Geneva until 1940) was institutionalised only in 1908 for science teachers and in 1916 for teachers of French, German and Italian, without distinction between lower and higher secondary level.

In 1912, when the first holder of the chair had to be replaced, the new professor, chosen by the Government against the will of the faculty, was a

representative of an empirical approach to pedagogy. He simultaneously assumed directorship of primary school education, guaranteeing strong contact between the discipline and the administration as well as between school reforms and the primary teachers.

The *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (IJJR), also called *Ecole des sciences de l'éducation* (School for educational sciences), was established in 1912. It assembled, on private property and outside the University, a number of university and non-university people interested in an empirical approach to education and in favour of progressive education. Although the Institute had strong relationships with primary teachers who favoured school reforms, initially it had no official responsibility for teacher education.

In 1920, the state, recognising the important pedagogical contribution of the IJJR (and guaranteeing its survival), created a second ordinary chair in 'educational sciences and experimental pedagogy' for the director of the institute.

From the 1920s on, the Institute's theoretical courses for primary teachers increasingly reflected the movement for school reform and teacher education (training courses in special education, education of infants, and, from 1927, education of all teachers). In 1929, the Institute was joined to the University and at the same time became responsible for all primary teacher theoretical education. Initially part of the Faculty of Arts, it became an autonomous inter-faculty Institute in 1948.

The situation is different for the *secondary level*, for which no specific courses existed before the beginning of the twentieth century. The first certificate attesting pedagogical capacity (created in 1908 for science and in 1916 for the arts) specifies a programme in courses and seminars in pedagogy at the University. Initially, the reference faculties [11] (sciences, arts, and later the social sciences) were responsible for teacher education. The *Institut universitaire des sciences de l'éducation* (formerly the *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau*) was in charge of secondary teacher education for a short period in 1930, but thereafter lost all influence. Again it was the reference faculties which organised the ad hoc courses in pedagogy and didactics, assisted by the professor of pedagogy; later, practical and didactic education was increasingly taken over by the directors of secondary education, a shift overtly supported by the teachers. After 1940, when teaching certificates became compulsory at the secondary level, only courses and seminars in psychology and pedagogy were given at the University.

What characterises the Genevan situation is that the discipline was institutionalised and developed *before* real teacher education courses were organised. After 1900 this relatively stable disciplinary basis helped define the contours of the first institutions for primary teacher education; in 1929 these became partially academic. Inversely, the IJJR was integrated only marginally and episodically into secondary teacher education.

Comparison of Bern and Geneva from the Point of View of the Relationship of Discipline to Profession

We now continue our analysis of the evolution of the relationship between discipline and profession through comparative synthesis of the distinctive features observed at Bern and Geneva. We seek to understand how this relationship is linked to the differences found in the institutionalisation of pedagogy, which can be summarised as follows. In Bern, as in the other Swiss-German universities, pedagogy was essentially taught by and subordinated to philosophy, receiving an autonomous chair only in the second half of the twentieth century. In Geneva, however, pedagogy was quickly given an autonomous chair (held nonetheless by a philosopher) and even received a second chair in 1920.

The role of pedagogy chairs at their establishment. In both Bern and Geneva the first chairs of pedagogy played the role of moral and ethical guide; they were also called upon to define psychological principles to guide practice, relying on a psychology still heavily integrated into philosophy. In Geneva, the chair was also subject to international pedagogical evolution with the goal of efficient school system management.[12]

The institutional relationship between the chairs of pedagogy and teacher education. All those who favoured the academic institutionalisation of pedagogy underlined its importance for the education of teachers; the kind of institutional contact with this education fundamentally differs between the two sites examined here. In Bern, academic pedagogy was at once institutionally integrated into teacher education and contributed to it (certificate in 1856; regulations in 1878 and 1883 for secondary teachers; in all cases, courses in pedagogy were prescribed). In Geneva, institutional ties appeared only quite late and had the simultaneous effect of furthering the discipline and education on an academic level.

'Epistemological' conception of pedagogy/the educational science(s). Since the second decade of the twentieth century in Geneva, pedagogy has had the double function of pursuing both moral and philosophical reflections on the purposes of education and of promoting an experimental approach, demonstrated by the 1920 chair in experimental pedagogy. In Bern, pedagogy remains almost exclusively moral, ethical, and philosophical.

School-level orientation and the position of teachers. In Bern, pedagogy was almost exclusively oriented towards the needs of *secondary* teacher education. These teachers clearly took a stand and were capable of imposing it: they wanted pedagogy as a moral discipline as a subdiscipline of philosophy, and a professional education both theoretical (the discipline of reference) and practical (training in classes). In Geneva, the discipline was relatively

autonomous and directed more towards *primary* teachers. These aspired to an academic qualification through pedagogy. This 'alliance' led to incorporation into the University and the stabilisation of the discipline, as well as teacher education, in 1929. Concerning secondary teachers, one observes a clear ambivalence and even refusal regarding what pedagogy could contribute to teacher education; teachers preferred an education through the disciplines of reference and through socialisation by practice.

Links with the administration and practitioners. Genevan pedagogy is also characterised by the fact that since the beginning of the twentieth century it has been deeply involved in the movement for school reform: the new professor of pedagogy in 1912 explicitly indicated his intent to promote school reform and a social and experimental pedagogy. The important contributions of IJJR to 'new education' are well documented. Except for a short period at the beginning of the twentieth century, professors of pedagogy trained as philosophers seemed to restrict their theoretical reflection to the academic domain in Bern.

This monographic presentation has demonstrated these prominent traits as strongly contrasting. In Bern, one finds a pedagogy dependent on philosophy, which failed to evolve and was limited to teacher education. In Geneva, one sees the evolution of an autonomous discipline which spawned new fields of research and teaching of its own and that was active beyond the academic domain, particularly in the context of school reform.

Discussion

We conclude by offering an interpretation of these findings in the form of an explanatory hypothesis that must be verified by other historical studies. Clearly, the contact between discipline and profession has conditioned (favoured or hindered) the development of pedagogy. However, our data indicate that distinctions can be made depending on the school level concerned: focus on the secondary level favours the definition of a discipline that is more speculative, theoretical, more closely linked to philosophy, from which it borrows concepts and approaches, whereas strong focus on the primary level can favour a more autonomous and empirical discipline. In other words, the degree of autonomy and heteronomy of pedagogy could depend on the school level it addresses and the conception of education linked to it.

Indeed, the *secondary level* defines its professional identity through a rupture with the primary level and by an academic dimension; educational science is therefore interesting only from a strictly professional point of view (educational relationship, morals, ethics, etc.); because secondary teachers were mandated to educate young citizens, to promote values and cultural traditions, and to preserve the social identity of their students, they were introduced to pedagogy; the discipline itself was therefore only asked to

intervene on account of its philosophical, ethical, and moral contributions. Pedagogy thus remained dominated by other academic disciplines, particularly philosophy. Teachers' professional identity was based not on a professional discipline of reference like pedagogy or didactics, i.e. on disciplines specialised in reflection on questions of teaching and processes of learning in general or in a given school matter. Rather, it was based on the academic reference discipline in which they were educated (mathematics, physics, geography, French, and so on), the discipline supposed to give them the contents to teach.

On the other hand, the *primary level* cannot seek its professional recognition in any discipline other than pedagogy (the other academic disciplines are too specialised, too far away from the needs of the profession); pedagogy was therefore called upon for help by the teachers themselves to obtain professional legitimacy. It was also annexed by school administrators to accomplish more thorough school reforms earlier at the primary level. Contact with the primary level seems thus to favour the autonomy of the discipline as a reference discipline.[13] From the point of view of the integration into the system of disciplines, this autonomy calls for an empirical, and even an experimental, approach from pedagogy or the educational science(s). Freed from its dependence on philosophy, pedagogy oriented itself to psychology and sociology to establish its scientific legitimacy.

Sociological aspects must also be taken into account, as Drewek (1998, 2001) shows. Our analysis confirms this hypothesis: a democratising element is present much earlier at the primary level, whereas the secondary level (and its representatives) had a clearly elite mission. Reforms favouring democratisation found important support from the representatives of experimental pedagogy, but also from sociology and an empirical psychology oriented towards the definition of aptitudes, testing, etc.

Finally, our comparison leads us to question the influence of cultural areas or the academic traditions in the sense defined by Keiner (1999) and Keiner & Schriewer (2000). We observe, indeed, that pedagogy in Bern and in the other Swiss-German universities is clearly embedded in the German academic tradition, even if the concrete definition of teacher education differs. Geneva, however, shows a specific configuration. Schematically speaking, it seems to be at the confluence of different influences. It is embedded in the multidisciplinary French tradition. It explicitly borrows as much from Anglo-Saxon pragmatism as from German experimental pedagogy, two nations to which Geneva had a strong and evident religious resemblance and from which it took inspiration for its school reforms. The case of Bern thus confirms the influence of contrasting academic areas corresponding to linguistic contexts. However, the Genevan case shows that these influences go beyond such contexts and frontiers and invites us to go further in our empirical and monographic investigations to integrate it into a more international perspective.

Notes

- [1] The project is financed by the Swiss national science foundation (No. 1214-653000.01) and entitled 'Configurations contrastées du processus de disciplinarisation des sciences de l'éducation en Suisse (fin 19e–première moitié du 20e siècles): les exemples de Fribourg, Genève, Lausanne et Zurich' (Contrasted configurations of the process of disciplinarisation of educational sciences in Switzerland [end of the nineteenth–first half of the twentieth centuries]: the example of Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne and Zurich). Responsible: Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly. Members of the group: Marco Cicchini, Lucien Criblez, Valérie Lussi, Martina Späni.
- [2] In order to shorten the text, we sometimes employ the term 'pedagogy' and sometimes 'educational science(s)' to designate the disciplinary field, depending on period and site. When we refer to a limited geographical or historical context or when we study the question of designation, we will, of course, refer exclusively to the designation used in the contexts.
- [3] The history of pedagogy or educational sciences has now also become the object of studies that are inspired in one way or another by approaches like these. Our proper investigation takes into account these studies, and among them those of Dudek, 1989; Oelkers, 1989; Depaepe, 1993; Simon, 1994; Benetka, 1995; and the contributions edited by Drewek & Luth, 1998; Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 1998, 2002, and Zelder & König, 1999.
- [4] We use this second concept when we later insist on the uncertain and fluid frontiers of a discipline, on its evolving dimensions, and on its interweaving with other social practices, more particularly with socio-professional ones.
- [5] There is an important risk of anachronism (Gillispie, 1988) or presentism ('tunnel effect'); see also the subtle discussion of the different possible drifts by Blondiaux & Richart, 1999.
- [6] Becher, 1989; Dogan & Pahre, 1991; Fleck, 2000. See also the numerous examples discussed in Dubois, 2001, pp. 239 ff.
- [7] A complete source list can be found in the bibliographies of earlier papers on this subject by our research team; see footnote 1. See also the list of archives studied in the reference list.
- [8] One can find more information concerning the history of teacher education in Criblez & Hofstetter, 2000.
- [9] This does not mean that there is no relation at all between pedagogy at university and in the seminar and between their representatives, however. It also does not mean that there were no attempts by Bern's powerful teachers' union to influence the form of pedagogy at the University.
- [10] See, for more details on this topic, Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 1997, 2000; Muller et al, 2000; Kiciman, 2001; Lussi et al, 2001.
- [11] By 'reference faculty' we mean the faculty in which the future teachers study the academic discipline which they will teach later on as a school discipline: mathematics, physics, chemistry, French, Greek, geography, and so on. These disciplines we will call 'reference disciplines'.

- [12] This analogy of the sites concerning the role of pedagogy at its beginning in the university is not only true for Swiss universities; most courses and chairs of pedagogy installed at the turning point from the nineteenth to the twentieth century in European universities share these characteristics (Charbonnel, 1988; Zedler & König, 1989; Hameline, 1995; Popkewitz, 1998; Cruikshank, 1998; Drewek & Luth, 1998; Gautherin, 2002).
- [13] This is, of course, not a sufficient condition. The institutes that have succeeded in giving the discipline a solid basis generally are active not only in teacher education and in school reform, but also in other neighbouring fields of education: social work, nursery education, children with special needs, vocational guidance. This was the case in the *Institut des sciences de l'éducation* in Geneva.

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- Archives Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau
- Archives d'Etat des cantons de Bâle, Berne et Zurich containing also the University archives

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