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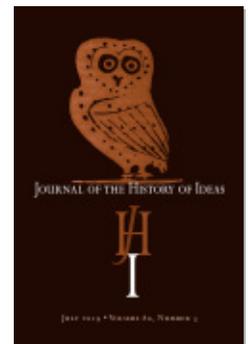
Localizing Dewey's Notions of Democracy and Education: A
Journey across Configurations in Latin America

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*Localizing Dewey's Notions of Democracy
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Rosa Bruno-Jofré

INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss, from a historical perspective, how John Dewey's ideas on democracy and education circulated in Latin America from the beginning of the twentieth century through the "long 1960s" (1958–1974) amid dynamic interplay between the local, the regional, and the supra-national. These interplays generated social and political configurations containing shared spaces, whose examination could help clarify why various groups of religious leaders, intellectuals, politicians, union leaders, and educators found in eclectic readings of Dewey's educational theory, often, as Gonzalo Jover describes it, "depragmatized" ways to organize their thinking and actions in their encounters with modernity.¹ The long 1960s² signaled a shift to new conceptions of education and social transformation, and challenging ways of thinking about democratic pedagogies, emerging from lived experiences and revolutionary discourses and practices in Latin

¹ Gonzalo Jover, "Democracy and Education Then and Now: 'De-pragmatizing' and 'Ultra-pragmatizing' Readings of John Dewey's Pedagogy," in *Dewey in Our Time: Learning from John Dewey for Transcultural Practices*, ed. Peter Cunningham and Ruth Heilbronn (London: UCL/IOE Press, 2016), 40–55.

² Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

America. But Dewey was not embraced in this process. He was either forgotten or critiqued as linked to US ideologies.³

In an attempt to bring empirical specificity to a plurality of Dewey's "translations," I will discuss Dewey's uptake in specific political settings, Chile in the 1920s and post-revolutionary Mexico, and in two cases of Christian adaptation and critique of Dewey's theories at the intersection of religion, education, and social change. My inquiry into the latter led me to the Protestant Committee on Cooperation in Latin America in the 1910s and 1920s and its efforts to export a spiritualized democracy, and to the Jesuit priest Alberto Hurtado's Catholic reading of Dewey at the intersection of claims for social change in Chile, the social apostolate of the Church, and "nouvelle théologie." In the selected settings as well as in the religious uptakes, I have identified a common thread of searching for a political ethic of social change with education at the center.

In my analysis, I place the process of reception of Dewey's ideas within historical, educational, and religious configurations—spaces taken up by constellations of ideas and historical phenomena—to understand the connections and contradictions involved in that reception. Following Martyn Thompson's assertion that dealing with reception of ideas, authorial meanings, and meanings created by readers are equally important,⁴ I carefully interpret Dewey's reception in those settings against Dewey's concepts in his own words and his stated intentions.

Discussion of the epistemic break in the long 1960s will help to clarify the emergence of new ways of approaching and critiquing the political dimension of education. It aims at placing the development of pedagogical conceptions within grassroots experiences rooted in the Latin American reality of the time. The language of liberation theology, as in the case of Paulo Freire, was often intertwined with pedagogy. In the 1960s and 1970s, Dewey, who had been a point of reference for a variety of political strands looking for social and political transformation in the 1920s and 1930s,⁵ was read in line with a critique of US policies toward Latin America—a highly contextualized reading. A preoccupation with liberation, oppression, and grassroots experience/perspective had colored the new language of education and social change.

³ Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

⁴ Martyn Thompson, "Reception Theory and the Interpretation of Historical Meaning," *History and Theory* 32, no. 3 (1993): 248–72.

⁵ Adriana Puigross, *La Educación popular en América Latina: Orígenes, polémicas y perspectivas* (Mexico City: Nueva Imagen, 1984).

DEWEY, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LANGUAGES,
AND MODERNITY: LOCALIZING DEWEY
IN CONTRASTING PROJECTS IN CHILE

At the beginning of the twentieth century, within the framework of the crises of the oligarchic-liberal state and national public education, and in the midst of multiple ways of articulating political projects in concurrence with modernity, schooling and popular education practices with strong political tones were favored instruments for social change. Chile offers two cases that exemplify the context-specific appropriation of Dewey's ideas for social and political change. The first can be found with liberal educators such as Darío Salas, who translated Dewey's *My Pedagogic Creed* in 1908, Irma Salas, and Amanda Labarca, all of whom had ties to the Radical Party that proclaimed "uncompromisingly liberal-democratic opinions,"⁶ as well as links to freemasonry, Columbia University Teachers College, and Dewey.⁷ These educators, with their various degrees of involvement within the political-administrative structure of public education, were attracted to Dewey's social reconstructionism and his socially rooted critique of the traditional school. In 1917, citing the correlation between high illiteracy and poverty in Chile, Salas denounced the cultural inequality that perpetuated class differences. In his view, the building of a liberal democracy required universal literacy that would lead to cultural uplift.⁸ His approach to modernity was grounded in a liberal political platform within the construct of so-called Western civilization.

These liberal educators emphasized policies of public instruction, pedagogical methods, child-centered education, and the psychological aspect of learning. They considered the school a setting for liberating creative energies and generating democratic practices. However, in a society marked by social exclusion, which was reproduced by an educational system that aimed at moralizing popular classes—the rural worker, emerging working class, low middle classes, poor people in the city—their ideas were not about structural social change. Rather, they enacted innovations through a "strategy of essays" (*estrategia de ensayos*), mainly in elementary experimental schools from 1929 on, in the Liceo Experimental Manuel de Salas

⁶ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808–2002* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 117.

⁷ Emma S. Salas Neumann, *El Pensamiento de Darío Salas a través de sus Escritos* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1987).

⁸ Darío Salas, *El Problema Nacional* (Santiago: Sociedad Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1917; Editorial Universitaria, 1967). The law of compulsory schooling was promulgated in 1920 (Ley de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria).

founded in 1932, and later as a part of the Gradual Plan of Renovation of Secondary Education, which was initiated in 1946.⁹

The historical configurations of the first thirty years of the twentieth century also nourished more radical transformative attempts. Emerging transnational configurations aiming for transformative change nested within themselves traveling socialist, anarchist, and/or communist ideas, and in some cases spiritualist philosophies, all of which intersected with what was referred to as “new education” and its related conceptual spaces. In the background, the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the university reform of 1918 that spread from Argentina as a middle class revolt gave impetus to unsettling the order of things. Thus, Dewey’s ideas, in particular those expounded in *My Pedagogical Creed* and in *School and Society*, and later, to some extent, in *Democracy and Education*, intertwined with other currents, producing a notion of education as a means to generate new relations between subjectivities and democracy within the context of modernity. Dewey’s notion of education as “a process of a continuing reconstruction of experience”¹⁰ appealed to radical transformative thinkers.

The second context-specific appropriation of Dewey in Chile included the appropriation of “new education,” understood as a broad, eclectic international movement of educational ideas. The protagonist was a socio-cultural movement of elementary teachers from the General Association of Chilean Teachers, “a collective actor,” in the words of historian Ivan Nuñez Prieto. Between 1923 and 1928, the Association articulated what Nuñez Prieto calls a model of radical reform, based on a non-authoritarian school, decentralized administration with a strong role for teachers and families, active learning, work-orientation, and national development.¹¹ These teachers selectively adopted Dewey’s ideas in an eclectic conjunction with concepts from a diverse array of educational theorists, psychologists, and educators—including Ovide Decroly, Roger Cousinet, Adolphe Ferrière, John Badley, Helen Parkhurst, William Kilpatrick, Agustín Nieto Caballero, and a number of Marxist educators. Founded in 1922 amid the emergence of a middle class, the Association had a nucleus of university students

⁹ Iván Nuñez Prieto, *Actores y estrategias para el cambio educacional en Chile: Historia y propuestas* (Santiago: Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación, 1984), 11.

¹⁰ Ivan Nuñez Prieto, “El pensamiento de un actor colectivo: Los profesores reformistas de 1928,” *Pensamiento Educativo: Revista de Investigación Educativa Latinoamericana* 34, no.1 (2004): 162–78.

¹¹ Leonora Reyes Jedlicki, “Crisis, pacto social y soberanía: El proyecto educacional de maestros y trabajadores; Chile, 1920–1925,” *Cuadernos de Historia* 22 (December 2002): 111–48.

who taught in schools, harbored anarchist-unionist but not anti-state tendencies, and were active in the Students' Federation. It published the magazine *Nuevos Rumbos*, which also conveyed the vision of the New Art movement and a Hispano-American consciousness. Despite the dominating presence of masculine logic, the Association opened a space for the voices of women teachers, poor and socially marginal—more than 70 percent of elementary teachers.¹² In contrast with the case of Salas and the liberal educators, the Association conceived of the changes as involving the participation of civil society, even though these reforms needed to pass through a political institutional space that had been alien to the teachers and their leaders.

The Chilean political configuration of the 1920s and early 1930s was marked by the decay of the oligarchic society, awareness of the limits of the parliamentary republic, the organizing of the working class, the emergent presence of the middle class, the creation of the Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista Obrero, which in 1922 had become the Communist Party of Chile), anarchist views, the impact of the Depression, and the founding of the Socialist Party in 1933, all of which cultivated practices of popular education. In 1928, for a brief eight-month period, the Teachers Association's proposal for integral reform was adopted by the government of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, which attempted to apply the concepts of a new pedagogy, the "active school," and some of Dewey's concepts to the public system on a national scale.

These appropriations of Dewey took place within the contours of the Association's political configuration, which centered on the popular subject, social justice, and a concern with the matrix of power, but not to the extent of promoting total rupture from the state. Dewey was cited in *Nuevos Rumbos* specifically in relation to his concept of education articulated in *My Pedagogic Creed*: "education as a process of a continuing reconstruction of experience."¹³ Dewey's influence on teachers can also be inferred from their rejection of dualistic thinking that separates thought from action, mind from body, and individual from society, although these notions appear intertwined with other ideas without theoretical articulation.

My focal point here is the politically contextualized concept of democracy and its relation to education. An important feature of Dewey's theory, the notion that "psychological and social sides are organically related," is

¹² Reyes Jedlicki.

¹³ "La educación e un proceso de reconstrucción continua de la experiencia," Nuñez Prieto, "El pensamiento de un actor colectivo," 168.

present in both of the context-specific appropriations: in the first case, within a liberal configuration; in the second, with the Association's emphasis on social justice. Furthermore, the two appropriations contrast substantially. Liberal leaders in education, such as Salas, sponsored embryonic public schools with strong Deweyan influences and active school features that emphasized elevating the culture of the popular classes.¹⁴ Salas and other liberal leaders distrusted the experiences and knowledge of the popular classes. Conversely, the Association, somewhat in line with extensive popular education practices of the time, saw democratic education as going beyond the discourse of public instruction (without breaking with it). Left-wing political parties and organizations delivered educational programs with high political tones addressed at workers, militants, and members of unions in which the educated middle class shared knowledge in a variety of areas. They also advocated, as the Association did, the extension of public instruction through the state.

The program of the Association, as Reyes Jedlicki has written, emerged from civil society, and represented "a clear threat to the stability and consolidation of the liberal regime."¹⁵ Its focus on civil society is closer to Dewey's theory of education and democracy than to that of Georg Kerschensteiner, whose work was then popular in Latin America, in which the central role belonged to the state. The Association's program was followed by a political "contra-reform" that retained many elements of the active school. These important differences in the reception of Dewey's ideas exemplify alternative journeys of Dewey's educational theories when inserted in blueprints for political projects.

LOCALIZING DEWEY IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY MEXICO

Post-revolutionary Mexico displays both the difficulties in exporting notions of democracy and socialized schools, and the ease of construing a new matrix of internal colonization.¹⁶ I will address how the contextual

¹⁴ Nuñez Prieto, "Actores y estrategias."

¹⁵ "Una clara amenaza a la estabilidad y consolidación del regimen liberal," Reyes Jedlicki, "Crisis, pacto social y soberanía," 148.

¹⁶ See Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Carlos Martínez Valle, "Ruralizing Dewey: The American Friend, Internal Colonization, and the Action School in Post-Revolutionary Mexico (1921–1940)," in *The Global Reception of John Dewey's Thought: Multiple Refractions Through Time and Space*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jürgen Schriewer (New York: Routledge, 2012), 59–83.

contingencies of national and even regional histories intersected with Dewey's epistemic propositions and what gaps existed between Dewey's central tenets and their application in Mexico.

The contextual conditions for the enactment of the school as an instrument of social transformation were framed by Mexico's geographical mosaic, its ethnic and cultural diversity, and its need to build a sense of national integrity after losing considerable territory to the United States. Politically, the movements that brought about the revolution, despite centering their claims on land or democracy or both, lacked ideological definition.¹⁷ The triumph of constitutionalism (Constitution of Querétaro of 1917) gave room between 1920 and 1934 to political change led by a line of generals, which was closer to nineteenth-century "republican liberalism" than to the demands by revolutionary groups for democracy and agrarian reform. Within this horizon, educational reform developed as part of a project of economic and moral "reconstruction" and "modernization" for socio-political integration.¹⁸ The means were popular mobilization with nationalist and populist overtones. Consequently, the uptake of foreign pedagogical ideas, including Dewey's, occurred within a national political constellation that had as referents nationalism and social integration.¹⁹ What is most significant is that these referents contained not only associationism and cooperativism, but also corporativism, which was blended with patronage and personal networks of power (*cacicazgo*) that helped generate stability.

Dewey's presence was literal—he was *in* Mexico. It also had an institutional dimension, given that the Secretariat of Education was in contact with him, particularly during the 1920s when he was taken up by the populist developmentalists. Dewey's *School and Society* circulated in Mexico. However, the key conduit through which Dewey's educational theories were taken up was Édouard Claparède, whose prologue to *L'école et l'enfant* was translated into Spanish, in 1926, on its own under the title

¹⁷ Paul J. Vanderwood, "Explaining the Mexican Revolution," in *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change, 1880–1940*, ed. Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1990), 97–114.

¹⁸ Lorenzo Meyer, Rafael Segovia, and Alejandra Lajous, *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana, 1928–1934: Los inicios de la institucionalización*, t. 12 (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1995), 178; Arnaldo Córdova, *La ideología de la Revolución Mexicana: La formación del nuevo régimen* (Mexico City: Era, 1973), 35–36.

¹⁹ Francisco Arce Gurza, "En busca de una educación revolucionaria: 1924–1934," in *Ensayos sobre historia de la educación en México*, ed. Josefina Zoraida Vásquez, Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, Anne Staples, and Francisco Arce Gurza (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1981), 183–84; Roland K. Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator and the Third World: A First Look at John Dewey," *History of Education* 19, no. 1 (1990): 23–40.

The Pedagogy of John Dewey. Claparède claimed that Dewey's psychopedagogy could be separated from pragmatism.²⁰ Claparède mediated, by and large, the reading of Dewey in Iberian America. That appealed to most of those introducing Dewey's ideas—Normal School graduates without philosophical background.²¹

Dewey's works were read and mixed with those of other exponents of new education, such as Ferrière and Decroly, and even with the anarchist Peter Kropotkin. An example is *Bases of the Organization of the Primary School*, a document delineating the foundations of the "action school." The action school, visited and praised by Dewey, and originally designed as a regenerating tool for the urban Federal District in Mexico, was ruralized as an instrument of modernization and assimilation.²² Communities carried the weight of its activities within the tradition of in-kind communal work or service to the *cacique*. Yet parents resented the ruralized schools for putting their children to work in the school plot and thus contradicting their vision of the school as a means to provide social mobility away from the land.²³

Dewey's central notion of democracy as an ethical ideal, as "primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicative experience" characterized by a spirit of inquiry, and the conception of education as reconstruction of experience and transformation of the quality of experience, are trumped in the Mexican case by goals external to the educational process.²⁴ These included the implementation of public education and popular educational activities for indoctrinating *Mexicanidad*. Meanwhile, pedagogical currents present in the Secretariat of Education intertwined with political discourses that had currency at different moments: spiritualism, populism, developmentalism, socialism, and advocacy of anarcho-rationalist pedagogies.²⁵ Hence, speeches such as those of Secretary of Education Moisés Saenz—including his lectures in the United States and references to Deweyan concepts of democracy and education—often did not correspond with practice. For example, Saenz's indigenist project in Carapan (1932–33),

²⁰ Bruno-Jofré and Martínez Valle, "Ruralizing Dewey."

²¹ Guillermo Palacios, *La Pluma y el arado* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999), 31.

²² Bruno-Jofré and Martínez Valle, "Ruralizing Dewey."

²³ Bruno-Jofré and Martínez Valle, "Ruralizing Dewey."

²⁴ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 87; David Hansen, "Introduction: Reading Democracy and Education," in *John Dewey and Our Educational Prospect: A Critical Engagement with Dewey's Democracy and Education*, ed. David Hansen (Albany: State University of New York, 2006), 1–23.

²⁵ Palacios, *La pluma y el arado*, 31.

where the adult learners used a revolutionary civic catechism, left no room for experimental self-correcting processes.²⁶ Neither were there signs of Dewey's concepts of intelligent adaptation to new situations in life or psychology of problem solving culminating in "flexible readjustment." Pedagogic practice also ran contrary to Dewey's notion of community as an organism constituted by shared experiences, meanings, decisions, and values. In its early phase, the initial goal of incorporating indigenous people into the new *Mexicanidad* by imposing Castillian Spanish upon them demanded the negation of the culture of the educatee, hence suppressing a way of being in the move toward modernity. Alignment of democratic means with democratic ends, as envisioned by Dewey, was not to be. The selective insertion of Dewey's conceptions in the space generated by the post-revolutionary Mexico, in particular by the developmentalist and, at first, spiritualist tendencies, played within cultural and socio-economic contexts and the ideological constellations of the revolution.²⁷ Dewey's influence started to decline somewhat with the introduction of socialist education in the 1930s. Overall, the Left in Mexico was not attracted to Dewey.

CHRISTIAN ADAPTATIONS AND CRITIQUES OF DEWEY'S THEORIES: DEWEY AND THE DEMOCRACY OF GOD

Protestant schools were a point of entry for progressive educational ideas in education all over Latin America. They introduced modern values just as intense US capital penetration in the region was taking place, opening avenues for emergent middle class sectors.²⁸ In the 1910s and 1920s, Protestant denominations working in Latin America participated in the Interdenominational Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, created in 1913 and based in New York. The Committee's publications and the congresses it organized, the Panama Congress of 1916 and the Montevideo Congress of 1925, reveal a configuration of religious and political reformist ideas nourished in the Social Gospel and entwined with Dewey's notions of

²⁶ Moisés Sáenz, *Carapan* (Morelia: Talleres Linotipográficos, 1969), 7, 102, 172–73, 194, 195.

²⁷ See also Rosa N. Buenfil Burgos, "Discursive Inscriptions in the Fabrication of a Modern Self: Mexican Educational Appropriations of Dewey's Writings," in *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 181–203.

²⁸ Jean Pierre Bastian, *Breve Historia del Protestantismo en América Latina* (Mexico City: Casa Unida de Publicaciones, 1986), 103–4.

democracy and education.²⁹ This configuration sustained a prophetic project to reconstruct the Latin American polity. The Committee held the Catholic Church responsible for the region's "backwardness." Initially, the Committee was framed by Pan-Americanism, an American doctrine of cooperation dominant between 1881 and 1938 that was embraced by the Committee's secretary, Samuel G. Inman, yet was widely denounced in Latin America. However, the Social Gospel brought a reformist thread that acquired radical tones in the 1920s.³⁰

Education was the means to create a new culture grounded in a biblical democracy through the formation of a new citizenry and a democratic polity. To that end, and as part of a social reconstructionist vision and individual transformation, Protestant schools would play a countercultural role, creating a space from which to challenge the Catholic Church-influenced dominant culture. This was in line with Dewey's thought in *Democracy and Education*, that "it is the business of the school environment to eliminate, so far as possible, the unworthy features of the existing environment from influence upon mental habitudes. It establishes a purified medium of action."³¹ George A. Coe, Dewey's "translator" into the world of the Social Gospel, summarized those thoughts well when he wrote that "education is not only society's supreme act of self-preservation; it is also society's most sincere judgment upon its own defects, and its supreme effort at self-improvement."³² But since the aim of educational missionary work was "the permeation of the community at large with the highest Christian ideas and ideals,"³³ in this context the notion of growth acquired a foundational status, one contrary to Dewey's naturalism and pragmatism. And, in the configuration generated by the Committee's political and religious constellations, counterculture and growth were related to the importation of so-called superior values. This imposition is evident in the Congresses' reports

²⁹ See Bruno-Jofré, "To Those in 'Heathen Darkness': Deweyan Democracy and Education in the American Interdenominational Configuration: The Case of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America," in *Democracy and the Intersection of Religion and Traditions: The Readings of John Dewey's Understanding of Democracy and Education*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, James Scott Johnston, Gonzalo Jover, and Daniel Tröhler (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

³⁰ See Doug Rossinow, "The Radicalization of the Social Gospel: Harry F. Ward and the Search for a New Social Order, 1898–1936," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 15, 1 (2005): 63–106.

³¹ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 20.

³² George Albert Coe, *A Social Theory of Religious Education*, 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), 18.

³³ Panamá Congress 1916, *Christian Work in Latin America*, vol. 1 (New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1917), 504.

on indigenous issues that used as their main tropes the Committee's notion of growth as regeneration and salvation, which, in practice, happened to empty the self.³⁴

At the time of the Panama Congress in 1916, Latin America was an environment of social transformation. The social thinking of the time was inspired by political and social movements embedding the Mexican Revolution and developments that led to the Russian Revolution. When the Montevideo Congress opened on 29 March 1925, missionaries, some converts, and the Committee were already familiar with other transformational discourses, including popular nationalism, and with political movements, national forms of socialism, and the national communist parties. For example, the missionaries had a relationship with the founder of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), Peruvian Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, a student leader at the time. The introduction to the report of the Congress clearly states that the churches were moving forward "in brave fidelity to the gospel to take their proper place in the great social movements . . . pervading the whole body of South American life."³⁵

The Montevideo Congress exemplifies the embrace of a radical version of Social Gospel and of John Dewey's notions of democracy (albeit spiritualized) and education, as interpreted by Coe, one of Dewey's close followers. Coe had published *Education in Religion and Morals* (1904) and expressed his indebtedness to Dewey in the forward to *A Social Theory of Religious Education* (1917). He conceived of Christian education as the means to create a new way of being that, in his view, was a condition for the creation of a democracy of God beyond dogmatism and ecclesiasticism, making religious education suitable for public schooling—Coe's ultimate goal.³⁶ Coe saw religious education as grounded in the notions of experience, reconstruction of experience, and human nature as pure potentiality. Children would learn to be Christians by living the religion—understanding the Bible as a book of experience. Character training was to be a unifying process.³⁷

The convergence between radical Social Gospellers and Dewey's theories prompts a revisiting of Steven Rockefeller's contention that Dewey provided a basis for a "religious sensitive naturalism" committed to social and

³⁴ See Montevideo Congress 1925, *Christian Work in South America* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1925), 151.

³⁵ Montevideo Congress 1925, *Christian Work*, vol. 1, 22.

³⁶ Coe, *A Social Theory of Religious Education*, 54–55; David P. Setran, "Morality for the 'Democracy of God': George Albert Coe and the Liberal Protestant Critique of American Character Education, 197–1940," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 15, 1 (2005). See also Bruno-Jofré, "To Those in 'Heathen Darkness.'"

³⁷ Montevideo Congress 1925, *Christian Work*, vol. 2, 89–90.

individual transformation and transformation of human relations—a secular religion of democracy without God.³⁸ It is reasonable to turn that idea on its head and claim, based on Meyer’s postulate, that Social Gospellers were indebted to an age of reform and owed ideas to people around them, that “the social gospel could be regarded as, in a sense, reform with a Protestant gloss.”³⁹

The Interdenominational Committee’s religious, political, and educational configuration contained many unresolved tensions with tenets of Dewey’s thought, the most notable one being between the notions of “redemption”—which implies basically religious conversion—and “non-foundational growth.” Another was the breakdown of the line between the means and ends of democracy formation, to the point that the two were conflated. This conflation was often evident in schools, as well as in the reformers’ notions of “public” and “public mind”—the assumed need to change the public mindset in the tactical pursuit of social change. For instance, the pulpit was considered to be a key player in giving people direction.⁴⁰ The means were not necessarily democratic nor emerging from deliberation. The missionaries translated differences into values, with theirs being the most desirable. The Montevideo Congress thus reveals a prophetic project to redeem a continent with a strong reconstructionist approach. The intersection of the Social Gospel and progressive education, in particular Dewey’s ideas and his philosophy, was to be the means. That ideal, however, was a predetermined actuality, not a contingent possibility.

In practice, the schools were sites of modernity. They were educational spaces that formed political subjects, often in a way contradictory to their own environment. They often formed future leaders and often provided the skills required in an uneven capitalist economy increasingly shaped by American companies at the time.⁴¹ The Committee generated a macro-configuration in which the Social Gospel movement intersected with Dewey’s notions of democracy and education, and it built connections with

³⁸ Steven C. Rockefeller, *John Dewey: Religious Faith and Democratic Humanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

³⁹ Donald Meyer, *The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919–1941*, 2nd ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 137.

⁴⁰ Montevideo Congress 1925, *Christian Work*, vol. 2, 73.

⁴¹ Jean Pierre Bastian, *Breve Historia del Protestantismo en America Latina* (Mexico City: Casa Unida de Publicaciones, 1986); Bruno-Jofré, *Methodist Education in Peru* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988); Jether Pereira Ramalho, *Prática Educativa e Sociedade: Um Estudo de Sociologia da Educacao* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1976).

local reformers. However, a statement from the records of the Havana Congress organized by the Committee in 1929 captured the limits to exportation of democracy: "We are strangers to our race."⁴²

CATHOLICS AND DEWEY'S DEMOCRACY: ALBERTO HURTADO'S READING OF DEWEY

The reading of Dewey among Catholics was framed by the anti-liberalism and anti-modernism of the Vatican. The ultramontane (beyond the mountains) papal-centric view that dominated the First Vatican Council (1870) was expressed in *Pastor aeternus*, the First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ, which declared the infallible teaching authority of the Pope. Rome's anti-modernism did not lose momentum with Leo XIII (1810–1903) and was fully conveyed in the 1907 *Pascendi dominici gregis*, in which Pius X condemned modernism as the "synthesis of all heresies."⁴³ The relationship of Catholic educators to Dewey's thinking should be understood not only in terms of the official positions of the Church, but also in terms of theological tendencies developed within the Church, and intersections with local cultural and political configurations. Such is the case with Chilean Jesuit Alberto Hurtado's (1901–1952) reading of Dewey in the 1930s. How did Hurtado read Dewey? What were the intellectual and political mediations involved in this reading? With these questions in mind, I returned to Hurtado's doctoral thesis, "Dewey's Pedagogical System in the Face of the Demands of the Catholic Doctrine," defended at the Catholic University of Louvain in 1935.⁴⁴

⁴² "Somos extra," Gonzalo Baez Carmargo, *Hacia la Renovación Religiosa en Hispanoamérica* (Mexico City: CUPSA, 1930), 54.

⁴³ Paul Misner, "Catholic Anti-Modernism: The Ecclesial Setting," in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, ed. Darrell Jodock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 56–88.

⁴⁴ Alberto Hurtado, S. J., "Le système pédagogique de Dewey devant les exigences de la doctrine catholique," (doctoral thesis, Université de Louvain, 1935). See also Bruno-Jofré and Gonzalo Jover, "The Readings of John Dewey's Work and the Intersection of Catholicism: The Cases of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and the Thesis of Father Alberto Hurtado, S.J. on Dewey," in Bruno-Jofré and Schriewer, *The Global Reception of John Dewey's Thought: Multiple Refractions Through Time and Space*, 23–43; Arthur Gille, "Raymond Buyse, promoteur de la pédagogie expérimentale," in *L'Oeuvre pédagogique de Raymond Buyse*, ed. Anna Bonboir (Louvain: Vander, 1969), 19–358; Marc Depaepe, "The Practical and Professional Relevance of Educational Research and Pedagogical Knowledge from the Perspective of History: Reflections on the Belgian Case in Its International Background," *European Educational Research Journal* 1, no. 2 (2002): 360–79.

In the early 1930s, Catholic thinking in France and Belgium was part of an ebullient field in which the neo-scholasticism of the magisterium and the remnants of the so-called modernist crisis coexisted with the internal pluralization of neo-Thomism (1920–1950) and currents aiming at integrating contemporary culture in theological analysis. Furthermore, Dominican theologians were engaged in the first phase of “nouvelle théologie,” a precursor of the Second Vatican Council thinking, a theology with interest in the subject, experience, and personal development.⁴⁵ Catholic social and economic thinking had inspired new social initiatives since the encyclical *Rerum novarum* was issued by Leo XIII in 1891. But although the Catholic Church in Chile traditionally had been allied with the conservatives, the social Christian movement reached political strength in the 1930s.⁴⁶ Neo-Thomist Jacques Maritain and his notion of integral humanism would become one of its inspirations. Dewey also had a presence in Chile, though not necessarily among Catholics.

Jean-Baptiste Janssens, S.J., a rector of the Theologate, known for his social apostolate, advised Hurtado to study pedagogy in Louvain.⁴⁷ In his thesis, Hurtado engaged with Dewey’s pedagogical ideas as well as his philosophy. Dewey’s “philosophical system” needed correction, he argued. Nevertheless, Hurtado recognized the value of such ideas as the active character of intelligence and its power to transform reality, and the social responsibility of the individual. In his thesis, Hurtado mentions the relevance of Dewey’s relinquishment of Hegelian absolutism (where everything is determined) for experimentalism (which valued human responsibility in a world left to our activities). This recognition of freedom and non-determinism are, Hurtado wrote, profoundly Christian ideas, yet accompanied in Christian philosophy by considerations Dewey ignored.⁴⁸ Hurtado read Dewey through new theological approaches that had begun to engage with modernity and the world. He went well beyond Pope Pius XI’s 1929 encyclical letter, “Christian Education of Youth,” which had anti-modernist tones, even as he strove to keep his reading of Dewey within the parameters of the encyclical and the doctrine of the Church.

⁴⁵ Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie/New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II* (Auckland: T & T Clark International, 2010).

⁴⁶ Bruno-Jofré, “The Catholic Church in Chile and the Social Question in the 1930s: The Political Pedagogical Discourse of Fernando Vives del Solar, S.J.,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 99, no. 4 (2013): 703–26.

⁴⁷ See also George Meuris, “Looking Back: The Beginnings of a Scientific Outlook in Psychology and Education Theory,” *International Review of Applied Psychology* 34 (1985): 7–16; Depaepe, “The Practical Professional Relevance of Educational Research.”

⁴⁸ Hurtado, “Le système pédagogique de Dewey,” 104.

Hurtado thought anti-dogmatism that took the form of an agnostic relativism was the weakest point of Dewey's intellectual and moral doctrine. Hurtado also had difficulty with Dewey's "conception of education as growth, as continuing reorganization, reconstruction, transformation of experience, which according to him meant the exclusion of any definitive truth," despite his own view of education as consisting of growth, because Dewey's notion of growth excluded creation and transcendental authority and a pre-established external aim. Dewey's unifying tendency and rejection of dualism was also problematic for Hurtado because it excluded dualism of soul and body.⁴⁹ In his thesis, Hurtado carefully separates pedagogical applications that are acceptable to Catholics from the "philosophical ideology" with which they are mixed.⁵⁰ He asserts that Dewey's philosophical monist and agnostic principles are not required by notions of an aspiration toward an intense democratic life, participation in common interests, sharing control, or reflective thinking emerging from concrete situations. Nor are they required for learning processes such as the elaboration of hypothesis, discovery of truth in keeping with the actual interest of the child, and the enunciation of a useful outcome in an atmosphere of freedom. They are also not required by, he writes, a conception of education that makes the child live her life as a child who has value in itself.⁵¹ Since connecting Dewey's philosophical and pedagogical theories would be inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church, a Catholic could accept the pedagogical principles if they were integrated with philosophical positions compatible with Catholicism.⁵² For Hurtado, the same logic applied in relation to democratic aspirations. A Catholic could accept democracy if it did not contradict the faith.

Interpretations of Dewey's notion of democracy and education are woven through Hurtado's thesis: "The double purpose, both individual and social, of education expressed in the Dewey School by the formula 'integration of personality within as a whole and into democracy as a whole,' with the consequences that are derived, would be admitted as a deduction of the individual and social nature of man [*sic*], but on the condition that its acceptance does not stop there where Dewey stops."⁵³ While Dewey conceived "the integration of the personality within as a whole" through the

⁴⁹ "La conception de l'éducation como croissance, comme une continuelle reorganisation, reconstruction, transformation d'après lui signifie l'exclusion de toute vérité définitive," Hurtado, "Le système pédagogique de Dewey," 139.

⁵⁰ "Idéologie philosophique," Hurtado, "Le système pédagogique de Dewey," 139.

⁵¹ Hurtado, "Le système pédagogique de Dewey," 141.

⁵² Hurtado, "Le système pédagogique de Dewey," 141.

⁵³ "La double finalité individuelle et sociale de l'éducation exprimée dans l'école de Dewey par la formule 'integration of personality within as a whole and into democracy as a whole,' avec les conséquences qui en découlent serait admise comme une deduction de la

acquisition of reflective thinking, Hurtado wanted to go beyond and embrace integration with God.⁵⁴

Hurtado returned to Chile in 1936 and engaged in an educational and social apostolate; he was convinced that the social problem in Chile was an educational one. He had a vocation to reach those who suffered and would not separate education from social morality. He taught and directed groups at the Colegio San Ignacio in Santiago, taught at the Catholic University and at the Seminario Pontificio, and did work with Catholic Action.⁵⁵ In 1944, he founded the Hogar de Cristo (Christ's Home) for the homeless. Hurtado had serious conflicts with the Chilean hierarchy, who considered him to be conveying dangerous ideas.⁵⁶ However, a new Catholic Christian social language had developed in Chile that was eventually incorporated in political bodies such as the Falange Nacional (1935–57) and the Christian Democratic Party (1957).⁵⁷ By the 1970s, a language of liberation would become dominant among those promoting social transformation, including radicalized Catholics. It has been said that Hurtado anticipated liberation theology.⁵⁸

THE EPISTEMIC BREAK OF THE LONG 1960s: MOVING AWAY FROM DEWEY'S DEMOCRACY

In the long 1960s, there was in Latin America a *conjoncture*, in Fernand Braudel's sense of the term, a product of the convergence of medium time-length developments.⁵⁹ These included the 1958 Cuban Revolution; the

nature individuelle et sociale de l'homme, mais à condition que son acceptation ne s'arrête pas là où Dewey s'arrête," Hurtado, "Le système pédagogique de Dewey," 141.

⁵⁴ Hurtado, "Le système pédagogique de Dewey," 141.

⁵⁵ Samuel Fernández Eyzaguirre, "Reformar al individuo o reformar la sociedad? Un punto central en el pensamiento social de San Alberto Hurtado," *Theología y Vida* 49, no. 3 (2008): 515–44.

⁵⁶ See Patricio Miranda Rebeco, "Un Conflicto de Interpretaciones: La Figura Intelectual de Alberto Hurtado," *Humanitas: Revista de Antropología Cristiana* 39 (2005): 522–35; Samuel Fernández Eyzaguirre, "El Padre Alberto Hurtado, S. J. y la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile: Un Santo Universitario," *Humanitas: Revista de Antropología Cristiana* 39 (2005): 458–54.

⁵⁷ Sofía Correa, "El corporativismo como expresión política del socialcristianismo," in *Catolicismo Social Chileno: Desarrollo, Crisis, Actualidad*, ed. Fernando García, Jorge Costadoat, and Diego García (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009), 269–93.

⁵⁸ Jorge Costadoat, S. J., "Alberto Hurtado anticipa la Teología de la Liberación," in *Reflexión y Liberación*, 12 August 2017, <http://www.reflexionyliberacion.cl/ryl/2017/08/12/alberto-hurtado-anticipa-la-teologia-de-la-liberacion/>.

⁵⁹ Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Arthur

emergence of revolutionary utopias; the search for a theology grounded in a Latin American standpoint, including the injustices people suffered; the questioning of the American Alliance for Progress; the emergence and 1968 consolidation of liberation theology in Medellín; and the ascendancy of cognitive psychology in education. This *conjoncture* incubated epistemic breaking points in conceptions of education, democracy, and alternative pedagogies. A key locality was Brazil, in particular its cultural and social movements and related peasant leagues and literacy campaigns.

These socio-cultural movements aimed at consciousness-raising involving varying degrees of radicalization. In 1964, Marina Bandeira, an educator working in the *Movimento de Educação de Base* (MEB), or Movement for Grassroots Education, sponsored by the Catholic bishops, part of a popular developmentalist project, advocated the use of “conscientization”—a concept attributed to Helder Cammerá. In Bandeira’s words, conscientization meant individuals taking account of themselves as human beings with problems, duties, and rights, including the right to fight for a fair and just solution to those problems.⁶⁰ Paulo Freire, a Catholic philosopher of education, was one of the educators of the time in northern Brazil. While serving as director of the University of Recife’s Cultural Extension Service in northern Brazil, he developed his own approach to adult literacy, based on individuals’ lived realities. He would develop the notion of conscientization further by rooting it in popular culture, the demands of the oppressed, and the notion of educator and educatee learning from each other. Freire’s work in Brazil and Chile and its theorization embodied a new pedagogical conception emerging from literacy and adult education programs and grounded in a language of justice and liberation, in which “liberation” largely replaced the concept of democracy.

In this new conception, Dewey’s notions of democracy and education were muted. Were Freire, and following him, popular educators, advocating a rupture with modernity? Not necessarily. They were questioning, although through uneven and eclectic practices, the universality of the

Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c. 1958–1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

⁶⁰ Marina Bandeira, “Movimento de Educação de Base [a report given to the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP), Chicago, February 23, 1964],” in CIDOC, 1970, CIF Reports, vol. 3, April–December 1964, 1/12, CIDOC Cuaderno no 38, Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, cited in Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, “The Center for Intercultural Formation, Cuernavaca, Mexico, Its Reports (1962–1967) and Illich’s Critical Understanding of Mission in Latin America,” *Hispania Sacra* 66, Extra 2 (2014): 457–87.

notions of democracy and education. Democracy could not become a form of life without the requisite material conditions; by the same token, “participation” was considered to be hollow if power dynamics were ignored. Within the contexts of revolutionary visions, “flexible adaptation” did not make sense to Latin American popular educators. Freire tried to distance himself from Dewey because he associated him with new education, and he associated new education with the capitalist mode of production, which in Freire’s view had an inherently authoritarian aspect. However, he stressed that he was also critical of everything that the new education critiqued.⁶¹ Freire had moved away from an early culturalist approach and advocated for a radical form of democracy, albeit one quite ill-defined. His 1970 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*—written in Chile and containing an ideological critique of education centered on action and reflection, humanizing and liberating education, and problem-posing—became the textbook for a revolutionary pedagogy.⁶²

Another Catholic social critic, Ivan Illich, who ran a network of centers in Cuernavaca, Mexico, published *Deschooling Society* first in 1970 in the collection “CIDOC Cuadernos,” and then as a book in 1971, with a plea to liberate education from the monopoly of schooling. His view contrasted with that of Freire, who believed that what should be changed was the ideological force behind schooling. While Freire’s ideas took on various dimensions in projects of popular education in Latin America and in educational reforms, Illich moved away from his initial critique of schooling, and stressed instead the importance of reversing the trends that made education “a pressing need rather than a gift of gratuitous leisure.”⁶³ He went from denouncing the pseudo-religious character of education to critiquing education as one of the certainties of modernity, and he began to differentiate education from learning, the latter being measurable and imposed on another person. While his inspiration lay in early Church history, as a critic of modernity he converged with post-modernity.⁶⁴ At present, Illich’s *Deschooling Society*, despite his later departure from the tenets of the book, remains an inspiration for critically minded educators in tune with a “liquid modernity.”⁶⁵

⁶¹ Rosa M. Torres, *Educación popular: Un encuentro con Paulo Freire* (1986) (Lima: TAREA, Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas, 1988), 41.

⁶² Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1983).

⁶³ Bruno-Jofré and Igelmo Zaldívar, “Ivan Illich’s Late Critique of Deschooling Society: ‘I Was Largely Barking up the Wrong Tree,’” *Educational Theory* 62, no. 5 (2012): 573–92, at 586.

⁶⁴ Bruno-Jofré and Igelmo Zaldívar, “Ivan Illich’s Late Critique,” 573–92.

⁶⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

Both Freire and Illich strongly attacked American imperialism, embodying reactions to the institutional politics of the Catholic Church. Both authors need to be read within the contestarian political configuration of Latin America. Illich was reacting against institutionalized religion and the Church's involvement with modernizing American-sponsored projects and, after a conflict with the Vatican over his publications, in an apophatic turn, against the institutionalization of schooling (as part of his critique of modernity).⁶⁶ As for Freire's work, at the time it reflected the linguistic conventions of a radicalized Catholic social imaginary of the 1960s and 1970s, to which Illich was not alien. However, Freire brought a new element to the political discourse of the Latin American Left: the development of political consciousness from inside the political subject, rather than externally revealed by the party. The latter was a dominant position in the Marxist left.⁶⁷

Both Dewey and Freire emphasized the role of civil society in a democratic—or in the case of Freire, liberating—education. There was, however, a substantial difference. Dewey's "growth of democracy" embodies its own end, as David Hansen put it: "it is not a means to some larger end or outcome."⁶⁸ Freire's liberating education was linked to political action, to a theory of revolutionary action, and to a political project of society even if he aimed at humanization as a permanent process, whereby humans were always in the process of becoming. Freire and Dewey provided theories of education that could be connected to the social forces of the time; both provided a political ethic of social change accordingly. Thus, Latin America produced its own way of merging theory and practice in educational theory. Nonetheless, Freire's inspired projects did not produce a new socio-political reality.

In the late sixties and seventies, Dewey was not read as an "indigenous foreigner," an expression coined by Tom Popkewitz;⁶⁹ he embodied a form of consciousness of being modern rooted in the matrix of layers and shades of coloniality and US interventionism. I am familiar with this from personal experience. One can certainly argue that we (and I include myself among

⁶⁶ Bruno-Jofré and Igelmo Zaldivar, "Center for Intercultural Formation."

⁶⁷ Bruno-Jofré, "Popular Education in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s: Mapping Its Political and Pedagogical Meanings," *Bildungsgeschichte: International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 1 (2011): 23–39.

⁶⁸ David T. Hansen, "Introduction: Reading Democracy and Education," in *John Dewey and Our Educational Prospect: A Critical Engagement with Dewey's Democracy and Education*, ed. Hansen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 23–39.

⁶⁹ See Thomas Popkewitz, "Introduction," in *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, ed. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3–39.

“we”) reduced Dewey’s complex theories to the specificity of contextual contingencies at national, regional, and international levels. It is also true that we read Dewey through the lenses of various Marxist trends, having little concern for an understanding of Dewey’s thought from the perspective of intellectual history.

CONCLUSION

The transformational ethos of the early twentieth century was inspired by Dewey’s conception of education as a democratic tool to build a polity in tune with modernity. Dewey provided a theory of education related to a transformative political and social ethic that was appropriated by leaders advocating variegated political blueprints. In this article, the analysis of Dewey’s uptake in Chile in the 1920s shows the insertion of his ideas in two contrasting political configurations in Chile: the liberal project, and the transformative agenda of “a collective actor” (General Association of Chilean Teachers), the latter with an emphasis on the role of the civil society and the experiences of the popular classes. The politically contextualized readings of Dewey led to different understandings of democracy and education. Localizing Dewey in post-revolutionary Mexico helps to make explicit once more the difficulties involved in exporting notions of democracy. Interaction with the context actually led to politically instrumental ends of educational changes, even as some concepts were appropriated from Dewey. The eclecticism of the reception of educational theories and methods spoke to the particular historical configuration.

The examination of the two cases of Christian uptakes and adaptation of Dewey’s notions of democracy and education—the reading done by the Protestant Interdenominational Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, and by Chilean Jesuit Alberto Hurtado in his doctoral thesis—shows contextually different understandings of democracy and education, yet both found inspiration in Dewey. The Committee generated a configuration in which the Social Gospel intertwined with Dewey’s educational theories and intersected with historical conditions in Latin America, with the goal of redeeming a continent. The unresolved tensions emerging in the configuration generated by the Committee and in their practices were foreign to Dewey.

The case of Hurtado’s reading of Dewey took us to the theological configurations of the 1930s in Catholic theological centers in Louvain (Belgium) and France, and the emergence of the “*nouvelle théologie*,” which mediated this reading at the intersection with Chilean political and social reality. However, Hurtado’s interests in participation and democracy, pedagogical

inquiry, and a notion of faith beyond rules and regulations were constrained by the parameters of the powerful magisterium stressing the teaching of the Church. Pragmatism as a philosophical school was anathema to Catholicism.

The epistemic break that took place in the long 1960s in Latin America brought a current of educational thinking based on the grassroots lived experience, the trends of the time, a revolutionary political and social ethic with Marxist tones that challenged the matrix of power, and a new political language. A language of liberation was linked to education. Under this new approach, exemplified by the popular education movement inspired by Freire, education was conjoined with a radical political blueprint, albeit one vaguely defined. This blueprint did not materialize. Nonetheless, the educational vision endured in the search for voice, justice, and educational renewal. Illich's critique of schooling and education, rooted in his questioning of modernity and the institutionalization of Christianity, was not attached to a political blueprint.⁷⁰ His writing has acquired new life within the unsettling context of a "liquid modernity."⁷¹

The scenario has changed. There are efforts to construe a relation between democracy, education, and a renewed polity in a digital global era, within a neoliberal framework that demonstrates ease in adapting to and in the molding of public demands. Our faculties of education are fully involved in what Gert Biesta has called the "*learnification* of education;"⁷² our teacher candidates, fully imbued with simplistic antifoundationalism, are missing the philosophical and historical dimensions of educational theory. Beyond the complexities of reception and uptakes, Dewey's theory of democratic education marks a historical turning point, and *Democracy and Education* remains a living classic. Revisiting our theoretical and practical heritage in Latin America with a historical lens, in light of what Walter Mignolo refers to as a "change of epoch" and the end of the dominance of Western civilization, will help us to imagine the future.⁷³ Revisiting Dewey and his thinking on the relation of democracy and education is essential for inquisitively minded educators.

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⁷⁰ Bruno-Jofré and Igelmo Zaldivar, "Monsignor Ivan Illich's Critique of the Institutionalized Church, 1960–1966," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67, no. 4 (2016): 568–86.

⁷¹ Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*.

⁷² Gert Biesta, "Interrupting the Politics of Learning," *Power and Education* 5, no. 1 (2013).

⁷³ Walter Mignolo, "El retorno del Sur y del Este lejano en el ocaso de la dominación occidental," interview by Norma Giarraca, *Causa Sur*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, February 2013, <http://waltermignolo.com/re-emerger-el-retorno-del-lejano-este-y-del-sur-global/>.