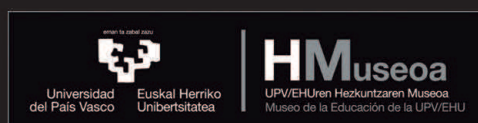


Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo

Paulí Davila y Luis M^a Naya
(Coordinadores)



**ESPACIOS Y PATRIMONIO
HISTÓRICO-EDUCATIVO**

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ESPACIOS Y PATRIMONIO HISTÓRICO-EDUCATIVO

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INTRODUCCIÓN

El número monográfico de la Revista Interuniversitaria de Historia de la Educación de 1993-94 (volumen 12-13) se dedicó al espacio escolar y fue coordinado por Antonio Viñao. En dicho número, además del estado de la cuestión sobre la historiografía relativa al espacio escolar, se recogía una diversidad de trabajos que abarcaban desde la Grecia clásica hasta el siglo XX, con miradas desde la iconografía a la arquitectura, pasando por la legislación, los espacios cerrados o los parques y jardines como espacios educativos. En aquel momento se trataba de un conjunto de aportaciones novedosas y que parecían abrir brecha a una línea de investigación hasta entonces poco trabajada en la Historia de la Educación. En la introducción, su coordinador abría una puerta a la esperanza de que esta temática fuese incluida en los programas de las disciplinas histórico-educativas. Han pasado más de dos decenios desde entonces, y usando una expresión muy conocida para los amantes del tango, podríamos decir que “20 años no es nada”, pero en nuestro caso no es así, ya que en este periodo hemos asistido a cambios muy importantes, sobre todo en el campo del patrimonio escolar, en el de los museos de la educación y, lo que es más importante, en la apertura, por parte de los historiadores e historiadoras de la educación, a un campo que está cambiando las formas de mirar y que está ofreciendo nuevas lecturas y descubriendo nuevas fuentes documentales que permiten elaborar un nuevo discurso sobre el Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo.

Esta presentación no pretende ofrecer un estado de la cuestión actual sobre las aportaciones que se han hecho al estudio sobre las relaciones entre el espacio escolar y la educación; la conferencia inaugural de este evento da cuenta, en parte, de ello. No obstante, sí que queremos resaltar que en el campo del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo y de los museos de la educación estos últimos veinte años han sido de una gran dinamicidad. No podemos olvidar que en este periodo hemos asistido a la creación de la *Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo - SEPHE*, en 2003, y al de la *Rede Iberoamericano para a Investigação e a Difusão do Patrimônio Histórico Educativo - RIDPHE*, en 2007, y que ésta el año pasado publicó el primer número de una revista dedicada al Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo. En España también se edita la revista *Cabás* que da debida cuenta de los estudios e investigaciones que se están llevando a cabo en este campo. Si a esta circunstancia asociativa y de publicaciones periódicas añadimos los congresos y reuniones científicas que se vienen celebrando, podremos observar que existe un rico panorama.

En estas últimas dos décadas también estamos asistiendo a la complementariedad que existe entre dos disciplinas hermanas: la Historia de la Educación, como disciplina académica, y los estudios sobre el Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo. No

creemos que exista un conflicto entre ambos campos de estudio ya que la relación entre ambas parece necesaria. No obstante, podemos constatar un mayor interés por descubrir nuevas fuentes o nuevas metodologías de estudio en la investigación sobre Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo. Así, los trabajos que se están desarrollando basados en nuevas fuentes de estudio como las fotografías, las imágenes, el cine, los objetos científicos, los cuadernos escolares, las memorias escolares, etc. parecen vislumbrar nuevos enfoques y miradas que enriquecen los estudios en este último campo. Un ejemplo expresivo de estos acercamientos lo podemos encontrar en el número 28(2) de la Revista *Educatio Siglo XXI*, coordinado por Pedro Luis Moreno, o en algunos congresos sobre Historia de la Educación (Burgos, 2003; Vic, 2015) o en el simposio internacional sobre la memoria escolar, celebrado recientemente (2015) en Sevilla. Los investigadores e investigadoras se sienten cómodos al acercarse a estas nuevas fuentes, ya que parecen asentar un camino fructífero para el conocimiento de elementos sustanciales que conforman el discurso sobre el patrimonio, entendiéndolo como un legado que nos interpela a construir una explicación de los hechos educativos. Se trata, por lo tanto, de dos campos disciplinarios que se complementan y en los que las nuevas fuentes y metodologías auguran un fructífero porvenir.

Si a esta rica trayectoria abierta en el campo de la investigación, de la docencia de postgrado, de reuniones científicas y de publicaciones sobre Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo, añadimos lo que podríamos denominar, con palabras de Antonio Viñao, un “furor museístico”, podemos cerrar un ciclo reciente donde en el ámbito universitario se ha producido la creación de diversos museos universitarios. En este sentido, no podemos menos que constatar que algunos departamentos universitarios o grupos de investigación han mostrado su interés por plasmar proyectos físicos o virtuales centrados en los museos escolares, pedagógicos o de la educación. Por lo tanto, a estas alturas, tenemos que reconocer que la relación entre memoria, historia, patrimonio y educación está resultando un campo de investigación productivo y que amplía las posibilidades de los recursos y las fuentes que hasta ahora dominaban el discurso histórico-educativo, además de fomentar la creación de museos. Asimismo debemos constatar que tal es la riqueza de los museos y colecciones universitarios, que los museos de la educación son tan solo una pequeña parte de toda la riqueza patrimonial que se encuentra en manos de las universidades. El Congreso Internacional de Museos Universitarios (CIMU), celebrado en diciembre de 2014, con participación de miembros de la SEPHE, sirvió para mostrar ante la comunidad universitaria el panorama museístico en el ámbito de la educación superior. A esta tradición reciente se une la creación del *Museo de la Educación de la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatearen Hezkuntzaren Museoa* que, con una mirada diferente a otros museos de este mismo ámbito, pretende fomentar la investigación, docencia, protección, conservación, salvaguarda y difusión del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo en el País Vasco.

Con el compromiso que supone llevar adelante este Museo de la Educación y nuestra pertenencia a la SEPHE y RIDPHE, los organizadores de este encuentro propusimos que el mismo girase alrededor de un tema que nos parece nuclear para entender la perspectiva histórica y patrimonial de la educación, como es el espacio.

Entendemos que la vida de los sujetos históricos transcurre en un tiempo y en un espacio. No obstante, la historiografía, en general, ha priorizado el tiempo como material del oficio de historiador. Sin embargo, en las últimas décadas, el espacio se ha introducido en el quehacer de los historiadores e historiadoras, no como un mero contexto territorial o referencial, sino como un objeto sustancial del discurso histórico. A esta nueva forma de entender la historia han contribuido los planteamientos interdisciplinarios e historiográficos centrados más en analizar las relaciones de poder en los espacios que en el tiempo. El espacio, por lo tanto, forma parte ya de las tareas de los historiadores e historiadoras, también en el ámbito de trabajo de la educación. El estudio, desde la mirada del patrimonio histórico-educativo, de los objetos educativos que rodean la vida escolar, por poner un ejemplo, ha enriquecido nuestro conocimiento de la educación, la cultura y su patrimonio. Por otra parte, en la construcción de los museos los espacios son una parte fundamental de la tarea museográfica, de manera que el relato que se pretende mostrar en dichos museos, en la mayoría de los casos, supone la construcción o recreación de espacios que focalizan un determinado objeto o elemento material. De ahí que entendamos que el espacio no es un mero recurso para descubrir un nuevo objeto dentro de la investigación histórica, sino también un espacio físico sobre el que se organiza un relato museográfico.

También somos conscientes de que el espacio no es un objeto de estudio estático y unívoco, por ello tendríamos que hablar en plural y referirnos no al espacio escolar sino a los espacios en los que encontramos elementos susceptibles, dentro de una concepción patrimonial, de ofrecer una interpretación de la realidad histórico-educativa. En este sentido se verá, por las diferentes secciones que configuran este encuentro, que son muchas las lecturas, las miradas y las voces posibles que muestran esos espacios en los cuales se hacen referencias directas a espacios tangibles y también a la construcción de espacios intangibles, imaginados, recordados, etc. que, sin duda, nos hablan de experiencias vividas, pero también de representaciones sociales de esos espacios que construyen el imaginario o los mundos paralelos en los cuales se mueve la vida de las personas. Un ejemplo de ello lo podemos encontrar en las utopías pedagógicas, como ensoñaciones de un espacio educativo ideal. No podemos hallar mayor representación de construcción del espacio que en esas narraciones en las que una nueva organización del espacio podría contribuir al desarrollo de una vida feliz. En este sentido tanto la arquitectura real, como la imaginada por los utopistas, adquieren el mismo valor cuando nos referimos a los espacios escolares.

Con estas premisas hemos organizado este encuentro con el claro objetivo de recuperar para el quehacer de los estudiosos del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo un elemento clave, el espacio, entendiéndolo de una manera caleidoscópica. No podemos referirnos a un espacio único, sino a una diversidad de espacios por los que transcurre la vida de los alumnos y alumnas, de los niños y niñas que aprenden a jugar en un espacio lúdico; de los niños, niñas y adultos que soñaron alguna vez con un espacio ideal o de quienes recuerdan nostálgicamente los espacios por los que transcurrieron sus vidas en el pasado. Por lo tanto se trata de una relación de los sujetos históricos con los espacios que les rodean y con los que establece una

relación social, vital, escolar o imaginada y que producen relatos sobre experiencias de sus propias vidas, dejando un rastro patrimonial.

Antes de referirnos al contenido de las secciones en las que se ha organizado este encuentro, y como marco a las contribuciones que pudieran producirse en este ámbito, nos pareció importante encargar tres conferencias que dieran coherencia al objetivo de este encuentro. Consideramos importante que estas conferencias respondieran a tres ámbitos diferentes dentro de nuestro campo de estudio: una aportación teórica sobre el estudio del espacio, desde la perspectiva del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo; una segunda que enmarcara la situación de los museos y colecciones universitarios y, finalmente, una tercera aportación que nos abriese las puertas a una nueva consideración de la educación patrimonial. Para ello contamos con las tres conferencias que se incluyen en este libro de actas. La primera a cargo de Antonio Viñao sobre los espacios escolares, la segunda preparada por Marta Lourenço sobre museos y colecciones universitarias en Europa y América Latina y la última, de Marta Brunelli, sobre la comunicación e interpretación del patrimonio educativo en los museos. Creemos que con estas tres aportaciones focalizamos nuestro interés en tres ámbitos que, sin duda, favorecerán la comprensión de los objetivos que se mueven dentro de las sociedades dedicadas al Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo: la investigación, el conocimiento de los museos universitarios y el objetivo de favorecer una educación patrimonial.

La respuesta recibida a la convocatoria de este encuentro no ha podido ser más favorable, si bien algunas secciones han recibido un número mayor de aportaciones que otras. Todo ello es indicador de los intereses por los temas propuestos y de los trabajos que se están desarrollando en la actualidad en nuestro campo de estudio. Así, la primera sección, bajo el tópico título de *Espacios escolares*, pretendía que las aportaciones que se presentasen pudieran dar cuenta de que la vida escolar tiene un espacio privilegiado, como es el centro educativo. Se trataba, por lo tanto, de explicar que nos referimos a un microuniverso donde se plasman la política educativa, el currículum, la disciplina escolar, el rol del profesorado, las funciones de la escuela, la construcción de los niños y niñas en alumnos/as, entendiendo que todo ello se produce en un contexto espacial repleto de objetos, de agentes, de material didáctico, etc. Estas prácticas escolares se producen, sobre todo, en estos determinados espacios y con sus respectivas propuestas arquitectónicas: los patios, las aulas, las construcciones escolares, los internados, etc. Por lo tanto, lo que interesa resaltar en esta sección es conocer su materialidad, resaltando, sobre todo, los usos que han permitido determinadas prácticas pedagógicas. En estos espacios la riqueza patrimonial es evidente. Como no podía ser de otra manera, esta ha sido la sección que ha recibido un mayor número de aportaciones (29), que hemos considerado conveniente diferenciarlas en función de su referencia a los centros educativos (13), a la arquitectura escolar (8) o a los objetos materiales, prácticas pedagógicas y los usos del espacio (8).

La segunda sección que podríamos identificar con lo que, dentro del campo educativo encuadraríamos en la educación informal, se refiere a los *Espacios lúdicos*, que son complementarios a esa centralidad que tiene el espacio escolar en la vida de los niños y niñas, y también de los adolescentes y adultos, y donde la educación

respira por sus orificios. Nos referimos a los parques y jardines, cines, teatros, zonas de esparcimiento y deporte, parques temáticos, etc. donde podemos encontrar un conjunto de objetos materiales (juguetes) e inmateriales (canciones y bailes, por ejemplo), que conforman la parte lúdica y de ocio. Esta sección ha recibido nueve comunicaciones, lo cual es indicador de que alguna de las propuestas iniciales son todavía campos inexplorados para los investigadores de nuestra área.

La tercera sección, titulada *Espacios espejo*, intentaba reflejar las aportaciones que hiciesen referencia no tanto a la realidad de la escuela o de los espacios donde se desarrolla actividad educativa, sino las representaciones e imágenes que solemos hacer de ellas. Por lo tanto, es importante que acudamos a los espejos para estudiar los espacios en los que hemos reflejado la escuela, el profesorado, el alumnado, los libros de texto, etc., y también analizar cómo han sido narrados esos espacios a través de las imágenes fotográficas, los documentales históricos, las películas, etc. En definitiva se trata de reflejar el espacio más allá de su propia materialidad. Las nuevas fuentes primarias que se están construyendo en la historia y el patrimonio histórico educativo resultan fundamentales para favorecer esta aproximación. Dando muestra de todo ello se han recibido trece aportaciones que, por el contenido de las mismas, hacen referencia a los espacios narrados en la cinematografía (4), en la fotografía (4) y en otro tipo de soportes narrativos (5).

Como complemento a los espacios espejo, la sección cuarta está focalizada en los *Espacios relatados*, ya que entendemos que todos los espacios adquieren una mayor relevancia si detrás de los mismos están las voces que los llenan de contenido, de imaginación, de cambios y de usos innovadores. De ahí que los testimonios orales, las autobiografías, los relatos personales, las vivencias y experiencias en esos espacios adquieran su propia voz. Las voces de los actores se hacen imprescindibles, tanto si son maestros y maestras, como arquitectos, pedagogos, inspectores o reflejan los recuerdos de la infancia sobre los más variados aspectos de la vida y la educación. El mayor número de colaboraciones a esta sección ha correspondido a la voz del magisterio (10), mostrando así su relevancia dentro del espacio escolar, mientras que otras narraciones pedagógicas (4) y los cuadernos escolares (5) muestran dos aspectos complementarios de la actividad educativa. Hemos incluido aquí los cuadernos escolares para resaltar no tanto su valor como fuente patrimonial, que está largamente demostrado, sino para reflejar de qué manera se ha producido el relato de los aprendizajes escolares.

Finalmente, la sección quinta, dedicada a la *Investigación y patrimonio histórico-educativo*, en la que proponíamos analizar la investigación actual sobre el tema objeto del congreso ha resultado muy exitosa, pues se han recibido veintiuna aportaciones. Los apartados en los que nos ha parecido pertinente dividir esta sección hacen referencia a los museos y prácticas pedagógicas (9), a las colecciones, museos y patrimonio educativo (5) y a los centros de documentación y archivos (7). Se trata de una sección muy coherente en cuanto a las aportaciones que se han recibido y que continúan en la misma línea que otras ediciones de las jornadas, tanto de la SEPHE como de la RIDPHE, donde el museísmo pedagógico, los museos escolares, el patrimonio o la pedagogía museística han sido objetos centrales de dichos eventos.

El total de comunicaciones que hemos recibido (91) proceden tanto de América Latina (Brasil, Argentina, Chile, México, República Dominicana) como de diversos países europeos (Italia, Francia, Portugal), a la cabeza de los cuales se sitúa España. El número de comunicaciones presentadas ha superado nuestras expectativas ya que la temática propuesta no es muy habitual en el ámbito de los estudios sobre Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo que, en general, suelen tratar más temas relacionados con aspectos museográficos, preocupaciones de tipo museológico o la riqueza de determinados objetos y colecciones educativas concretas. Por lo tanto esta primera experiencia de celebrar un encuentro conjunto entre la SEPHE y la RIDPHE augura un futuro esperanzador ya que hemos logrado dar un paso importante en la internacionalización tanto de las dos entidades como de la participación de otros colegas procedentes de países europeos. En este sentido, esta primera aportación en el campo transnacional permite compartir experiencias, intercambio de ideas e investigaciones y colaboraciones que, en un futuro, podrán sustanciarse en proyectos comunes dentro de nuestra disciplina.

Por último, no quisiéramos terminar esta introducción sin agradecer, por una parte, a todos los ponentes y asistentes que han hecho posible las jornadas y, cómo no, a todas las Entidades que nos han apoyado de formas diversas en su realización, la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo – SEPHE, la Rede Iberoamericano para a Investigaçã o a Difusã o do Patrimônio Histórico Educativo – RIDPHE, el Vicerrectorado de Campus de Gipuzkoa, el Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación, la Fundación Cursos de Verano de la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, el Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (proyecto número EDU2013-44129-P), la Universidad de Campinas, la Fundación Lenbur, el Grupo de Estudios Históricos y Comparados en Educación – Garaian (IT 911-16) y la Unidad de Formación e Investigación Educación, Cultura y Sociedad (UFI 11/54).

Una nota final: como se está poniendo de manifiesto cada vez más a menudo, la relación entre patrimonio, cultura y turismo es más colaborativa, ya que todas las partes salen beneficiadas desde el punto de vista económico, cultural y educativo. No estaría de más pensar las posibilidades que ofrece esta relación de cara al futuro. En este sentido esperamos que en Donostia-San Sebastián puedan encontrar respuesta a esta relación, disfrutando tanto de este encuentro, como del patrimonio cultural y del turismo de ocio.

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Paulí Dávila Balsera y Luis M. Naya Garmendia

CREATING SPACES FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE IN ITALY. THE EARLY YEARS OF TUSCANY PUBLIC ECEC IN THE TESTIMONIES OF THE EDUCATORS (1970-1990)

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Introduction

With the approval of Law 1044/1971, “Five-year plan for the opening of 3.800 municipal crèches with the state contribution”, Italy promoted the organization of the public ECEC system.

The introduction of the municipal crèche, in line with other socioeconomic changes in the country, launched a significant revolution in early childhood education and care. On one hand, new concepts of childhood and family took shape; on the other, new educational professions arose (early childhood educators) and new spaces (municipal crèches) were developed, not just to preserve but also to accommodate and implicitly to educate children.

The law 1044/1971 was a critical step in the modernization of services for children and their families. Design, start-up and growth of the crèches, as educational environments and physical spaces, represented an ongoing challenge in which politics met with creativity and scientific contributions.

Tuscany was among the first Italian regions to implement the law 1044 and, over the years, it has promoted a significant quality model both in national and international contexts (Catarsi, Fortunati, 2012).

1 This article is a first result of collective research, which we coordinate, on the history of educational services in Tuscany through the “voice” of the educators. The interviews were conducted by the graduate program students and students in Childhood Science, and have been useful in preparing various theses and are now kept in the permanent laboratory of Research on Children of the department of SCIFOPSI at the University of Florence, <http://www.scifopsi.unifi.it/vp-231-laboratorio-permanente-sri-studi-e-ricerche-sull-infanzia.html>. The article is therefore the result of joint work of the two authors, but in particular the introduction and conclusion can be attributed to both authors and paragraphs 1.1. and 2.2. are by Emiliano Macinai and paragraphs 1.2, 2.1.1. and 2.1.2 are by Stefano Oliviero.

The project intends to address a first look at the birth and evolution of the Tuscany municipal crèche as physical and educative space. Main sources are the voices of those educators who, since 1971, were the key actors in this story. Testimonies have been collected with semi-structured autobiographical interviews, as part of a research on the material history of municipal ECEC services in Tuscany. The main goal of the research is to give a contribution to a history that has not been written yet.

1.

The evolution of the crèches in Italy

1.1. From dawn to development

The first historical phase of childcare in Italy began in the '30s of the 19th century, marked by philanthropic and charitable initiatives within the religious framework (Becchi, 1996, p. 179). The first places of custody, rearing, and education were established for working class children under elementary school age. The first sporadic care facilities to house and care for the children of mothers employed in jobs outside the home first appeared two decades later (Savelli, 2010, p. 41). The first public policies regarding support and education for children in the 0-6 years age group would be developed only in the mid '20s of the twentieth century. Throughout the pre-unification period and for the entire subsequent liberal phase, early childhood care interventions existed thanks to the godliness of enlightened philanthropists, motivated in their actions by the poor living conditions of working class children and families (Catarsi, 2006 pp. 11-12). It was not until 1910 that the first political intervention sought to institutionalize early childhood care, when the "National Fund for motherhood and childhood" was established to counter social ills of child mortality and poverty (Minesso, 2007, p. 33).

The panorama of the Italian social reality of this period is that of a still predominantly rural society, in which the transition to an industrial reality was still struggling except in local forms, while at the household level the traditional and patriarchal family model persisted (Barbagli, 1984, ch. III). A few pieces of data are enough to build a snapshot of the severity of the Italian situation as regards the living conditions of children. In 1917, of 691,207 live births 109,307 died in the first year; between 1918 and 1924, of approximately 1,300,000 live births, about 300,000 died in the first three years (Minesso, 2007, p. 52). In order to counter the problem of infant mortality, the fascist regime established the National Society for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood (ONMI) in 1925, a parastatal organ with a mission to provide assistance to needy and abandoned mothers, to children between 0 and 6 years from poor families, and to children who were physically and mentally "abnormal" or

morally “misguided”. The institute was explicitly conceived as a form of public state charity to support mothers (Frabboni, 1980, p. 49). Until their final closure in 1975, the ONMI kindergartens maintained throughout their existence a distinctly welfare- and health and hygiene-oriented character, and the staff were selected on the basis of these skills. The organizational structure was rigid, with little attention paid to architectural aspects and interior spaces, being housed predominantly in existing buildings.

It took fifty years to reach the first turning point in early childhood assistance in Italy: the approval of Law 1044 of 6 December 1971, establishing municipal kindergartens with the advancement of a five-year plan that included opening 3,800 crèches throughout the national territory. The spirit of the law was to intervene organically, gathering or stimulating the demand for public childcare services and thus overcoming the purely custodial optic towards early childhood needs. The idea began to surface of a service that combined social and educational values, to provide support for families but also a place of education and health for children (Ghedini, in Bondioli & Mantovani, 1991, p. 60).

Law 1044 entrusted direct management of services to municipalities, while regulation and system planning was distributed on a regional basis. The State participated in the financing with a grossly inadequate fee to cover the costs of implementing the plan; beyond the contributions from the region to the financing of new crèches, the economic burden fell heavily on municipalities. This was perhaps one of the most problematic features of the law, and one of the causes of its substantial failure. Since 1983, with the Law no. 131, nurseries were included in the group of services on individual demand, bringing the amount of the fees paid by households to 30% of operating costs.

The Tuscany Region adopted the national law in 1973, through Law no. 16 “Protocol for nurseries”. The law provided that crèches were well integrated into the urban context and located in specific areas or in schools or in residential complexes, in compliance with hygiene standards: there are no further indications regarding the structure and characteristics of the buildings or premises. The regional demand was set at 870 crèche and envisaged the construction of 178 by 1976. In 1977, there were 59 communal crèches, including 45 former ONMI; in 1979 they had reached 86, of which 52 were ex-ONMI (Catharsis, 2006, pp. 16-17). Law 16 was renewed in 1986 with Law no. 47 “New protocol for crèches”. As to the location, the law now stated that crèches would preferably be located in an area that included a kindergarten and other services. Article 4 takes into account the structuring of space, which was absent from Law 16: “the space inside and outside of the nursery must be structured to meet the needs of different ages, the rhythm of life of the individual child, the child’s perception of space, the need to provide stable physical references, and the need for diversification on the basis of individual and small group activities. In this framework, spaces were to be considered fundamental: for games and activities aimed at individuals, small groups, and collectives; for rest, meals, and personal hygiene, sized to hold a small group; equipped with green spaces; for meetings and general services”.

1.2. A season of great change: a crèche for everyone

The approval of Law no. 1044 was undoubtedly the daughter of the great transformations that took place in Italy with the Economic Miracle, on which I will not dwell, but above all it was one of the answers to the strong push from the bottom manifested at the end of the previous decade, and gave an important contribution to what was, perhaps, the moment of maximum expansion of the Italian welfare state. The welfare state was in fact consolidating in the country as early as the Second World War, but it was definitively solicited by the student movement of '68 and the warm autumn of the following year, events that, among other things, formulated a strong demand for direct democracy (supported later by decisive action by the trade unions) to which the various governmental structures with a democratic majority, usually quite slow to react, responded with reforms that may have already been in the works for a while, or developed new (Ginsborg, 1990, 327.). Just before the passing of the law that established the nurseries, the new national contract for metal workers (1969) and a fairer pension system was approved, and thus occurred the baptism of a Workers' Statute that finally legally ensured employees vis-à-vis their employers. But a few days after Law no. 1044, parliament also gave the green light to Law no. 1204 (30 December 1971) with which Italian women workers conquered maternity leave for five months (and more), thus drawing closer to civilizations more advanced than the previous Italian one (Saraceno, 2003, 67). On the other hand, the pressure of women's organizations was fundamental to achieving these results; the Union of Italian Women (UDI) for example put together a real "mass" campaign for crèches (Catarsi, 2006, 14; *l'Unità*, February 19, 1970, 2). But the birth of the crèche in Italy came to fruition because the family was changing, becoming more nuclear, with the traditional role of care that has always been delegated to women in patriarchal systems gradually fading, weakened by the progressive work commitments of women, and favoured by the above-mentioned maternity regulations that allowed many women to not stop (or lose) their jobs. Indeed it was no coincidence that this period also found a solution to the vexing question of divorce, which became law in December 1970 and, after further resistance, was confirmed by a highly participated referendum (another democratic achievement of that period) in 1974 (Ginsborg, 1990, 328). In 1975, even Italy had a new family law that further eroded the social and legal subordination of a wife to her husband, who until then had been dominant, to say the least, in the family and as regards rights over children. A more civil society and a more fluid family was being outlined, where the rights of each component were more protected and distributed than in the past, free from male domination. It is no coincidence that the decade closed with the equally coveted abortion law in 1978, sealed by a referendum in 1981 (Saraceno, 2003, 52-56).

In short, albeit timidly, after the extraordinary socio-economic transformation of the sixties that allowed the emergence of a new world for youth and that placed in serious crisis public and private authoritarian models, during the seventies Italy was facing a different way of understanding the family, women, and children, including in the legal sphere, and the birth of the crèche was a cautious expression of these instances.

Cautious because the actual implementation of the law, namely the opening of municipal crèche, was very slow due to the eking out of funding from the State (despite its obligation) was significantly lower than the amounts budgeted (Catarsi, 2006.15-17). Not to mention that the ordinary regions, the political-administrative units charged, as mentioned, with early childhood systems management and funding, were only established in 1970. The distribution throughout Italy of services for children was (and remains) very uneven, but Tuscany, despite the general shortage, was among the regions best equipped to open a variety of structures in the early years, as we shall see.

But let's look more closely at what happened in some Tuscan cities, as part of ECEC, between the seventies and the eighties, taking advantage of the extraordinary statements of educators working at the time, gathered through a collective research into the history of the crèches in Tuscany that has involved (and still involves) numerous students of the degree course in Childhood Science at the University of Florence. These interviews, conducted with a single instrument developed jointly by the research group for which we are the coordinators, gave a voice, literally, to a bottom-up history, but also focuses on certain aspects of the ECEC that would otherwise have remained in the shadows, including, as we shall see, questions about educational places and spaces.

Among the various Tuscan realities that we present in this paper, we chose to leave out the capital, Florence, to focus attention instead on two urban centres, one of the largest, Livorno, and one of medium proportions, Grosseto, and on two small towns, San Miniato (province of Pisa) and Cappannori (province of Lucca). Observing first of all the peripheral realities to the city of Florence fosters a more unified vision and, at the same time, allows one to touch upon the liveliness and the ubiquity of the spread and evolution of the crèches in the region.

2.

Tuscan crèches according to educators

2.1 Two urban centres

2.1.1. Livorno

To get an impression of the crèches in the various cities of Tuscany, we have selected as case studies Livorno, an urban centre of medium proportions characterized at the time by port and industrial vocations, situated on the coast a few kilometres from Pisa. The Municipality of Livorno implemented Law no. 1044, albeit slowly, with strong dedication to the field of educational services for children as early as the Second World War (Noce, 2004; Fagni, 1980a, 59). The low speed was attributable

to the general slowness with which funds were supplied by the state, as well as the difficult context of economic crisis besetting the city and the country. The conviction instead found particular impetus in a vision of educational and social policies that we have were established in the city, but probably also by the commitment and passion of Edda Fagni (pedagogue and later longtime PCI parliamentarian) who served one term at the Department of Education beginning in 1975, and thus contributing, along with excellent municipal officials, to what in essence was still a success. Despite the aforementioned difficulties, the first Livorno crèches opened their doors in 1976 (around the same time as in the capital of Florence) and within 5 years 5 new structures were built in addition to the three adapted former ONMI nests, for a total of 8 structures able to welcome almost 500 children (ASCL, 1976; Freddanni, 1980; 11). A success and consolidation together with the affirmation in the city of municipal preschools, which were absolutely the majority in the territory in comparison to state and private ones (Fagni, 1980b, 13).

In addition to special attention to the training of educators, the reality Livorno emphasized, especially during the eighties, psychomotor activity, which soon became a hallmark of the crèches (but also of pre-schools) in Livorno, activities in which many hours of training were invested and that, moreover, had a great impact on the organization of space, as we shall see.

But to go straight to the issue of space, the stories of teachers (around 23 for now) first converge on the rigidity with which the structures were organized in the beginning, suffering in part the legacy of ONMI crèches, which had a heavily assistance-oriented system and a partly didactic model of preschools, which was consolidated in the city and worked according to separate sections and classrooms according to age. The seats inherited from the ONMI, although adapted to local nurseries, in fact offered little that was suitable for educational environments: sometimes placed on the first floor rather than the ground floor, in cohabitation with health districts, or set up in large spaces used and furnished mainly for the custody but not the education of children. The space thus also reflected the organization of activities for children and the perspectives of the seventies, namely the transition to “modern” crèche, and the ONMI imprint seemed still significant, including because some of the previous operators continued working for a few years in the new municipal crèches. In fact, one teacher recalls, having just started her career at the end of the seventies, “in a huge room [...] there were two or three baskets [of] overturned toys in the middle of the room containing all the children” supervised by older ex-ONMI colleagues, who were instead asked timidly by the younger educators to suggest some activities to the children, such as the manipulation (Interview with Alba P. and Marcella M. born on 05/27/1951 and 03/31/1951, conducted by Chiara Tempesti, Livorno 05/08/15).

On the other hand the first crèches were still far from being “educational spaces”, even those that had been newly built. The teachers remember, for example, the separation of different ages, which they deemed excessive, adopted especially towards the “babies” as the youngest were then called, who were kept well away from the others, with no opportunities to meet for shared activities. Organization of the space was decidedly more sectoral, in response to the large environments/lounges, for all

children, which characterized the past (even recent) and was in line, as mentioned, with preschools. Certainly in this way the teachers were no longer forced, as is clear from their stories, to create more intimate spaces in large environments by moving the furniture (Interview with Alba P. and Marcella M.). In some ways, intimacy did not seem to be the least contemplated in the former ONMI structures, so that the teachers enthusiastically remembered the installation of adequate sanitation facilities suitable for children in the new kindergartens, toilets that essentially replaced the “potties” which were brought for this purpose into the same room where children were kept (Interview with Pierangela B. born on 22/12/1957, conducted by Chiara Tempesti, Livorno, 08/06/15).

The eighties marked instead a turning point: the whole setting of the crèches in the city changed and spaces were reorganized. It is rare indeed to find traces in the memories of teachers, but also of other institutional actors operating in those years, the small revolution that followed the various training sessions and consultations with Ivana Padoan, then a young collaborator of the University of Venice, who introduced, as mentioned, psychomotor as a practice around which the entire system of local crèches was built (Interview with Mauro P., born on 19/09/50, conducted by Simona Nedelcu, Livorno, November 2015). Leaving aside the purely pedagogical aspects, which were many, this psychomotor model overcame the rigidities of the sections and workshops created for activities, thus the transition/filter spaces between the outside and the inside were born for the entry and exit of children (for example for changing shoes) and of course a room for psychomotor activities. On the other hand, the rooms of the refectory and dormitory remained unchanged, but the furnishings were substituted in order to be more suitable to self-reliant development of the child, such as “big carpets” for the movement of the smaller children who until then were often held by the educators. In short, a revolution that significantly modernized crèches, the role and function of teachers, and their relationships with the families, decidedly shifting educational services into “educational spaces”.

2.1.2. Grosseto

In the same period Grosseto, a city in the south of the region, in Maremma, which had about half the inhabitants of Livorno, was gearing up to enforce the Law no. 1044. In this way the administration could thus also respond to the potential demand for services increased by the progressive urbanization that had characterized the city in previous years. The administration, in a PCI-led coalition, had in fact been developing an action plan since 1972 for subsequent years, which led Grosseto to have in 1978 the first two crèches, to which it added three more by 1980, of which one in the hamlet of Marina (on the coast). The development time in the Maremma towns was not particularly rapid, but certainly very satisfactory (ASCG, 1972 and 1979).

In these years of the onset of Grosseto crèches, they seem primarily to have found their strength in the heartfelt participation of the educators themselves, which many of them mention in the interviews (which at this point number 15). But in the case

of Grosseto, as in Livorno, training and updating (with educators such as Franco Frabboni, Malaguzzi, and Aldo Fortunati) played a crucial role in the innovation and introduction of educational planning, and in the reorganization of environments. Not to mention visits to the crèches of Reggio Emilia, a common practice throughout Tuscany.

In any case, as regards the spaces it must be noted that the changes took place in the second half of the eighties. Previously, in addition to the presence of the sections that reflected the regional regulation, the largest spaces prevailed: “the architects”, as one educator remembers, “built the crèches thinking that children of that age only need space” (Interview with SR born in 1951, conducted by Denise Landolfi, Grosseto, 16/10/15) and to make up for that, the teachers often had to create multiple content environments using the furniture which, incidentally, did not seem to abound in quantity or variety (Interview with SR).

The new structures, although appreciable and despite the fact that none was adapted from a former ONMI location, suffered ills similar to those mentioned with respect to Livorno. The social welfare imprint of the past seemed to prevail, complicit in the great, unadorned spaces but also the presence, for example, of a paediatric drop-in clinic inside the structure that was open to the whole neighbourhood. Significant in this regard is the testimony of an educator who said that, in the late eighties, when the presence of the paediatrician was no longer expected, the “clinic space was renovated and we were able to develop thematic workshops: colour, manipulation “ (Interview with O.F. born in 1958, conducted by Denise Landolfi, Grosseto, 04/20/15 and 24/04/2015).

Nevertheless, where the crèches were less structured, teachers were able to express their creativity, perhaps stimulated by what we had seen in Reggio Emilia, readjusting the environment with recycled materials or created themselves. Active participation of educators was widespread enough that they were also at the forefront in the pro-crèche propaganda on the streets. “In short,” recalls one of them “it was tough at the beginning. We had to affirm the educational value of the crèche” (Interview with C.B. born in 1950, conducted by Denise Landolfi, Grosseto, 30/10/15).

Ultimately, the accounts of the teachers from Livorno and Grosseto reflect a generalized youthful enthusiasm for teamwork and the need to create a service for citizens, a clear reflection of the collective action on a socio-political level of those years.

But in light of the current awareness and reflection on spaces, the care for which is insisted upon in the pedagogical literature, especially the Tuscan approach defined by Enzo Catarsi (Fortunati, *Catharsis*, 2012, pp. 42-45), perhaps the stories and memories are brought to accentuate the differences between correct and incorrect practices. In other words, it seems that the memories of teachers are influenced, as always occurs, by their experiences and studies of the following decades, and thus they have highlighted the possible inadequacy of the environment and emphasized their work to reconstruct the spaces. Such aspects have, in any case, characterized the history of crèches between the seventies and eighties.

2.2. Two small realities: Capannori and San Miniato

After observing the local reality of two capital cities of Tuscany, it is interesting to take a look at some examples of smaller municipalities to reconstruct the processes of implementing Law 1044 in peripheral contexts as opposed to the nerve centres of regional policies. The effects of the national law, and the regional measures to implement it, on the social and educational policies circulated at the local level are clear within some of these municipalities. Take the case of the municipalities of Capannori, in the province of Lucca, and San Miniato, near Pisa.

Capannori currently has about 45,000 inhabitants and is located in a hilly area in the northwest of Tuscany. It is one of the municipalities with the largest land area in the province of Lucca, and in the period considered, the seventies and eighties, it was governed by a council of Christian Democrats. The research in Capannori involved both political and institutional aspects, including interviews with two former mayors of the period and the reconstruction of the administrative and organizational path that led to the creation of the first municipal services; and the statements from the first educators employed in these services when they had just been opened, collected through 9 interviews, as well as an interview with the manager and the social worker, both of whom were active in crèches from 1982 to the end of the '90s.

San Miniato currently has about 28,000 inhabitants and is located in a hilly area between Pisa and Florence, in north-central Tuscany. It has a territorial extension of two-thirds of that of Capannori and in the period in question it was governed by a communist junta. Research in San Miniato focused mainly on the statements of teachers actively involved in the first season of the municipal nursery started in 1980, collected through 6 interviews. As for the institutional and organizational aspects, we were able to rely on the archives of the "La Bottega di Geppetto" Centre and Documentation on Children, a fundamental institution for the preservation of the history and memory of educational services of San Miniato.

The cases of the municipalities of Capannori and San Miniato are historically coeval, but very distant with regard to the outcomes of the path that led to the construction of municipal services. Capannori in the seventies was a predominantly rural municipality, with a social need for crèche scarcely felt by families, except for the part of the population residing in the city area (Interview with Loredana G., educator, born in 1961, conducted by Sara Lucchesi, Capannori 22/09/2015). Families residing in the different hamlets surrounding the town, in agricultural and little urbanized areas, did not express specific needs for educational services outside of the home. In the same period, San Miniato already had a different economic structure, with factories relying largely on female workers, and on the social level there was a significant presence of women's movements active in demanding of equal opportunities and maternity support services (Interview with Lucia S., educator, born in 1951, conducted by Lucrezia Buggiani, San Miniato in 2015). The statements collected among active politicians in local institutions confirm that, in the case of Capannori, the push to open the municipal crèche was an expression of the prevalent political will; while in the case of San Miniato, it corresponded more to a widespread demand from below.

In Capannori the process of establishing the municipal crèche began in an almost euphoric atmosphere after the approval of Law 1044, with the first resolutions already passed in 1972 and a project to build six services. Over the next decade, the initial enthusiasm rapidly softened and in 1982 two of the six originally planned crèches were opened. The main questions raised by the national legislation clearly referred to the costs of construction. As in many other towns, in Capannori people soon became aware of the extent of the initial investment and subsequent operating costs (Interview with the former mayor of Capannori Michele Martinelli, in office from 1985 to 1991, conducted by Sara Lucchesi, Capannori 07/14/2015). The process that led to the development of the services, then, was long and serene. Two crèches opened in 1982, one was suspended in 1985 and effectively closed to make way for a kindergarten that had been previously housed in the old railway station (Interview with Rossana S., head of the Capannori crèches from 1982 to 1999, conducted by Sara Lucchesi, Capannori 07/15/2015). In many municipalities, the Region of Tuscany entirely financed the initial investment for the opening of a crèche. This solved the problem only in part, since as mentioned the direct management of the crèche was entrusted by Law 1044 directly to municipalities. Municipalities therefore had to mediate between social or political issues, effectively rendering accessible services for households, and economic needs, having to impose registration fees consistent with the costs incurred.

In San Miniato the first municipal service opened in 1980 and immediately presented itself as a kind of laboratory for the testing of new educational models. The crèche was established in the kindergarten building, which was transferred elsewhere. The space, the teachers remember, was not yet organized the way they had started to be in the nineties (Interview with Manuela M., educator, born in 1954, conducted by Lucrezia Buggiani, San Miniato in 2015). From the beginning, there were three sections that welcomed children divided by age, but a single, large room in which they slept together. Only the little ones ate in this section; all the others ate in the central room used as the dining room. Daily practice is modelled on the material characteristics of the spaces, designed and manufactured to accommodate activities other than those of the crèche. Inevitably, the crèche was still bound by the prevailing custodial model in organizational view and corresponded to the architectural structure of the building. It would be the next evolution of educational practices to radically change the structure of space, rethought according to pedagogical innovations.

Capannori and San Miniato, like many other Tuscan towns in the early eighties, looked to Pistoia, and then over the Apennines towards Reggio Emilia, looking for innovative models to improve the educational quality of services and update training of educators (Interview with Marialisa C., educator, born in 1957, conducted by Sara Lucchesi, Capannori 06/29/2015; Interview with Manuela M., educator, born in 1954, conducted by Lucrezia Buggiani, San Miniato in 2015). The organization of space was a focal point and it was up to those same educators to invent a new way of organizing the crèche environments. New concepts that asserted themselves in the following years would transform the materiality of the crèche. There are interesting ideas that emerge from the stories of the first generation of educators engaged in the construction of the crèches in Capannori and, above all, San Miniato. The municipal authorities offer spa-

ces as mere physical containers for temporary custody of children (Interview with Lucia S., educator, born in 1951, conducted by Lucrezia Buggiani, San Miniato in 2015): it would be up the educators to solve every little great daily emergency, from obtaining cookware to prepare meals to inventing the living space of the crèche.

From everyday living, the awareness emerged that the crèche space is not neutral; it has in contrast the function of stimulating the child's ability, welcoming rather than simply protecting it. They do not have the base pedagogy texts to find out how the selection of the materials is related to the age of the children and their developmental needs: with the exception of a few cases, staff training was not pedagogical, and pedagogy itself in the eighties still had little to say about the educational themes of early childhood (Bondioli, 1991, pp. 9-10). It was daily experience that started experimentation: spaces were structured in recognizable corners to accommodate different activities and routines. If anything, the world of research offered an element characterizing the turn of the eighties and nineties, both in Capannori is in San Miniato, as in many other local areas of Tuscany: the start of psychomotor courses. Other ideas are reflected as attempts and experiments rather than for experimentation: some teachers remember how the separation occurred in the playroom or the use of natural materials for the children's free creativity; and the creation of the first expressive workshops, also detached from the sections.

The San Miniato experience is particular from this point of view. In 1987, intentional experiments were begun with mixed groups, which break with the organizational model based on sections composed of homogeneous children by age. The educators did not design interventions; it was experts who developed pedagogical concepts to be tested in the daily practice of the research crèche, entrusting execution to educators. The activities of the joint group worked better, remember the teachers, but the spaces at this point were no longer adequate. In 1990 in San Miniato an overall restructuring was begun of the nursery because now needed an interior room was needed within to sections rather than separate; the dining room also had to be rethought. The perception was that of a constant work in progress, in which the design of the environments became a central part of the educational work since it went hand in hand with the evolution of practices and pedagogical experimentation. Unlike kindergarten, which some remember as a static school and therefore already old then (Interview with Lucia S., educator, born in 1951, conducted by Lucrezia Buggiani, San Miniato in 2015).

3.

Conclusions

The birth and evolution of the crèche in Tuscany, in the large and small realities that we have observed, was in fact a process undoubtedly attended by various social actors of the territory: the administrations, families, and educators. In particular, the

sense of belonging of the teachers emerges strongly; guided by enthusiasm they tried something completely new, though sometimes with a little fear, and devoted much of their time and their passion to this extraordinary adventure. Of course the relationship with realities developed in ECEC as those of Reggio Emilia was fundamental for the success of this enterprise, and the mutually beneficial relationship between the territories of Tuscany and the University (not only in Florence) offered added value.

The transformation from spaces in which the teachers played a part as protagonists reflects in particular the revolutionary impact of the introduction of “modern” crèches in Tuscany. In fact, the above statements always reference the inadequacy and the desolation of the large spaces that recalled the former ONMI structures, an organization of space that seemed hard to overcome. Yet it was possible thanks to the synergy between the work of educators and training and legislative measures. During the ‘80s, the care for educational space inside the crèches could therefore be developed, both in large as in small communities, and would become one of the pillars of the Tuscan approach in the ‘90s and 2000s.

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