

Childhoods education historiography in Iberoamerica: contributions to the configuration of Childhood Pedagogy as a field of knowledge*

Historiografía educación de las infancias en Iberoamérica: aportes para la configuración de la Pedagogía Infantil como campo de saber

Historiografia da educación de las infancias na Iberoamérica: contribuições para a configuração da Pedagogia Infantil como campo de saber

Miguel Ángel Martínez-Velasco** D orcid.org/0000-0001-9872-547X



To cite this article: Martínez-Velasco, M. (2021). Childhoods education historiography in Iberoamerica: contributions to the configuration of Childhood Pedagogy as a field of knowledge. Revista Colombiana de Educación, 1(82), 453-474. https://doi.org/10.17227/rce.num82-11370



Received: 28/02/2020 Approved: 19/06/2020 02/07/2020

> 453-474 pp.

Traducido por Harold Agudelo-Gutierrez. Normalista Superior. Correo: harold.agudelo@udea.edu.co

Interinstitutional Doctorate in Education, Universidad del Valle. Professor and researcher from Universidad del Valle, Colombia. E-mail: miquel.martinez.velasco@correounivalle.edu.co

Abstract

The purpose of the review article is to analyze the tensions of knowledge and power that have been taking shape in Ibero-America around the research that have dealt with the history of childhood education; that is, the education of boys and girls from birth to entrance into primary school. Methodologically, discursive reading was used to account for the discourses, institutions and subjects that have historically produced in Ibero-America to educate toddlers, the preschool child and early childhood based on four knowledge practices: preschool education, childhood education, nursery education and initial education. As results, the production of a historiographic knowledge produced since the end of the 20th century is analyzed in order to configure a field of knowledge for Childhood Pedagogy, in which new ways of relating between pedagogical knowledge, social history of education and the field of childhood studies from the relationships between teaching, development, learning and education as articulating concepts that have enabled the training of boys and girls. The article ends by identifying the challenges that must be faced for the invention of a field of knowledge in which Childhood Pedagogy enables the integration of schooling and comprehensive care for early childhood to carry out childhood education in contemporary times.

Keywords

early childhood education; nursery school; transition from pre-school to primary school; historiography; educational theory

Resumen

educación de la primera infancia; escuela de párvulos; transición educación infantil-educación primaria; historiografia; teoría de la educación.

Palabras clave

El artículo de revisión tiene como propósito analizar las tensiones de saber y poder que se han venido configurando en Iberoamérica en torno a las investigaciones que se han ocupado de historiar la educación de las infancias; es decir de la educación de los niños y las niñas desde su nacimiento hasta el ingreso a la escuela primaria. Metodológicamente se empleó la lectura discursiva para dar cuenta de los discursos, instituciones y sujetos que se han producido históricamente en Iberoamérica para para educar a los párvulos, al niño preescolar y a la primera infancia a partir de cuatro prácticas de saber: la educación preescolar, la educación infantil, la educación parvularia y la educación inicial. Como resultados se analiza la producción de un saber historiográfico producido desde finales del siglo xx en aras de ir configurando un campo de saber para la Pedagogía Infantil, en el que se proponen y resignifican nuevos modos de relación entre el saber pedagógico, la historia social de la educación y el campo de estudios en infancias a partir de las relaciones entre la enseñanza, el desarrollo, el aprendizaje y la educación como conceptos articuladores que han posibilitado la formación de los niños y las niñas. Finaliza el artículo identificando los desafíos que deben afrontarse para la invención de un campo de saber en el que la Pedagogía Infantil posibilite la integración de la escolarización y la atención integral a la primera infancia para llevar a cabo la educación de las infancias en la contemporaneidad.

Resumo

O objetivo do artigo de revisão é analisar as tensões de saber e poder que vêm se formando na Ibero-América em torno das pesquisas que trataram da história da educação infantil; isto é, a educação de crianças desde o nascimento até a entrada na escola primária. Metodologicamente, utilizou-se a leitura discursiva para dar conta dos discursos, instituições e disciplinas que historicamente foram produzidas na Ibero-América para a formação de crianças, pré-escolares e primeira infância a partir de quatro práticas de saber: educação pré-escolar, educação parvulária, educação infantil e educação inicial. Como resultados, analisa-se a produção de um conhecimento historiográfico produzido desde o final do século xx, a fim de configurar um campo de saber para a Pedagogia Infantil, em que se propõem e se ressignificam novas formas de relacionar entre o conhecimento pedagógico, a história social da educação e o campo dos estudos da infância a partir das relações entre ensino, desenvolvimento, aprendizagem e educação como conceitos articuladores que possibilitaram a formação de crianças. O artigo termina identificando os desafios que devem ser enfrentados para a invenção de um campo do saber em que a Pedagogia Infantil possibilite a integração da escolarização e do cuidado integral à primeira infância para levar a cabo a educación de las infancias na contemporaneidade.

Palavras chave

educação da primeira infância; jardim de infância; transiçao educação pré-escolar - ensino básico; historiografia; teoria da educação

N.° 82



Introduction: the naturalization of early childhood as an object of knowledge

A quick tour of our recent glocal history allows us to locate in 1989 the institutionalization of early childhood as a concept and experience (Marín and León, 2018), Comprehensive Early Childhood Care and Education -ECCE- as a discourse, of the agent educational as a subject of knowledge and initial education as a practice of knowledge (Zuluaga, 1999) from the issuance of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child -IACHR-; discursive event (Foucault, 2002) that was made possible by the emergence in the words of Alberto Martínez Boom and Jhon Henry Orozco (2010) of a new assemblage that after the Second World War made education the object of politics to carry out the government of boys and girls through biopolitics.

Local and national public policies, information systems, academic networks, programs for education and work, offer of undergraduate and postgraduate programs for early childhood education, tv listings and childhood softwares, up to the creation of educational and cultural facilities, constitute the mechanism that enables the functioning of the schooling (Martínez, 2016), maternalization (León, 2012) and infantilization (Sáenz, 2009) devices deployed by the State, international cooperation organizations and civil society for the recognition of boys and girls as subjects of rights.

The irruption of early childhood, the educational agent, ECCE and initial education occurs in a temporary regime that places the production of historical experience to educate children from the present (Hartog, 2007); the past represents outdated and obsolete knowledge that must be abandoned and forgotten and the future becomes ephemeral in a more liquid society that leads us to consume all kinds of goods, services and technologies to educate children who guickly become disposable (Bauman, 2003). Presentism as a regime of historicity accentuates the modern crisis of pedagogy, childhood, school and the work of the teacher, by temporarily restricting the active memory of pedagogical knowledge (Zuluaga and Herrera, 2006; Zuluaga and Marín 2006) to a past that In its modern development, it continues to recognize children as a miniature adult; thus, pedagogy as knowledge has not produced a childlike nature (Marín, 2012) that allows education based on the recognition of its uniqueness as a subject.

The historical account that the State is producing today in conjunction with international cooperation organizations, normal schools, faculties and institutes of education, pedagogy and educational sciences is based on the anachronistic view produced by the sociology of education, the disciplines psi (psychology, psycho-pedagogy, psychoanalysis), neurosciences and the field of studies in childhood by reducing the complexity of the processes of

, Colombia

knowledge, power and subjectivation of modern pedagogy to practices of control, verbalistic, authoritarian, exclusively teacher-centered and disciplining of the infantile body and mind typical of prison and the army.

The historiographic balance that is proposed to develop aims to make an approach to the different modes of existence of childhood education: nursery education, preschool education, early childhood education and initial education (Martínez & Zuluaga, 2020) in Ibero-America during the three last decades, as a tool that allows to denature the discourse of novelty and innovation that rests on the emergence of initial education, mainly in relation to the production of practices, discourses, concepts, notions, strategies and institutions for the production of processes of subjectivation and individualization of boys and girls from birth to entry to primary school.

Unveiling the existence of other practices of knowledge to educate children from the modern relationship *pedagogy-childhood-school-work of the teacher* constitutes a contribution to the configuration of an academic community that recognizes in *Childhood Pedagogy* a field of knowledge for the training of teachers/pedagogues and of the boys and girls that today are educated through nursery education, preschool education, early childhood education and initial education. In the long term, Childhood Pedagogy as a field of knowledge aspires to produce conceptual fields from the interceptions produced by different sciences, disciplines, knowledge and practices around teaching, learning, development, education between objects of knowledge.

The article presents as results of the historiographic balance the analysis of the relationship between nursery education, pedagogy and nursery schools; preschool education, early childhood education and kindergarten; initial education, early childhood and child development and early childhood education, pedagogy and childhood. It concludes by presenting challenges that the configuration of a field of knowledge for Childhood Pedagogy has to educate children in contemporary times based on these relationships.

Methodology: toolbox

The historiographic balance was constructed from the review of 12 books derived from a compilation of historical research on childhood education, bachelor's, master's and doctoral theses and 331 research articles using the Education Resources Information Center database -ERIC- between 1980 and 2020, the following terms were used to search for information in Spanish: historia de la educación parvularia, historia de la educación preescolar, historia de la educación infantil, historia de la educación inicial; in Portuguese

the terms historia da educação infantil e historia da educação pre-escolar and in English the term history of early childhood education. The search was complemented by using the same terms in indexed journals belonging to the Spanish, Portuguese, Mexican, Brazilian and Argentinean educational history societies. The bibliographic exploration was complemented using the academic google search engine and the databases: Scientific Electronic Library Online -Scielo-, Dialnet, Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal -Redaly- and in the National Bibliographic Index-NBI, Publindex of Colombia.

As selection criteria, studies that deal with analyzing early childhood public policies and historical analyzes of the field of childhood studies were excluded, since these privilege the relationship between early childhood-education-public policies and social and cultural history-childhood-society respectively, excluding from its objects of analysis the modern series pedagogy-childhood-school-work of the teacher; Neither were those works that take teacher training, didactics and the childhood curriculum as part of the constructed archive. In total, a database with 343 records was built. Finally, 50 documents were selected, discriminated as follows: undergraduate thesis, master's thesis, doctoral thesis, historical-educational research and history books on childhood education.

Type of material	Nursery education	Preschool education	Initial education	Childhood education
Bachelor's thesis			1	
Master's thesis		1		
Doctoral thesis		3		1
Historical-educational research articles.	4	9	5	12
History book of childhood education	1	1	2	3
Book chapter history of childhood education	3	1	2	1
TOTAL: 50	8	15	10	17

Source: self made

Initially, it was intended to include research from all Ibero-American countries, especially those that we know little about at the international level about the ways in which they have dealt with the history of childhood education. The final result of the historiographic balance only yielded research from Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Puerto

Rico, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, the rest of the Ibero-American countries do not record publications in databases on the history of early childhood education.

For the categorization of the different records, three methodological options were considered: the first classifying them based on the degree of school classification (level, cycle, program, grade), the second using the universal terms of the thesauri both in Spanish and French also English and Portuguese: educación de la primera infancia, educación preescolar, educación preprimaria, educación y cuidado infantil; éducation de la prime enfance, éducation préprimaire, éducation préscolaire, éducation et soins de la petite enfance, early childhood education, preschool education, preprimary education, early childhood care and education; educação pré-escolar, educação da primeira infância; educação infantil and the third to analyze the knowledge-power and subjectivation relations that shape nursery education, preschool education, early childhood education and initial education as knowledge practices (Zuluaga, 1999, p. 147).

The analysis opted for the third option as a way to reveal the discourses, the institutions and the ways of being subjects that have historically allowed practices "the circulation, diffusion, production, adaptation, distribution and control of knowledge" (Zuluaga, 1999, p. 147) to educate boys and girls from birth to entry to primary school in Latin America from the 1980s to the present. The methodological triad Institutions, Subjects and Discourses -ISD- (Zuluaga, 1999) allowed to account for a set of thematic series based on the thematization of the 50 records selected for the realization of the state of the art: educación de párvulos, pedagogía y parvulario; educación pre-escolar, enseñanza infantil y jardines de infantes/kindergarten; educación inicial, primera infancia y desarrollo infantil y educación infantil, pedagogías e infancias. The different records were disjointed as follows:

Practice of knowledge	Methodological instance	Statement	
Nursery education	Subject Institution Discourse	Toddler Nursery school Nursery pedagogy	
Preschool education	Subject Institution Discourse	Preschool child Kindergartens Childhood teaching	
Initial education	Subject Institution Discourse	Early childhood Child development center Child development	
Childhood education	Subject Institution Discourse	Childhoods Culture Childhood pedagogy	

Source: self made

N.º 82

After the thematization of the records, a discursive reading of the set of statements in which "the text is situated in relation to other discourses and currents of thought that apparently may be alien" (Zuluaga, 1999, p.182) was carried out in order to configure, based on the recovery of the historicity of childhood education, a field of knowledge for childhood pedagogy based on a reading that denatures the anthropological universal of initial education, early childhood and child development from of the institutionalization in the West of boys and girls as subjects of rights in 1989 with the issuance of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child by Unicef, to the point of becoming an object of knowledge by the State, the civil society and academia.

The notion of field of knowledge (Zuluaga, 2000, p. 281) allows configuring the discursive frontiers of childhood pedagogy based on the recovery of the historicity of nursery education, preschool education, initial education and early childhood education as practices of knowledge that today are located fragmented and atomized in history, be it institutional, social and childhood. This review article constitutes a contribution to the realization of this long-term undertaking, as it breaks with the confinement of sciences and disciplines and reveals other modes of existence in which the past takes place in the present from a plural and open epistemic perspective, enables routes to establish discursive exchanges and confronts the pedagogization of society, which reduces the complexity of pedagogy as pedagogical knowledge, understood as the meaning that the adult gives to the education of the boys and girls.

Next, the results of the thematization of the 50 records that constituted the state of the art archive are presented, the article ends by posing the challenges for the configuration of a field of knowledge for childhood pedagogy resorting to discursive reading between history, politics and epistemology.

Results: contributions to a history of childhood education in Iberoamerica

Nursery education, pedagogy and toddlers

In this category of analysis are inscribed the investigations that from the 19th century to the appropriation of the active school during the first three decades of the 20th century have dealt with the historical objectification of boys and girls as toddlers, based on the institutionalization of the German and French pedagogical traditions and to a lesser extent the Anglo-Saxon. The work of the pedagogues *Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi*, *Friedrich Fröebel* and *Marie Pape-Carpentier* for the creation of nursery schools, maternity homes, and kindergarten, whose purposes were debated between caring, educating and/

or instructing in the framework of the configuration of the nation-state and its relations with catholic pedagogy. Geographically, the debates on early childhood education are largely focused on Spain and Chile.

In Spain, according to the analyzes proposed by Carmen Colmenar (1995), the first nursery schools were created from the contributions of the Spanish Pablo Montesinos, who during his exile in London (1822-1833) appropriated the mutual teaching methods proposed by *Joseph Lancaster* and *Adrew Bell* and Nursery Schools proposed by *Robert Owen, James Buchanan* and *Samuel Wilderspin* for the creation of their *Manual for Nursery School Teachers* (1864). Two inaccuracies are made in the analysis: using the term early childhood as a category of analysis to ask about the background of nursery schools and using the category of early childhood education to analyze early nursery education for the 19th century.

For its part in Chile, the history of early nursery education presents two important moments: the appropriation of the French *salle de asilo* after the second half of the 19th century and the German kindergarten at the end of the 19th century. María Victoria Peralta (2015) indicates the arrival of las hermanas del Sagrado Corazón y de la Caridad the creation of the childhood asylums, under the principles of the *salle de asilo* in 1864. The trips of the Argentine Domingo Fausto Sarmiento to Europe and the United States as a delegate of the Ministry of Justice, Worship and Primary Instruction made possible the appropriation of the principles of the *école maternelle* de *Pape-Carpentier*.

According to Jaime Caicedo (2010), a second moment in the history of Chilean nursery education is located at the end of the 19th century from the translation from German into Spanish of the book *Educación del hombre* de *Fröebel* in 1889 by José Abelardo Núñez during his trips to Europe and the United States. His German pedagogical knowledge was key to the founding in 1906 of the first public kindergarten annexed to the Normal School No. 1 in Santiago and the creation of the kindergarten teacher course in the same year.

María Isabel Orellana and Nicole Araya (2016) argue that the Chilean appropriation of kindergarten towards the 1880s was aimed at the education of future *caballeritos en kindergarten* belonging to the upper class and popular kindergarten for the poor class. Social struggles led to the creation of courses for the training of kindergartners in normal schools by the State and popular gardens by initiatives of the teachers themselves. The authors, when proposing the category of initial education to analyze the institutionalization of kindergarten, make the mistake that it is also recurrent in Peralta (1996) when using a notion of the present to account for the emergence of initial education in Latin America in a temporality that is not inscribed in the consolidation of the Chilean nation-state typical

of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both Peralta (1996) and Orellana and Araya (2016) refer to nursery education as synonymous with initial education.

Peralta (1996) publishes an article derived from his doctoral thesis in education *El redescubrimiento del saber pedagógico fundante de la Educación Parvularia: su aporte iluminador a los debates actuales del nivel en América Latina*, proposes to return to classical pedagogues to face the challenges that as nursery education is facing the level today, this includes the educational value of play, the integral development of the child, the overcoming of social inequalities and the education of the poor, the education of the family and early childhood learning, using Comenio, Pestalozzi, Fröebel and Montessori. Although methodologically the author does not propose the reading that she makes to return to them, it is highlighted that it problematizes the absence of a memory in the present to educate early childhood. On the other hand, it falls into a historical impression by universalizing nursery education as a common knowledge practice in Latin America.

In Colombia the analysis proposed by Sáenz, Saldarriaga and Ospina (1997) stands out; Saldarriaga (2003) the appropriation of rational and experimental methods to educate toddlers during the first decades of the twentieth century made by Martín Restrepo Mejía in his books Elementos de pedagogía (1903) and Pedagogía de párvulos (nd).

In Guatemala, although there is no evidence of concern for the history of childhood education, the historical compilation made by the historian of education Carlos González Orellana (2007) and which today is recognized as a canon of local historiography, deserves to be highlighting the fact of recovering as a historical milestone of Guatemalan education the creation of the first national kindergarten in 1902 and the Normal School of Párvulos in 1928 and the existence of the kindergarten simultaneously as a section attached to the primary school.

Preschool education, childhood teaching and kindergarten

In this category are grouped the historical works that take preschool education as an objective in countries such as Spain, Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil and Uruguay. Temporarily preschool education as a practice of knowledge emerged between the 1960s and 1970s from the "strategic reordering and discourse of education", which made literacy a model to think about regular education through elementary education (Martínez & Orozco, 2010, p. 109). Literacy the "preschool child" (Cárdenas et al., 2010) occurs in response to the discourse of cultural, linguistic and cultural deprivation (Malta, 1985; Kotliarenco, Castro & Cáceres, 1993). Preschool education as compensatory education through

Miguel Ángel Martínez-Velasco* / pp. 453-474 the "pedagogical device" [...] "performed a double function for capitalism: strengthening the child's cognitive development and preparing him for success in formal school" (Jiménez, 2012, p. 193).

Early childhood education was intended to materialize in school the discourse of compensatory education through specific didactics: it was necessary to take the preschool child out of poverty, hence, pre-mathematics, pre-reading and pre-writing were the main knowledge that allowed the preschool child to be objectified as a preamble to entering primary school (Cárdenas et al., 2010) in alliance with psychopedagogy, the technical curriculum of North American origin and behavioral, cognitive and learning psychologies.

In the 1970s, preschool education as compensatory education began to be implemented in the United States through the Heard-Start program (Kotliarenco, Castro and Cáceres, 1993). In Puerto Rico, preschool education takes force from the year 1995 when kindergarten is officially recognized as part of the educational system through Law 79 as a compulsory grade for elementary schools (Colón-Díaz, 2013).

In Colombia, the institutionalization of preschool education according to Absalón Jiménez (2012) occurs towards the end of the 1960s when the country appropriates the theory of child development, especially from the contributions of Jean Piaget as part of the measures that made preschool massification possible. The pre-schooling of the child "allowed the State, among other things, to control poverty prematurely: it was born to attend, control, dominate, persuade, convince and lock up poor children" (Cárdenas, Contreras and Navarro, 2010, p. 38).

In Brazil, preschool education has a birth certificate around the 1970s from the relationship between the theory of cultural deprivation and the practice of compensatory education. Its institutionalization occurred among those who considered their main purpose to prepare boys and girls to enter primary school of an educational nature and those who preferred a pre-school education of a welfare nature, in response to the social problems of the Brazilians who afflicted them: violence, poverty, inequality, concentration of power, among others (Malta, 1985).

Up to this point, the discourses and practices that made possible the institutionalization of preschool education as a practice of knowledge that had as its objective the preparation for entering primary school in the framework of the Second World War have been analyzed. The historiographic analysis becomes more complex in countries such as Spain where the history of the education of boys and girls from birth to six years of age is debated among the researches that history the creation of nursery schools from the nineteenth century to the decade of the 1970s through preschool education (Viñao, 1991; Olaya, 1995;

Monés, 1991) to those approaches that do so from the history of early childhood education (Sanchidrián, 1991a, Sanchidrián, 1991b, Sanchidrián et al., 2010).

In Mexico something like the Spanish case happens, there is a history of early childhood education related to the emergence of toddlers' schools and kindergartens from the late 19th century until the 1940s (Campos, 2013; García & Vera, 2019).

Unlike Spain and Mexico, where there is a historiographic rarefied, a singularity is evident in Cuba: the history of preschool education that began to be written after the Cuban revolution includes a social, political and pedagogical moment: the integration of the discourses and practices typical of pre-primary school through kindergarten with the appropriation of initial education (Martínez, 2004) through the creation of nursery, community and *creche* circles; politically, the Cuban State articulated education and care through the same practice of knowledge: preschool education (Benavides 2006).

It cannot be overlooked that the decisions that both historians and educators make to carry out their historical research are directly related to the political, social and cultural debates of each country and that it is summarized in the role that the education of the boys and girls during their first years of life as an active part of the systems of instruction and public education, hence the choice of the type of history that will deal with childhood education is more political than historiographic; strictly speaking and being faithful to the primary sources, the term of the history of nursery education would have to be used for the nineteenth century and a good part of the twentieth century and not the history of preschool education.

Initial education, early childhood and child development

In this category, the research that has dealt with the history of the emergence of inicial education as a practice of knowledge that allowed the individualization of early childhood as a sub-stage of childhood to be governed through the discourse of child development are analyzed. The emergence of initial education occurs within the framework of the globalization of education in the mid-twentieth century, using the developmental approach began to objectify children boys and girls under six years of age through their child schooling as a government practice that will no longer deal with the boy and the girl as a body but rather the population to be led through biopolitics (Martínez, 2004; Martínez & Álvarez, 2013). At the Ibero-American level, since the 1970s, the concern for leading the child population through institutions such as *creche*, urban and rural nurseries, maternity cribs, pre-school education centers, family welfare centers, among others, is evident (Cerda, 2003).

To analyze the scope that mass school has had as a biopolitical strategy for the government of man through early childhood (Martínez, 2004), Mariano Narodowski and Carolina Snaider (2016) report how from the year 2000 it began to produce a massive private schooling of children from 0 to 3 years: "The institutionalization of babies and young children arose from the need to sustain parenting by an alternative means to that of the family group of belonging" (p. 50), we are witnessing a historical moment in which "schooling is advancing, and entails the extension of the principle of childhood as a *reason of State* to ever younger ages" (p. 51) (original italics).

For the analysis of the initial education, early childhood and child development series, the research that has dealt with analyzing the emergence of early childhood was excluded, given that said analyzes do not problematize the relationship between initial education-early childhood from a historical perspective, either the states of the art regarding early childhood care and education were included, as they only focus on the provision of the service in the different modalities. In comparison with the categories of analysis proposed for the historiographic balance, there are few works that take the history of initial education as a practice of knowledge for the governance of early childhood through the concepts of growth, development, upbringing, care, participation and protection.

In the midst of the historiographic rarefied previously analyzed, the research article *Historicidad de la educación inicial en México, un estudio documental* (Liddiard and Pérez, 2019) differentiates very well at the level of public policy initial education (0 to 3 years) from preschool education (3 to 6 years). The authors are concerned with analyzing historically after the Second World War the emergence of initial education from the creation between 1946 and 1952, the creation of the first nurseries in the entire Mexican republic, of the nurseries (1959), of the Institute for the Protection of Children (1961) and the General Directorate of Social Welfare Centers for Children "in order to coordinate and regulate, not only the Nurseries of the Ministry of Public Education —MPE- in 1976. Starting in the 1980s, there was a strong expansion of initial education in Mexico until it was established as a constituent part of the General Law of Education in 1993.

The historiographical rarified that has been revealed does not leave out the works that are registered as history of initial education. Geographically, this debate takes place in Ecuador, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina. This is the case of the research entitled: *La educación inicial en Uruguay: su origen como política pública estatal, 1870-1900* (Ivaldi, 2011) raises a recurring problem in the sources consulted for the completion of the historiographic balance: the term initial education is used as the first level of the Uruguayan educational system and therefore as a category of analysis to account for

the existence of kindergarten and maternity homes at the end of the 19th century; being faithful to the primary sources, it is nursery education that begins to be configured from the creation of kindergarten, since initial education as a practice of knowledge emerged in Latin America from the second half of the 20th century and became institutionalized throughout the region from the CIDN in 1989.

Argentina, like its neighbor Uruguay, presents a historiographic rarefied characteristic of classical historical genealogies by generalizing the existence of initial education as an educational level from the configuration of the nascent Argentine nation-state to the present day. Perhaps the most complete work that has been done in the gaucho country and which is an example of the historical rarefied between the history of nursery education and the history of preschool education is Mónica Fernández's doctoral thesis in education and published in book in 2018 titled:: *Historia y pedagogía de la educación inicial en la Argentina. Desde el proyecto sarmientino hasta los inicios del siglo xxi.*

In Chile there are works that deal with historically analyzing the existence of early childhood through the recovery of the history of nursery education, it is the case of the article *Programas de educación inicial en América Latina y los currículos nacionales del siglo xxi* (Peralta, 2003). The first thing that should be clarified is the anachronism that is committed when proposing the existence of early childhood from pre-Colombian times to the present, the second is that the analysis only deals spatially with Latin America from the programs that go to allow the institutionalization of initial education as a practice of knowledge from the 1980s onwards and the third thing that should be clarified is that the period analyzed from the 19th century to the end of the 20th century corresponds to the history of the Chilean nursery education cannot be extrapolated as a generality at the Latin American level.

"Caballito blanco, ¡vuelve pa' tu pueblo!": troubling and reclaiming the historical foundations of Chilean early childhood education" is the title of the article by Galdames (2017), it is proposed to carry out a historical-conceptual analysis of early childhood education through a mestizo history from the present. The text historiographically becomes rarifyed as it proposes to use categories of anthropological analysis of the present (feminism, for example) typical of the present.

Another historical imprecision is evidenced in the bachelor's thesis titled: *Genealogía de la educación inicial en Ecuador: 1900-2000* (Pautasso, 2007) which does not distinguish the history of initial education from nursery education typical of the early twentieth century and which is excluded as a category of analysis to account historically for the emergence of kindergarten.

Early childhood education, pedagogies and childhoods

The following section mainly analyzes the works that have dealt with problematizing to a large extent in Brazil and some countries such as Chile and Colombia the production of knowledge to educate an out-of-school childhood, based on the relationships between children's cultures, the field of childhood studies, especially the sociology of childhood and modern pedagogical knowledge. Childhoods as a way of being subjects in contemporaneity emerge as a concept by intellectuals in favor of the unschooling of modern childhood. Early childhood education as a practice of knowledge represents the triumph of the paidocentrism typical of the Escolanovista movement and the disappearance of the modern series pedagogy-childhood-school-work of the teacher; modern childhood has disappeared as a concept and as an experience to give way to contemporary childhood.

Said analysis cannot ignore the historical research that Movsés Kuhlmann Ir. has contributed mainly in the Brazilian context through his classic book Infância e educação infantil: uma alimentação historico (2011), edited seven times, constitutes a reference to do a history of childhood pedagogy based on the relationships between the history of early childhood education and the history of childhood. In the line of making history of early childhood education and childhood are the works Histórias da educação infantil brasileira (Kuhlmann, 2000); As pesquisas na área da educação infantil e a história da educação: construindo a história do atendimento as crianças pequenas no Brasil (Arce, 2007); A história da educação infantil no Brasil: avanços, retrocessos e desafios dessa modalidade educacional (Paschoal & Machado, 2009); Educar na infância. Perspectivas histórico-sociais (Souza et. al., 2010); Educação infantil no Brasil: história e desafios contemporáneos (Silva & Soares, 2017); A história da atenção à criança e da infância no Brasil e o surgimento da creche e da pré-escola (Guimarães, 2017). These are some of the researches that have had the greatest impact in the field of the history of early childhood education. The book by Edson Pereira (2013) stands out from this group, who historically appropriates the principles of Comenius's magna didactics for the educação da primeira infância.

It is worth clarifying that the works that were privileged in this section have more epistemic than historical stakes and that they are of importance for the research object of the current doctoral thesis: the emergence of nursery pedagogy in Colombia during the 20th century. Historical research on childhood education, especially the Brazilian ones, is not analyzed in detail, since in the Ibero-American context there has been no historical-epistemic research on nursery pedagogy. The research analyzed deal with the configuration of the *pedagogia da infância ou da educação infantil* y de la pedagogía infantil.

Pedagogia da infância ou da educação infantil is a notion proposed by Eloisa Rocha derived from her doctoral thesis in education (1999) and which occurs within the framework of the articulation of early childhood education to Brazilian basic education, it attempts to respond to the historical tensions between educação infantil and educação pre-escolar, mainly between education and teaching as concepts that have dealt with the constitution of the infantile subject. The author proposes the construction of a field of knowledge for pedagogia da infância, based on the Anglo-Saxon "estudos sociais da infância" (Rocha, Lessa & Buss-Simão, 2016, p. 34); (Buss-Simão & Rocha, 2017). She considers that the childhood-education relationship should include the age range from zero to six years old, she distances herself from what she calls pedagogia para a criançã pre-escolar for the "construção de uma Pedagogia da Educação Infantil, como um campo particular do conhecimento pedagógico" (Rocha, 2001, p. 28); it is then proposed to build a pedagogia da infância which recognizes the plurality of childhood in contrast to a pedagogía da infância em situação escolar that only recognizes school childhood. (Rocha, 1997). In Colombia from Absalón Jiménez's essay El campo de la pedagogía en Colombia. Una mirada desde la pedagogía infantil (2014) shows a similar concern to Eloisa Rocha's research when proposing to analyze the professionalization processes of graduates in preschool education as a region of the field of pedagogy.

Following the line of analysis set out above, we find the article by Maria Oliveira (2015) who problematizes the construction of a pedagogia da educação infantil based on pedagogical practice. Rodrigo Saballa and Paulo Sergio Fochi (2017) propose from the field of studies in childhood a pedagogia do cotidiano na (e da) educação infantil, the daily life of childhood is constituted "em un catalizador das experiências de aprendizagem" (p. 15). Alessandra Arce (2013) proposes a construction of a pedagogia histórico-crítica that allows the teacher to make the teaching-development tension a relationship to carry out the educação infantil. Tisuko Kishimoto et al. (2013), Gabriela Nogueira and Suzane Vieira (2017) propose the construction of a pedagogia da infância for the articulation of the educação infantil and la ensino fundamental within the framework of the pedagogical practice.

Conclusions: reflections for the configuration of a field of knowledge for childhood pedagogy

The historiographic balance presented allows to account for the plurality of historical approaches, practices, institutions and subjects of knowledge produced in different latitudes of the Ibero-American world to educate boys and girls during their first seven years of life from the 19th century to the present, necessary for the construction of a field of knowledge for

childhood pedagogy based on the recovery of the historicity of nursery, preschool, initial and childhood education, as one of the conditions that will allow their coexistence in the long term to carry out the education of childhoods in contemporary times. The historiographic analysis breaks with three universals that up to now made it impossible to objectify childhood education beyond national and transnational public policies and determinisms, especially in the field of childhood studies, neurosciences (neurodevelopment and psycho-educational disciplines (psychopedagogy, psychology): the first the recognition of the toddler and the preschool child as subject positions, the second the existence of pedagogy, the nursery school, kindergarten and childhood teaching as discourses and institutions that have allowed the configuration of a childlike nature and the third the materiality of nursery education, preschool education together with initial and childhood education.

The present review article by recovering the historical plurality of the discourses, institutions and subjects that have configured a set of knowledge practices makes it possible to lay the foundations for the constitution of a field of knowledge for childhood pedagogy in contemporary times as a plural and open space from the historical materiality of each of the primary sources that constitute the historical accounts that have been produced in lbero-America for three decades, in which the past is allowed to be classified as the outdated and the traditional to open the way to the recognition of a time historical that recognizes in the present its existence from the past. Among the challenges that are envisaged are a dialogue of knowledge mainly between historiography, epistemology and politics in order to incorporate the active memory of pedagogical knowledge today:

Historiographic: historically, place nursery, preschool, childhood and initial education using the language of the time as categories of analysis, which would avoid committing anachronisms by indiscriminately extrapolating the discourses of public policies of the XIX, XX and XXI. Another aspect to consider is the importance of differentiating a historical analysis from the present, resorting to genealogy as origin and emergency.

Epistemic: the production of a field of knowledge to educate childhoods in contemporary times implies recognizing especially from the field of childhood studies, the social history of education and the sociology and anthropology of education, a memory of knowledge that has allowed pedagogy produce concepts, practices, notions, strategies, institutions and knowledge to educate the child attending to the uniqueness of their child development. t would also be necessary to continue discussing the epistemic differentiation between education as a social practice and field of agency of pedagogy as practice, knowledge, discipline and field (both conceptual and of knowledge) and continue to reveal the truths that historically have argued a knowledge submitted for the pedagogy.

Conceptual: although there have been historical tensions between teaching, development, education and learning as concepts that have made possible the recognition of the toddler, preschool child and early childhood for the constitution of infantile subjectivities, the main challenge is that the intellectuals of the different fields are located outside the limits of science and discipline to produce other modes of existence of childhood education from the order of knowledge.

Politics: the configuration of a field of knowledge for childhood pedagogy requires that the teachers who educate children both in ruralities and in cities of their empowerment as political subjects to face the modern crisis of pedagogy, childhood, school and the work of the teacher. The experience of the different Ibero-American pedagogical movements is an example of how they have made it possible to put pedagogy and politics into a dialogue through culture, a challenge that must be assumed if we hope that childhood pedagogy as a field of knowledge stops be a proposal of the university and the intellectuals for the school and for the teachers.

The configuration of childhood pedagogy as a field of knowledge is a space of struggle and combat that welcomes any subject of knowledge that problematizes the discourses of innovation, infantilization, adultization, literacy and presenteeism within the framework of comprehensive early childhood care from the recovery of its historicity not only as an epistemic but also a political and ethical instrument.

References

- Arce, A. (2007). As pesquisas na área da educação infantil e a história da educação: construindo a história do atendimento as crianças pequenas no Brasil. *Revista História da Educação*, (21), 107-131. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4891590.pdf
- Arce, A. (2013). ¿É possível falar em pedagogia histórico crítica para pensarmos a educação infantil? *Germinal: marxismo e educação em debate, 5*(2), 5-12. https://portalseer.ufba.br/index.php/revistagerminal/article/view/9695/7083
- Benavides, Z. (2006). *Tendencias del desarrollo de las ideas sobre la educación del niño preescolar cubano de 1950-2000*. [Tesis de doctorado, Instituto Superior Pedagógico Enrique José Varona, Ciudad de la Habana].
- Caicedo, J. (2011). Desarrollo de la educación parvularia en Chile. *Historia da Educação*, 15 (34), 22-44. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/3216/321627141003.pdf
- Campos, É. (2013). De la escuela de párvulos a los jardines de infancia. Construcción de la cultura escolar en la educación preescolar del Estado de México, 1881-1926. El Colegio Mexiquense.

- Cárdenas, O., Contreras, M. & Navarro, D. (2010). *La preescolarización del niño en la educación pública colombiana, 1960-1964.* [Tesis de maestría, Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano].
- Carvalho, R. & Fochi, P. (2017). A pedagogia do cotidiano na (e da) educação infantil: apresentação. *Em Aberto, 30*(100), 15-22. http://rbep.inep.gov.br/ojs3/index.php/emaberto/article/download/3211/2946
- Cerda, H. (2003). El sistema nacional de bienestar familiar. In H. Cerda, *Educación preescolar* (p.61-82). Editorial Magisterio.
- Colmenar, C. (1995). Génesis de la educación infantil en la sociedad occidental. *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 6(1), 15-30. h t tps://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=150168
- Colón-Díaz, W. (2013). Evolución del currículo preescolar en Puerto Rico: un análisis histórico-crítico. [Tesis de doctorado, New México State University]. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1517925899/?p-q-origsite=primo
- Fernández, M. (2018). Historia y pedagogía de la educación inicial en Argentina. Desde el proyecto sarmientino hasta los inicios del siglo xxI. Homo Sapiens Ediciones.
- Foucault, M. (2002). Las unidades del discurso. In M. Foucault, *Arqueología del saber* (p. 33-45). Buenos Aires: Siglo xxi.
- Galdames, M. (2017). "Caballito blanco, ¡vuelve pa' tu pueblo!": troubling and reclaiming the historical foundations of chilean early childhood education. *Global Studies of Childhood, 7*(2), 159-178. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2043610617703843
- García, A. & Vera, E. (2019). Los inicios de la escolarización de los niños menores de 6 años en la Ciudad de México, 1870-1940: elementos para pensar la representación moderna del preescolar. *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación, 7*(13), 49-71. https://doi.org/10.29351/rmhe.v7i13.175
- González, C. (2007). La educación durante las cuatro primeras décadas de nuestro siglo. En C. González. *Historia de la educación en Guatemala*, (pp. 259-292). Editorial Universidad de San Carlos.
- Guimarães, C.(2017). A históriada atenção à criança e da infância no Brasil e o surgimentoda creche e da pré-escola. *Revista Linhas, 18*(38), 80-142. http://dx.doi.org/10.5965/1984723818382017081
- Ivaldi, E. (2011). *La educación inicial en Uruguay: su origen como política pública estatal, 1870-1900.* Consejo de Educación Inicial y Primaria. http://www.ceip.edu.uy/bw-publicaciones-e-investigaciones
- Jiménez, A. (2012). La práctica escolar y la emergencia de la infancia contemporánea. En A. Jiménez, *Emergencia de la infancia contemporánea*, 1968-2006, (pp. 192-254)- Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas.

- Jiménez, A. (2014). El campo de la pedagogía en Colombia. Una mirada desde la pedagogía infantil. In A. Jiménez, El campo de la pedagogía y otros ensayos sobre la historia de la infancia en Colombia (p. 17-36). Universidad Distrital Editorial.
- Kotliarenco, M., Castro, A. & Cáceres, I. (1993). En torno a la problemática de la conceptualización en el ámbito preescolar. *Investigación & Desarrollo*, (3), 17-27. http://rcientificas.uninorte.edu.co/index.php/investigacion/article/view/2596/1712
- Kuhlmann, M. (2000). Histórias da educação infantil brasileira. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, (14), 5-19. http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbedu/n14/n14a02
- Kuhlmann, M. (2011). *Infância e educação infantil: uma abordagem histórica*. Editora Mediação.
- León, C. (2012). Cartografía de los saberes y prácticas de la educación infantil femenina en Colombia: finales del siglo XIX, comienzos del siglo XX. *Pedagogía y Saberes*, (37), 9-23. http://dx.doi.org/10.17227/01212494.37pys9.23
- Liddiard, S. & Pérez, F. (2019). Historicidad de la educación inicial en México, un estudio documental. *Debates por la Historia, 7*(1), 35-66. https://vocero.uach.mx/index.php/debates-por-la-historia/article/view/108
- Lopes, E. (2015). A educação da primeira infância na perspectiva de Comenius. Salta.
- Malta, M. (1985). Pre-escola: entre a educação e o asistencialismo. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, (53), 21-24. http://publicacoes.fcc.org.br/ojs/index.php/cp/article/view/1374
- Marín, D. (2012). Interés por el gobierno y gobierno a través del interés: la constitución de una naturaleza infantil. *Pedagogía y Saberes*, (37), 34-48. http://dx.doi.org/10.17227/01212494.37pys37.48
- Marín, D. & León, C. (2018). *Infancia. Balance de un campo discursivo*. Bogotá: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.
- Martínez, A. (2004). Expansión vertical: del cuidado de los niños a la educación inicial. In A. Martínez, De la escuela expansiva a la escuela competitiva: dos dodos de modernización en América Latina (pp. 138-140). Anthropos.
- Martínez, A. (2016). Maestro, función docente y escolarización en Colombia. *Propuesta Educativa, 1*(45), 34-49. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4030/403047128005.pdf
- Martínez, A. & Álvarez, A. (2011). La educación inicial en Iberoamérica: tendencias recientes y perspectivas. In A. Álvarez (comp.), *Modulo políticas públicas. Algunas claves para entender el Sistema Nacional de Bienestar Familiar* (pp. 28-42). Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano.

- Martínez, A. & Orozco, J. (2010). Políticas de escolarización en tiempos de multitud. *Revista Educación y Pedagogía*, 22 (58), 115-119. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3650030.pdf
- Martínez. M. & Zuluaga, O. (2020). Pasado-presente de la pedagogía infantil en Colombia: 1870-1930. Una mirada desde la memoria activa del saber pedagógico. *Secuencia. Revista de historia y ciencias sociales,* (106), 1-29. https://doi.org/10.18234/secuencia.v0i106.1632
- Monés, J. (1991). La educación preescolar en España desde el final de la Guerra Civil hasta los años 60. *Revista Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria,* (10), 155-183. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=87458
- Narodowski, M. y Snaider, C. (2017). ¿Bebés en las escuelas? Infancias hiperescolarizadas en una cultura prefigurativa. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud, 15*(1), 45-57. 10.11600/1692715x.1510121052016
- Olaya, M. (1995). Introducción en España de nuevas corrientes pedagógicas para la educación de párvulos durante el primer tercio del siglo xx. *Revista interuniversitaria de formación del profesorado* (23), 207-213. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/117876.pdf
- Oliveira, M (2016). A pedagogia da educação infantil construída no cotidiano: ideais, concepções, tensões, desafios e possibilidades. @rquivo Brasileiro de Educação, 3(6), 7-18. https://doi.org/10.5752/P.2318-7344.2015v3n6p7
- Orellana, M. & Araya, N. (2016). Educación de las infancias: entre el hogar y la escuela. Santiago: Ediciones Museo de la Educación Gabriela Mistral.
- Paschoal, J. & Machado, M. (2009). A história da educação infantil no Brasil: avanços, retrocessos e desafios dessa modalidade educacional. *Revista Histedbr On-Line*, 9(33), 78-95. https://doi.org/10.20396/rho.v9i33.8639555
- Pautasso, E. (2007). Genealogía de la educación inicial en Ecuador: periodo histórico 1900-2000. [Tesis de pregrado, Universidad Politécnica Salesiana]. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5981139
- Peralta, M. (1996). El redescubrimiento del saber pedagógico fundante de la educación parvularia: su aporte iluminador a los debates actuales del nivel en América Latina. Pensamiento Educativo. Revista de Investigación Educacional Latinoamericana, 19(2), 435-458. http://pensamientoeducativo.uc.cl/index.php/pel/article/view/82
- Peralta, M. (2003). Programas de educación inicial en América Latina y los currículos nacionales en el siglo xxi. *International Journal of Early Childhood*, 35(1),63-77. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF03174433

- Peralta, M. (2015). Ciento cincuenta años de los inicios de la educación parvularia pública en Chile. *Revista Enfoques Educacionales*, 12(1), 127-156. https://enfoqueseducacionales.uchile.cl/index.php/REE/article/view/43450/45437
- Rocha, E. (1999). A pesquisa em educação infantil no Brasil: trajetória reciente e perspectivas de consolidação de uma pedagogia. [Tesis de doctorado, Universidade Estadual de Campinas]. http://repositorio.unicamp.br/handle/REPOSIP/251307
- Rocha, E. (2011). A pedagogia e a educação infantil. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, (16), 27-34. http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbedu/n16/n16a03/
- Rocha, E.; Lessa, J. & Buss-Simão, M. (2016). Pedagogia da infância: interlocuções disciplinares na pesquisa em Educação. *Da investigação às Práticas*. *6*(1), 31-49. http://www.scielo.mec.pt/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S218213722016000100003&lng=pt&nrm=iso
- Sáenz J.; Saldarriaga, O. & Ospina, A. (1997). Las fisuras de la pedagogía de las facultades del alma. In J. Sáenz, O. Saldarriaga y A. Ospina, Mirar la infancia: pedagogía, moral y modernidad en Colombia, 1903-1946, vol. 1, (pp. 134-188). Colciencias/ Ediciones Foro Nacional por Colombia, Ediciones Uniandes, Editorial Universidad de Antioquia.
- Sáenz, J. (2009). Formación, infantilización y autocreación. En J. Martínez y F. Neira (comp.), *Miradas sobre la subjetividad* (p. 89-114). Bogotá: Universidad de la Salle.
- Saldarriaga, O. La pedagogía católica: ¿amor o hipocresía? En O. Saldarriaga, Del oficio del maestro. Prácticas y teorías de la pedagogía moderna en Colombia, (pp. 91-128). Magisterio Editorial, Grupo Historia de la Práctica Pedagógica.
- Sanchidrián, C. (1991a). Historia de la educación infantil: introducción. *Revista Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria,* (10), 9-14. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=87450
- Sanchidrián, C. (1991b). Funciones de la escolarización de la infancia: objetivos y creación de las primeras escuelas de párvulos en España. *Revista Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria,* (10), 63-88. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=87454
- Sanchidrián, C., Ruiz, J., Colmenar, C., Egidio, I., Diego, C., Otero, E. & Mayordomo. A. (2010). *Historia y perspectiva actual de la educación infantil*. Graó.
- Silva, O. & Soares, A. (2017). Educação infantil no Brasil: história e desafios contemporâneos. *Argumentos Pró-Educação*, *2*(5). https://doi.org/10.24280/ape.v2i5.200
- Souza, G. (Ed.). Educar na infância. Perspectivas histórico-sociais. Editora Contexto.

Revista Colombiana de Educación N. 82 ISSN 0120-3916 · Segundo cuatrimestre de 2021

- Viñao, A. (1983). Una cuestión actual: sobre el academicismo en la enseñanza preescolar en el siglo XIX. *Historia de la Educación: Revista Interuniversitaria* (2), 179-188. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=87307
- Zuluaga, O. (1999). *Pedagogía e Historia. La historicidad de la pedagogía. La enseñanza un objeto de saber.* Editorial Universidad de Antioquia, Anthropos, Siglo de Hombre Editores.
- Zuluaga, O. (2000). Un campo de saber para la historia de la educación y la pedagogía. In M. Henao y J. Castro (Comp.), Estados del arte de la investigación en educación y pedagogía, vol. 1, (pp. 280-291). Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior, Departamento Administrativo de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación, Sociedad Colombiana de Pedagogía.
- Zuluaga, O. & Herrera, S. (2006). Relaciones entre saber pedagógico, práctica pedagógica y memoria activa del saber pedagógico. In H. Quiceno (Comp.), *Territorios pedagógicos: espacios, saberes y sujetos*, vol. I, (pp. 91-102). Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Instituto Nacional Superior de Pedagogía.
- Zuluaga, O. & Marín, D. (2006). Memoria colectiva. Memoria activa del saber pedagógico. *Revista Educación y Ciudad* (10), 60-87. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_nlinks&ref=000155&pid=S0120-3916201200010001500038&lng=en