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The Culture of Peace in Adult Education: Its Epistemological Bases from the Jesuit Philosophy

Kultura pokoju w edukacji dorosłych: jej epistemologiczne podstawy z filozofii jezuitów

Introduction

Today, the ways of life and the social conditions are undergoing deep changes. The industry, the agriculture, the public health, the social adjustment, and the culture, all are immersed in a changing historical moment characterized by increasing degrees of freedom, interculturality, metaheuristic learning,

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and understanding that solutions to problems are approximate, provisional, and not exact and definitive. Adult education also experiences reconducite transformations.

Thus, in almost two decades of this new millennium, considerable development was observed in the theories, conceptions and research in this sector, motivating educational systems to face new challenges that must be faced; even though in many institutions the authoritarianism and the traditionalism prevail, limiting the creative possibilities and the intelligences of the students. Starting with scientific contributions concerning regularities of the educational process and elements that empower man as a transformer of their realities and of themselves, today new educational projects are being implemented, based on innovative teaching methods enabling the formation of individuals able to respond to the demands of the contemporary world. One of these reforming educational forms is based on complex thinking and provides, mainly, for the development in the student of culture for peace.

The current concepts and practices of education for peace are the fruit of a long process: from the moderate pacifies of the ancient Greeks to the postulates of interculturality, pluralism and culture for the peace of the 21st century. The foundations of thought on education for peace and reconstruction of the social tissue (Jesuit pedagogy) were developed by Father Pedro Arrupe⁴ in his works in the seventies - nineties of the twentieth century. Since then, several proposals for Programs for the Reconstruction of Social Tissue and Education for Peace have emerged. Thus, in 2013, a group of professionals interested in contributing to the construction of peace in Mexico moved by the situation of violence in the country, created the Center for Research and Social Action “Jesuits for Peace”.

Likewise, in 2018, the Forum of analysis and reflection “Educational approaches, a social perspective” was held. It was organized by the National Confederation of Private Schools, in coordination with the Mexico University Center, the Center for Research and Social Action “Jesuits for Peace”, the

⁴ Jesuit Father Pedro Arrupe dedicated his works to the problems of integral formation and the educational apostolate, promoted the apostolic renewal of colleges and universities of the Society; created the Secretariat of Education in the Curia to strengthen the union and global coordination of the sector; encouraged the growth and international expansion of the “Faith and Joy” Popular Education Movement; founded the Jesuit Refugee Service, with a human, educational and spiritual commitment (Centro virtual de la pedagogía ignaciana, *Selecciones de Diciembre 2018-Enero 2019. Pedro Arrupe y su apuesta por la educación*, en: www.pedagogiaignaciana.com Conferencia de Provinciales en América Latina – CPAL).

Federation of Private Schools of the Federal District, the Latin American Institute of Educational Communication, the Mexican Institute of Christian Social Doctrine, La Salle University, and the Iberoamerican University. The theme of the Forum focused on the reflection of an education that is able to integrate the individual and social dimension in an articulated way, in order to become a training process that influences the harmonious development of people and permeates in construction of a more just, equitable, inclusive and co-responsible society with its community and with the environment.

The Forum participants assumed that in the face of violence in Mexico, "(...) the school has become an important space for the construction of peace, since it can summon a diversity of actors in order to create processes to strengthen coexistence, and begin to spread problem-solving skills to the family, neighbors, work agencies, the government and also the churches, creating circuits of inclusive relationships that allow for good coexistence" (Centro virtual de la pedagogía ignaciana, 2019). In the same way, the speakers expressed the need to create innovative pedagogical strategies to strengthen the construction and exercise of citizenship from the perspective of sensitive education or education through art, in order to promote culture and the collective construction of the agreements of coexistence.

However, what are the foundations of Jesuit pedagogy or education for peace? This question can be answered by the analysis of the thought of the legendary New Spain Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero⁵, who is considered a part of the renewing spirit of modernity, a generator of pedagogical alternatives and new perspectives for education through the understanding of the Other (in the case of New Spain Education, through the teaching of the ancient Mexicans' culture). His reflection on education can be found in his *Ancient*

⁵ Francisco Javier Clavijero is one of the most brilliant men of the 18th century, introducers of modernity in New Spain. He was born in Veracruz on September 9, 1731. He studied the humanities course in the College of San Jerónimo in Puebla and then joined the College of San Ignacio to study philosophy and theology. As a member of the Jesuits, he assumed the chair in the schools of San Ildefonso (Mexico-city), San Francisco Javier (Puebla, Valladolid, and Guadalajara). At that time, he wrote *Particular Physics*. Before the expulsion of the Order, Clavijero, together with other Jesuits, stimulated the renovation in the sciences through the introduction and spreading of the modern authors. With the expulsion, he established himself in Ferrara and later in Bologna (Italy), where he dedicated himself to writing his famous *Ancient History of Mexico*, including *History of Baja California* and a pamphlet *History of the Appearance of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico*. He died in April 1787.

History of Mexico through a retrospective look at pre-Hispanic peoples and in his *Particular Physics*.

It is important to point out that the analysis of work of Francisco Javier Clavijero was the subject of research of M. Beuchot, 1992, 1996; P. Gonzalbo-Aizpuru, 1989; B. Navarro, 1948, 1992; A. Reynoso, 2011; C. Ronan, 1993, N. Esquivel-Estrada, 2005; A. López-Limón, 2016, among others. However, the educational ideas of this great Jesuit have not been yet studied thoroughly.

The Jesuite Pedagogy

On September 27, 1540, pursuant to the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* of Pope Paul III, the Society of Jesus was established, oriented on the missionary, pedagogical and educational apostolate. Its scene was humanism under deep moral and religious reforms (Vergara Ciordia, 2007). Fundamentally, the role of Saint Ignatius of Loyola was to respond to the attacks of the Lutheran Reformation, but within the order and its close coexistence with the parishioners, it focused on the transmission of a new mystique away from the guilt of original sin, of the vexation and rejection of the body to achieve more conscious understanding of the spiritual through the knowledge of the cosmos and the world, perceived as a gift from God.

“This dimension of pedagogical secularity or world-friendly spirituality gave rise to the third of the Society’s innovative characteristics: its teaching nature. A ministry of depth, apparently not contemplated initially, at the end was going to become the most important apostolic responsibility of the Order (Vergara Ciordia, 2007)”.

His encounter with the new world generated even greater possibility of educating from the beginning, without any previous ideology that would cloud the Ignatian idea of promoting evangelical expansion, but in the manner of the Society of Jesus. It was a great opportunity to lay down their principles and even when they shared the space with the secular and regular clergy of America, the foundations had already been established in Renaissance Europe, with a tendency towards pedagogy and recognition of the other as a foundation for the peaceful and tolerant coexistence.

“Schools are a good example of the scope of this issue, because, although their origins were medieval, during the Renaissance they underwent a great transformation. In the same way that Saint Ignatius was formed by these

two periods, the medieval and the Renaissance, the Jesuit schools also reflect this coexistence, not without tensions, well represented by the differences between the schools in Paris, where he lived, and Ignacio and some of the first companions studied: Saint-Jacques, Montaigu and Sainte-Barbe (Margenat Peralta, 2016)”.

But let us see how three centuries after its foundation, the pre-clear ideas of Francisco Javier Clavijero delved into this thought.

The Ancient History of Mexico

It should be noted that the writing of the book *Ancient History of Mexico*, corresponds to the period of expulsion and Clavijero’s exile in Italy, and the stage of his deep reflection and concern for stating the truth about the American nation, to expose and compensate for lies propagated by some European authors such as Buffon, Raynal, Robertson, and Paw. Its objective is rooted in the truth seeking to be impartial before the narration of the facts and to proclaim the legitimacy of the Mexican reality as a work that serves posterity. The work, therefore, converges in a philosophical anthropology, ranging from the defense of the American Indians to the configuration of a very precise idea of man.

It is important to point out that although it is true that Clavijero’s arguments developed in his *Ancient History of Mexico*, and more extensively in his *Dissertations*, to refute allegations of those European authors concerning the supposed “degeneration of the Indians”, are molded within the scholastic, sticking to the argument of authority, yet they were reinforced with a methodology derived from the illumination and modern thought. It is also true that the antagonistic role that we perceive in Clavijero, is philosophically compatible with his contemporary Giambattista Vico. Both are interested in restoring the role of history: the first, on its origins; the second, on the culture of Mexicans.

Particularly, in the treatment of Vico’s thought, the value that he attributes to the irrational and essential part of the human being, as well as the interest he has in feeling, common sense, fantasy, ingenuity should be noted. However, promotion of imagination or creativity does not imply that the Italian scholar devaluated rationality: a person is a creature who reasons and who feels, who demonstrates and who thinks (Margenat Peralta, 2016). As far as Clavijero is concerned, the reason is raised, although not to the detriment of other

elements considered pre-rational, such as myths or symbols, since, as he will insist in many sections of his *History*, the latter served the Mexican nation to propagate the tradition, in other words, its culture and the degree of civility achieved.

The New Indigenous Society According to Clavijero

According to Clavijero, the education, at first, provides means or a pretext to refute the insults of European philosophers concerning the alleged inferiority of Mexicans, having as a premise the reason that illuminates the speech. For example, in the 16th century, the initiative of the Franciscans resulted in foundation of Colegio de Tlatelolco to train the indigenous people, but later, due to fears of converting the powerful indigenous clergy, it was suppressed (Montes de Oca Navas, 2001). However, Clavijero had another vision, Clavijero's work does not end there. On a basis of a new vision of history, stemming from elements provided by the idea of modernity, the educational problem seems to occupy his thought, born from the interest shared with his European counterparts, who have a great faith in the power of education and want to modernize it, enrich it in its scientific aspects and make it available to the greatest number of people possible. They consider human nature to be essentially the same under all climates; they are often proclaimed citizens of the world and consider themselves twinned by common ideals across national borders (Abagnano, Visalberghi, (1964).

In general, the emphasis falls on the way of approaching the subject. As far as Clavijero is concerned, it is through a retrospective look at what the ancient Mexicans had bequeathed, that is, within the space of the cultural advance reached by the pre-Hispanic people. In a particular, he points to education as the formative element, by which it was possible to cement this culture and, at the same time, indicates that could serve as lessons for the men of that 18th century as perspectives or models to build a new type of society.

“The renewing humanists of the Catholic Church saw the history of humanity as the history of the salvation of men, united all under the person of Christ. The preacher had to turn his eyes to Christ and his history and to resemble him. Therefore, he had to live in poverty and austerity, opt for the poorest and most needy, make the Christian message his way of life. According to the renovators, it was the Gospel, and never violence, that would transform

the infidels, but the superior faculties of man should be used: intelligence and will, so that those who did not know the New Gospel would approach it without fear and out of free conviction (Montes de Oca Navas, 2001)”.

In Clavijero's *Dissertation VI*, after presenting religion, laws, customs, arts and everything that encompasses culture as a sign of the degree of Mexican civilization, in defense of the point of the rationality of the indigenous people and their equality with the Europeans, with the support of their sources and their experience, are in charge of clearly delineating the education system of Mexicans and the sense that the Jesuit assigns to it:

“Furthermore, if we compared the educational system that existed among Mexicans with that of the Greeks, we would see that the instruction of the Greeks in the arts and sciences was not as great as that of Mexican children and youth in the customs of their parents. The Greeks applied themselves more to illumination of the mind, while Mexicans focused on rectifying the heart ... [*according to this way of education*] ... Mexicans taught their children, along with the arts, religion, modesty, honesty, sobriety, and laborious life, also the love of truth and respect for the elderly (Clavijero, 2003)”.

Moreover, as a comparison of proceedings in the exposition of what was said in the *Dissertation* with respect to his European counterparts, Clavijero (2003) ends by saying:

“This is a true [...] sample of the culture of the Mexicans, taken from their ancient history, from the paintings and relationships of the most accurate Spanish historians. Thus, were governed those inferior towns in industry and sagacity to the most rugged peoples of the Old Continent. That is how those peoples were governed, whose rationality some European people wanted to doubt (Clavijero, 2003, p. 785)”.

It is even possible to note the relative superiority assigned to the laws, religion and education of the ancient Mexicans in contrast to that of the Romans, Greeks and other peoples, who were considered the most cultured nations of ancient Europe. In another paragraph, which serves to complement the antecedent, Clavijero comments, as if addressing his readers: “It's true that they vitiated their education with superstition; but the zeal that they had in the education of their children must confuse the negligence of our parents, and many of the documents that they gave to their youth can serve as lessons to ours” (Clavijero, 2003, p. 750).

Now we should focus at the argumentative cunning of Clavijero (2003, p. 750) when he dedicates his *Ancient History of Mexico* to the Royal and

Pontifical University of Mexico with these words: “A Mexican history written by a Mexican, who does not seek a protector to defend him but a conductor to guide him and a teacher to enlighten him, must undoubtedly devote himself to the most respectable literary body of that New World as the most educated in Mexican history and more apt to decide the merit of such work”.

It was intelligent and, doubtlessly, touching the heart of one of the most flourishing institutions of New Spain since its establishment in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, how does Clavijero perceive education? In Book VII of his *History, Political, military and economic government of the Mexicans*, he points out that: “(...) religion, politics and economics are the three factors that form the character of a nation and, without their knowledge, we cannot form a complete idea of the moral constitution, propensities or intelligence of any people, whatever they may be” (Ronan, 1993, p. 186).

Undoubtedly, this character seems to find its foundations, based on the example of the Mexican nation, in education. In this scenario, Clavijero will say: “The education of the youth, which is the main foundation of a state and the one that best describes the character of a nation, was such among Mexicans that it alone suffices to confuse the proud contempt of certain critics who imagine that the empire of reason was limited to Europe” (Ronan, 1993, p. 283).

State and Education

According to the above, education can be understood as the principle on which a political-social system is based, in this case on the society of the ancient Mexicans. Likewise, he will state so in Part 7 of his *Dissertation VI*, contradicting those who indicated anarchy in Mexicans. A State is supported by the laws; and in the case of the Kingdom of Mexico, says Clavijero, although the laws by which it was governed, were not written, yet they were perpetuated both by tradition and by paintings. Thus, an example serves to complement this idea, in the tradition written in their codices, by which the Mexicans perpetuated their laws: “There was no subject who did not know them, because the parents did not stop instructing their children in them (...)” (Ronan, 1993, p. 776).

He also comments that in the times before the last years of the monarchy, the monarchs had always respected the laws promulgated by their predecessors and guarded their observance (Ronan, 1993). This was not possible to understand without analyzing the education of those who would govern:

“The children of the kings and principal lords were given to their *ayos* [*servant, tutor*] to arrange their conduct, and before they could enter into the possession of the crown or lordship, they were regularly entrusted with governing of some city or minor state, to be tried in the difficult art of governing men (...) On this solid foundation of education the Mexicans raised the political system of their kingdom (...) (Ronan, 1993, pp. 291–292)”

What does emerge from the preceding paragraphs? If the Americans paid attention to the education of the youth, then this is a test to support the degree of development reached by the pre-Hispanic nations. However, at the same time, education is the resource that makes possible the transmission of laws and customs, in short, a worldview of the world, which can be understood in terms more appropriate to culture.

In this regard, there is an irrefutable similarity with Giambattista Vico, because from his perspective, education is the foundation and pillar of the conditions that make us essentially human. For Vico, education is the activity that allows the transmission of man’s creations (institutions, laws, language) to subsequent generations and the way in which societies express themselves in their becoming. The idea of education is comparable to the Greeks’ term *Paideia*, understood as culture, tradition, formation.

To complement this idea, it is worth emphasizing that Clavijero is dedicated to exposing the education system that the ancient Mexicans established for their children with great diligence, and refers to the trades given according to age, gender, corrections and advice of the elderly to young people in that exercise of insertion into culture. In addition, according to Vico, another way of understanding education is expressed in his comments that: “(...) it acts as an organizer of our lowest instincts and passions, domesticating them or, better, rationalizing them, making them enter a channel that we ourselves can control in own profit and enrichment” (Rebollo-Espinosa, 2000, p. 191).

At the same time, Clavijero will argue that the vices as well as the virtues, and not exclusively of the Americans, are proper in men. In addition, if for some reason there is an error in the character, it can be amended by a correct formation. And this gives rise to the fact that Mexicans are apt for education. From this perspective, the educational processes in which most men are immersed contribute permanently to human educability and show themselves as computers of passions and instincts.

Here we can add that Clavijero indicates that the pre-Hispanics are capable of all the sciences and that the point resides in the care of their education. He

continues to state that: “(...) if from childhood they were raised in seminars under good teachers and protected and encouraged with prizes, they would stimulate their learning” (Clavijero, 2003). It is possible to sense in these lines the formation of the Jesuit, because one of the constants of the pedagogy of the Order to which he belongs (education for peace), emphasizes the promotion through prizes to stimulate the students.

At the same time, the role of teacher as counselor is evident, his dedication, ability and exemplary to his disciples. The foregoing means, therefore, promoting as points within education some elements that paid off in the formation of Francisco Javier Clavijero; that is, to recover some guidelines of Jesuit education for our context, in which it is not unnecessary to point out that the main element is the student.

Conclusions

Although many issues still remain untouched, we would like to finish this reflective continuum suggesting a brief reflection. The activity and work of the eighteenth-century humanists of New Spain, in particular, the Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero, are of great importance for understanding of thinking about education for peace, as they resisted and were ascribed to the enlightened modernity. However, the confidence that Jesuits put in enlightened reason does not force them to renounce their religious convictions. Under their Christian principles, they analyze everything that they consider a positive contribution of the sciences, thus converting education into the strategic device of their thinking, since “education is the main instrument through which it is sought to train suitable people for adequate coexistence within society” (Arellano Carranza, 2013. pp. 245–256).

From the analysis of the works of Francisco Javier Clavijero, both the *Particular Physics* and the *Ancient History of Mexico*, we can visualize the area within which that Jesuit moved. On the one hand, we can recognize him as part of the generation of European enlightened; however, at the same time, he looks back to the past with the intention of projecting a different future. Clavijero makes use of modern methodology, while seeking to reinterpret the Sacred Scriptures, in order to find the truth wherever it exists.

It is clear that Clavijero’s intention was not to attack the tradition; on the contrary, through an eclectic attitude he seeks to reconcile modernity with

tradition. This can be confirmed when trying to adapt and reconcile the modern thought with the Aristotelian-scholastic thought, showing a critical attitude towards the latter, in a mediatic stance around both currents; it is an eclecticism, a moderate or prudential attitude.

For this reason, we can affirm that he also assumes, as part of this eclecticism, the approach to verisimilitude as a criterion of knowledge in this process of adjusting to the truth within the philosophy of nature and history. Undoubtedly, Clavijero glimpses the double way to the truth, distinguishes the terrain of the natural science, in which the moderns are circumscribed and for which the scholastics cannot give a reason. However, for him there is a land accessible only through faith, and it is what he will not abandon.

Clavijero, like his confraters from the religious Order, cared for the introduction of philosophy and modern science-enlightened to New Spain. The Spanish Universalist School of the eighteenth century, to which he belonged, represents the first great European moment of constitution of a global culture proper. The reflection of this thinker was to achieve peaceful coexistence among the inhabitants of New Spain, not as it had been done until then, through violence or force, but through education (Martínez & Martínez, 2001). In Clavijero's thinking a doctrinal aspect and a pedagogical aspect interact: on the one hand, the way of thinking; and, on the other, the relationship of teaching-learning from this way of thinking. Both are significant.

In Clavijero's work, the role of the teacher as a counselor is evident, as well as the importance of his dedication, ability and exemplary attitude towards his disciples. Thus, the activity and work of the humanists of the 18th century of New Spain, in particular, the Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero, are essential for understanding the thought of education for peace, since they resisted and were assigned to the illustrious modernity. However, the confidence that Jesuits put in the enlightened reason does not compel them to renounce their religious status. Under their Christian principles, they analyze everything they consider a positive contribution of science, thus turning education into the strategic device of their thinking. Clavijero teaches his students to believe in the knowledge of the different philosophical systems, in which the truth is found. That is, looking for the academic training of his students, he finds that education is the best strategy of thought and freedom.

Abstract: This work constitutes a historical-pedagogical reflection focusing on the philosophical foundations of Jesuit pedagogy or education for peace through the thought of Francisco Javier Clavijero, in particular, his works *Ancient History of Mexico* and *Particular Physics*. The authors studying Clavijero found that his thought included the following foundations of education for peace: eclectic attitude expressed in a search for the reconciliation of modernity with tradition; the use of verisimilitude as a criterion of knowledge in the process of adjustment to the truth within the philosophy of nature and history; and a belief in the knowledge of the different philosophical systems, in which the truth is found. According to Clavijero, education, at first, represents means or a pretext to refute the insults of European philosophers concerning the supposed inferiority of Mexicans, based on the reason. Education could be understood as the principle on which a political-social system is based, in this case of the society of ancient Mexicans. Education is the resource that enables the transmission of laws and customs, in short, a worldview of the world, which can be understood in terms more typical of culture.

Keywords: foundations of education for peace; Jesuit pedagogy; the thought of Francisco Javier Clavijero; the idea of reconciliation of modernity with tradition

Streszczenie: Prezentowana praca jest wynikiem badań historycznych i pedagogicznych, których celem było określenie filozoficznych podstaw edukacji dla pokoju poprzez udokumentowaną i bibliograficzną analizę naukowego dziedzictwa wybitnego przedstawiciela zakonu katolickiego jezuitów Francisca Javiera Klavihero, w szczególności jego dzieł „Starożytna historia Meksyku” i „Fizyka specjalna”. Autorzy odkryli, że podstawową edukacją na rzecz pokoju są następujące pomysły Claviero: eklektyczne podejście do badań naukowych poprzez integrację innej wizji rzeczywistości, a mianowicie współczesności i tradycji; wykorzystywać w procesie poznania prawdy kryteriów różnych systemów filozoficznych; kierunek procesu wiedzy w kanale filozofii przyrody i historii. Według Claviero obraz rdzennych Meksykanów, przedstawicieli starożytnych wysoko rozwiniętych cywilizacji Ameryki, został niesprawiedliwie upokorzony przez niektórych europejskich filozofów oświecenia. W swoich pismach Claviero rozumie świat jako ważny element systemu społecznego każdego kraju i analizuje strukturę edukacyjną starożytnych Meksykanów, bada zasady, na których się opiera. W przypadku Claviero edukacja jest mechanizmem umożliwiającym przekazywanie praw i zwyczajów, światopoglądu, tradycji i kultury w ogóle.

Słowa kluczowe: filozoficzne podstawy edukacji dla pokoju; pedagogika jezuitów; dziedzictwo naukowe Francisca Javiera Clavijero; pomysł eklektyczne podejście do badań naukowych

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