

A review on the historiography of professional education in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, from mid-1880 to mid-1940¹

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Abstract: A survey of the historiography of professional education in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, has been undertaken by analyzing several books on the theme published between 1986 and 2003. The contents of books between mid-1880 and mid-1940 have been examined to check how production on the history of professional education is related to the History of Education. In spite of the deep relationship between their characteristics, the historiography of professional education failed to experience the renewal that occurred in the area of the History of Education derived from the New Cultural History. This aspect may be partially due to the predominance of analysis based on the qualification requirements for industrial development.

Keywords: professional education, History of Education, historiography, industrial development

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Balanço sobre a historiografia do ensino profissional paulista (meados de 1880 a meados de 1940)

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Resumo: Neste trabalho, por meio da análise de livros publicados entre 1986 e 2003, apresenta-se um balanço da historiografia do ensino profissional paulista. Foram examinados os conteúdos referentes ao período de meados de 1880 a meados de 1940 a fim de verificar como se relaciona a produção sobre a história do ensino profissional com a da História da Educação. Apesar da forte relação entre as características das duas áreas, na historiografia do ensino profissional analisada ainda não houve a renovação ocorrida na área da História da Educação proveniente das abordagens da Nova História Cultural. Tal aspecto pode ser explicado, em parte, pela predominância de análises baseadas nas necessidades de qualificação para o desenvolvimento industrial.

Palavras-chave: ensino profissional, História da Educação, historiografia, desenvolvimento industrial

Balance sobre la historiografía de la enseñanza profesional en São Paulo (mediados de 1880 a mediados de 1940)

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Resumen: Este trabajo presenta un balance sobre la historiografía de la enseñanza profesional en São Paulo, por medio del análisis de libros publicados entre 1986 y 2003. A partir del examen de los contenidos acerca del período que va de mediados de 1880 a mediados de 1940, se buscó verificar cómo se relaciona la producción sobre la historia de la enseñanza profesional con la de la Historia de la Educación. A pesar de la fuerte relación entre las características presentadas, en la historiografía de la enseñanza profesional analizada aún no hubo la renovación que ocurrió en el área de la Historia de la Educación provenientes de los abordajes de la Nueva Historia Cultural. Tal aspecto puede ser explicado, en parte, por el predominio de análisis basados en las necesidades de cualificación para el desarrollo industrial.

Palabras clave: enseñanza profesional, historia de la educación, la historiografía, desarrollo industrial

Introduction

Current analysis deals with the historiography of professional teaching in books published in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Books forming the corpus of current investigation are: *Trabalhadores urbanos e ensino profissional*, by Maria Alice Ribeiro, Coraly Gará Caetano and Maria Lúcia Caira Gitahy (1986a); *A Escola Profissional de São Carlos*, by Ester Buffa and Paolo Nosella (1998); *O ensino de ofícios nos primórdios da industrialização* and *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, by Luiz Antônio Cunha (2000a, 2000b); *Educação Profissional no Brasil*, by Silvia Maria Manfredi (2002), published in 2002; and *A socialização da força de trabalho: instrução popular e qualificação profissional no estado de São Paulo (1873-1934)*, by Carmen Sylvia Vidigal Moraes (2003).

The above choice was due to the fact that there was a 20-year interval without any books on the theme and *Ensino médio e desenvolvimento*, by Gouveia and Havighurst, was only published in 1969. The above-mentioned books were selected since they dealt with the theme after such a long period. Further, since the books were published by important publishing houses, the fact has certainly affected the interpretation of the history of professional teaching since their reading was a must for researchers or for those interested in the theme.

The period selected for the analysis of the features of professional teaching ranged between the mid-1880s and the mid-1940s. The *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios*, one of the main institutions for professional teaching was established in 1883. On the other hand, a set of laws was promulgated in the 1940s. They aimed at the organization of the teaching system in Brazil, at all levels, under the aegis of legislation, of which professional teaching was an integral section. Further, the books under survey provided relevant discussions on the processes of industrialization and urbanization which were particularly intense during the period.

An investigation on professional teaching developed in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, is important due to the region's specificity with regard to other regions during the period. In other words, the state of São Paulo was the site where economic and industrial development and social relationships featured high rates of dynamism, underscored by Cunha (2000a, p. 68):

[...] the industrialization process was centripetal. The new factories were inclined to establish themselves in the central-southern region, especially São Paulo, to where manufacturing activities, previously developed in other regions of the country, were transferred.

Investigation on the ideas and analyses of the above-mentioned author takes into consideration notes on the historiography of Brazilian education during the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s, a period in which renovations on the production mode, themes, concepts and theoretical-methodological references occurred. Current essay verifies approximations and distances between production characteristics on the history of professional teaching and those of the historiography of Brazilian education.

Warde (1990) insists that the term historiography is employed without any discrimination to indicate the set of history books, mapping, listing or any other manner of book ordering. In current analysis, historiography is the set of works on history; specifically, they are books on professional teaching in the state of São Paulo which were published between 1986 and 2003. “The historian has the task to move permanently between a determined concept of history and the highly branched set of historical studies” (Warde, 1990, p. 4).

An important conceptual support should be taken into account especially for the interpretation of the books and their conformation to historiography, namely, ‘the production mode of historical works’. According to Ferro (1989, p. 2), the production mode may be defined as “[...] the conditions that determine the production and nature of historical works, or rather, the themes given priority, their approach, the manner data develop through time”.

The book titles show that several terms are employed to refer to professional teaching: professional qualification, teaching of crafts, industrial teaching, professional education and others. Professional teaching is the formation aimed at in learning a craft or a profession developed independently or integrated with other teaching levels, basic or secondary, according to the years bracketed by the analysis. The terms that define this teaching branch will be employed according to the authors’ version, or rather, for the period in which professional teaching is most employed in current investigation.

Prior to forwarding the chosen works, it should be underscored that the development of scientific knowledge is related to the moment of its production, to results reached and, later, to critique of the results, without disqualifying but actually contributing towards any progress in the discussions on the theme. This is the author's intention in analyzing the history of professional teaching.

Books on the history of professional teaching

Ribeiro's et al. (1986a), *Trabalhadores urbanos e ensino profissional*, contains three monographs, written by each author. Research occurred between 1982 and 1984 at the Department of History of the Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp), Brazil, integrating the project 'Formation of the Salaried Worker', aggregated to research 'Qualification and Training of the Work Force', with results published by the Unicamp Press. According to the project's coordinator, Maria Alice Rosa Ribeiro et al. (1986a), the proposal consisted of qualification as an integral part of the formation process of the town worker linked to the development of capitalist development.

Carmen Sylvia Vidigal Moraes's *A socialização da força de trabalho: instrução popular e qualificação profissional no estado de São Paulo (1873-1934)* is the author's 1990 doctoral thesis for the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy, Arts and Human Sciences (FFLCH) of the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brazil. Research was done in the 1980s and was published in book form in 2003 by the Editora da Universidade São Francisco, in the book series Historiography of the Center for Documentation and Research in the History of Education (CDAPH). According to the author (Moraes, 2003), the importance of schooling was discussed, specifically 'popular schooling', foregrounding professional teaching as a socialization process of the labor force by capital, through a comparison between private and state educational initiatives focusing labor.

Buffa and Nosella's *A Escola Profissional de São Carlos* was published by the Universidade de São Carlos Press (EdUFSCar) in 1998 and features the authors' investigation on schools in the town of São Carlos, Brazil, which was being developed since 1994. According to Buffa and Nosella (1998, p. 23), their proposal was the analysis of the manner "[...] the regional industrialization affected schooling and developed its own school". In other words, the book analyzed the relationship between economical and educational policies, the impact of industrial policy and

the influence of state and federal laws on the school and life at school (agents, organization, day-to-day experience, culture).

O ensino de ofícios nos primórdios da industrialização, by Luiz Antônio Cunha², was published in 2000. It was a 1998-1999 effort within a project aimed at the formation of trainers of Planfor (Replanfor), linked to public policies on labor, employment and the generation of income, of the Ministry of Labor and Employment (MTE)³ as a joint venture with the Faculdade Latino-Americana de Ciências Sociais (Flacso), which published books for the Unesp Press. The book also contains results of research on apprenticeship schools which was coordinated by the same author at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Education of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas (IESAE) between the late 1970s and the 1990s. Cunha (2000a) analyzed the institutions of professional teaching since the later years of the 19th century, underscoring the importance of three processes that would modify social structure, affect educational issues and the organization of professional teaching: foreign immigration, urbanization and industrialization.

Cunha states that *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, published in 2000, was written in 1999 for Replanfor. The book contains sections of other texts on the theme, or rather, from his 1972 Master's dissertation on the reform of high school education till the 1977 lecture at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), a division of the public exam for full professorship in Brazilian Education. In fact, most of the book was written in the 1970s. The author (2000b) discusses professional teaching for the formation of the industrial and manufacturing labor force, its characteristics and its focus by public policies since the organization of the New State, but with discussions and analyses till the 1990s.

Silvia Maria Manfredi's *Educação profissional no Brasil*, published in 2002, is one of the books integrating the Collection Formation Teaching of the Editora Cortez, aiming at providing teaching subsidies based on the new curricular guidelines to would-be teachers and to teachers as professionals in Education. Guidelines are fore grounded on the 1996 (Brasil, 1996) and on the 1997 Decree 2.208 (Brasil, 1997), which

² A third book, *O ensino de ofícios artesanais e manufatureiros no Brasil escravocrata*, will not be analyzed due to the period under discussion.

³ It was called the Ministry of Labor till 1999.

established reforms for the high school, especially in professional teaching. Manfredi (2002) analyzed the discussions and negotiations on professional education through a historical and political approach of the reforms. With special reference to perspectives and projects by different groups, ministries, entrepreneurs and trade unions involved, the author revealed the different interests and needs of those who made their suggestions, according to their social status.

The manner these books were prepared also underscores the fact that they are important sources for historiography since they help in the understanding of professional teaching. In fact, they contain a great deal of data on the process and on the institutions involved in the organization of this branch of teaching in the state of São Paulo.

The books underscore several initiatives on professional teaching by the state of São Paulo⁴: the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* was studied by Gitahy (1986), Moraes (2003) and Cunha (2000a); apprenticeship schools were investigated by Cunha (2000a); state professional schools were analyzed by Ribeiro (1986), Moraes (2003), Cunha (2000a; 2000b); Buffa and Nosella (1998) analyzed only the Escola Profissional de São Carlos; railway schools were studied by Caetano (1986) and Cunha (2000a; 2000b); the Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial (Senai) was analyzed by Cunha (2000b) and Manfredi (2002).

The 1909 Decree 7566 established 19 apprenticeship schools, one in each state, except in the Federal District and in the state of Rio Grande do Sul⁵. These schools, subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, offered free professional teaching. This fact was qualified by Cunha (2000a, p. 63) as “[...] the most salient event in professional teaching during the First Republic”. A co-operation with the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* occurred in São Paulo, using the machines and workshops of both. The 1942 Lei Orgânica do Ensino Industrial transformed apprentice schools into industrial schools.

The Brazilian federal regime established state initiatives for the organization of professional teaching. In fact, the state of São Paulo officially introduced schools in 1910, starting in 1911. The first state professional schools were opened in the city of São Paulo and spread to

⁴ Manfredi (2002) and specifically Cunha (2000a, 2000b) analyzed other initiatives outside the state of São Paulo.

⁵ Federal institutions already existed in these states.

other cities and towns such Amparo, Sorocaba, Rio Claro, Campinas, Franca, Ribeirão Preto and others. According to Buffa and Nosella (1998), ten professional schools were established up to 1935, among which the Escola Profissional de São Carlos (1930).

According to Gitahy (1986), the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* was established in 1883, a result of the reorganization of courses given since 1873 by the Sociedade Propagadora da Instrução Popular. According to Manfredi (2002), the *Liceu* was a private school with government subventions and a joint venture (teachers and principals) with the Polytechnic School of São Paulo. Teaching spaces were called workshop-schools since students worked and learned by producing. The Mechanics Professional School was established in 1923 within the *Liceu*, but was maintained by the railway companies of São Paulo with funding from the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, and a joint venture civil construction firms. According to Manfredi (2002), the broadening of such articulations in 1934 triggered the establishment of the Centro Ferroviário de Ensino e Seleção Profissional (Cfesp).

According to Caetano (1986), the Railway Schools had different aims other than those of the *Liceu* and state professional schools, since they were directly linked to trains and railway works. Railway schools were run as isolated institutions till the establishment of the Serviço de Ensino e Seleção Profissional (Sesp) in 1930, replaced by Cfesp in 1934. The above-mentioned institutions organized railway teaching and implemented the selection of candidates by capacity and vocational tests.

The Senai was instituted by the Brazilian federal government in 1942 by Decree 4.048. According to Moraes (2003), it started its activities in the same year and incorporated the entire Cfesp complex, namely, its teaching methods, funding, organization and others.

The above mentioned works were produced within the Education, History and Sociology research fields, giving rise to other related ones⁶. Therefore, the theme is a highly complex one, although the debate is enriched. Since research which triggered current article was developed in

⁶ According to Lima & Fonseca (2003, p. 59) “[...] the history of education cannot be seen as a field with its own methodology and builder of its own theoretical references”. On the other hand, Carvalho (2003) and Nunes (1989) perceive it as a field with its own methodology. Field terminology has been employed for simplification. Discussion is highly relevant but it does not belong to current focus.

the field of the History of Education, the books mentioned above will be analyzed within this same field.

Brazilian educational historiography on the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s is thus investigated, fore grounded on studies which discuss trends, aims, theoretical basis and critique to its interpretation or choice of themes and research objects. Two periods must be kept distinct: the 1970s up to mid-1980s and the mid-1980s to the present.

Approximation to the History of Education produced in the 1970sand 1980s

Warde (1984) refers to the 1970-1984 production in post-graduate programs in Education⁷and identifies their traits: fitness within the usual periods (First Republic; 1930 Revolution; New State⁸); the marked presence of the State as the necessary interlocutor of investigations on educational matters; the predominance of the Social Sciences as the theoretical basis of the books; the conformation of the object of study to the historical conditions of its production, characterizing the use of history in seeking the origin of current issues and not the interest in ‘historicizing education as an object’.

Bontempi Jr. (1995) underscores that there are many research works on the 1930s with regard to the History of Education, or rather, for the New State period (1937 - 1945) and for 1964. Interlocution with the State is another issue characteristic of educational historiography up to the mid-1980s. According to Nunes (1989), the State is the big character in discussions on the History of Education since it is the State’s roletto lay bare the sources required for investigation by defining, selecting and conserving the documents in this field. It is thus possible “[...] to know what the State did or failed to do, what it achieved or failed to achieve, what demands from social sectors it absorbed or failed to do so” (Nunes, 1989, p. 45).

⁷ According to Warde & Carvalho (2000,), the establishment of a Brazilian post-graduate system in the 1970striggered a new batch of authors, the start of the field of the History of Education, a significant increase in publications, the diversification of book market and the redistribution of institutional status.

⁸ This refers to the periods involved, although one may question the interests and the consequences of these titles.

In their analysis on professional teaching, the authors based themselves on several events, discussions and laws. According to Ribeiro (1986), Gitahy (1986), Cunha (2000a, 2000b), Buffa and Nosella (1998) and Manfredi (2002), the crucial moments in the organization of professional teaching between the mid-1880s and the mid-1940s were based on the *Inquérito* (1926), the *Manifesto dos pioneiros* (1932), the *Education code* (São Paulo, 1933), the *Superintendence* (Brasil, 1934), the *Constitution* (Brasil, 1937) and the *Organic Law* (1942), whose production is related to industrial development which, according to researchers, started in the 20th century, and greatly accelerated after the World War II period.

According to Gitahy (1986), the 1933 *Education code*⁹ and the 1934 *Superintendence of Professional Education of the state of São Paulo*¹⁰ modified the State's professional teaching, especially through the establishment of the psycho-technical service used to select students for professional state schools. In the opinion of Ribeiro (1986), the 1933 *Education code* was fore grounded on rationalizing principles (shorter time, less effort, less energy): vocational courses, selection, psycho-technical service.

Buffa and Nosella (1998) insist that changes in educational legislation and in the labor milieu may be grouped into four moments in which one may surmise the desire to distance this teaching level from its assistance traits and equate it to high school. Two moments¹¹ constitute the analyzed period: 1933 and the Education Code that structured state teaching; and 1942 and the *Organic Law* that organized industrial teaching throughout the country.

⁹ According to Mate (2002), the *Education code* introduced a series of issues and rules within the school milieu, from inspection and the organization of the system in the state of São Paulo up to the development of nationality. Rationalization of time (lessons, periods, lesson schedules, tests, assessments) and habits (compulsory frequency, tasks undertaken within an established period) was underscored, with the consequent rationalization of one's behavior.

¹⁰ The institution was established in 1934 and aimed at guiding, supervising and broadcasting government-run professional teaching in the state; guiding and supervising the same municipal and private institutions and railway professional teaching.

¹¹ The two other instances were 1961 when Law 6.052 (industrial and professional teaching system) and LDB were promulgated, and 1971 when Law 5.692 (compulsory professionalization of teaching in high school) was published.

According to Cunha (2000a), three important events involved issues on professional teaching in a singular way in the history of Brazil: debates on legislation (especially at the federal level), the 1926 *Inquérito* and the *Manifesto dos pioneiros da educação nova* in 1932¹². The author (2000a) underscores aspects of the parliamentary debates between 1915 and 1927: the need for professional teaching, teaching aims, incorporation of Taylorism, compulsory professional course to advance to higher education, sale of objects produced in professional schools, organization of professional teaching and others. According to Cunha (2000a), one of the projects consisted of the establishment of three types of professions, namely, industrial, agricultural and commercial. Although the project was not approved, it was the basis for the establishment of the 1942 *Organic Law*.

Cunha (2000a) remarks that the 1926 *Inquérito* was the first full educational project in Brazil and, based on other authors, insists that, whilst the universities would form the elite, secondary education would train the middle classes. It would be an attempt to recover the hegemony of rural oligarchy through modern education:

Denominated by the French-derived word ‘inquiry’, it goes beyond the term research. In fact, Fernando de Azevedo prepared what seems to have been the first complete educational project in Brazil, comprising basic education, teachers’ formation, technical-professional teaching, high school teaching, Higher Education, pervaded by a general concept with regard to government administration. It was not a speculative enterprise since the project was due to singular practical issues (Cunha, 2000a, p. 216, author’s emphasis).

Considering professional teaching and its interlocution with the State, Cunha (2000b) underscores that since 1937 the State was preparing itself for large scale initiatives, such as centralization undertaken by the Ministry of Education (MEC)¹³ and the 1942 *Organic Law*. The author (2000b) explains the reorganization of commercial teaching as a parallel

¹² The document *A reconstrução educacional do Brasil – ao Povo e ao Governo* was signed by 26 self-proclaimed pioneers in New Education (Cunha, 2000a).

¹³ The Ministry of Education and Health was established in 1930, renamed Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) in 1953, and Ministry of Education and Sports in 1985; in 1995, it became exclusively Ministry of Education (MEC).

system, within a post-basic level, divided into technical and higher education levels. The term 'technical' in educational legislation was introduced for an intermediate level within the division of labor.

The 1942 Law provides a relevant issue through the articulation of the other educational branches and degrees to facilitate entrances and exits. According to the author (2000b), the great innovations of the 1942 Organic Law included the displacement of professional teaching towards high school and the introduction of selection exams and aptitude tests for industrial teaching. Industrial schools foregrounded on the learning of a vocation-based occupation were thus distinguished from assistance-based schools.

According to Cunha (2000b), the school system's integration process, starting in 1930, revealed a dual system since it divided post-primary education (common to all) into two segments, or rather, secondary schooling for the formation of the elite classes and directed for higher education, and professional schooling for the training of qualified workers. The author, however, does not insist that such division was based on the classical division between manual and intellectual work since the latter was also taken up by the second cycle of professional courses to form industrial, agricultural and commercial technicians.

Marx's and Durkheim's conceptual references were underscored in the case of predominance of literature on Social Science. Yamamoto (1994) states that the Marxist approach was the main theoretical and methodological referential and several factors affected this stance such as the productionsite, the institution of the researcher and adherence to political ideology.

In their introductions, Manfredi (2002) and Moraes (2003) insisted on their option for Marxism-based analyses, dealing with issues on class struggle, capitalist production, hegemony¹⁴ and others. In fact such a preference is consistent due to the fact that these works were produced within the Sociology field and within a historical perspective. Research by Ribeiro (1986), Gitahy (1986) and Caetano (1986) also revealed the Marxist stance due to the fact that they narrate the history of the defeated, or rather, the workers. Cunha (2000a, 2000b) fails to declare openly his referential works. However, when he discusses professional teaching, the

¹⁴ Although discussions on these concepts for any area in Human Sciences are relevant, current text refrains from focusing on the matter.

reader is aware that Marxist works are extant, especially Gramsci and his idea on hegemony, which is actually the central approach also taken by Buffa and Nosella (1998). One of the main discussions on professional teaching between 1930 and 1940, especially between researchers, focuses on the duality of secondary education: general formation for the elite classes and professional formation for the poor classes, certainly related to the concept of class struggle.

Although Bontempi Jr. (1995) agrees with Yamamoto (1994) on the presence of Marxism in Brazilian educational historiography, he also insists on Durkheim's sociology. Durkheim's presence would be somewhat invisible since his concepts were rather implicit (Bontempi Jr., 2005). Durkheim may be perceived when one observes the functions of professional teaching. Ribeiro (1986) underscores that the main functions refer to control, followed by formation for the fledging labor market and the formation of the Brazilian worker. Moraes (2003) insists that political and entrepreneur interests underlay professional schools through a control of the labor process: the worker was formed according to capitalist needs so that capital would be reproduced. Buffa and Nosella (1998) reveal that modifications at the professional School of São Carlos received influences of social requirements throughout the years. Cunha (2000b) shows that industrial teaching in the 1940s was highly successful because it complied with the process of industrial development. Manfredi (2002) underscores that professional teaching within the reformulation of educational policies would modify relationships between civil society, workers' organizations, entrepreneurs and the State by a sharing of management.

Another production characteristic in the History of Education for the 1970s and 1980s is the utilization of long time incursions. Research by Cunha (2000a, 2000b), Manfredi (2003) and Buffa and Nosella (1998) manages the whole history of professional teaching. In spite of referring to this resource as long time incursions, the authors try at least to explain current issues, or rather, issues happening at the very instance of the research. This fact is clear in Manfredi (2002) on discussions on the hegemony of professional learning throughout the century, and in Cunha (2000b, p. 16) for whom "[...] the Vargas heritage in the educational field was deeply affected [...]" after the two administrations of Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

In the wake of such facts, one agrees with the analysis for the 1970s and mid-1980s:

The works under analysis still reveal a predominance to walk through the paths opened by the historiography of education. Of course, at the most, new data are added, rather than in-depth work on shady areas in which the Brazilian history of education lies. In my opinion, this is mainly due to the fact that most research is not the result of a true interest in historical investigation and in a true concern to historicize education as the object of investigation. It is the result of long time incursions to discover the origin of the issue under examination. These incursions do not trigger new and deep historical investigations (Warde, 1984, p. 5).

Distancing from renewal in the History of Education

The mid-1980s saw a renewal in the History of Education, with new types of interpretation and methodologies. According to Warde and Carvalho (2000, p. 10), the first aspect of change consisted in “[...] initiatives that tried to delve into inter-group relationships and in the day-to-day life [...]” based on ethnographic studies and on the New Sociology of Education:

Such re-definition favored a reflection on methodological and conceptual issues, posing historiographical discussions on theses, issues and procedures [...]. In this process, increasing problematization of the relationship between educational historiography and sources mainly took the main transformation role (Warde & Carvalho, 2000, p. 10).

According to Warde and Carvalho (2000), modifications in the History of Education resounded on intense conceptual and methodological reflections, whose aims consisted of

[...] penetrating the school’s ‘closed box’, grappling with its organization and day-to-day practices; revealing the perspective of educational agents; incorporating categories of analysis – such as gender –, and selecting themes – such as the teaching profession, teachers’ formation, curriculum and reading and writing practices [...] (Warde & Carvalho, 2000, p. 14, authors emphasis).

According to Carvalho (2003), the movement for the theoretical, thematic and methodological renewal in the History of Education followed

three main guidelines: the problematization of sources, the problematization of the relationships between gender and history; the incorporation of theoretical-conceptual references that underscore the historicity of the production site marked by the interlocution with the French New Cultural History.

Search for new sources mentioned by Ribeiro (1986), Caetano (1986) and Gitahy (1986) is conspicuous: reports by the directory of the Serviço de Ensino e Seleção Profissional (Sesp), publications by the Centro Ferroviário de Ensino e Seleção Profissional (Cfesp), *Revista do Instituto Racional de Organização do Trabalho* (Idort), newsletters by the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce, *Revista Ferroviária*, *Revista da Superintendência do Ensino Profissional*¹⁵, legislation on industrial teaching and reports of factory managers, newspapers (*A construção em São Paulo*—The Year Book of the State of São Paulo, *A plebe*, *Correio Paulistano*, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *Revista Polytechnica* and *Revista de Organização Científica*) and primary documents (*A educação pública em São Paulo – Inquérito* de 1926, Reports of the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios*, reports by the Serviço de Remodelação do Ensino Técnico). Moraes (2003) says that no documents are extant for the construction of day-to-day experience of the researched institutions and used regulations, function norms and programs from teaching institution plus the bibliography from the history of professional teaching. Buffa and Nosela (1998) researched documents at the Professional School and Town Hall, and from history archives of the Universidade Federal de São Carlos (UFSCar) and private archives; magazines and newspapers, interviews (the schools' former agents), legislation and literature on the school and professional teaching.

This is the end of the research's innovatory traits. Research developed during the 1980s particularly by Ribeiro (1986), Gitahy (1986), Caetano (1986) and Moraes (2003) tried to build new landmarks in the analysis of history: new sources, valorization of the history of the less favored classes, the urbanization and socialization processes in São Paulo and others. However, research production lagged behind the renewal of educational historiography.

¹⁵ The authors disagree on the name of the Superintendency, whether Teaching or Education, Professional or Technical etc.

Further, Catani and Faria Filho (2003) underscore investigation on race, gender, ethnicity, curriculum, school disciplines, reading practices, educational journals, school material and practices, students and childhood.

Research on the history of professional teaching fails to refer to the relationship between gender and education.

According to Lima & Fonseca (2003, p. 59-60), an investigation on research production in the History of Education reveal a strong trend “[...] towards the new History, particularly Cultural History”. According to Falcon (2006), in spite of emblematic discussions on Cultural History, its arrival has been marked by the acknowledgement of another dimension inherent to cultural reality. The latter dimension minimizes the separation between economic, political and cultural sites since effectively they are not divided: “[...] the dynamics of cultural and social relationships tends towards a mixture of these apparently homogeneous divisions and distinctions” (Falcon, 2006, p. 336).

According to Vidal, vicentini, Silva and Silva (2005), even if new trends, albeit restricted to the state of São Paulo, were indicated, previous explanations on the influences of the History of Education had been confirmed: the great influence on the New Cultural History, changes brought about by an approach to Cultural History and a decrease in the sociological trend have been observed during the 2000s. With regard to the first decade of the 21st century, Xavier, Tambara and Piunheiro (2011) remarked on the influence of Cultural History and the New Cultural History in the production of the History of Education.

As a rule, the New Cultural History is an extension of a perspective started by Cultural History¹⁶. Barros (2001, p. 56) remarks that a new conceptual range and displacement towards new approaches were built within this new perspective: “These approaches indicate a greater and greater increase in the perception of complexity on cultural aspects [...]” in which the dynamics of social and cultural relationships are more and more in the limelight.

According to Carvalho (2003), the New Cultural History gives great investigatory importance to cultural practices, agents and products as cultural objects. It actually formulated new issues since it questioned the

¹⁶ Cf. Barros (2001), Falcon (2006), Carvalho (2003), Xavier (2001).

use that agents do to cultural models and objects in their materiality. Issues on the history of the school emerged, such as school space, transmission of knowledge, school time, school agents, organization and normatization, factors sought in the materiality of sources, such as books, printed leaflets, exercise books, rules, magazines and others.

Relationships between practice, agents, objects and materiality would provide a series of concepts that has to be employed, especially representation and appropriation in *A História Cultural: entre práticas e representações* (1990), by Roger Chartier; school culture in *A cultura escolar como objeto histórico*, by Dominique Julia (2001); school type in *Sobre a história da teoria e da forma escolar* (1994), by Guy Vincent, Bernard Lahire and Daniel Thin; tactics, strategy and knowledge on doing in *A invenção do cotidiano* (1994)¹⁷ by Michel de Certeau.

The theoretical and methodological approach of the New Cultural History was not extant in the historiography of professional teaching. The several concepts and authors highlighted in research on the History of Education were not employed.

The reasons by which the New Cultural History was not incorporated by research that analyzed the history of professional history may have been due to three factors: part of the production was prepared in the 1970s, as in the case of some of analyses by Cunha (2000b) and Manfredi (2000); research was produced in other fields of research other than the History of Education, as those by Moraes (2003), Ribeiro (1986), Caetano (1986), Gitahy (1986); interpretation on which the authors based themselves to analyze the history of professional teaching. The first two factors indicate that it may not be possible to incorporate the New Cultural History due to distance in production site and period. However, the third factor has to be better investigated since it seems to have impaired the incorporation of new theoretical and methodological references. The fact that industrial development may be the pivot of initiatives of professional teaching, a common denominator in all the books investigated, may be one of the reasons for its distancing from the New Cultural History.

The influence of industrial development

Gitahy (1986) had reached the conclusion that a change would have occurred in the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* with regard to procedures on the

¹⁷ Dates of publication in portuguese.

professional qualifications for scientific teaching, based on rational teaching methods and selection, following the requirements of the industries. According to the author, the *Liceu* prepared workers completely, or rather, workers that would control all the transformation stages from prime matter to product, besides integral training through several disciplines, such as Portuguese, Mathematics, Geography, Physics, Chemistry and others. Further, in spite of its manufacturing characteristics, up to 1934, the school would contribute towards the formation of industrial professionals and collaborate in the development process of the city of São Paulo

Ribeiro (1986) concluded that the professional schools under analysis did not necessarily focus on industrial formation but on the organization of the labor market and society for the control of workers and their subjugation. Due to the qualification process “[...] only a small number of workers were admitted, which strengthened the idea that the factory was the true professional school” (1986, p. 78). Few data were used, but the author failed to give the total number of students that should be attended to or to characterize who could have been.

Caetano (1986) concluded that railway-training qualified and reformulated the worker’s profile and subjected him to the collective railway worker and thus to the process of capitalist production. On the other hand, Moraes (2003) provided three conclusions: 1) popular instruction and professional teaching favored the subjugation and discipline of the worker by the new society marked by factory conditions; 2) no divergences existed, as historiography suggested, between the several projects and political parties (Republicans, Liberals, Renovators), who stuck to the same ideals; within the educational field, as in other segments, the ruling classes, represented by the Renovators (Loureço Filho, Roberto Mange and others), would have used the state power to update their pedagogical strategies for the subjugation of the worker; 3) professional teaching and popular instruction were still fledging when one takes into consideration the number of schools and people who accepted the modernizing updating of capital. According to the author (Moraes, 2003), increase in the number of schools, classrooms and vacancies in state professional schools, in the *Liceu*, at the railway schools and at the Senai not ther met the population demand nor the industrial needs for qualified man power.

Buffa and Nosella (1998) concluded that the division between intellectual and manual workers and between managers and workers would be the main aspect to be analyzed in the case of professional schools. From the historical point of view, the modernization of labor demanded that the school, although developing from an assistance-based school to a technical one, would be stigmatized as destined for poor people.

Cunha (2000a, 2000b) developed the thesis that shattered the idea that professional teaching was not directed to the labor market. The establishment of the Senai (Cunha, 2000a) would posit professional teaching within factory standards, linking it to the Brazilian economic process for the substitution of imports. The above would explain the success of the school throughout the 1940-1980 period.

Manfredi (2002) analyzed the historical issues on professional teaching from the point of view of labor and its transformations throughout the years, which would affect professional teaching and discussions on the control and formation aims. According to Manfredi (2002), since primitive societies, the meanings and modifications of the concept of labor and professions were always the product of transformations in the economic order and of capitalism. These transformations affected the organization of labor, society and the working class since they organized the professions required for urban and industrial development.

According to the research works under analysis, changes in the production process (labor process, labor market, the development of capitalism by industrialization) were the defining factor of practices and requirements related to the supply of professional teaching. Urbanization triggered the transformation of the production process. It determined the shift from an assistance-type of teaching, based on traditional methods, towards a rational one, fore grounded on scientific methods. The mechanical interpretation that social conflicts were determined by the internal dynamics of the production mode, became dominant. The above has been underscored by Bontempi Jr. (2005, p. 58):

If in the Marxist view of social dynamics emphasis is not placed on the gradual and cumulative structural differentiation but on class conflicts, nevertheless, in this view, social change remains endogenous, since it is the internal dynamics of the production mode that leads towards the internal contradictions that thrust society towards conflicts.

In the case of professional teaching, the search analyzed preferentially refers to teaching aiming at industrial professions or, more exactly, at the supposed requirements of a type of teaching that underlies industry development.

According to Cunha (2000a), industrial teaching became one of the strategies to impair the development of the worker and to construct Brazilian man power and prepare the workers for the industries. The author states that the organization of industrial teaching was indispensable to attend to economic needs, such as the replacement of imports, issues with regard to World War II, the formation of technicians, the establishment of the Brazilian Steel Industry and others that required high technology: “The changes in Brazilian industry during World War II were decisive for the organization of industrial teaching as a system” (Cunha, 2000b, p. 121).

According to these authors, the initiatives that were not aimed at the industrial labor market or whose objectives were not linked to it had flopped due to the fact that they failed to be related to ‘modernization’ and to industrialization.

Following the chronological order of production, the authors used the references below: Moraes (2003) mentioned Ribeiro (1986), Gitahy (1986), Caetano (1986) as relevant references; Cunha wrote the preface of Moraes’s book (2003) and based himself on Buffa and Nosella (1998) for a section of his writings; Manfredi (2002) insists that she based herself on aspects of history and on quantity data by Cunha (2000a, 2000b). A sort of conformism occurred among the authors. When the historiography of Brazilian education in the 1970s and 1980s was mentioned, Bontempi Jr. (1995) used the term ‘agreement zone’ to refer to the situation where authors are their own sources and vouched their own conclusions.

As a rule, research on professional teaching was based on the utility of professional teaching for the country’s modernization and industrialization. Even though with excellent information (courses, programs, selection mechanisms, legislation), the conclusions focus on the labor market and on the economic/industrial development of Brazil. Commercial and agricultural practices were never mentioned comprehensively as occurred with industrial teaching. Consequently, professional teaching in the authors’ opinion would be restricted to the manufacturing industry, as focused by Cunha (2000b, p. 1-2):

Professional teaching dealt with in this book guides the student towards the labor force in industries and factories. The agricultural, livestock and commercial labor force was simply left out. Concentration within this segment of professional teaching is not merely due to its own characteristics but to the fact that most government policies have been inspired by its practices, problems and perspectives and may be extended towards other segments.

Final considerations

Between the 1970s and the mid-1980s, the historiography of professional teaching was in harmony with the production form developed in the History of Education, with similar characteristics for the period analyzed, interlocution with the State, predominance of approaches developed in the Social Sciences and guidance towards new sources.

However, since the 1990s, shifts in the History of Education towards Cultural History and the New Cultural History may be verified in the sources and in research works produced in the 1980s. On the one hand, if research, particularly the conclusions on the organization and functioning of the school, used official documents and the schools' internal documents, as by Buffa and Nosella (1998), on the other hand, these conclusions were based on the process of industrialization as a model to be followed.

Predominance of such a view in the historiography of professional teaching requires a bibliographical review that would favor the introduction of new interpretative references to understand it within the cultural milieu.

A team of researchers analyzed the important history of professional teaching in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. However, this fact did not allow that new routes would be revealed on a production based on changes within the field of the History of Education. Although certain experiences were analyzed in detail and qualified as innovatory and promising, the authors returned to the industrialization process as the factor that professional teaching should attend to, follow and lead.

The New Cultural History did not pervade historiography. It was not discussed in the post-graduate programs that investigated the history of professional teaching since the methods and references in the History of Education current since the 1990s were not employed. A new manner for the investigation of the History of Education started in the 1980s and

1990s although the new way did not reach entirely the history of professional teaching.

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