



## Historiography of Brazilian education: training and development field of the history of education in Brazil<sup>1</sup>

Dermeval Saviani

*Departamento de Filosofia e História da Educação, Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Cidade Universitária Zeferino Vaz, Distrito de Barão Geraldo, 13083-970, Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil. E-mail: dermevalsaviani@yahoo.com.br*

**ABSTRACT.** This paper is about the historiography of the Brazilian education starting with the consideration about the appearance and development of the field of history of education in Brazil covering five aspects: 1) preservation of the memory of the Brazilian education; 2) introduction of the subject History of Education in the curricula of the common schools and in the courses of pedagogy; 3) historiographic production about education; 4) organization of research groups in the history of education; 5) circulation of the production of the field of the history of Brazilian education covering the different forms of publicity consubstantiated in the different types of events and in the different types of publications in the area of history of education. Then, there is the consideration of the course of the historiography in the Brazilian education as a process of construction-deconstruction of the educational memory. Finally, in the last part, there is the critical appreciation of the historiography of the Brazilian education in the current situation.

**Keywords:** Brazilian education, history of the education, educational historiography, memory of the Brazilian education.

### Historiografia da educação brasileira: formação e desenvolvimento do campo da história da educação no Brasil

**RESUMO.** Este artigo trata da historiografia da educação brasileira começando pela consideração relativa ao surgimento e desenvolvimento do campo de história da educação no Brasil abordando cinco aspectos: 1) preservação da memória da educação brasileira; 2) introdução da disciplina História da Educação nos currículos das escolas normais e dos cursos de pedagogia; 3) produção historiográfica sobre educação; 4) organização dos grupos de pesquisa em história da educação; 5) circulação da produção do campo da história da educação brasileira compreendendo os diferentes veículos de divulgação consubstanciados nos diversos tipos de eventos e nas diferentes modalidades de publicações na área de história da educação. No segundo momento considera-se a trajetória da historiografia da educação brasileira como um processo de construção-desconstrução da memória educacional. Finalmente, no terceiro momento, faz-se uma apreciação crítica da historiografia da educação brasileira na situação atual.

**Palavras-chave:** educação brasileira, história da educação, historiografia educacional, memória da educação brasileira.

### Historiografía de la educación brasileña: formación y desarrollo del campo de la historia de la educación en Brasil

**RESUMEN.** Este artículo trata de la historiografía de la educación brasileña empezando por la consideración referente al surgimiento y desarrollo del campo de la historia de la educación en Brasil planteando cinco aspectos: 1) preservación de la memoria de la educación brasileña; 2) introducción de la asignatura Historia de la Educación en los currículos de las escuelas normales y de los cursos de pedagogía; 3) producción historiográfica sobre educación; 4) organización de los grupos de investigación en historia de la educación; 5) circulación de la producción del campo de la historia de la educación brasileña comprendiendo los diferentes medios de divulgación consubstanciados en los diversos tipos de eventos y en las diferentes modalidades de publicaciones en el área de la historia de la educación. En el segundo momento se considera la trayectoria de la historiografía de la educación brasileña como un proceso de construcción-desconstrucción de la memoria educacional. Finalmente, en el tercer momento, fue hecha una apreciación crítica de la historiografía de la educación brasileña en la situación actual.

**Palabras clave:** educación brasileña, historia de la educación, historiografía educacional, memoria de la educación brasileña.

<sup>1</sup>In preparing this article I resumed, in another arrangement, previous texts as listed in the references, especially Saviani (2005, 2009).

## Introduction

### Formation of the field of history of education in Brazil

Understanding 'field' as a professional area of common interest, whose members assume certain awareness of their belonging to that area, have affinities with each other and organize themselves around common goals, we can consider that the organization of education as a specific field dates back to the foundation of the Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE) (Brazilian Education Association) in 1924. An important initiative in the organization of the field were the National Conference on Education organized by ABE from 1927, interrupted in the New State, resumed in 1945 and again interrupted during the military regime installed in 1964.

The ABE was established in 1924 on the initiative of Heitor Lyra, having been part of the articulator group, besides Heitor Lyra da Silva, Francisco Venancio Filho, Everardo Backheuser and Edgar Sússekind de Mendonça.

Everardo Backheuser, reconverted to Catholicism in 1928, became one of the main leaders of Catholic education movement, even joining the New School pedagogical ideals. Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça, on the contrary, was a convinced atheist and remained so. Lyra Heitor da Silva died prematurely in 1926.

In the second entity management, sworn in on October 1925, ascended to the presidency the obstetrician Fernando Magalhães, with Catholic orientation, who came to lead the ABE, vying for hegemony with Ferdinando Laboriau Filho, which sought to link the ABE to a party political debate. Laboriau attended the presidency along with Magellan in 1926, succeeding him in 1927. Sussekind approached to Fernando Magalhães, when it came to prevent against the pretension of Laboriau, the political establishment of educational association. But he got closer to Laboriau, when it came to avoid linking the entity to Catholic proselytism which tended Magalhães. Francisco Venancio Filho remained equidistant from both groups.

Catholic and New School lived inside the entity until the Fourth National Conference on Education held in Rio de Janeiro, in December 1931, when there was the debate which resulted in the 'Manifest of the New Education Pioneers' released in March 1932. At the end of this year, even before the Fifth National Conference on Education held in Niterói between December 1932 and January 1933, Catholics were turning off in mass of ABE and ended up founding in 1933, the Brazilian Catholic

Confederation of Education that organized already in 1934, the I National Catholic Congress of Education.

As we will see, the history of education has been developing within the field of education, but only began to be configured as a specific field in a much more recent period. Its origin dates back to the creation of groups of studies and research in the 1980s with the backdrop of the postgraduate proposed in 1965 (CFE Opinion No. 977/65), regulated in 1969 (CFE Opinion No. 77/65) and implanted from 1970.

### First initiatives of building and preservation of educational memory

To identify the source of the area of the history of education in Brazil we must go back in time and consider, as a first aspect of the formation of the field, the initiatives of building and preserving the memory of Brazilian education dating back to the late nineteenth century and find anchorage in the Brazilian Institute Geographic and History, founded on 21 October, 1838. Following a positivist orientation the Institute valued the task to collect, to archive and to publish documents aiming to preserve the historical and geographical memory of the country. To illustrate, I highlight, by relevance and extent of the works, two features contributions of this vector that, in a way, inaugurate the study of the history of Brazilian education.

The first concerns José Ricardo Pires de Almeida (1989), honorary member of IHGB, author of the first systematic history of Brazilian education, *L'instruction publique au Brésil (1500-1889): histoire et Legislation*, Published in French in 1889 and translated into Portuguese only in 1989. The author of the work was a doctor, but he studied law for three years and he was an archivist of the City Council, besides assistant in the General Inspector of Hygiene of the Court. Hence, his ease in collecting documents and statistical data which supports his exposure of the course of public education in Brazil. In addition to citing passages of legislative documents and statistical in the body of the work and in footnotes, many of these documents are incorporated fully to the work. In the Portuguese translation the 29 documents that, in original, composed the footnotes of the Introduction of the book, whose object is the education in the colonial period, were gathered in an Annex, which also introduced, an index of 46 statistical tables that are distributed throughout the text.

The second highlight reports to Primitivo Moacyr, also linked to IHGB. As a lawyer and officer of the House of Representatives from 1895

until his retirement in 1933, has amassed over as bureau chief of discussions with the service of parliamentary documents. Anchorin himself in this experience, Primitivo Moacyr took literally the positivist motto 'the document speaks for itself'. Thus, he devoted himself to collect the documents and publish them in volumes, the first in *Coleção Brasileira da Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira* (Brazilian Pedagogical Library Brasileira Collection) in the Cia. Editora Nacional (National Publishing Co.); later, in the Imprensa Nacional (National Press) through the Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos (National Institute of Pedagogical Studies) (INEP).

A total of 15 volumes was published, thus distributed: *A Instrução e o Império (Instruction and the Empire)* - three volumes (MOACYR, 1936-1938); *A Instrução e as Províncias (Instruction and Provinces)* - three volumes (MOACYR, 1939-1940); *A Instrução e a República (Instruction and the Republic)* - seven published volumes (MOACYR, 1941-1942); *A Instrução Pública no Estado de São Paulo (The Public Education in the State of São Paulo)* - two volumes (MOACYR, 1942). The eight volumes concerning to the Empire, the provinces and the State of São Paulo were published in *Coleção Brasileira da Cia. Editora Nacional* (Braziliana Collection of National Publishing Company); the seven volumes of the Republic were published by the Imprensa Nacional (National Press), the initiative of the INEP.

Both the book Pires de Almeida as the 15 volumes compiled by Primitivo Moacyr become a reference for subsequent studies of the history of Brazilian education.

The concern with the preservation of educational memory will take over, from the configuration of the history of Brazilian education, as a specific area of research, the character of survey, identification, classification and cataloging of sources. This occurs especially from the 1970s with the implantation of post-graduate programs, becoming systematic projects from the 1990s with the establishment of research groups in the field of history of education.

#### **The subject 'History of Education' in the normal courses and pedagogy**

A second element that contributed to the organization of the field was the introduction of the subject 'History of Education' in the curriculum of teacher formation.

In 1928, under the Fernando de Azevedo Reform, was introduced in the curriculum of the Normal School of Rio de Janeiro (a school

specialized in forming teachers) the subject 'History of Education' which, in 1932, in the new reform led by Teixeira, took the name 'philosophy and history of education'. In turn, the curriculum of the Pedagogy Course, created in 1939, also included 'history of education' as one of its subjects. And in 1946, with the approval of Decree known as 'Organic Law of the Normal School', this teaching was structured at the statewide, with a curriculum that housed a subject called 'history and philosophy of education'.

The presence of the history of education in the formative curricula brought the need for developing textbooks that come to support the work of teachers. The first of these books was the book *Noções de história da educação (Notions of history education)* by Peixoto (1933), followed by the nuns Francisca Peeters and Maria Augusta Cooman (1936), Bento de Andrade Filho (1941), Theobaldo Miranda Santos (1945), Ruy de Ayres Bello (1945), Raul Briquet (1946), Aquiles Archêro Junior (1957), José Antonio Tobias (s/d.) and Tito Lívio Ferreira (1966).

Note that these textbooks tended, overwhelmingly, to minister notions of general history of education, dedicating a few pages to the history of Brazilian education that was valued, by the majority of the authors, like virtually nonexistent, unimportant, with almost everything still to do. Thus, the book by Afrânio Peixoto booked only 54 of the 265 pages to Brazilian education; Peeters and the nuns Peeters and Cooman, 9 in 151; Bento de Andrade, 3, among 272; Ruy de Aires Bello, 25 in 250; Theobaldo Miranda Santos, in 512 pages he dedicated 37 dedicated to Brazilian education, included in an appendix.

Exception to this general rule is the book of Tito Lívio Ferreira. Affiliated to the tradition of the Historical Institute and Brazilian Geographical, Tito Lívio rejects the idea of approaching the history of literature. For him

[...] History is not for or against anyone because the documents are not in favor or against. It writes itself with documents... in History there is no authority, but documents. And history does not exist before the historian writes it (FERREIRA, 1966, p. IX).

Understanding that the history of Brazil is divided into two periods: Portuguese-Brazilian history until 1822 and National History, from 1822 onwards, he dedicates the 287 pages of the book, divided into 67 short chapters, to the education since the Portuguese arrived until the moment of independence. Consistent with his theoretical affiliation he based his writing in extensive documentation.

From the 1970s it will emerge more consistent initiatives to prepare textbooks specifically geared to the history of Brazilian education differentiated, so, from the textbooks mentioned above that privileged the general history of education. Therefore, its production articulates with the development of research in the area, benefiting from them. In this case, there are the works by Otaíza de Oliveira Romanelli (1978), Maria Luisa Santos Ribeiro (1978) and Xavier et al. (1994).

More recently, seeking to incorporate, for didactic purposes, the multiplicity of research in the history of Brazilian education, lit was launched a collection in three volumes (STEPHANOU; BASTOS, 2004, 2005), bringing together 50 authors and 53 papers that seek to cover the entire history of Brazilian education, from certain cuts.

### The historiography production

The third element that played a decisive role in formation of the field of history of education in Brazil relates to the historiography production.

Systematic studies of the history of Brazilian education dating back to the aforementioned work of José Ricardo Pires de Almeida on the history of public education in Brazil, covering the period from 1500 to the year of its publication, in 1889. A new work of comparable great magnitude only came more than half a century later, in 1943. It is an important study of Fernando de Azevedo, *A cultura Brasileira (Brazilian culture)*, whose third part called 'A transmissão da cultura' (The transmission of culture) covers the history of Brazilian education from its origins to the date of its publication (AZEVEDO, 1971).

Notwithstanding the importance of these pioneering works and the importance they had in later production, setting the history of Brazilian education as a specific historiographical field is relatively new, dating from just over half a century. We can trace its origins in the rise of Prof. Laertes Ramos de Carvalho to the chair of history and philosophy of education at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters of USP for which contest submitted the thesis *As reformas pombalinas da instrução pública (Pombal's reforms of public education)* in 1952, this thesis came to be published in book form only in 1978 (CARVALHO, 1978). In this position, Laertes had as his Professor Assistant Roque Spencer Maciel de Barros that, while directing more to the philosophy of education, also produced works of interest to the history of education as his PHD thesis submitted in 1955 (BARROS, 1967), the thesis chair (BARROS, 1973) and especially his lecture thesis (BARROS, 1959).

In the exercise of the chair, Laertes proposed to some of his former students a research program covering certain basic themes in the history of Brazilian education. From this proposal emerged work as by Maria de Lourdes Mariotto Haidar (1972), João Eduardo Rodrigues Villalobos (1969), Heladio Antunha (1976), Jorge Nagle (1974) and, indirectly, Casimiro dos Reis Filho (1981). Although his research originated from the initial proposal of Laertes Ramos de Carvalho, the thesis of Prof. Casimiro was held later at PUC São Paulo, autonomously and independently of the USP group.

Complementary to the initiative of the teacher Laertes arose other contributions not directly related to the university teaching as by Fr. Seraphim Leite ([1938] 2000), Zoraide Rocha de Freitas (1954), Luiz Alves de Mattos (1958), Celso Suckow da Fonseca (1962), Fr. Leonel Franca (1952) and Geraldo Bastos Silva (1969).

With the institutionalization of the post-graduate programs, beginning in 1970, the researches in education, generally, and specifically in the field of history of education began to develop more systematically. In addition to specific studies produced in this period, I would highlight works of greater magnitude that sought to address certain aspects taking into account the entire history of Brazilian education, such as by Vanilda Paiva (1973), whose 6th edition, published in 2003, was revised and expanded; the trilogy on the history of higher education in Brazil, by Luiz Antonio Cunha (1980, 1982, 1988); and, more recently, another trilogy by Luiz Antonio Cunha about the history of professional education (CUNHA, 2000a, b and c).

The late 70s of XX century was a time of great mobilization of the educational field. The Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-graduação - ANPEd (National Association for Research and Post-Graduate Education) was founded in 1977; in 1978, the Centro de Estudos 'Educação e Sociedade' - CEDES (Study Centre 'Education and Society') was articulated whose minutes of the founding dated of March 1979; and in 1979 the Associação Nacional de Educação - ANDE (National Education Association) was created. The ANPEd as the representative entity of post-graduate and researchers in the field of education came to play an important role in organizing the field of history of Brazilian education when stimulating the organization of Working Groups (WG) in various areas of pedagogical knowledge. One of the first WGs to be organized was the History of Education, established in 1984, having been established as a specific space for discussions of the issues of the area as well as for the presentation and discussion of

production that had been developing mainly in the Post- graduation Programs. It should be noted, however, that the ANPEd WG is not exactly a research group, i.e., does not produce research, but only receives and organizes the work to be presented at meetings of ANPEd.

In fact, the post-graduation helped the increase in historical- educational research and at first (1970s to mid-1980s) with the implementation of areas of concentration in the history of education it is considered in isolation, it is associated with the philosophy of education. Secondly (mid-1980s to the 1990s) this process has been strengthened with the trend of organizing the production of knowledge by Research Groups (RG). Thus, research groups in the History of Education were emerging in different institutions and in different parts of the country. In this context, two years after the creation of RG ANPEd, the HISTEDBR was formed in 1986. Then the fourth element that had a decisive importance in shaping the field of history of education in Brazil emerged: Research Groups.

#### **The Research Groups in the organization of the field of history of education**

A sample of this phenomenon is given in the 'Dossier: History of Education' published in issue 34, December 2001, in *Education in Magazine*, from the Faculty of Education, UFMG (DOSSIÊ, 2001). Eight research groups based at the PUC Rio de Janeiro, at UNICAMP, USP, The Federal University of Uberlândia, PUC São Paulo, the Federal University of Mato Grosso, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte and the Federal University of Minas Gerais compose this dossier.

Exception for HISTEDBR that was structured in 1986, all these groups have emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century. It is also observed that, as a group of national character that stimulated the emergence of Working Groups in the history of education in different locations, the HISTEDBR is in the source of three research groups that comprise the aforementioned 'dossier': the Federal University of Uberlândia, the Federal University of Mato Grosso and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte.

In addition to the 'Dossier: History of Education', the same number of *Education in Magazine* brings a text (PERES; BASTOS, 2001, p. 221-227), informing the foundation, in 1996, of the 'Associação Sul-Rio-Grandense de Pesquisadores em História da Educação' (Grande-River-South Association of Researchers in History of Education) - (ASPHE). This entity has been holding regular

meetings at intervals ranging from annual to biannual, besides publishing since 1997, the magazine *History of Education*, every semester.

It is necessary to note that, in fact, the 'Dossier' published in issue 34 (December 2001) of *Education Magazine* is just a sample, since many other groups or research centers in the History of Education are established, scattered throughout the Brazilian territory. To get an idea of this magnitude is enough to mention that only among those linked to HISTEDBR contained 38 research groups based in 20 federal units' institutions (19 states and the Federal District). One of those groups that have played an important role in the development of the history of Brazilian education is the 'PROEDES – Programa de Estudos e Documentação Educação e Sociedade' (Program of Studies and Documentation Education and Society), from College of Education / UFRJ. It has been important because it houses a great and richness documentation composed of various institutional Archives and of leading educators, as well as, thematic and institutional Collections. And among the projects developed highlights the *Dicionário de Educadores no Brasil: da colônia aos dias atuais* (Dictionary of Educators in Brazil: from the colony to the present day) (FÁVERO; BRITTO, 2002), which is of great importance to the consolidation of the field of history of education in Brazil.

#### **Circulation of the field production on the history of Brazilian education**

The fifth important factor in the organization of the field of the history of Brazilian education process is the circulation of the results of studies and researches on the history of Brazilian education through different types of events systematically carried out on a regular basis and from various media publicity.

Among the events it is worth to mentioning initially the Meetings from ANPEd that by the year 2013 occurred annually and from that time they will be biennial. Within the ANPEd the WG2-'History of Education' receives entries of works that are selected by a Scientific Committee to be presented and discussed at the meeting for three days.

Since 1992, it has been conducted every two years, the Ibero-American Congress of History of Latin American Education. The first took place in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1992, followed by several others conducted in different countries of Latin America. The X Congress held in Salamanca, Spain, in 2012, and it is planned for May 2014, the eleventh in Toluca, Mexico.

Another series of events that are consolidated are the Portuguese-Brazilians Congresses of History of Education, also biennial. The first took place in Lisbon in 1996, and the following were held alternately in Brazil and Portugal. The X Portuguese-Brazilian Congress of History of Education will be held in Curitiba, in 2014.

Given the increasing density of the area of the history of education and in view of international exchange, particularly with Latin American countries, the need to create an entity that articulates the area nationally and represented in international forums was objectifying. Indeed, we were noticing that the co-educators of the history of Spain were represented by the Spanish Society for the History of Education; those from Portugal had as spokesperson the Section of History of Education of Portuguese Society of Educational Sciences; Chile also had its Chilean Society of History of Education. Thus, capping a process that extended for about four years, in October 1999 was created the *Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação* (Brazilian Society of History of Education) – SBHE, which started to hold, also every two years, Brazilian Congresses of History of Education. The first has already happened in 2000, in Rio de Janeiro, with the theme ‘Education in Brazil: history and historiography’. And the VII was held in Cuiabá in 2013, with the theme ‘Circuits and borders of the history of education in Brazil’. The advent of SBHE also gave rise to the realization, in São Paulo, in 2003, the XXV International Congress of ISCHE (International Standing Conference for the History of Education), organized by SBHE. It is important to note that the ISCHE congresses are annually realized.

Besides these congresses, other types of events multiplied such as the National Seminars from HISTEBR, conferences and regional workshops. The National Seminars from HISTEDBR have been conducted since 1991, reaching the ninth edition in 2012. From 2002 the group also began to realize the Regional Conferences, organized at the initiative of the local WGs and opened to the participation of the whole community of historians’ education across the country. In October 2013 it was held the XI Conference at the University of Western Paraná, Cascavel. And the XII Conference will be held in Caxias, Maranhão, with the central theme: ‘The structural crisis of capitalism and its impact on public education in Brazil’.

Another event that is also performing regularly and biennially is the Research and Education Congress in Minas Gerais. It was initiated in 2001; the series of these conferences reached the seventh

edition that was held in Mariana, 4-6 September, 2013, on the theme, ‘The writing of the history of education in Brazil and Minas Gerais’.

There are also a multitude of events called seminars, conferences, meetings, symposiums which are from initiative of several research groups with emphasizing the ASPHE, which, founded in 1997, held from 6 to November 8, 2013, its 19th Meeting on the theme ‘History of Education and Culture of the Pampa: dialogues between Brazil and Uruguay’.

As for media publicity the field of history of Brazilian education has specific journals represented by the following publications: Magazine *History of Education* edited by ASPHE since 1997, and it is now published on quarterly basis having reached, in 2013, the number 40 (May / August 2013); *Brazilian Magazine of the History of Education*, Edited by SBHE since 2001, currently also on quarterly basis, with the outstanding number 32 (May / August 2013); *History of Education Notebooks*, published since 2002 by the Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas em História e Historiografia da Educação (Center for Studies and Research in History and Historiography of Education) based at the Federal University of Uberlândia and, by 2008, it has annual periodicity, and from 2009 it has been biennial. Seventeen books have been edited until now and the current corresponds to the second half of 2013; Magazine *HISTEDBR Online*, Electronic publication of the National Group of Studies and Research ‘History, Society and Education in Brazil’, and it has been published quarterly since September 2000, plus special numbers. So far, it published 60 issues, with 52 regulars and 8 specials.

In addition to these specific journals there are also related magazines that publishes articles from the field of history of education such as *Brazilian Journal of History*, Official publication of the Associação Nacional de História (National Association of History) - (ANPUH); *Brazilian Journal of Education*, from ANPEd; *Brazilian Journal of Pedagogical Studies*, Edited by INEP; Magazine *Education & Society* from CEDES; Magazine *Research notebooks*, from Carlos Chagas Foundation; and some others magazines of Post-Graduate Programs in Education scattered throughout the country.

The movement of production in the history of education has also been done intensively by the publication of books authored by researchers in the field, individually or collectively, observing that the leading publishers of the country maintain regularly in their catalogs a reasonable amount of titles inserted or not in collections called ‘*History of Education*’, ‘*Memory of Education*’ or equivalent.

Thus, from the 1990s, anchored in research groups, emerged a new wave of development on the Brazilian educational historiography that is in development. One feature of this new phase is the differentiation of the sources and the dispersion of objects with concentration in studies of specific aspects, analyzed with a high degree of detail.

#### **The educational historiography as construction-deconstruction of memory**

We can do a reading of the historical production of Brazilian education, considering it as a process of deconstruction-construction of educational memory.

José Ricardo Pires de Almeida and Fernando de Azevedo, following both a positivist orientation, produced, however, stories of compromised education. Pires de Almeida endeavored to build an educational memory that exalted the achievements of the Brazilian Empire. Fernando de Azevedo, in turn, has endeavored to build a story tailored to the exaltation of the renewal movement whose leadership he considered himself invested. For this, he deconstructed Empire educational memory characterizing it as a period of negligence related to education in continuity with the pombaline stage that would have destroyed the Jesuit system without putting anything in its place.

The launch of the Manifesto of the Pioneers was preceded by a carefully prepared strategy aiming to become hegemonic the group that subscribed it. And, as a result, the writing of history education also came to integrate this strategy. It is in this context that the first compendium of the history of education was written in 1933 by Julio Afrânio Peixoto, one of the signatories of the Manifesto. This book dealt with the Brazilian education in two chapters. In the chapter called 'Brazil', it analyzed the Jesuit teaching in two pages, the Pombaline reforms in two other pages, devoting 16 pages to the Empire and 8 to the Republic. The chapter called 'New School' spans 26 pages exalting the New School educators made in different countries and presenting the New School as the path that would rescue the popular statement of abandonment that had been launched throughout our educational past. In the same direction goes the book *Lessons from history of education*, by Aquiles Archêro Junior highlighting Lourenço Filho and the Manifesto of the Pioneers. This demarcation between a past to be overcome, but rejected and a present that opened auspicious horizons by the advent of the renewal movement, it was also enshrined in the book 'Brazilian culture' of Fernando de Azevedo.

Meanwhile Catholics strove to give his version of the history of education producing textbooks for Normal Schools. If there was convergence between Catholics and the New School in the positive assessment of the Jesuit period and in the negative evaluation of Pombal phase as well as the first Republic and Empire, they diverged from there. If, as we have seen, Peixoto and Archêro Junior exalted the New School, the nuns Peeters and Cooman (1936), Ruy de Ayres Bello (1945) and Theobaldo Miranda Santos (1945) either silenced on this or just mention it so anodyne; and they saw as a positive moment in the post-30 period, the Francisco Campos reform, especially the Decree which reintroduced religious education in schools at primary and secondary level.

We see, therefore, that the field of history of education has begun to take shape within the field of education marked by hegemonic dispute between the two groups that have polarized the Brazilian education from the 1930s.

Among the various properties that characterize the concept of field, as Bourdieu, I emphasize what he considers less visible, thus described:

[...] all persons who are engaged in the field have in common a number of fundamental interests, namely, all that is linked to the very existence of the field, then an objective complicity that is underlying to all antagonisms (BOURDIEU, 1980, p. 115).

The ABE had engaged agents who, despite their differences, they shared an interest in education and, within the field, they took their positions, vying the its domain, such dispute which marked also the specific field of the history of education, opposing on one hand, the group of Catholics, and the other, the renovators.

When began to configure, from the 1950s, an education historiography of academic character, that opposition was subjacent. Laertes Ramos de Carvalho can be situated in continuity with the renovating. In teaching, in 1951 he succeeded to Roldão Lopes de Barros, who was a signatory of the Manifesto, the chair of Philosophy and History of Education at USP, which Roldão had assumed in 1931 at the Institute of Education. In 1938 that referred chair was transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy of USP, remaining Roland as the holder of it. In the scope of the research, Laerte succeeded, between 1961 and 1965, to Fernando de Azevedo as director of the Regional Centre for Educational Research, a branch of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research, created in 1955 by Anísio Teixeira. However, to the pragmatism of psychological orientation that marked the

magisterium of Roldão Lopes de Barros, Ramos de Carvalho opposes a philosophical orientation based on the idealism of Kant and Dilthey. And to the sociological history of positivist orientation by Fernando de Azevedo, Laerte opposes a philosophical history. For him the story must be understood (in diltheiano sense of the term). And to understand is to discover the spirit that animated the historical events. Education, in its historical manifestation, is the realization of an ideal.

[...] Looking for the history of education without seeking the intimate sense, the *philosophy*, which animated the purposes of the Reformers, is trying to build a castle on unsteady foundations (CARVALHO, 1978, p. 8).

Part of the research developed in the 1970s and 1980s sought, inspired by Marxism, to construct a critical memory of Brazilian education, deconstructing the New School memory to showing their ties with the liberalism and his belief in the social revolution for the educational revolution, masterfully expressed in the opening phrase of the 'Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education':

[...] In the hierarchy of national problems, none goes beyond in importance and the gravity of education. Even the economic character can dispute the primacy of national reconstruction plans" (MANIFESTO, 1984, p. 407).

The current hegemonic of the historiography that has been produced from the 1990s had been seeking to deconstruct the critical memory defined as 'predominantly Marxist cut', understanding that in the previous two decades would have been an "[...] accommodation between the historiography of Fernando de Azevedo standard and the Marxist one" (WARDE; CARVALHO, 2000, p. 26). Thus, the partnership between forms of Marxist social reading and the Azevedo model, the academic production between the years 1970 and 1980 would have resulted in a new "[...] standard of historical production" (WARDE; CARVALHO, 2000, p. 26).

This is the interpretative approach that has come to prevail from the late 80s of the twentieth century, projecting to the present day. But to what degree this interpretation expresses with property the features of the period considered? Without proceeding to criticism of this interpretation, it could become a new model whose conclusions, similar to what occurred with the so-called 'azevediano model' will be considered as truths not by its explanatory power, but because they are repeated endlessly.

To put in motion this critical exercise, I propose the hypothesis that, because we lived intensely that

period of the 70s and 80s of the twentieth century, we have not been able to get the enough distance to examine it without the exemption. Thus we are led to consider that would have been the triumph of the Marxist paradigm which, in fact, would be nothing more than an optical illusion. Incidentally, I must confess that I myself was a victim of this illusion in the primary periodization of Brazilian pedagogical ideas which I have sketched in the formulation of a research project on this topic in 1996. Intrigued by the imbalance presented by that proposed periodization, I suggested for the first time this hypothesis in a paper presented at the XXI Annual Meeting of ANPEd in 1998 (SAVIANI, 1999 [1999c?], p. 21-22), which led me to rephrase that periodization in the text "[...] The problem of periodization in the history of educational ideas in Brazil", presented at the *V Ibero-American Congress on Latin American History of Education*, held in Costa Rica in May 2001. So, instead of eight periods, the periodization was reduced to four. And the last three periods have been combined in one period characterized by the dominance of productivist pedagogical concept present between 1969 and 2001 and persisting until the present day.

Therefore, it is due to the supposed triumph of Marxism that was believed to have signed a new standard for historical production that did not break with 'azevediano' model. But could we, in this case, consider that it was established a new standard for historical production? Would we not be attributing to this stream of ideas more a superior power than it actually had?

It is true that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s a wide spread of Marxist ideas in the educational field. However, this was restricted to the progressive academic field and to the groups which were seeking a direct contact with the 'lower classes'. The organization of schools, the standard-setting bodies, the school practices and the ideological control itself were subordinate to what I am terming as 'productivist conception' of school, hegemony by theoretical structural-functional perspective.

It sounds exaggerated to speak of setting a 'standard historical production' because the spread of Marxist ideas are addressed to the critique of theory and pedagogical practice seeking an alternative that overcame themselves, not directing the focus to the debates to redefine the standard of the historiography production.

It is, therefore, necessary to review the image that is being built on the historiography of the 1970s and 1980s. Otherwise, the new researchers will have an understanding of them at least problematic, as illustrated by a text from a promising young



researcher who consider that 'the generation of 70 and 80, committed in the *awareness of the dominated classes*' would have placed the history of education in the political and doctrinal purposes service,

[...] redoubling the weight of the current task of building a history of Brazilian education really problematical and integrated to the general movement of humanities education (BONTEMPI JR., 2000, p. 47).

This statement assumes that there was a task to be undertaken by historians of the generation of the 1970s and 1980s which, not having been performed, the onus is on the new researchers who will have, in consequence, a redoubled task. But is it not a teleological and moralistic view of history, exactly the failure that the new historians accuse the Marxists?

In short, that is the question that this debate needs to clarify: when you go back to the 1970s and 1980s, would the new historians not have been guided by the ideological fight against Marxism, which impelled them more to judge and condemn than to understand and explain? Would not be desirable to disarm the look and try to understand, including how, why and under what conditions it sued the adhesion and the spreading of Marxist ideas in the educational field in the decades in question? That is, it seems, the very task of historical reconstruction affected to the historiography. A starting point for accomplishing this task can be the study of Mirian Warde (1993) who makes an inventory of the student production of the Post-Graduate Programs in Education in the period between 1982 and 1991.

Finally, I observe that the great welcome that have the authors like Roger Chartier in the new historiography of education that comes in support of the proposed revision of periodization that I have presented with regard to the last mentioned period covering the 1970s and 1980s mentioned. Considering that the concept of representation of Chartier is "[...] recovered from the tradition of Durkheim and Mauss" (WARDE; CARVALHO, 2000, p. 17) and that "[...] incorporates the new knowledge of the sign that, from Saussure, discard the instrumental conception of language" (WARDE; CARVALHO, 2000, p. 18) the critical interpretation of the historiography of the 1970s and 80s itself gives an indication of the persistence of the theoretical framework that I called 'structural functionalism' and that, according to my hypothesis, would be the base of 'productivist conception of education' covering the entire period from the 1960s to today.

The critical slant that the followers of the orientation that now overcome in the history of Brazilian education make to the orientation considered 'predominantly Marxist cut', which would have prevailed in the academic literature of the 1970s and 1980s, can also be measured in a book published in 2001 in which states that "[...] the end of the 1970s and 1980s, in Brazil, were deeply affected by the Marxist influence in educational studies [...]" (LOPES; GALVÃO, 2001, p. 36.). For the authors, the works of Marxist current used the sources only to endorse what has been previously knew,

[...] maybe some of us remember the feeling that there was little to be researched because Marxism, the dialectical and historical materialism, the capitalism, the modes of production, the class struggle has already explained everything... (LOPES; GALVÃO, 2001, p. 37).

And they finish up, in an incisive way:

[...] Another consequence that the penetration of Marxist vulgate brought to the History of Education is that, like any other theoretical framework that becomes hegemonic in a particular field, its premises functioned as a kind of profession of faith (LOPES; GALVÃO, 2001, p. 39).

From there, they refer to the latest trend under the name of New History, and particularly New Cultural History highlighting its strengths and doing some alerts.

But if 'any theoretical framework that becomes hegemonic in a particular field' converts its premises in 'a kind of profession of faith', then, when the 'New History' became hegemonic, should also be considered as a vulgate whose premises is now operating as a kind of profession of faith. Thus, the charge itself back against the accuser.

It seems to be happening, then, that very phenomenon of the field, referred by Bourdieu: the dominant group fears the rise of a new trend and tries to save the situation conquered.

Indeed, as acknowledged by other work, the HISTEDBR,

[...] provoked the opposition of the researchers which were more engaged in the conceptual and methodological renewal process of the history of education. These researchers, most of them connected to the ANPED, WG saw a threat to their project (CARVALHO, 2000, p. 931).

And the same author will recognize that conflicts between the two groups eased due to many factors linked to the development and strengthening of the area of the history of education, culminating in the

foundation of the Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação (Brazilian Society for the History of Education–SBHE) (cf. CARVALHO, 2000, p. 931-932).

Indeed, in the foundation of SBHE prevailed that other field property considered by Bourdieu as less visible:

[...] all persons who are engaged in a certain field have in common a number of fundamental interests, namely, everything that is connected to the existence of the very field: hence an objective complicity that is underlying in all the antagonisms (BOURDIEU, 1980, p. 115).

I think this was possible because of the commitment of the HISTEDBR in the ‘disinterested search for truth’ that Marx referred, which allowed him to maintain a spirit of tolerance and a pluralistic attitude in the theoretical debate. In fact, as I wrote in another text, from the moment that the new trend began to invade the field of educational historiography, the HISTEDBR remained attentive to issues that were raised understanding that, instead of comfortably join the new wave that sought to hegemonize the field of history of education, it was necessary a further discussion, without dogmas or prejudices of any kind. This strategy allowed the HISTEDBR came to contribute significantly to the development of the area. Its position prevented that set up the subject in an artificial unanimity and less consistent resulting from an incomparable adherence to a particular understanding that sought to impose itself as a kind of unique thought. Thus, we conclude that the performance of HISTEDBR was crucial to ensure that the debate that allowed to keep oxygenated the area of History of Education.

Establishing itself as a space in which no theoretical perspective is ‘a priori’ interdicted, the HISTEDBR came to take a not inconsiderable contribution to the organization of this field, to its historiography and to the development of pedagogical ideas in Brazil.

Finally, we can consider that the advent of the SBHE provided a greater degree of cohesion to the field of history of Brazilian education, staying in the background the infighting between the various currents and trends.

## Final considerations

### Current situation of the historiography of Brazilian education

The history of education has developed as an area for teaching character and parallel and even in

the margins of the historiographical investigation. Indeed, as it was common in the case of other subjects in the area of foundations of education, such as Philosophy of Education, Educational Psychology, and Sociology of Education, that were recruited teachers from their formation courses in Philosophy, Psychology and Science social, respectively and in the case of the history of education that did not happen. Never it was considering to recruit teachers of History of Education from the graduates in courses of history, even because there was no space, then, for the history of education.

Given these antecedents, the History of Education set up as a field cultivated predominantly by researchers from the area of education, formed in pedagogy courses. Thus, historians, generally, end up not to include the education among the fields of historical research, as illustrated by the book *Domínios da História; ensaios de teoria e metodologia (Fields of history: essays in theory and methodology)*, organized by Ciro Flamarion Cardoso and Ronaldo Vainfas (1997). The work consists of nineteen chapters distributed and at no moment appears reference to the history of education.

This example is paradigmatic also because the introductory text called ‘History and rival paradigms’, by Ciro Flamarion Cardoso, had been preliminarily presented by the author at the First Seminar of HISTEDBR conducted in 1991 and published in 1994 in the journal *Education & Society* titled “[...] Paradigms rivals in the current historiography [...]” (CARDOSO, 1994 p. 61-72). However, this text reappears in the introduction of the book no mention having been made, either to their prior presentation at an event in the field of history of education, whether to the previous publication, which makes even clearer the non-recognition of education as one of the areas of history by the historians.

However, the configuration of education as a recognized area of academic research was due to the proximity to the related fields of the humanities, consolidating in this context in that it moved away from pedagogy understood as science of and to educational practice. Thus, while the Post-Graduate Programs in Education showed all their strength, the Pedagogy Course languished and struggled in a crisis of such depth that projects an impression that it will never get it out.

In this context especially over the last decade of the twentieth century the researchers-educators who were specialized in the history of education have made a great effort to acquire competence in the historiographical context in order to establish a

dialogue on equal terms with historians in a movement that goes from the historians of education, as it were, to 'historians craft' and not in reverse.

The recognition of the commitment of the historians of education should not, however, obscure the real theoretical difficulties. It would seem that, even on the mentioned effort in putting the news in day with the advances in the field of historiography, is detected a tendency to adhere very rapidly to innovative waves that supposedly found there. It must be admitted, however, that this openness to new objects, new problems, new methods and new sources has produced a greater specificity to the discipline *history of education*, by coating of scientific legitimacy and gaining recognition among the research community.

The observed improvements were not made, however, without risks. By joining very quickly and without further critical consideration to the researches lines that became hegemonic in the field of historiography, an issue that needs, at least, to be made arises: in this movement, beyond a certain dispersion and fragmentation would not have the history of education, after all, seconded the specificity of its object? Thus, paradoxically, while the subject formally acquired specificity, materially its specificity is diluted. Indeed, making the history of the school routine, of the representations of school actors, of gender relations in schools, of architecture school, on school time and even school knowledge is a way of making the history of education? It does not seem that studying these objects we are studying something that is in education that lies around it leaving with that, to study the education itself? The issue of time, for example, has been object of detailed studies in the context of the history of educational institutions when taking, for example, a boarding and describes the time distribution by the various practices regulated by that institution as personal hygiene, prayers, cleaning the rooms, meals, studies, classes, games, rest, time for the obligatory activities and free time, etc. But the essentiality of time as something inherent in the pedagogical work that defines the course (curriculum) of educational action determining the degree to which the objectives of teaching practice may or may not be achieved, this has not been the subject of increased investigative attention. But if, as it has been demonstrated within the economy, time is the measure of the value of work, would not be the case to investigate the educational time as a measure of the value of

educational work, that is, as a determining factor of the quality in education?

After the initial phase marked by euphoria with the new objects, it is time to inquire about the degree to which these new objects coincide with the very object of the history of education since this is the condition to a branch of knowledge become autonomous and is recognized as an independent scientific subject (SAVIANI, 1999a).

Another aspect to be taken into account is that, despite the considerable development of research in the history of education, during the last decade, such research did not actually exert influence on the teaching of the subject in the pedagogy course, which led me to write an brief commentary called *Sobre a pesquisa e o ensino de história da educação brasileira (About the research and the teaching of the history of Brazilian education)* (SAVIANI, 1999b). In the vigorous development of historical and educational research in the last twenty years have prevailed specific analyzes characterized by particular, microscopic and fragmentary clippings of the objects of historical and educational research. It is, however, from synthetic studies that the advances in research field may integrate the school programs, enabling its socialization and, consequently, a higher level of knowledge of the history of Brazilian education.

This observation stems from the understanding that, with regard to the relationship between research and teaching, one must not lose sight that this is different practices with also different goals. As a researcher of the history of education my goal is to develop the subject dabbling in the unknown to make it known. Already, as a professor of history of education, my goal is to develop the student allowing for the history of education, he acquires a clearer understanding of the educational reality in its multiple relationships. Therefore, although they are activities that should not be separated, it is not subordinate to each other. If, for example, as a researcher, I dedicate myself to the study of the nineteenth century, and at the time that I teach the subject history of education, I focus in this century; it results in a gap in the formation of the students. The same will occur if, for be researching the history of educational policy, I fail to include in the programming of teaching the subject, the history of educational institutions. This is why I believe that, for the purposes of teaching, it is necessary a synthetic and holistic approach.

In short, the systematic teaching of the subject of history education is an essential element in the construction of the educational memory. However,

education policy tends to second the importance of historical studies. In fact, it is generalized the perception that the history of education, as a subject, tends to disappear from the curriculum of pedagogy courses and, a fortiori, of teaching courses. And I sometimes find that among themselves the historians of education manifest the tendency to conform to this situation assuming that the cultivation of this area of teaching and research will focus the Strictu-Sensu Post-graduation courses. However, if the history of education is increasingly fragile in undergraduate courses, more and more the post-graduation courses will receive students with a no introductory preparation in the area, which will make it ever more difficult the formation of qualified staff. Thus, it settles a vicious cycle that militates against the consolidation of the production process of a consistent knowledge in the history of education.

On the other hand, the research, always starting from the previous productions, is a collective process that requires submitting to criticism not only what had been previously established by previous researchers, but also the own findings; and consequently, instead of succumbing to the attractions of the game of construction and deconstruction of memory, it should restore what seems, today, out of fashion: the disinterested search for truth. As noted Hobsbawm (1998, p. 8) “[...] without the distinction between what is and what is not, thus, it can have no history [...]”. He adds:

Anyway, the relativism will not make in the history anything but than it does in the courts. If the accused in a murder case is guilty or not, depends on the evaluation of the old positivist evidence, since he has such evidence. Any innocent reader who is in the dock will do well in turning to it. The guilty lawyers are responsible in appealing to postmodern lines of defense (HOBSBAWM, 1998, p. 8-9).

So, if we want to advocate the cause of the history of education as a consolidated field of production of consistent knowledge, it is useful to resume the conception elaborated by Marx who departed from the furthest point which was reached by the modernity expressed by the philosophy of Hegel, who made his criticism and reversed the terms the problem posed by the modern thought which repudiate the idealism. For this radical critique he introduced a new realism, which obviously cannot be interpreted as a return to the objectivity of the pre-modern metaphysics. We enter now into a new understanding of objectivity that has benefited from the incorporation of all the critical elements carried out by modern philosophy. And

this critical understanding of objectivity is an achievement that historiography cannot refuse; otherwise it is going to enabling as a scientific enterprise.

Here is the way to go for our post- graduation course and for our research groups linked to the field of history of Brazilian education.

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