

THE CHANGING OF THE POWER STRUCTURE IN THE EDUCATION OF
APPRENTICE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

A transformação na estrutura de poder na educação dos aprendizes na segunda metade de Século XIX

Katalin Vörös¹

ABSTRACT

The education of apprentices changed radically thanks to industrial revolution and the new mentality during the 18-19th centuries. The emergent power structure transformed the relations of individuals, family and state. The forceful change arose in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century. The Industry Act of 1872 disconnected the last stone of the old order with the abolition of guilds. The laws were codified one by one which ensured the literacy of citizens, the liberty of the industry and prosperity of the country. Institutionalization of the education of apprentices entailed extension of specific disciplinarian actions of school to the apprenticeship of the prospective craftsmen. The extended school age, that was the huge result of the period, eventuated the extension of the childhood, moreover the childhood of the apprentices. The special status of apprentices is particularly suited for illuminating the cultural-historical alteration of notion of childhood, adolescence, and discipline.

Keywords: education of apprentices, discipline, childhood, adolescence

RESUMO

A educação dos aprendizes transformou-se radicalmente graças a Revolução Industrial e as novas mentalidade ao longo dos séculos 18 e 19. A estrutura de poder emergente transformou as relações dos indivíduos, família e Estado. A transformação emergiu forte na Hungria na segunda metade do século XIX. A lei industrial de 1872 foi o último ataque às velhas ordens ao abolir as guildas. As leis foram codificadas uma a uma, garantindo a alfabetização dos cidadãos, a liberdade das indústrias e a prosperidade do país. A institucionalização da educação dos aprendizes implicou em ações disciplinares escolares para a formação dos futuros artesãos. A idade escolar prolongada foi o grande resultado do período, resultando na extensão da infância, precisamente na dos aprendizes. O status dos aprendizes é interessante para entender as transformações das noções de infância, adolescência e disciplina.

Keywords: educação de aprendizes, disciplina, infância, adolescência

The issue of the Hungarian education of apprentice are analysed two ways: on one hand, the changing discourse of the childhood and youth, on the other hand, the issue of discipline. The childhood, the youth and the discipline are such notions of culture that have been transforming and evolving during the history of the mankind. If these notions are approached historically, constant definitions can not be created. The study of Michel Foucault, *The Discipline and Punish* demonstrated that self-control and discipline are results of the natural accompany of the civilizing process, so the mentality of the second

¹ PhD student at “Education and Society” Doctoral School of Education, University of Pécs. In 2014, joined the Department of History of Education and Culture of the Institute of Education of the University of Pécs as an assistant lecturer. E-mail: xvoros.kata@gmail.com

half of 19th century was only one step of long alteration of these notions. What thus are the reasons these notions together discuss in relation to education of apprentices? The apprentices' status were changed, both the craftsman and the school had control over them, respectively they were simultaneously students and employees by means of the liberal politicians' acts. The altering economic and educational system involved the new modern structure of discipline and control that led to several conflicts in their life. Institutionalization of the education of apprentice entailed extension of specific disciplinarian actions of school to the apprenticeship of the prospective craftsmen. The extended school age, which was the huge result of the era, eventuated the extension of the childhood, moreover the childhood of the apprentices.

The changing concept of the discipline and the idea of childhood

One of the most important implements of act of the power is the standard-setting discipline from the Enlightenment, which plays an essential role in the life of the (vocational) schools. The body as the object of power is not recent, but the measure of the control has been increasing since the 18th century. The control “exercised according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space, movement.” (Foucault 1991. 137.) Foucault calls discipline those “methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility”. (Foucault 1991. 137.)

The social and economical process in the 19th century transformed the way of living, and the thinking about child and family. The value of child was being grown by the family and the society. The little child got step by step into the centre of interest of the family. The emotions of the parents intensified also, so they considered the children as the guarantee of financial situation and the future of the family. At this time the “investment” into the child did not happened for the child's own sake. (Pukánszky, 2002. 16.)

„The dichotomy and ambivalence characterized the idea of child in the 19th century. To the little children were turned more attention than before, but the adolescents were not understood. The puberty was regarded as a critical period by the physicians, teachers, parents alike – even Rousseau in the 18th century. [...] The adolescence was considered as a stage of life which is dangerous not only to the individual but to the society.” “The poisonous or black pedagogy” was born also in this time. The educational literature claimed that the behaviour defects could remedy by intimidation and deterrence. (Pukánszky, 2002. 17.) The puberty was harder to define than the childhood both for 19th century man and for the later researcher. Thanks to it, the cultural historical research ignored puberty much longer than childhood. Adolescents were believed to be adults because they could be apprentices, workers, farmers, students, even married. The members of lower social class often started to work at young age (12 years old or earlier) even in 18-19th centuries. (Frijhoff, 2012. 19-20.) In the social practice, the *discovery of adolescence*² came about with the expansion of schooling at the beginning of the 20th century.

² G. Stanley Hall declared the *discovery of adolescence* as a new age for the sciences in 1904.

By the end of the 19th century people's way of thinking gradually transformed; their notion about the child also changed, so the 'discovery of the child' really came to pass. This was at the same time as the 'externally directed man' who is no longer able to give his children such eternal guidance that could direct their activities reliably under all circumstances. The Institutionalized education and the opinion of their peers played a growing role in children's lives. The social role of children grew and parents became increasingly aware of the necessity for education of high standard. (*Pukánszky, 2002. 26-27.*)

Despite the new elements of pedagogy and the idea of childhood in the 19th century, we cannot speak of a unified idea of childhood or discipline. In addition to the new paradigms, the previous traditions partly further lived in public opinion.

The new framework of education of apprentices

In the second half of the 19th century Hungary was part of the biggest state of Central Europe, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a dual state structure and it was created by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. It consisted of two independent and equal states with a common ruler, common foreign policy and common army and navy. However, each country had its own home affairs including its own education policy. It was the time of the birth of the modern economic and civil society. The industrial revolution covered Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, too. The modernization and the development of economy started nationally and locally of which vocational education became an important instrument. For the nation-states, the education system was a modern instrument to develop the competences of citizens in a wider sense, including work related competences.

Controlling and discipline meant an entirely new issue for the mass of the children who entered the institutionalizing education. The formal education of apprentices goes back to the 18th century. Previously for centuries the training of the apprentices organized by the guilds that was a generally accepted custom.³

Following the edicts of Joseph II, art schools running on Sundays and on feast days were set up throughout the country. At the same time in the 1780s the terms of apprentice contracts included the condition that the youth had to go to school beforehand for at least two years to gain elementary knowledge. In terms of the enlightened absolutist legislation it was determined by regulation that a master was only able to liberate those apprentices who could officially verify their attendance of drawing schools for one year. Nevertheless, the will of the central power spread over the narrow layer of the industrial society, as was proven by the September 25 1795 edict, which predicated more strictly the obligatory attendance of standard and drawing schools for apprentices. (*Mészáros 1995. 31.*)

³ The guild-like education continued in a three-step system until the end of the 19th century: the candidate had to check in at the chosen guild, where he wanted to learn the certain craft. The guild corp registered him and then came a (more or less) 3 years apprentice time. After that the young man got an 'internship book' and he had to practise his future profession in areas set by the guild. After the 'internship years' he returned to his master where he made his masterpiece, which was judged by the so called 'artwork-visual-masters', assigned by the guild corp. If they found the masterpiece proper and if the young man was proved to be hard-working and honest to the last, he was liberated and pronounced a master. (*Erdődy, 1999. 151.*)

In the era of reform the development of Hungarian industry was seen as a tool to set up the education of the industrial layer of society. The Industrial Association (Iparegyesület), which was among others hallmarked by the name of Lajos Kossuth, worked out several plans regarding vocational education (master-servant schools, Sunday remedial schools, professional classes and in-service trainings, Industrial School etc.), but most of these only applied to a small proportion of craftsmen. (*Fericsán*, 1999. 29-45.) Both the National Industrial Association and the endeavors of central authorities took away the practice of industry, apprentices and servants from the guild-frames, and within this from the masters' power. On a legal level the demolition of industrial guild-frames began - thanks to the 1840:17 rubrica³ – and the neoabsolutism it followed⁴. The disposal of the guilds was accomplished with the industrial act of 1872, which was to abolish the last stones of the old system.

The dramatic changes of Hungarian vocational education happened in the second half of the 19th century. The Act 38 of 1868, which was drafted by József Eötvös, was created in the spirit of liberalism. The Act of elementary school education was the first and one of the most important steps of the modern educational system. The children's lives connected with the school thanks to the installation of compulsory education. The majority of them were given a family education, but in the second half of the 19th century many of them got into a highly regulated hierarchical system. The new social space (the effects of peer groups, teachers' expectations etc.) which they had to fit into, a number of challenges addressed to children and adolescents. (Nóbik 2002.)

At time of the 1867 Compromise, leading Hungarian political and economic actors were supporters of liberalism and the capitalist free enterprise. The principles were laid down by the ideologists of the national reform movement; the ideas of Friedrich List and Michel Chevalier fundamentally influenced the thinking of Hungarian statesmen (Kövér 1982.). Liberalism, in addition to positivism, such as the ideology of modernisation of the 19-20th centuries declared for continuously, undiminished human development. Parallel with these, the work and the time became a fundamentally disciplinary power in the modern industrial society. (Németh 2007.) Foucault's writing made clear the importance of modern work to the mentality; it was defined as the new motive power of external and internal discipline of body. The institutionalizing, modern vocational education – even today - was dedicated to the world of work organization that was an integral part of well-organized state control process. It played an important role in the development of the normative behaviour. Thus, 'if a territory of human activity becomes institutionalized – like education -, it inherently means that it comes under social control.' (L. Berger – Luckmann, 1998. 83.)

The industrial law of 1872 and 1884 meant the new framework for the industry and Vocational Education and Training. The structure of power took shape over the text of the law that was in charge by the legislature. The industrial law of 1872 abolished the guilds and thanks to it, the more hundred years way of the vocational education ended. The law of 1872 (8.) did not indicate the qualification/ make a qualification condition to the business which eliminated an important motivation for the mass apprenticeship. 'Every adult - or person pronounced an adult – can practise any kind of craft – even trading -

regardless of sex, within the barriers of law anywhere, independently and free all over the territory of the Hungarian Crown.⁵ Even the employed industrial workers did not have to be qualified or have a certification to perform their work. The law exonerated every industrial worker and business people from all the restrictions. Henceforth every individual craftsman could have employed apprentices, which was a notable improvement in technical training.⁴ The importance of acquiring elementary knowledge can also be found in this law: it is the responsibility of the craftsman to make any illiterate apprentices in his care learn to read and write. Once the young student possesses these skills, then it is also the responsibility of the master to send him to remedial school or industrial school. "The craftsman is bound to make his student train in the industry he practises and learn morals, order and good work ethics."⁵ According to the law, parents responsibly of schooling devolved on the craftsmen. If they failed to fulfil the obligation, a fine was imposed between 20-200 forints (on the parents). (Nagy 1999. 20.) The fine (penalty in money) was as a disciplinary of 19th century. In a liberal state the comprehensive idea is not faith or power but law. Punishment is not power act rather than contractual obligation of the state that is executed in accordance with the law. In this time power was not individual (as at time of absolutism) but institutionalized. (Garland 1997. 136-139.)

The master had a patriarchal relationship with his apprentice; namely "the apprentice belonged to the master's house and he (the apprentice) had to be attended in case of illness" and the apprentice "was obliged to do that the craftsmen or the store manager entrusted to him; if he lives in the master's house and victualed, he will be under the paternal supervision of the master until his 18th birthday."⁶ It can also be understood from the 1872 and 1884 acts that apprentices could in principle rent a room or a bed, which might have loosened the 'feudal bonds' of the master-servant relationship.

The crisis of 1873 and the subsequent economic depression led most European countries to change direction on economy policy. Anti-liberal social and political schools of thought sprang up; they demanded the regulation and restriction of capitalist enterprise- with a view to assisting those who were unable to compete. Liberalism thus remained the fundamental principle of official economic policy. In the light of the economic difficulties, however, the state was required to intervene in a more direct manner. The apprentice education was hardly criticized. A budapesti ipari kamara arról számol be ekkor, hogy a képzettség becsületének hanyatlása miatt fogy a tanoncokat tartó mesterek száma. (Nagy, 1999. 21. o.) Both the surveys made by the National Industrial Association⁹ and the works of Adolf Szabóky and Károly Kelety¹⁰ prove that after 1872 the situation of the Hungarian crafts industry reached a point of crisis. According to the data of Szabóky, the number of the craftsmen dropped from 247034 to 189160 between 1870 and 1877 in Hungary (Víg 1932. 194.). In response to the pressure from various national actors, the government introduced the industrial law of 1884. The industrial law of 1872 and the "lassiez fair" were blamed for the craftsmen's immorality, undisciplined, lax apprentices, even the increase of labour, extinction of corporative attitude and decline

⁴ 1872:VIII. tc. § 40.

⁵ 1872:VIII. tc. § 42.

⁶ 1872:VIII. tc. § 46.

of demand in 1870s. (Víg 1932.) The lack of discipline, moral decay in relation to the apprentices was returning again and again as a topic in the social discourse.

We should, however, not think that the law born in the liberal spirit of 1872 could have really meant freedom for apprentices and industrialists. If the tool for spreading and strengthening freedom is regulation, this itself leads to a paradox. The crisis of 1873 was the catalyst that led to the realization of it all over in Europe. The norms and the control/supervision to the adequate, proper function of economy and society were necessary. The role of the state was intensified from 1880s, it could prove the industrial subsidies prescribed in the law of 1881, 1890, 1899 and 1907 included 15 –year exemptions on tax and duties for industrial plants as well as railway transport and customs concessions even more the social services.⁷

The dream of 1872 as Péter Tibor Nagy defined, realized in the industrial law of 1884. (Nagy 1999.) The new law clarified in more details and regulated its predecessor. Regarding vocational training it was a milestone that 'In a town where there are at least 50 apprentices but no school for them, the town is obliged to provide the apprentices with extra courses'¹². Their maintenance is primarily the task of the given community but they could also look to state support. The attendance of vocational schools was obligatory for all apprentices and according to the industrial act the liberation of servants was bound with completing the school. The attendance rules for the apprentice school did not change from the 1872 law.

The act of elementary school education and the compulsory education of apprentices unambiguously pointed to the nationalization of education. The state was intervening into the life of the individual and the family. The law of 1884 provided the supervision of establishing apprentice schools; they were subordinated to the district superintendent. The development of the monitoring/supervision system contributed to the extension of the power of the state to this field of the education.

The Hungarian board of the vocational education constituted two ministries: the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Education. The main council (so called Iparoktatási Tanács) was created successfully in 1892. The procreation of the Industrial Education Council was a great leap forward to the institution/organization of the modern vocational education and to the statism (etatizmus). Two ministries deputed the members of this council: the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Education and Religion. From that time the two ministries wielded the supervision of the VET. The secondary vocational education was under control of the Ministry of Trade, but the lower institutions belonged to the Ministry of Education. (Víg 1932.)

Thanks to the Council, a regulation and curriculum were made in 1893 and were in force in apprentice school until 1924. The regulation of 1893 further regulated the lives of the apprentices. A hierarchically structured surveillance system of disciplinary power was built up/ expanded. The masters and teachers meant the lower level of this system and the ministry meant the highest level.

⁷ The Hungarian historian Gábor Gyáni wrote about the in more detail in his study: Gyáni, Gábor (1999): *Könyörületesség, fegyelmezés, avagy a szociális gondoskodás genealógiája*, *Történelmi Szemle* 1-2. sz. http://epa.oszk.hu/00600/00617/00003/tsz99_1_2_gyani_gabor.htm (2012. 12. 03.)

Apprentices under the supervision of school

The improving new educational and vocational educational system created a brand-new framework to the craft and trade apprentices. The law and the regulations regulated the apprentices working time and apprenticeship, (learning time) according to the modern demands. “The workshop, the school, the army were subject to a whole micro-penalty (system) of time (lateness, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body (incorrect attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency).” (Foucault 1991. 178) Every element of the micro-penalty system can be found in the text. These determined the life of apprentices. There was a whole of difference to the time of guilds; the masters obligated apprentices to work in the workshop not to the domestic servant. The young was not under the master’s control at least 7 hours a week (including 3 hours drawing, 4 hours general subject) and they had to play under the rules of the school. Previously, the apprentice only depended on the master; he determined and controlled his time and actions. The regulation of 1884 and 1893 prescribed that the student had to go to school “on time and clear” and he had to bring his school equipment in tidy condition. (*Az iparoktatás*, 1904. 21.)

The unjustified absence was a capital offense because the adolescence backed out of the control of the power and he was tempted easily to sin. Traceability and keeping an eye on the subject of discipline was subordinated by traceability the persistent monitoring. Monitoring and documentation of absence provided controlling and discipline in the school. In the industrial society “Precision and application are, with regularity, the fundamental virtues of disciplinary time.” thanks to appearing of the lease-work. (Foucault 1991. 151) The organisation of school (originated from monastic communities) had a specific time management as well as it was the scene of encounter and appearing of different time relation. The school created fundamentally future-oriented norms, which were made stronger by the own reward and punishment system. This kind of time management reflects the values of the civil middle class up to this day. A future-oriented mentality, time planning and following the time norms connected to behaviour might both aid or hinder one’s success in the world of education. (Meleg, 2009.) The apprentices’ family had a different time management than the school and because of that they did not make a good progress in the school. The apprentice schools were institutions primarily concerned with the interests of craftsmen and tradesmen and not to train a labour force to fulfill the needs of modern factory industry.⁸ Time management of a small workshop was more similar to the natural timetabling work rhythm than disciplinary time of factories and schools. (Németh 2007.)

⁸ The freshmen coming from vocational schools and higher industrial schools meant the base of skilled labour force for the emerging modern factory industry, while the mass of workers consists of trained unskilled workers.

The school as a disciplinary space

The school's disciplinary space as a function persisted beyond the walls of the building. The apprentices were disciplined for "If they would do any kind of archness rowdiness or unruliness in the school or in the street rowdiness (badness)". (*Az iparoktatás*, 1904. 23.) The study of Balázs Mészáros¹⁴ depicts vividly the 'madcapness' and 'mischievousness' of the contemporary young people of that age. According to the texts cited by him, the streets in the Buda district of Pécs were aloud with the curses, bluster, goading and the wagering of the 12-18 year- old servants and young working people, disturbing the public peace. The public opinion of the time viewed the parents as responsible for the rowdy situation. At the end of 19th century, the middle class often explained the cultural difference of the lower social classes as a social problem. "The purpose of the various state and local (communal) measures was to eliminate the transmission of these social problems, to this the disciplining of children led the way through." (Mészáros 2007, 225.) The arising problems of the apprentices in the media were due to their social position and also to their age. The apprentices had to face up to the physical and psychological changes of adolescents beyond the resultant frustration from the dual control, which sometimes led to deviant, immoral behaviour in majority of society's opinion/view. Connected with that, we can understand the late discovery of adolescence.

A normative function was attributed to the education for the power beyond the transmission of the civilization, István Bernáth's report of 1890/1891 shows the it clearly: "The most of these apprentices [who belongs to a lower social status] imbibe the most elemental knowledge and the love of the order, the discipline and the morality only in these [apprentices] schools, they can not excel in the society without these [virtues]." (Víg, 1932. 233.) As a general rule, the problematic social group was repaired by the religious and moral education. On the part of the pedagogists a disdainful treatment towards the poorer, simpler people could often be observed. (Nóvik 2002.)

The National Public Education (so called *Állami Népoktatás*) newspaper published a longer article about the moral education of apprentices in 1909. The morality was regarded as the most important value of a nation therefore the students and technical students 'moral education should have been a state responsibility.' But what in fact are morals? It is simply acting in a way and doing good which benefits society and avoiding harmful, thus bad things.' (*Állami Népoktatás*, 1909. 8 sz. 5.) The mean of moral education was the discipline according to the author of the article. He distinguished three types of disciplines: predictive, directional and governing discipline. In case of the apprentices, predictive discipline might be suitable to oppress their crude desires, for which the workshops held far more opportunities than the schools. The other two discipline types are educational forms suitable for discernment and self-determination; primarily, the pedagogist is responsible for these. (*Állami Népoktatás*, 1909. 8 sz. 5.) The article divined the education and the discipline of apprentices in according with their dual status. The dual status of apprentices (a student and a worker/employee at the same time) led them to many conflicts and problems. The teachers often complained about

students' fatigue, inattention and the poor accomplishment, which was the main cause of the long work (12-14 or 16 hours a day) and the overwork, this problem was a recurring issue until the early twentieth century. Opposite of that, the masters and the critical of the system thought that the main source of problems was the low-level or pure education in the schools. (Víg 1932.)

The means of disciplining

The industrial law about the apprentices mentioned separately the responsibility of craftsmen. They had to prevent the apprentices from the houseful's and varlets insulations. The appearance of the prohibition of the physical injury and the domestic servant was of great importance because it revealed a generally accepted custom. The disciplinary rules in the law of 1884 and the regulation of 1893 said that the headmaster had a right to "close the student or use family disciplinary, if it is necessary". (Az iparoktatás, 1904. 23.) The seclusion and the detention were typical enforcement of the liberal state as the fine/penalty. (Garland 1997.) The headmaster had a kind of judicial privilege and he had the right to decide about the seclusion and the family disciplinary. However, some questions arose: what did seclusion and family disciplinary exactly mean at this time? How could the corporal punishment be accepted in real life in the second half of the 19th century?

The spread of corporal punishment could be observed in the 15-16th centuries as the authoritarian, hierarchical and absolutist idea of controlling society. Within this there is difference between the discipline of children and adults, yet it was not that clear in the Middle Ages. Corporal punishment was not used on all adults, but in case of children it was universally applied, regardless of sex or title. Corporal punishment was originally used only on infants, but then from the 16th century on all young people. This way the differences between childhood and adolescence were lessened and adolescents were pushed back towards childhood. However, this is less true for adolescents coming from lower, uneducated social groups because they took part in supporting the family or in productive work as soon as they entered adolescence, so they were treated as adults (Ariés, 1987, 195.) When observing the school books about pedagogy written in the 19th century it is obvious that they were written in terms of enlightened-rationalist child approach. The introductions of these books, discussing philosophical and antropological questions, typically view the child as adults filled with values of the future with developing abilities, since humans became humans because of education. However, it is remarkable that during the discussion of corporal punishment the majority of the authors allow physical punishment only in cases of severe discipline breaches.¹⁶ In the works of Hungarian schoolbook writers this contradiction originates from the genetic approach of the change of human morality rooted in the 18th century. According to this point of view, spanking and physical punishment are for children who lack the ethical values which are characteristic of humans. (Pukánszky, 1996.)

In spite of the fact that corporal punishment was still alive, in this era it was not seen as the general tool of discipline, which shows the changed practice of controlling

the body. The transformation of the school discipline structure corresponds to the new direction of childhood approach, which do not deride the child's incompleteness and does not affirm the necessity of indignity (Ariès, 1987. 196.). Examples of punishment at apprentice schools include sitting alone in front of the class or the teaching corporation'; informing the apprentice's master or parents about misbehaviour; calling him before the industrial school committee; charge in case of injury; a misbehaviour report (Az iparoktatás, 1904. 23.) These punishment types were not free from the means of 'black pedagogy' propagating in the 19th century.

The sad fate of apprentices was still in the forefront of public thought although physical punishment took a backseat. Mihály Babits's novel, *A gólyakalifa* (1913) (Hungarian) deals with this topic. Even if it is fiction and deals with extremes, the novel paints a convincing picture of the presence of corporal punishment and servant work in the stereotypical daily life of apprentices. The author portrays the world of apprentices, the life and mentality of the lower social class as the contrasts of values.⁹

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⁹ The social critical point of Mihály Babits's novel can be found in Elemér Tábor's extremely 'double life', however, it does not appear on the primer denotation level of the text.

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