

DISCIPLINARY AND LEARNING DIFFICULTIES AS CONSTITUTIVE FEATURES OF MODERN SCHOOL. NOTES ON THE *REVISTA DE EDUCAÇÃO* IN 1930S

DIFICULDADES DE APRENDIZAGEM E DE DISCIPLINA COMO CONSTITUTIVAS DA ESCOLA MODERNA.
ANOTAÇÕES DA *REVISTA DE EDUCAÇÃO* NOS ANOS 1930

DIFICULTADES DISCIPLINARIAS Y DE APRENDIZAJE COMO CONSTITUTIVAS DE LA ESCUELA MODERNA.
NOTAS EN LOS AÑOS 1930 DE LA *REVISTA DE EDUCAÇÃO*

Regina Cândida Ellero Gualtieri
Universidade Federal de São Paulo, Guarulhos, SP, Brasil. *E-mail*: regina.gualtieri@unifesp.br

Abstract: Learning or behavior difficulties that hinder children's school progress resulting in failure or abandonment are here the objects of historical analysis. We verify how these difficulties are approached, in the 1930s issues of the *Revista de Educação*, a journal created in 1927 by the Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública de São Paulo. In the selected set of documents, we identify which texts approach those difficulties, how they are characterized by their authors. While examining these texts, we realize the presence of an *ethos* that takes child or his familiar and social environment as responsible for his school failure. In a dialogue with the literature, we associate this pedagogical *ethos* permanence with the way modern school operates.

Keywords: pedagogical *ethos*, educational journal, school failure.

Resumo: Dificuldades de aprendizagem ou disciplina, que prejudicam o percurso escolar de crianças e resultam em repetência ou abandono, são aqui objeto de análise histórica. Verificamos como tais dificuldades são abordadas, nos anos 1930, na *Revista de Educação*, periódico criado pela Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública de São Paulo em 1927. Identificamos, no *corpus* documental, que textos tratam dessas dificuldades e como são caracterizadas pelos autores. Nos textos, constatamos a existência de um *ethos* que culpabiliza a criança e seu entorno familiar e social por suas dificuldades. Em diálogo com a literatura, associamos a permanência desse *ethos* pedagógico com o modo de operar da escola moderna.

Palavras-chave: *ethos* pedagógico, periódico educacional, insucesso escolar.

Resumen: Dificultades de aprendizaje o comportamiento que obstaculizan el tránsito escolar de niños, resultando en reprobación o abandono, son el presente objeto de análisis histórica. Verificamos como esas dificultades son abordadas, en los años 1930, en la *Revista de Educação*, órgano de la Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública de São Paulo creado em 1927. Identificamos en el *cuero* documental, que textos tratan esas dificultades y como son caracterizadas por sus autores. Al examinar esos textos, notamos existir un *ethos* que culpabiliza el niño o su entorno familiar y social por las dificultades que presenta. En diálogo con la literatura, asociamos la permanencia de este *ethos* pedagógico con la forma de operar da escuela moderna.

Palabras clave: *ethos* pedagógico, periódico educacional, fracaso escolar.

INTRODUCTION

Education may well be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse. However, we well know that in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, it follows the well-trodden battle lines of social conflict (Foucault, 2007, p. 43-44).

Foucault's (2007) reflection, summarized in this epigraph, referring to education, in what it permits and prevents, leads us directly to think about the way in which the modern school¹ operates, which, with its permissions, culturally and socially emancipates many children and youths, but which, with its prohibitions, excludes many others and imposes severe disadvantages on them.

This text deals with the interdictions that constitute chronic problems of the modern school – those considered school difficulties. Difficulties, pointed out by the school and experienced by those who attend it, in relation to both learning and behavior, which are externalized and accounted for by performance, failure, retention, absenteeism or dropout rates, and which mark the historical selectivity of the school.

Thus, in this article, our proposal is to identify how school difficulties are addressed and explained by authors in texts published in *Revista de Educação* in the 1930s.

The choice of a journal as a source is based on a broad and consolidated historiographic production that has been showing the importance of educational printed publications for historical investigation. Sousa and Catani (1994) draw attention to the possibility of obtaining rich material related to school practices and subjects, based on studies about the production of educational journals. Nóvoa (2002, p. 31) considers the press as the place that probably “[...] facilitates a better knowledge of educational realities [...]”, as he believes that, “[...] one way or another, the set of problems in the area” manifests there. Caspard and Caspard (2002, p. 46) recognize the pedagogical press as “[...] one of the best observatories of the social movement in the work of school and training”.

Bastos (2002, 2007) and Monarcha (1997) share this perspective. By presenting a brief history of the pedagogical press in Brazil, Bastos (2002) states that, with this, it aims to provide a ‘repertoire’ and ‘working tool’ for those

¹ The expression ‘modern school’ is being used to designate a school whose organization was consolidated throughout the 19th century from European models that had in common simultaneous teaching, strict ordering and control of time and of pedagogical activities, and the organization of students in graded, allegedly homogeneous classes. Such school organization became widespread in the 20th century.

interested in investigating educational systems, precisely by reconstituting a face of the Brazilian pedagogical discourse. He also reaffirms that journals “[...] constitute a privileged instance for the apprehension of the modes of functioning of the educational field” (Bastos, 2007, p. 167). Likewise, in a study on the pedagogical collection, directed by Lourenço Filho, Monarcha (1997) argues that the documentary value of such a collection makes it possible to recover the educational mentality of the time produced by individuals who presented themselves as educational vanguards and at the service of the State. Carvalho (2000) further assesses the importance of printed material, in the first four decades of the 20th century, for teacher training and the intended educational renewal, since information, prescriptions, debates, theories and educational practices circulate in these printed publications.²

The journal used as source is a publication by the São Paulo General Board of Public Instruction [*Diretoria Geral de Instrução Pública de São Paulo*]³, created in 1927, and focused on issues concerning school organization and teacher updating and, as such, potentially constitutes an ‘observatory’ of school practices, teacher training, educational mentality, as well as problems in the area, as noted by the aforementioned authors.

For over 30 years, until its extinction in 1961, it was a space for the dissemination of pedagogical ideas and practices, being distributed to all public schools in São Paulo. This characteristic was also taken into account for this journal to be employed as the main source of the research.

During its publishing period, there were interruptions in its production, and its frequency varied from monthly to annual, comprehending several other possibilities – bimonthly, quarterly, every four months, and biannually.⁴

What will be discussed here stems from a research entitled ‘The Ethos of the Selective School from a Historical Perspective (1930-1960)’ [*O ethos da escola seletiva numa perspectiva histórica (1930-1960)*], financed by the São Paulo Research Foundation [*Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo*] (FAPESP). The time scope of the research coincides with the publishing period of *Revista de*

² This assessment is confirmed in studies such as those by Biccás (2001), Sousa (2002), Desaulniers (2002), Catani (2003), Bastos (2005), Gualtieri (2008, 2013), and Souza and Ávila (2014), without considering their specificities as to theme and approach.

³ The publication, during its existence, remained linked to the Education Board [*Diretoria de Ensino*], which, however, changed its name, as between 1931 and 1932, it was called São Paulo General Board of Education; between 1933 and 1961, it was called São Paulo State Department of Education [*Departamento de Educação do Estado de São Paulo*]. The Board, and then the Department, were linked to the State Secretariat of Education and Public Health until 1947 and, from then on, to the State Secretariat of Education Business (according to records in the journal’s own issues).

⁴ Monthly between 1927 and 1930; bimonthly, between 1931 and 1932; quarterly between 1933 and 1934; every four months in 1951; biannually between 1935 and 1937, in 1944, 1945 and 1961; annually between 1938 and 1944; 1946-1947 and 1952.

Educação itself, but the present article will be limited to the 1930s, specifically to the analyzed works that were published in the journal between 1931 and 1937. The data assessed during this period are instigating to problematize the matter of the existence of a pedagogical *ethos*⁵ that holds children, their families and their surroundings accountable for school failure.

The 1930s was a period of institutional and political instability due, among other factors, to the administration of the state of São Paulo being in the hands of intervening agents. This led to several changes in the command of the São Paulo General Education Board: there were eight directors in six years.⁶

Such changes, in a way, are also reflected in the journal's various name changes. The first title, given in 1927, *Revista Educação* (1927-1930), changed in 1930 to *Revista Escola Nova* (1930-1931), when Lourenço Filho took over as director. At the end of 1931, it was renamed *Revista Educação* (1931-1932), under the administration of Sud Mennucci, then renamed *Revista de Educação* in 1933, with Fernando de Azevedo as its director.⁷

The journal's structure, however, remained, in those years, without significant changes. There were three sections: a first section with articles by collaborators (educators and experts); a second section on School Legislation, which, in 1933, was expanded and started to announce conferences and lectures, and report educational statistics and the actions of the public administration; a section called 'Through Journals and Newspapers' [*Através de Revistas e Jornais*], which reproduced texts by educators already published in other journals and newspapers. In our research, we privileged the collaborators section, as it is the most voluminous and has a diversity of authors and themes.

In the period covered in this article, the majority of the authors were teachers and principals of normal schools and school groups in the state. There are also, among the authors, some agents of the system, education technicians, who belonged to bodies or sections of the board itself, and some international specialists whose articles were translated, as we will see later. Thus, we are before a journal written mainly by school educators for school educators. This aspect makes the

⁵ We appropriated Geertz's (2013) conception of *ethos*, whose use, in this article, will be resumed later.

⁶ Cf. Limongi (1988), the heads were: Lourenço Filho (27/10/1930 to 23/11/1931); Sud Mennucci (24/11/1931 to 26/5/1932); João Toledo (27/05/1932 to 3/10/1932); Fernando de Azevedo (28/11/1932 to 28/08/1933); Sud Mennucci (5/08/1933 to 23/08/33); Francisco Azzi (24/08/1933 to 14/08/1934); Luiz da Motta Mercier (15/09/1934 to 25/09/1935) and Almeida Júnior (26/09/1935 to 10/11/1937). This information was confirmed by the analysis of the copies of *Revista de Educação*, in the period, as the names of these heads were included in the copies.

⁷ Later, this name was once again changed to *Revista Educação*, in 1944, when Sud Mennucci returned as director. In 1948, 1949 and 1950, the journal was not published. At the end of 1950, by act No. 87, of November 13, 1950, *Revista de Educação* was transferred to the Education Department's Service of Cultural Expansion, Exchange and Dissemination, which started to publish it under the previous name of *Revista de Educação* until being extinct in 1961.

chosen documentary source even more pertinent, since the intention is to understand the framework of values that informs the school and is informed by it in relation to students' difficulties.

Monarcha (2004), when discussing education and teaching journals, argues that “[...] in the state of São Paulo, journals specialized in education and teaching have become an editorial genre”. He also indicates two reasons for that: the existence of a ‘graphic park’ in the state, which was combined with “[...] the presence of teachers trained at normal schools and who emerged as theorists of education models and teaching methods” (Monarcha, 2004, p. 2-3).

In fact, what we observe in *Revista de Educação* is what is highlighted by this author: ‘theorizing’ teachers and directors, spreading ‘education models’ and ‘teaching methods’ to other educators from other schools. Or even, in many cases, they would be the ‘intermediaries’ between the theoretical field and educational practices, as stated by Souza (2017), when he highlights what has been emphasized by several scholars about authors of pedagogical manuals.

To organize and analyze the documentary *corpus*, we methodologically operate as follows: we checked which texts deal with school difficulties, directly or indirectly, and gathered them, in accordance with their thematic recurrence, into six groups or categories:

1. relationship between family and school: (articles whose central theme deals with the influence of family on the schooling of a child and/or on their school performance);
2. intelligence, tests, selective classes (texts addressing intelligence as aptitude, and tests as an important instrument for school organization and human selection, considered a right for everyone to make progress in accordance with their intelligence and will);
3. school performance – attendance, discipline and failure (texts that specifically refer to children’s performance issues);
4. teaching for the ‘abnormal’ ones (articles highlighting the importance of identifying the form and type of intelligence to refer those who need to specialized education);
5. experimental psychology/pedagogical anthropometry (texts dealing with the importance of these sciences and of the educational support services that are based on them to assist the educational process and school selection);
6. teaching methods (articles that discuss school programs and subjects, ways of teaching them, contents for teaching them, and the importance of certain subjects for the education of children).

The data produced, considering these clusters, are presented in Table 1, which covers publications between 1931 and 1937. During this period, a total of 27

volumes with 296 texts were published in the collaborators section alone. Of this total, 88 texts address matters related to school difficulties, with a predominance of texts in category 6, referring to teaching methods. We identified the authors by their roles or positions, usually informed in the article itself when it was published, and examined the arguments used by them to understand and explain children's difficulties.

Reading the articles gathered in the various categories, there is a noteworthy recurrence of the argument that the action of the school is limited by factors external to it, or by circumstances over which it judges to have no control. There seems to be a consensus among the 'theorizers' or 'intermediaries', who write in the journal, that the school suffers from constraints that hinder or impede its action. Thus, among the analyzed texts, some minimize the attitudes of teachers and schools and overestimate the role of the family, to understand and explain the poor performance and/or indiscipline of students. Some also condition the success of schoolwork and of new methodologies to the fact that children are healthy and physiologically fit. And, in these cases, only the 'abnormality' of the children themselves can explain their poor school performance, and hence the defense of homogeneous classes whose organization would separate these 'abnormal' ones and allow for an improvement in the performance of the other children. The authors of these texts, as already pointed out, are teachers, principals or educators holding positions in the administration of the system, in addition to some specialists.

Table 1. Number of publications per volume and per category between 1931 and 1937, Revista de Educação.

Year/Vol./Issue/Month	Number of volumes	Total number of published articles	Total number of articles of interest for the research	1. Family and school relationship	2. Intelligence, tests, selective classes	3. School performance - attendance, failures	4. Teaching for abnormal students	5. Experimental psychology/ pedagogical anthropometry	6. Teaching method
1931 (Vol. IV Issue 1, 2 Aug Sep)	1	8	5	5					
1931 (Vol. V Issue, 4 and 5 Oct Nov Dec)	1	5	3		1				2
1932 (Vol. VI, 1, 2 and 3 Jan Feb Mar)	1	13	5		1			1	3
1932 (Vol. VII, 4 and 5 Apr May)	1	16	5		1		1	1	2
1932 (Vol. VIII, 6 and 7 Jun Jul)	1	17	5		1			2	2
1932 (Vol. IX, 08 and 9 Ago Sep)	1	5	5		3			1	1

Year/Vol./Issue/Month	Number of volumes	Total number of published articles	Total number of articles of interest for the research	1. Family and school relationship	2. Intelligence, tests, selective classes	3. School performance - attendance, failures	4. Teaching for abnormal students	5. Experimental psychology/ pedagogical anthropology	6. Teaching method
1932 (Vol. X, 10 and 11 Oct Nov)	1	24	4	1				1	2
1932 (Vol. XI, 12 Dec)	1	20	4		1			1	2
1933 (Vol. 1 Issue 1 Mar)	1	18	6	1	2				3
1933 (Vol. II Issue 2 Jun)	1	10	2		1				1
1933 (Vol. III Issue 3 Sep)	1	7	1				1		
1933 (Vol. IV Issue 4 Dec)	1	17	6					1	5
1934 (Vol. V, Issue 5 Mar)	1	8	4		1				3
1934 (Vol. VI, Issue 6 Jun)	1	17	3	-	-				3
1934 (Vol. VII, Issue 7 Sep)	1	16	3	-	-				3
1934 (Vol. VIII, Issue 8 Dec)	1	25	8		3	1		1	3
1935 (Vol. IX and X Mar Jun)	2	10	2		1				1
1935 (Vol. XI and XII, Sep Dec.)	2	10	4				1		3
1936 (Vol. XIII and XIV, MarJun)	2	11	3			1			2
1936 (Vol. XV and XVI Sep Dec)	2	12	5		1				4
1937 (Vol. XVII and XVIII Mar and Jun)	2	16	1						1
1937 (Vol. XIX and XX Sep Dec)	2	11	5			2			3
TOTAL	28	296	89	7	17	4	3	9	49

Source: The author

To exemplify the findings, we selected some texts from various categories, representative of the perspectives mentioned, published by different authors and in different years. They will be presented in the next item, but the problematization and discussion of these findings will be brought in a subsequent item.

THE CONDITIONING ELEMENTS OF SCHOOL DIFFICULTIES, ACCORDING TO *REVISTA DE EDUCAÇÃO*

The first issue of the new phase of *Revista Educação* – volume IV, August-September 1931, issues 1 and 2 – has eight texts, in the section meant for experts and educators, five of which refer to the relationship between family and school⁸. The five texts were gathered in category 1 and emphasize the importance of bringing the two institutions closer so that the school can properly do its job.

The text by Cesar Prieto Martinez, former principal of the Pirassununga Normal School [*Escola Normal de Pirassununga*], and former General Education Inspector of Paraná, entitled ‘Home and School’ [*O lar e a escola*], explains the school’s failure in achieving educational goals, assigning families ‘a good portion’ of this failure for their lack of involvement in the educational process of their own children.

It is common to hold the school accountable for the failure of education. [...], but the blame does not belong to it. It must be shared, with a large portion being assigned to the family, which exempts itself from the most serious commitments. [...] The concern of parents with their children’s education consisted only of finding a school. [...] the teacher did what they could. However, lacking the indispensable intervention of the home, the school’s initiative failed, as a consequence (Martinez, 1931, p. 16-17).

Strictly, the author does not ‘share the blame’ since, in his understanding, the school, through the teacher, did what was in its power.

In the June 1934 volume, we found converging assessments in the text ‘Early Childhood Education. Could Primary School Respond Conveniently to its Multiple Intelligence When It Lacks Early Childhood Education?’ [*Educação Infantil. Poderá a escola primária responder convenientemente à sua múltipla inteligência, quando lhe falte a educação infantil?*], grouped in category 6. The author is Octavio da Costa Silveira, Head of Service of the Superintendence of Professional and Domestic Education [*Superintendência de Educação Profissional e Doméstica*], of the São Paulo Education Board. His main argument, to defend pre-primary education, is that this

⁸ The other three are “The True Role of Reading at School”, by Mary Adams; ‘The Circulating Libraries’ by Sara Askew, and ‘The Reform of Rural Education’, by Sud Menucci.

school stage can reduce the effects of educational errors that children bring from home when they enter primary school.

Has anyone ever asked: 'Can elementary school respond conveniently to its multiple demands when it lacks early childhood education?' Difficult answer. But everyone who can speak with knowledge of cause [...] knows that primary education, though quite widespread, does not solve its educational mission. Children are taken to school at the age of seven. What do they do before that age? And when they are taken to the primary classes, can the teacher, though an apostle, a philosopher, a psychologist, cancel out the traces of that first wrong education received in a corrupt or otherwise inappropriate environment? The school/teacher always tries, but will not reap the desired success, because the first impressions received by the children, outside the school environment, are created in their brain mass, and these created impressions do not vanish easily (Silveira, 1934, p. 34-35, author's emphasis).

This is yet another reinforcement of the perception that the teacher is powerless in the face of a reality pointed out as adverse.

In volume VIII, of December 1934, there is the text 'School Discipline' [*Disciplina escolar*] (category 3), by Paulo Novaes de Carvalho, principal of the Grupo Escolar de Brotas [*Brotas School Group*]. It discusses the factors associated with indiscipline and, to this end, takes into account three aspects: school discipline and its relationship with the material conditions of classrooms or work; school discipline and its relationship with the opportunities that the school offers for physical and social activities; school discipline and its relationship with children's health.

With regard to the first aspect, the author points out the influence of poor material conditions of schools (inadequate, small classrooms, and lack of teaching material).

[...] we see in primary classes, in our own capital, tiny, improvised rooms, with no space for teachers and students to move freely, not to mention their poor ventilation and almost no light. [...] loose desks are powerful factors of indiscipline and, nailed to the floors, make it difficult to wash [...] solve the problem by joining the desks in groups of two, attached by means of slats nailed to the feet [...]. Regarding consumable material, [...] provision, in the classroom, of loose sheets for those students who, due to whatever reason, do not have notebooks [...], as the continuous occupation of students is an easy beginning for a good discipline (Carvalho, 1934, p. 212-213).

As for the second aspect, he writes about the lack of preparation of teachers to carry out certain activities, such as physical ones, but he uses part of the text to describe the influence of families that spoil children.

[...] Most Brazilian children, very spoiled at home by their parents, need more respect for authority than the exercise of it. Those who are familiar with the customs of certain fathers and especially of mothers, not only in the capital but in the state, mainly, are aware of the weak or null cooperation they give to the educational work of teachers when it comes to the disciplinary regime. [...] And this number of 'difficult' students who only take and give nothing is not small (Carvalho, 1934, p. 218-219, author's emphasis).

On the third aspect, the author draws attention to the indiscipline of sick children.

A sick child is a negative element in school discipline and progress. Whether this disease is of a physical or nervous nature [...]. Among common diseases, we must mention the deficiency, also called avitaminosis, that causes rickets and generalized weakness, ancylostomiasis, which impairs visibility, tonsillitis, which destabilizes attention, etc., not forgetting the vast array of parasites in general. [...] Regarding diseases of a nervous nature, deviations from normality are countless, hence the concern with the organization of classes, which must be as homogeneous as possible, subjecting abnormal students to an adequate educational regime [...]. It is necessary not to confuse these abnormal students with abnormal hospital patients affected by profound anomalies [...]. Abnormal students can be unstable – those attacked by epilepsy, hysteria, or anything else that causes the torment of teachers, due to the instability of their attention, and who, due to their typically wandering, fickle actions, sometimes moody, quarrelsome and disobedient, are considered quite undisciplined.

Asthenic, abulic, people, on the contrary, is the despair of the educator because of the apathy in which they live, indifferent to everything and everyone in an involuntary, sick laziness, with all psychic faculties nullified by an invincible inactivity (Carvalho, 1934, p. 220-221).

Thus, despite pointing out the poor material conditions of schools and, at times, the lack of preparation of teachers, the author highlights the 'weak or null cooperation of the parents' of 'difficult' students and the existence of 'abnormal' and 'sick' students among the undisciplined.

In the article 'Failures – Their Origin and Causes' [*Reprovações – Sua origem e causas*] (category 3), by Francisco Alves Brisolla, Principal of the 1st School Group of Bauru [1^o Grupo Escolar de Bauru], published in 1936, in volumes XIII and XIV, the first sentence of the text is: "[...] the neglect and lack of interest on the part of certain parents towards the fate of their children, while students, are, as a rule,

important factors that seriously contribute to the existence of failures” (Brisolla, 1936, p. 115). In these cases, the author points out,

[...] it would be useful if the teacher could lead the student to fulfill their duties by other means, after the persuasive ones are no longer. The intention is not to preach violence, but just to consider the use of energetic measures completely convenient to compel the student to change their route (Brisolla, 1936, p. 115).

He also points out the absenteeism of teachers, who frequently graduate, and the impossibility of removing or dismissing professionals who reveal themselves incapable. The author dedicates 4 items of the article to these two reasons, but it is significant that the other ten items deal with aspects such as the importance of having greater rigor in the classification of students, in the initial enrollment, with the use of ABC tests; need to relocate students throughout the year with partial exams so that classes are ‘very homogeneous’; importance of teachers teaching the principles of good nutrition based on hygiene, essential for mental development; importance of teaching practical knowledge of childcare, useful for ‘running the house’; need for peri-school institutions and children’s libraries (Brisolla, 1936).

The insistence on organizing homogeneous classes is present in several articles as a solution considered scientific to the problem of poor performance, a common belief at the time, enhanced by the increasing acceptance and use of pedagogical and psychological tests. From the perspective of the principal of the Faxina Normal School [*Escola Normal de Faxina*], Benedicto de Assis, expressed in his article ‘The Homogenization of Classes’ [*A homogeneização das classes*] (category 2), published in December 1934, heterogeneous classes hinder the work of teachers, who need to know the “[...] human material that is delivered to them, flowing from it the justice that the humble apostles of teaching have been lacking so much” (Assis, 1934, p. 72).

The text ‘School Performance’ [*O rendimento escolar*] (category 3), by Teacher José Pousa de Toledo, principal of the Pau Queimado School Group [*Grupo Escolar de Pau Queimado*] (Piracicaba), published in Sept-Dec 1937 (p. 147-155), volumes XIX and XX, is one more to recall the need to ‘share with parents’ the results of education, specifically school attendance. This text was not published in the authors section, but in the ‘Through the Journals’ [*Através das Revistas*] section, which we exceptionally considered due to the emphases it contains.

The problem is known to be complex, and the elements that affect it, countless. We do not intend to solve it, but rather contribute with our opinion that [...] not only teachers should be assigned shares of responsibility for the results of little satisfactory teaching in several schools, as it is certain that

one can find counterproductive elements in the school environment [...]. The practice of three lustra of exercise has shown us the absolute need to share with parents, at least them, the heaviest elements of the bulky burden that saddles teachers while carrying out their duties – school attendance. It cannot continue to depend only on the teacher (Toledo, 1937, p. 148).

The articles gathered in category 6 address teaching methods referring to various school subjects, ways and contents to teach them, and their importance in school programs. They target teachers, aiming to provide them with a repertoire of strategies for a teaching considered more effective and, in general, follow the methodological news related to the New School movement. Analyzing them, as already stated, we find several of them warning about the fact that the good results of methodological innovations depend on children being healthy, physiologically fit, and, once again, relativizing the action of teachers.

For instance, Abel de Faria Sodré, principal of the São Carlos School Group [*Grupo Escolar de São Carlos*], writes the text 'Quick Literacy' [*Alfabetização rápida*], published in volume VIII, Jun-Jul 1932 (p. 33-39), in which he proposes a methodological alternative for literacy, considering that, "[...] as a general rule, a large number of students repeat first grade" (p. 33). The author treats his proposal as 'our method' and finds that he obtained "[...] a faster, more perfect and less effortful result" (p. 34). According to him, the method presented was effective, and only illness or abnormality, which would lead to a lack of attendance, would justify the permanence of illiterate children at the end of the semester. Thus, to validate the method, he associates poor performance with ill or abnormal children.

From what I have observed in nine years of teaching, the teaching of reading and writing in our school groups and isolated schools still seems very lengthy to me. As a general rule, a large number of students repeat first grade. This is what we need to avoid. Every year, 1st grade classes should be left almost entirely vacant for new enrollments. Reading and writing can be taught in the first three months of the school year. In the remaining months, teachers will be able to dedicate themselves with the improvement and literacy of students enrolled late. At the end of the year, only lack of attendance due to illness or abnormalities can justify the fact that a child enrolled in the first semester is still illiterate (Sodré, 1932, p. 33-34).

This emphasis on learning, as long as they are children without abnormalities, is also in the translated article by Ovide Decroly, published in Jan-Mar 1932, in vol. VI (p. 135-139), entitled 'Initiation in Reading and Writing'. The author says:

Now, in these recent years, and in harmony with the predictions extracted from the theory of globalization in the acquisition of spoken language, essays on the ‘Ermitage’ school by Mlles. Hamaïde and Fontaine, by Mr. Segers in a public school in Sant-Gilles-Brussels – ‘have proof that, among normal children, it is perfectly possible to obtain reading without going through systematic exercises on decomposition into syllables and letters’; that there are even – at least for French – advantages for the ulterior spelling in preventing this decomposition, when children resort to it spontaneously, or their parents urge them to do so by untimely interventions (Decroly, 1932, p. 136, author’s emphasis).

Assigning non-learning to a condition of abnormality is a commonplace in the journal. Norberto de Souza Pinto, teacher who studied the education of ‘abnormal children’, in the text ‘The Education of Abnormal and Mentally Retarded Children’ [*A educação dos anormais e dos débeis mentais*], published in Sep-Dec 1935, in volumes XI and XII (p. 30-31), included in category 4, emphasizes the ‘adoption of a rigorous scientific process’ to identify and classify ‘abnormal’ children and provide them a ‘special education’, as these children could not attend ‘ordinary educational establishments’ intended for the normal ones.

They did not escape naturally in school life; the need for classifying the intellectuality of students and the NOOLOGY that constitutes the department of concrete psychology, classify and even explain the main groups of mentality. Therefore, it is no longer an isolated problem in the contemporary life of teaching; modern education demands that we work for the formation of the human and normal type (Pinto, 1935, p. 30).

Distinguishing the normal from the abnormal ones becomes a way to mitigate ‘school collapse’. Among the texts included in category 5, there is the report by Noemy Silveira, then head of the Service of Education-Applied Psychology, linked to the Improvement Course of the Caetano de Campos Education Institute [*Instituto de Educação Caetano de Campos*]. Published in Oct-Dec 1933 in volume IV (p. 84-116), this report, referring to the activities of the first half of that same year, assigns the school’s failure to educate, apparently, to the school itself. Silveira, with New School arguments that the school has to ‘adjust itself to the student and society’, explains that the “[...] collapse of education at school oftentimes resides in the inadequacy of educational establishments in meeting the needs of students, on the one hand, and of the social group, on the other” (Silveira, 1933, p. 85).

Meeting the needs of students, however, would depend on knowing how the student ‘learns, acts and thinks’, identifying ‘their skills, tendencies, aspirations – reasons, habits and deficiencies’, and, to this end, pedagogical and psychological tests would be the means for diagnosis. The knowledge of students, in its turn, would reveal “[...] the exceptional ones, including those mentally subnormal, gifted,

advanced, physically disabled, nervous, delinquent”. Thus, to be able to offer each one the best methods, the Psychology Service would investigate these ‘exceptional’ students and equip the school to face “[...] individual adjustment problems” (Silveira, 1933, p. 85-86).

From this perspective, children with difficulties, the so-called ‘exceptional’, those who do not fit into ordinary school life, even in a text that intends to be critical towards the school, are treated as a problem to be investigated. As the head of the Service states in the report:

It indeed seems to become indispensable to have a psychology service wherever any improvement in teaching and in the adjustment of the student to the school is performed. The scientific study of children becomes a function of paramount importance (Silveira, 1933, p. 84).

This recurrence of discourses that point out children’s physical, intellectual and emotional limits is an important element for the construction and maintenance of a pedagogical *ethos* that regulates educational behaviors and practices, minimizing the school’s responsibility for any of these children’s difficulties. Likewise, the discourses against the family in an official publication, distributed to all schools in São Paulo, contribute to this same end.

The concept of *ethos*, as already indicated in note 5 of this text, is explained by Geertz (2013), when he states that the term *ethos* is associated with moral (and aesthetic) aspects, the evaluative and normative elements of a given culture. Such a conception seems appropriate when one wants to understand the values and norms that underlie certain knowledge and pedagogical practices. In this case, an *ethos* that locates the origin of learning difficulties, preferably in the child and in their family and social surroundings.

In the period discussed here, as it was possible to see from excerpts of the articles presented, the responsibility of the school or teachers for poor performance or school indiscipline, when found, was usually lessened by the action of the family and/or by the limitations of the children themselves. We will discuss this aspect in the next item.

THE *ETHOS* THAT HOLDS THE SCHOOL UNACCOUNTABLE FOR THE DIFFICULTIES OF CHILDREN

On conflicts between school and family, Cunha (1997) draws attention to the persistence of this condition and locates, in Brazil, in the 1930s, in the renovating educational discourse, in the discourse of the New School advocates, the

constitution of an ideal that stresses the incapacity of family to educate their children and that establishes how to face such conflicts at school.

There seems to be, in many cases, a conflict between the desires of school education and the possibilities of the family. The crisis is not recent and has been long discussed by educators. Solutions have already been sought in the context of various pedagogical approaches, particularly among those that became known as supporters of the ‘renewed education’ or ‘New School’ (Cunha, 1997, p. 47, author’s emphasis).

The author analyzes a context in which Brazilian representatives of the New School, such as Fernando de Azevedo, Lourenço Filho, Almeida Júnior, or foreigner ones, such as Adolphe Ferrière, though with different emphases and principles, pointed out the loss of capacity of families to educate their children and situations in which parents could even exert bad influences on children, hindering formal education, especially because their length of stay at school was much shorter than their time with their families. Everyone recognized, however, that the exchange with parents could not be ignored, also because the parents themselves should be normalized as well. The point in these strategies was to establish a harmony between the educational guidelines and the parents so as not to hinder the school’s work and, additionally, to exert an educational action on the parents. The strategies mentioned include those aimed at health education.

Faria Filho (2000), similarly, and for a period a little earlier than that studied by Cunha, between 1925 and 1930, brings back discussions on the relationship between school and family, conducted by teachers, teaching technicians and principals, who called themselves New School advocates, on the pages of *Revista do Ensino*, official body of the Minas Gerais State Board of Public Instruction [*Diretoria de Instrução Pública do Estado de Minas Gerais*].

This author notes that, within the texts, dealing with various subjects, ‘there is a clear awareness of the importance of family in education’, but its competence is questioned.

The action of the family is, however, one that supports that of the school and subordinate to it, because the family’s competence to educate well is distrusted; in fact, more often than not, it is said that the family is no longer able to educate their children. In this regard, the main problem, detected on the pages of the journal, is that parents are not interested in participating in the school, for they are detached from it (Faria Filho, 2000, p. 46).

Among the authors of *Revista do Ensino*, there was also an insistence on “[...] the need for parental education [...]”, as well as the importance “[...] of using the

student himself as an intermediary between school and family” (Faria Filho, 2000, p. 46-48).

In a later text, Cunha (2003) resumes the arguments of the normalizing character of the New School thinking concerning the educational role of the family. However, he broadens his own understanding and no longer places in the New School movement the constitution of the discourse against families. He states that “[...] the school was never guided by the same educational principles in force at home [...]”, and as the school institution “[...] incorporated scientific knowledge in opposition to traditional domestic knowledge [...]”, conflicts intensified and persist today. He concludes that “[...] it is in the course of this process that we will be able to understand more clearly the role of the school as an instance of power, as a normalizing device of the family cluster” (Cunha, 2003, p. 450).

With this perspective, he assigns the origin of the conflict, therefore, to the sciences and to the scientific discourse.

The history of modern education offers several indicators that school procedures have always had scientific knowledge as main reference. The science discourse, in its turn, is characterized by disqualifying the family with regard to the education of the body and of the spirit.

Psychologists, pediatricians, social workers and teachers know more than parents, grandparents, aunts... This is what has been sustained throughout the history of the school, and it is the mentality that is in force nowadays. [...]

In Brazil, the history of the scientificization of school had an important milestone in the 19th century, which coincided with the campaign carried out by hygienist doctors to modernize the Brazilian family (Cunha, 2003, p. 450).

Certainly, this perception by Cunha (2003) that the tensions between family and school are permanent is plausible, as they result from the fact that the school institution operates on the basis of scientific knowledge that is not mistaken for and even collides with the educational perspectives of the family. However, studies such as those by Goodson (1997, 2008), Chervel (1990), Chevallard (1991, 2013) and Viñao (2012), despite their specificities, laid the foundations for the understanding that school knowledge is constituted in a process complex that is not exempt from conflicts with the sciences themselves, with knowledge deemed culturally valid.

This means that, in the multiplicity of sorts of knowledge that circulate in the school, there are those that diverge and converge with the formative intentions of families and, as Vincent, Lahire *The Thin* (2001) point out, the families whose socializing practices do not contradict the mode of school socialization will have fewer conflicts, or a more participative relationship. By the way, the works of Cunha

(1997, 2003) themselves do not ignore this understanding by arguing that the school has even more conflicts with poor families.

In any case, in this discussion, there is an undeniable finding that, due to the nature and purposes of both institutions – school and family –, there is a persistent conflict, but one which is taken or perceived by the schools themselves and by the families as circumstantial, and at different times, the explanatory reasons for the accusations that the school has against the family can be updated depending on the context.

The conflict became visible in the articles published in *Revista de Educação* and addressed in the previous item of this text. School principals want to ‘share with parents the results of ‘little satisfactory’ teaching, with the families that ‘did not notice their children’s deficiencies’, that, at home, ‘spoil’ children, who thus become ‘difficult’ students’. A technician from the Education Board defends pre-primary early childhood education, since primary school teachers have not and will not ‘reap the desired success’ with children who reach seven years of age having had, until then, an ‘improper education’ outside the school environment.

These discourses are not strange in today’s school, which reinforces the conviction of the persistence of a framework of values that blame the individual who learns and/or their family for school difficulties.

For several decades, educational studies, not only in Brazil, have discussed the so-called ‘school failure’ and, giving a voice to the school, reveal how persistent and strong, among the educators who work in the school, are the arguments that blame the child, their family and/or their surroundings, their poverty for the difficulties they experience at school.⁹

This does not mean that other explanations for children’s difficulties cannot be found, such as those that assign the responsibility for failure to teachers themselves and their training, to the working conditions in the school, to educational management, just as, by the way, they also appeared, with the inks of the time, in the texts of *Revista de Educação*. But what matters to understand is the domain and persistence of a framework of values that blame the individual who learns and their family. A framework of values that, analyzing the texts of the journal, was clearly present in the school environment, since most authors whose discourses are representative of this *ethos* work at a school – as principals of school groups or normal schools.

An interpretative possibility would be to consider that the modern school institution, for structural reasons, works with homogenizations, that is,

⁹ Just as examples, we mention some works published in the last four decades: Vial (1985); Patto (1981, 1999); Collares and Moysés (1992, 1994, 1996); Abramowicz (1997); Machado (1997); Torres (2004); Smolka (2006); Cohen (2006); Moysés (2001); Moysés and Collares (2008); Oliveira, Santos, Aspilicueta and Cruz (2012).

homogenization of purposes, curriculum, organizations of spaces and times, of values and behaviors (Vincent et al., 2001). This school, which provides simultaneous teaching, prepares and organizes itself in a way that, in the classroom, a privileged place for the teacher's action, all children, due to the intended homogenization of age and skills, have the expected average performance. In other words, it is the school of the industrial society and, somehow, it is an industrial school. It is as though there were an assembly line in which those who demand more artisanal treatment will be harmed and, probably, excluded. Therefore, the mass school has and will have difficulties in dealing with children who do not fit perfectly into the norms and expectations established for each schooling moment.

Difficulties that inevitably reveal themselves in 'collective learning' situations, as highlighted by Paulilo and Gil (2017, p. 36):

[...] the difficulties in conducting collective learning without resigning to 'the failure of some, because of the sufficient success of others', underlined by Chartier (2013, p. 435), did not have the social visibility of public examinations or of the promotion lists of school groups from the early days of the graded school. On the contrary, they subsumed as part of the ordinary attributions of the school of the time: to select, to distinguish.¹⁰

Not by chance, the alleged quality and reputation of the school were, for more than half of the 20th century, linked as a value to this capacity to select and distinguish, "[...] a value of the school culture implemented with the graded and compulsory school" (Paulilo & Gil, 2017, p. 53).

This quality and reputation began to be questioned as of the second half of the 20th century, as the authors themselves also point out when stating that it is at this time that "[...] school retention appears in educational debates and on the public agenda as a serious problem of the Brazilian school, of great proportions [...]" (Paulilo & Gil, 2017, p. 36).

In this article, which covers an arc of time between 1910 and 1940, the authors analyze the education statistics of the Federal District and São Paulo on school performance and reveal that, despite the existence of high retention rates, in the period, these data are not, in fact, used to examine the problem as such.

There is, however, an apparently dissonant voice, that of Anísio Teixeira, in the 1930s. During the educational reform that he led, between 1931 and 1935, the authors state, Anísio intended to reverse "[...] the accountability for learning failure from the student to the school, from the individual to the institution [...]" but the solutions proposed to reverse the high retention and dropout rates accentuated the

¹⁰ Chartier (2013).

school's actions of 'selecting and distinguishing'. Thus, enrollment instructions required the organization of classes according to chronological age, "[...] normal, below normal, falling behind, retained [...]", thus aiming to solve the problem of the heterogeneities of the 'levels of intelligence' and 'children's school performance', identified by the statistical studies conducted by the Department of Education. The non-homogeneity of classes was an obstacle to the proper functioning of the graded school. (Paulilo & Gil, 2017, p. 52-53).

In that decade, failure, retention and dropout could be explained by the child's biological inheritance, which determined their abnormalities and heterogeneities, as Lourenço Filho (1930) and Fernando de Azevedo (1931) defend, but also by the mismatches in their families, capable of altering the psychological structure and behavior of children, of abnormalizing them, as stated by Arthur Ramos (1939).

In the 1940s and 1950s, however, according to Bernstein (1985), the United States became a machine for research about the education of 'lower social class' children, from which new categories of analysis were structured, such as that of the 'culturally disadvantaged', the 'linguistically deficient', the 'socially impaired' (Bernstein, 1985). As a result, the correlation between social class and school success began to be established more and more frequently as the school opened up to increasing numbers of children from different socioeconomic strata.

This perspective also influenced the understanding of the problem in Brazil, over the same decades, as revealed by Gouveia (1971). Assessing educational research in Brazil, he identifies an 'interesting fluctuation' in the orientation of works produced 'under the research label', in official institutions, directly, or sponsored by them. He locates a first period, covered by the 1940s and a large portion of the 1950s, in which, according to his assessment, "[...] the studies are predominantly of a psychopedagogical nature [...]" and, by that, he means that they turn to "[...] the teaching processes and the instruments for evaluating learning and psychological development". The second period starts in the mid-1950s, with the creation, in 1956, of the Brazilian Center [*Centro Brasileiro*] and the Regional Research Centers [*Centros Regionais de Pesquisa*], belonging to the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies [*Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos*] (Inep), lasting until 1964. These centers were intended to promote, among other purposes, "[...] research on cultural and school conditions [...]" in each Brazilian region, and about which he concludes that "[...] the emphasis shifted, thus, to studies of a sociological nature" (Gouveia, 1971, p. 2-3).

This multiplicity of causal explanations – biological, psychological, sociological – seems to us to be what the history of the modern school has highlighted through a persistent *ethos* that holds the school unaccountable for eventual shortcomings, especially those of children considered difficult or

problematic. Such a historical process of unaccountability does not necessarily mean that the school is transferring to someone else its own problem, but, otherwise, it may represent a refusal to take responsibility for what collides with its mode of operating.

In short, what we propose as an interpretive possibility is that the pedagogical *ethos* – these evaluative elements that are expressed in the blaming of the individual who learns for their difficulties at school, and in the lesser institutional accountability for these difficulties –, when observed from a historical perspective, seems to result from the way in which the modern school organizes itself and operates. And this is what has to be questioned, whether the perspective for the 21st century is schooling without losses or with few losses for everyone who attends the institution.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In this article, we aimed to identify how school difficulties, a chronic problem of the modern school, were addressed and explained in texts published in the 1930s in *Revista de Educação*. The latter is an official journal of the state administration of São Paulo, aimed at matters of school organization and the professional enhancement of educators, published from the late 1920s to the early 1960s.

Among the texts analyzed, there is a recurrence of accusatory discourses against the families of students, or pointing out physical, intellectual, emotional impediments of the children themselves to their good academic performance. These are discourses that overestimate the action of the family to understand and explain the problem of poor performance and/or indiscipline of students and relativize the action of teachers and schools. There are also texts that condition the success of new methodologies to the fact that children are healthy and that the school counts on possibilities, such as the application of tests, that facilitate the organization of students into homogeneous classes.

While investigating this space for the dissemination of educational ideas, we identified the existence of a pedagogical *ethos* that, preferably, justifies and explains school difficulties by means of factors external to the school, whether individual or social. Difficulties that result in interdictions in the schooling process.

Comparing these findings with historiographic discussions and specific educational literature, we consider the possibility that this unaccountability would be a constitutive element of the simultaneous-teaching school, as it works with homogenizations – of purposes, curriculum, organizations of spaces and times, of values and behaviors –, and such characteristic encounters barriers for a treatment that individualizes heterogeneous situations, those that escape the standards accepted by the school or its expectations.

For this reason, conflicts between school, family and community intensify, apparently, as more results and less selectivity are demanded from the school. Or, as Vincent et al. (2001, p. 20) note, “[...] when schooling reached its greatest expansion, the school became the target of numerous criticisms because the predominance of the school entails greater and more diversified demands in relation to schooling”.

These demands, possibly, cannot be met in the post-industrial society with the industrial-age school model.

REFERENCES

- Abramowicz, A. (1997). Quem são as crianças multirrepetentes. In A. Abramowicz & J. Moll (Orgs.), *Para além do fracasso escolar* (p. 161-172). São Paulo, SP: Papirus.
- Assis, B. (1934). A homogeneização das classes. *Revista de Educação*, VIII(8), 71-77.
- Azevedo, F. (1931). *Novos caminhos e novos fins: a nova política de educação no Brasil*. São Paulo, SP: Cia Editora Nacional.
- Bastos, M. H. C. (2002). Apêndice – A imprensa Periódica Educacional no Brasil: de 1808 a 1944. In D. B. Catani & M. H. C. Bastos (Orgs.), *Educação em Revista. A imprensa periódica e a História da Educação* (p. 173-187). São Paulo, SP: Escrituras.
- Bastos, M. H. C. (2007). A imprensa de educação e de ensino: repertórios analíticos. O exemplo da França. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, 12(34), 166-168. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-24782007000100013>
- Bastos, M. H. C. (2005). *A Revista do Ensino do Rio Grande do Sul (1939-1942): o novo e o nacional em revista*. Pelotas, RS: Seiva.
- Bernstein, B. (1985). Uma crítica ao conceito de “educação compensatória”. In Z. Brandão (Org.), *Democratização do ensino: meta ou mito?* (p. 43-57). Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Francisco Alves.
- Biccás, M. S. (2001). *O impresso como estratégia de formação de professores (as) e de conformação do campo pedagógico em Minas Gerais: o caso da Revista de Ensino (1925-1940)* (Tese de Doutorado). Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.

- Brisolla, F. A. (1936). Reprovações – sua origem e causas. *Revista de*, XIII-XIV(13-14), 115-120.
- Carvalho, M. M. C. (2000). Modernidade pedagógica e modelos de formação docente. *São Paulo Perspectiva*, 14 (1), 111-120. doi: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-88392000000100013>
- Carvalho, P. N. (1934). Disciplina escolar. *Revista de Educação*, VIII(8), 212-221.
- Caspard, P., & Caspard, P. (2002). Imprensa pedagógica e formação contínua de professores primários (1815-1939). In D. B. Catani & M. H. C. Bastos (Orgs.), *Educação em Revista. A imprensa periódica e a História da Educação* (p. 33-46). São Paulo, SP: Escrituras.
- Catani, D. B. (2003). *Educadores à meia-luz: um estudo sobre a Revista de Ensino da Associação Beneficente do Professorado Público de São Paulo (1902-1918)*. Bragança Paulista, SP: EDUSF.
- Chartier, A.-M. (2013). Paradoxos da obrigatoriedade escolar. In D. Vidal, E. SÁ & V. L. G. Silva. *Obrigatoriedade escolar no Brasil* (p. 421-438). Cuiabá, MT: EdUFMT.
- Chervel, A. (1990). História das disciplinas escolares: reflexões sobre um campo de pesquisa. *Teoria & Educação*, 2, 177-229.
- Chevallard, Y. (2013). Sobre a teoria da transposição didática: algumas considerações introdutórias. *Revista de Educação, Ciências e Matemática*, 3(2), 1-14.
- Chevallard, Y. (1991). *La transposition didactique: du savoir savant au savoir enseigné*. Grenoble, FR: La Pensée Sauvage.
- Cohen, R. H. P. (2006). *A lógica do fracasso escolar*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Contracapa Livraria.
- Collares, C. A. L., & Moysés, M. A. A. (1992). A história não contada dos distúrbios de aprendizagem. *Caderno Cedes*, (28), 31-48.

- Collares, C. A. L., & Moysés, M. A. A. (1996). *Preconceitos no cotidiano escolar - ensino e medicalização*. São Paulo, SP: Cortez Editora.
- Collares, C. A. L., & Moysés, M. A. A. (1994). A transformação do espaço pedagógico em espaço clínico (a patologização da educação). *Publicação Série Ideias*, (23), 25-31. Recuperado de:
http://www.crmariocovas.sp.gov.br/pdf/ideias_23_p025-031_c.pdf
- Cunha, M. V. (1997). A desqualificação da família para educar. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 102, 44-64. Recuperado de:
<http://publicacoes.fcc.org.br/index.php/cp/article/view/739/753>
- Cunha, M. V. (2003). A escola contra a família. In E. M. T. Lopes, L. M. Faria Filho & C. G. V. Veiga, *500 anos de educação no Brasil* (p. 447- 468). Belo Horizonte, MG: Autêntica.
- Decroly, O. (1932). Iniciação na leitura e na escrita. *Revista Educação*, VI(1-3), 135-139.
- Desaulniers, J. B. R. (2002). A formação via impresso. In D. B. Catani & M. H. C. Bastos (Orgs.), *Educação em Revista. A imprensa periódica e a História da Educação* (p. 127-153). São Paulo, SP: Escrituras.
- Faria Filho, L. M. (2000). Para entender a relação Escola-família: uma contribuição da história da educação. *São Paulo em Perspectiva*, 14(2), 44-50. Recuperado de:
<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/spp/v14n2/9787.pdf>.
- Foucault, M. (2007). *A ordem do discurso*. São Paulo, SP: Edições Loyola.
- Geertz, C. (2013). *A interpretação das culturas*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: LTC.
- Goodson, I. (1997). *A construção social do currículo*. Lisboa, PT: Educa.
- Goodson, I. (2008). *Currículo: teoria e história*. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes.
- Gouveia, A. J. (1971). A pesquisa educacional no Brasil. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 1, 1-48.

- Gualtieri, R. C. E. (2013). Liberdade esclarecida: a formação de professores nos anos 1930. *Revista HISTEDBR On-Line*, 13(52), 198-214. doi: <https://doi.org/10.20396/rho.v13i52.8640238>
- Gualtieri, R. C. E. (2008). Leituras de formação: raça, corpo e higiene em publicação pedagógica do início do século XX. *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação*, 8(3 [18]), 49-67. Recuperado de: <http://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/40813>
- Limongi, F. M. P. (1988). *Educadores e empresários culturais na construção da USP* (Dissertação de Mestrado). Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas. Recuperado de: <http://www.repositorio.unicamp.br/handle/REPOSIP/278976>
- Lourenço Filho, M. B. (1930). *Introdução ao estudo da Escola Nova*. São Paulo, SP: Companhia Editora Melhoramentos.
- Machado, A. M. (1997). Avaliação e fracasso: a produção coletiva da queixa escolar. In J. G. Aquino (Org.), *Erro e Fracasso na escola: alternativas teóricas e práticas* (p. 73-90). São Paulo, SP: Summus.
- Martinez, C. P. (1931). O lar e a escola. *Revista Educação*, IV(1 e 2), 15-22.
- Monarcha, C. (1997). Lourenço Filho e a Bibliotheca de Educação (1927-1941). In C. Monarcha (Org.), *Lourenço Filho. Outros aspectos, mesma obra* (p. 27-57) Campinas, SP: Mercado de Letras.
- Monarcha, C. (2004). Revistas de Educação e Ensino – São Paulo – 1892/1944. In *Anais do 3º Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação*. Recuperado de: <http://sbhe.org.br/novo/congressos/cbhe3/Documentos/Individ/Eixo4/149.pdf>
- Moysés, M. A. A. (2001). *A institucionalização invisível - crianças que não-aprendem-na-escola*. Campinas, SP: FAPESP.
- Moysés, M. A. A., & Collares, C. A. L. (2008). A medicalização na educação infantil e no ensino fundamental e as políticas de formação docente. A medicalização do não aprender na escola e a invenção da infância anormal. In *Anais do 31ª Reunião Anual da Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação (Anped)*. Caxambu, MG. Recuperado de:

http://31reuniao.anped.org.br/4sessao_especial/se%20-%2012%20-%20maria%20aparecida%20affonso%20moyses%20-%20participante.pdf

Nóvoa, A. (2002). A imprensa de educação e ensino: concepção e organização do repertório português. In D. B. Catani & M. H. C. Bastos (Orgs.), *Educação em Revista. A imprensa periódica e a História da Educação* (p. 11-31). São Paulo, SP: Escrituras.

Oliveira, J. P., Santos, S. A., Aspilicueta, P., & Cruz, G. C. (2012). Concepções de professores sobre a temática das chamadas dificuldades de aprendizagem. *Revista Brasileira de Educação Especial*, 18(1), 93-112. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-65382012000100007>

Patto, M. H. S. (1999). *A produção do fracasso escolar. Histórias de submissão e rebeldia*. São Paulo, SP: Casa do Psicólogo.

Patto, M. H. S. (1981). Da psicologia do “desprivilegiado” à psicologia do oprimido. In M. H. S. Patto. *Introdução à psicologia escolar* (p. 208-228) São Paulo, SP: T. A. Queiroz.

Paulilo, A. L., & Gil, N. (2017). Rendimento do ensino no Brasil: os problemas que os números configuram e os usos das estatísticas de educação (1910-1938). *Currículo sem Fronteiras*, 17(1), 35-59. Recuperado de: <http://www.curriculosemfronteiras.org/vol17iss1articles/paulilo-gil.pdf>

Pinto, N. S. (1935). *Revista de Educação*, XI-XII (11-12), 30-31.

Ramos, A. (1939). *A criança problema: a hygiene mental na escola primária*. São Paulo, SP: Editora Nacional.

Silveira, N. M. (1933). Serviço de Psicologia Aplicada. *Revista de Educação*, IV(4), 84-116.

Silveira, N. M. (1933). Serviço de Psicologia Aplicada. *Revista de Educação*, IV(4), 84-116.

Silveira, O. (1934). Educação infantil. Poderá a escola primária responder convenientemente à sua múltipla inteligência, quando lhe falte a educação infantil? *Revista de Educação*, VI(6), 32-36.

- Smolka, A. L. B. (2006). Experiência e discurso como lugares de memória: a escola e a produção de lugares comuns. *Pro-Posições*, 17(2), 99-118. Recuperado de: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/proposic/article/view/8643630/11149>
- Sodré, A. F. (1932). Alfabetização rápida. *Revista Educação*, VIII(6-7), 33-39.
- Sousa, C. P. (2002). A educação pelas leituras: registros de uma Revista Escolar (1930-1960). In D. B. Catani & M. H. C. Bastos (Orgs.), *Educação em Revista. A imprensa periódica e a história da educação* (p. 93-109) São Paulo, SP: Escrituras.
- Sousa, C. P., & Catani, D. B. (1994). A imprensa periódica educacional e as fontes para a história da cultura escolar brasileira. *Revista Do Instituto De Estudos Brasileiros*, (37), 177-183. doi: <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-901X.v0i37p177-183>
- Souza, R. F. (2017). A formação do cidadão moderno: a seleção cultural para a escola primária nos manuais de Pedagogia (Brasil e Portugal, 1870-1920). *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, 13(3[33]), 257-283. Recuperado de: <http://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/40797>
- Souza, R. F., & Ávila, V. P. S. (2014). As disputas em torno do ensino primário rural (São Paulo, 1931-1947). *História da Educação*, 18(43), 13-32. doi: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S2236-34592014000200002>
- Toledo, J. P. (1937). O rendimento escolar. *Revista de Educação*, XIX-XX (19-20), 147-155.
- Torres, R. M. (2004). Repetência escolar: falha do aluno ou falha do sistema? In A. Marchesi & C. G. Hernández. *Fracasso escolar: uma perspectiva multicultural* (p. 34-42). Porto Alegre, RS: Artmed.
- Vial, M. (1985). Um desafio à democratização do ensino: o fracasso escolar. In Z. Brandão. *Democratização do ensino: meta ou mito?* (p. 11-23). Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Francisco Alves.

Vincent, G., Lahire, B., & Thin, D. (2001). Sobre a história e a teoria da forma escolar. *Educação em Revista*, (33), 7-47.

Viñao, A. (2012). A história das disciplinas escolares. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, 8(3 [18]), 173-215. Recuperado de:
<http://www.periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/40818>

REGINA CÂNDIDA ELLERO GUALTIERI: PhD in Social History from the São Paulo University [Universidade de São Paulo] Associate Professor at the Education Department, in the Graduate Education Program [Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação] (PPGE) and in the Graduate Education and Health Program [Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação e Saúde] (PPGES) at the Federal University of São Paulo, Guarulhos campus.

E-mail: regina.gualtieri@unifesp.br
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2085-0988>

Received: 06.15.2020

Approved: 03.18.2021

Published (portuguese version): 18.06.2021

Published (english version): 07.11.2021

Responsible associate editor:

José Gonçalves Gondra (UERJ)

E-mail: gondra.uerj@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0669-1661>

How to cite this article:

Gualtieri, R. C. E. Disciplinary and learning difficulties as constitutive features of modern school. Notes on the Revista de Educação in 1930s. (2021). *Brazilian Journal of History of Education*, 21. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4025/10.4025/rbhe.v21.2021.e178>

This article is published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 (CC-BY 4) License.