

SCHOOL INSPECTORS GUIDANCE ON TEACHER'S EDUCATION FROM 1970 TO 1976: A LOOK OVER SÃO PAULO

A ORIENTAÇÃO DOS INSPETORES ESCOLARES NA FORMAÇÃO DE PROFESSORES NO PERÍODO DE 1970 A 1976: UM OLHAR SOBRE SÃO PAULO

LA ORIENTACIÓN DE LOS INSPECTORES ESCOLARES EN LA FORMACIÓN DE PROFESORES EN EL PERÍODO DE 1970 HASTA 1976: UNA MIRADA SOBRE SÃO PAULO

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ABSTRACT: This article discusses isolated school teachers' training practices in Assis-São Paulo state from 1970 to 1976. That education was led by school inspectors with the help of state Pedagogical Guidance Service. This is a documental research with transnational approach concerning education history which analyzed teachers' education practices through speeches registered in pedagogical meeting minute. The inspectors were responsible for guiding and supervise the syllabus whose implementation would increase education quality in the state by eliminating grade failure in primary schools and meet the guidelines enforced by an economic development program signed up between Brazil and the United States of America.

KEYWORDS: Teachers' education. School inspectors. Elementary schooling. SEROP (Pedagogical Guidance Service in Portuguese). Isolated schools.

RESUMO: Este artigo discute as práticas de formação de professores das escolas isoladas do município de Assis, Estado de São Paulo, no período de 1970 a 1976. Essa formação era conduzida pelos inspetores escolares que contavam com apoio do Serviço de Orientação Pedagógica do estado. Este trabalho é resultado de uma pesquisa documental, na perspectiva transnacional da história da educação que analisou as práticas de formação docente por meio dos discursos registrados nas atas de reuniões pedagógicas. Os inspetores tinham sob sua responsabilidade a orientação e a fiscalização na implantação de um currículo que, supunha-se, trazer ao estado melhor qualidade na educação com a erradicação da repetência no ensino primário e, também, no cumprimento das diretrizes impostas por um programa de desenvolvimento econômico assinado entre Brasil e Estados Unidos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Formação de professores. Inspetores escolares. Ensino elementar. SEROP. Escolas isoladas.

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RESUMEN: Este artículo discute prácticas de formación de profesores de escuelas aisladas del municipio de Assis, estado de São Paulo, en el período que comprende los años 1970 hasta 1976. Esa formación era conducida por los inspectores escolares que contaban con el Servicio de Orientación Pedagógica del estado. Este trabajo es resultado de una investigación documental, bajo la perspectiva transnacional de la historia de la educación que analizó las prácticas de formación docente utilizando los discursos registrados en las atas de reuniones pedagógicas. Los inspectores tenían bajo su responsabilidad la orientación y la fiscalización de un currículo que, se suponía, trajera al estado mejor calidad educacional con la erradicación de la repitencia en la educación primaria y, además, el cumplimiento de las directrices impuestas por un programa de desarrollo económico firmado entre Brasil y Estados Unidos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Formación de profesores. Inspectores escolares. Enseñanza elemental. SEROP. Escuelas aisladas.

Introduction

The emergence of schools and, later, the organization of education systems and policies that made schooling mandatory were fundamental investments for the consolidation of the country as a nation within the republican ideal. It is possible to identify connections and interdependencies in this organization of school education in other countries, which led us to studies in the history of education from a transnational perspective, in a constant movement between the local and the global.

In this approach, the history of Education brings the possibility to analyze the lives and experiences of the subjects, in a movement capable of highlighting its multiple dimensions within these spaces, favoring the historian's work with primary sources (VIDAL, 2020).

It should be noted that this research is linked to the Project “Knowledge and Practices in borders: for a transnational history of education (1810...)”, linked to FAPESP (Process 2018/26699-4).

In this article, our objective was to characterize the teacher formation practices of isolated schools in São Paulo through the minutes of pedagogical meetings and, along the way, highlight its aspects for later identification of the borders and territories of a transnational history of education. These formation practices were conducted by the school inspectors of the Elementary Education Department of Assis between 1970 and 1976. The choice for this local analysis approach brought us closer to public education in the state of São Paulo in the period in question, since the organization of the Education occurred in a similar

way in all Elementary Education Precincts in the state, moreover, this was a period with important changes in educational policies.

To understand this path, however, we have to go back to the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, in view of the significant change in the role of the school promoted by the reforms in the educational models of that period. In São Paulo, primary education was made mandatory by Law no. 9 of 22 March 1874, institutionalizing the public primary school and moving towards the materialization of the republican project of social reform.

In the search for consolidating this school model, capable of spreading republican values, education in São Paulo carries out educational reforms such as the “Reform of Public Instruction” in 1892, which defined the form of organization of the primary school and its obligatory nature from 7 to 12 years old. Then, in 1920, another “Public Instruction Reform” of the state created the Teaching Precincts, highlighting the expansion of the State's responsibility with the expansion of the mass school and the need to structure public administration (SOUZA, 1998).

This model of primary school will only be transformed with the reform of primary and secondary education that occurred with Law no. 5692 of 11 August 1971. And it is in this context of educational reforms, still within the military period, that we analyze from the pedagogical organization of teacher formation actions carried out by school inspectors.

The political scenario and Educational Legislation

Primary schools in the early 1970s were organized in the State of São Paulo into school groups and isolated schools, a classification based on Law no. 1579, of 19 December 1917, which established several provisions on “Public Instruction of the State” reaffirmed in the 1920 reform.

Isolated schools, as described by Souza (2009) were the basis of changes in the organization of nineteenth-century schools of first letters, however, even

[...] endowed with a more modern organizational structure, these schools with a single teacher teaching classes with different levels of knowledge [...], started to occupy a secondary place in the primary education system of São Paulo, being discredited by public authorities and by teachers (SOUZA, 2009, p. 148, our translation).

In the early years of the 20th century, isolated schools could be installed on the outskirts of urban areas, in industrial districts or towns. However, they were identified as rural

schools and mainly served students from rural neighborhoods, and when they worked in three periods - morning, afternoon and evening - they received urban students in evening courses, their main characteristic was that a single teacher led a class in which three levels of schooling worked simultaneously, according to Mitrulis (1993, p. 1, our translation):

[...] the first, second and third primary years, with the subdivision of the first year in sections A, B and C formed according to the students' difficulties. This class, organized in this way, served 15 to 40 students with ages ranging from 7 to 14 years old.

School groups, on the other hand, were better structured schools than isolated schools and were located in central areas of cities, had "a set of classes, each of which was designed for a specific group of students with a given level of education, attributed to a teacher" (MITRULIS, 1993, p. 1, our translation).

The Elementary Education Precincts, in turn, were created by Law No. 1750, of 8 December 1920 as described in its article 6:

§ 1 - The regional delegates are obliged to reside in the headquarters of the respective regions, and the inspectors where the general director of Public Instruction determines them, and some may be removed by the Government. [...] (SÃO PAULO, 1920).

The first regional teaching precincts³ were installed in the municipalities of Araraquara, Bauru, Botucatu, Campinas, in the capital, Casa Branca, Catanduva, Guaratinguetá, Itapetininga, Piracicaba, Ribeirão Preto, Santos, Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo, São Carlos and Taubaté. The municipality of Assis, according to this decree, belonged to the Regional Precinct of Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo. The creation of the "Assis Teaching Precinct" took place by Decree No. 14.542 of 16 February 1945 and had under its jurisdiction the schools in the municipalities of Assis, Cândido Mota, Echaporã, Ibirarema, Lutécia, Maracaí, Palmital, Paraguaçu Paulista and Quatá.

With the development and growth in the number of enrollments, there was an expansion of Teaching Precinct and, consequently, of inspector positions.

The school inspectors were created by Law no. 520 of 26 August 1897 and Decree no. 1883 of 6 June 1910, the inspectorates were reorganized and the attributions of school inspectors defined, as noted in Articles 18 and 19:

Article 18. - The school inspector is responsible for:

³ Law no. 1,750/1920 was regulated by Decree no. 3356, of 31 May 1921, which, in its article 31, defined which were the headquarters cities of the 15 Precincts installed in the State.

1. Appear every day at the General Directorate when not on duty as determined by the director, in order to assist him in the work entrusted to him;
2. Frequently visit schools in the area under his/her responsibility in accordance with the instructions of the general director, drawing up an end of his visit;
3. Receive complaints and representations about the service under their responsibility, transmitting them to the general director, when they are not competent to resolve them;
4. Instruct group directors and teachers on the fulfillment of their duties;
5. Guide the group directors and teachers in the technical organization of their classes and in the adoption of teaching methods and processes recommended by the general director;
6. Impose penalties that are within its competence to the directors of groups and teachers for the faults they commit;
7. To hold public conferences on subjects that interest teaching and contribute to the civic education of the people;
8. Inquire from the teachers the modification that it is convenient to introduce in the school regimen;
9. Send monthly an exposition of the services performed to the general director;
10. Annually submit to the general director a detailed report on education in the area covered, proposing improvements and modifications that are deemed convenient to introduce into the school system, expressing opinion about the teachers;
11. Promote, in agreement with the municipalities, the school statistics service;
12. Propose to the general director, basing the proposal, the inclusion of the names of the professors in the "Honor Book", of the general directorate;
13. Comply with and enforce all Government and Director General determinations related to education.

Article 19 - The inspection and monitoring of Complementary Schools in the interior, as well as school groups, gathered and isolated schools, located in the municipalities where those work, will be under the responsibility of a single school inspector (SÃO PAULO, 1897, our translation).

This excerpt aims to clarify how the inspector's role was already characterized at the beginning of the century by the dichotomy in its attributions of inspection and technical guidance. According to Mitrulis (1993, s/p, our translation)

[...] beside its functions in the administrative structure, the school inspectorate would exercise a much more noble one, which is to "embody" the legislation, not in terms of its letter, but of spirit. The School Inspectors would represent the outposts of the educational policy of the State and the Country. Historically, the functions with attribution of control arise at the same time in which the teaching systems were organized.

As can be seen, this profile would serve the purposes of the State, especially during the military period, when school inspectors became fundamental for the implementation of educational policy in the developmental economic context marked by the recovery of the "Pan-American spirit" with the approximation of United States (SILVA JR., 1984, p. 48).

In this context, the conceptions about the role of the inspector began to be outlined by educators who participated in internships at PABAEE⁴ – Brazilian-American Assistance Program for Elementary Education, whose published material served to update and improve the professional development of many Brazilian educators. In the words of Silva Jr. (1984, p. 50, our translation) “the content of the courses reflected and disseminated the predominant conceptions in that special body [...] its simple existence awakened [...] the condition of uncontested authority[...]”.

In 1974, the inspectors were replaced by Supervisors⁵, becoming specialists in education and maintaining the eternal dichotomy between the administrative function and the pedagogical function, since the hierarchy and the concept of control were fundamental in that period. According to Silva Jr. (1984, p. 48, our translation) "the remnants of national developmentalism cultivated and worshiped by the ISEB⁶ [Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies]" were the birthplace of supervision, especially with the educational reforms initiated with the implementation of the LDB - Law of Guidelines and Bases - and the 1971 reforms.

The first Law of Guidelines and Bases in the country, Law 4,024, of 20 December 1961, passed through the Congress for thirteen years before being approved and, due to this delay in its implementation, in the early 1970s, it had omissions or formulations considered outdated for the new moment of Brazilian education, that is, the aforementioned law no longer met the wishes of a period in history that glimpsed industrial development and rapid economic growth, mainly due to the North American developmental alliances, which so influenced in this period. Thus, the aim was to quickly train the workforce to leverage progress, but the structure of the Brazilian school contained in the LDB was supported by four “superimposed and non-integrated” school grades, which were primary, junior high, high school and higher, and from elementary school to junior high, there was an entrance exam barrier, in addition to the entrance exam between high school and college. This model ended up defining the social stratification that could no longer be admitted given the need for human resources (BOYNARD; GARCIA; ROBERT, 1971).

⁴ PABAEE (Brazilian-American Assistance Program for Elementary Education) was a program created by the agreement of the Ministry of Culture, the Government of Minas Gerais and the USOM of Brazil, United States Operation Mission to Brazil, on 22 June 1956, having the main objective to improve Brazilian elementary education, which later arrives in São Paulo through the SEC.

⁵ Complementary Law No. 114, of 13 November 1974, which institutes the Statute of Public Teaching of 1st and 2nd degrees, defines as specialists within the framework of teaching the pedagogical advisor, the School Director and the Pedagogical Supervisor, thus characterizing the pedagogical technical character. This change was part of the Administrative Reform of the Department of Education that began in 1973, as a result of the 1971 education reform itself.

⁶ ISEB was created by Decree no. 37,608, of 14 July 1955, as an autonomous body of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

It should be noted that the educational reform introduced in 1971 had the military regime as an ideological political context, materialized in the concept of education marked by nationalism and technicality, whose objective was to strengthen faster education for entry into the labor market. and, consequently, less and less academic, thus accentuating the precariousness of education that offered the privileged a propaedeutic education and, to the proletariat, an instrumental education to serve the market and the development of the nation. The military also defended that education valued Christian morality, based on moral and civic education, as they considered it essential to restore order in the country and also envisioned a nation towards development, along the North American lines, to serve the market with obedience and technical mastery, for this it was necessary to take care of education by expanding it, implementing a curriculum with content that met well-defined objectives and, finally, preparing teachers for the implementation of a modern and development-promoting education, all these pillars also aimed at overcoming the high rates of school failure in primary education.

Investigation path

The basis of this documental research are the school records belonging to the Dr. Clybas Pinto Ferraz State School located in Assis, in the interior of São Paulo, which housed, from 1964 onwards, the headquarters of the first State School in the city, created in the 1930s. This archive presents, in its amplitude, documentation referring to the organization of isolated schools, old school groups, as well as state schools that had their buildings donated to the municipality, between 1998 and 2000, with the municipalization policy.

These materials allow us to get closer to the way in which state and municipal public education was carried out and constitute part of a vast collection that still remains as primary documentation. It highlights aspects of the implementation of the “new curriculum” and the organization of pedagogical training for teachers in the period of the teaching reform in the 1970s.

The choice for the cut from 1970 to 1976 occurs through the publication of Law no. 5692/1971, which underlies the reform of elementary and high school education in the country and its implementation in the state of São Paulo, which took place in 1973.

In order to carry out this research, the Pedagogical Meetings found in the Minutes book were analyzed for recording these meetings with teachers from Isolated, State and Municipal Schools, in the city of Assis. The meetings, until 1974, were chaired by a school

inspector and an auxiliary inspector linked to the Regional Elementary School of Assis and this was a practice carried out throughout the state, as described by Mitoulis (1993, p. 40, our translation)

Every month, the Isolated School Teachers met at the headquarters of the Auxiliary Province with the School Inspector and the Teaching Assistant. It was the day of the Pedagogical Meeting. It usually coincided with the day the Professor received his salary.

Inspectors and assistants had as one of their attributions the responsibility for guiding teacher education. Thus, the decree⁷ that defines its attributions has, among other functions, that of "meeting monthly the teachers of isolated schools in the municipality, to guide them and provide them with technical assistance", which was fulfilled, as can be observed in said minutes. The headquarters of the pedagogical meetings to guide these teachers was the "Lucas Tomaz Menk" School Group, in Assis.

The organization and context in which the pedagogical meetings took place, as well as the changes brought about by the legislation, formed the panorama of the curriculum and outlined the formation of teachers in the midst of the Military Dictatorship in public schools in São Paulo.

The minutes record the voices that echoed in the pedagogical meetings, and it is through these discourses that we carry out a transnational analysis within the studies of the history of education.

Vidal (2020, p. 10, our translation), when defining this approach, takes us to definitions that start with the formation of the Nation-State and the concept of territory, as this is a space delimited by borders that, in his words, are the "limit between "us" and "them", physical and symbolic barrier separating the inside from the outside". In this way, the spaces are constituted amidst the multiplicity of voices that, with their histories, give rise to ideas that denounce the impossibility of homogeneity, as these voices tell us about practices "materialized in subjects and artifacts, as conditions of multiplicity and simultaneity of stories in territories".

And so, Vidal, (2020, p. 11, our translation) explains the relevance of this

[...] approach to the transnational history of education, insofar as it retains, in its own name, the reference to the Nation and, consequently, to the delimitation of borders and to the historically constituted flat territorialization. Primacy is epistemological and applies to both history and

⁷ Decree no. 17,698, of 26 November 1947, in its article 269, deals with the attributions of the auxiliary inspector.

education. With regard to history, it is worth noting that the discipline is produced as a science in the context of the construction of Nation-States, with intimate links with the debate of themes around the national.

The territorial marks imposed by the State aim to imprint a certain homogeneity, however, the circulation of people and ideas ends up promoting mutual influence between insiders and outsiders. Thus, when we analyze the formation of teachers conducted by School Inspectors, we have in the records of the minutes, evidence that local practices and discourses dialogued with ideas beyond their borders, referring to a broader dimension.

When resuming the concept and formation of the Nation-State, Bourdieu (2014, s/p, our translation) warns us that the State is an illusion, it is an entity that exists through belief, it is therefore not a subject, but personified as in figure of, for example: “an inspector of primary education who goes to visit a school. He has to perform an act of a perfectly particular kind: he goes to inspect. Represents the central power. [...] there is an authority that inhabits his person”.

The State is a field of power, "that is, a space structured according to oppositions linked to specific forms of capital, different interests" and that exerts a symbolic authority and, in this field of power relations, we seek to understand how ideas circulate and influence mutually considering, mainly, teachers in pedagogical formation guided by school inspectors, whose model of authority was designed in the agreements between Brazil and the United States.

According to Vidal (2020, p. 26, our translation) research, in a transnational approach to education, helps us to think about this circulation of

[...] ideas, knowledge and pedagogical models from a notion of geopolitical borders and the transference paradigm, by bringing to light the permeabilities existing in social, political, economic and cultural exchanges.

The primary sources record the space-time in which teacher formation practices took place, how they took place and what meanings can be apprehended. Furthermore, what were the ideas that influenced such practices are guiding questions of this research.

Pedagogical Meetings: Teacher formation by School Inspectors

The records of the minutes of the analyzed pedagogical meetings follow a pattern in their organization, both in administrative and organizational aspects, as well as in pedagogical aspects, always conducted by a school inspector.

The administrative aspects discussed at the beginning of each meeting, almost all on the last day of the month or the first working day of the following month, were chaired by the Inspector who “collected the monthly summaries for the current month”, as recorded in all the minutes. The summaries were attendance reports of students and teachers from isolated schools that should be delivered to the inspector so that he could provide the necessary notes at the Elementary Education Department, both for monitoring the students' school life, and for preparing the teachers' payroll. Among the administrative issues, inspectors were also responsible for organizing the functional life of teachers, as noted:

The inspector then gave the following notice: the substitutes who enter must hand in the bookkeeping books on the day they leave school. He also said that they should get a folder and all the seniority certificates for additional purposes. The replacements were also asked for CR\$ 1.00 (one cruzeiro) to pay the payroll. It was a warning, I say, asked to the effective teachers to bring the ID number for the purposes of verification (Minute 31/08/1970, our translation).

But in most minutes, there is the distribution of administrative activities under the responsibility of the inspectors to be carried out by the teachers, such as:

The inspector then advised on the request made by the D.O. [Official Journal] about the enrollment survey for the first year for the next school year. This survey must include students who have completed seven years of age and those who will complete by 31 December, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one (Minute 30/09/1970, our translation).

And, in the minutes of 30/11/1970, it is registered:

*[...] The inspector then distributed sheets for the material, I mean, for the inventory of material at the school. School material of private origin should be noted on a separate sheet. He then gave us a **full explanation** of how the Final Assessment should be carried out. Only the second and fourth years must take the final exams. In the other grades, an evaluation must be carried out for classification control. The papers to be presented on the next fourteenth day are the following: inventory – registration – examination chart – term of examinations and complete bookkeeping. [...] (Minute 30/11/1970, author's highlights, our translation)⁸*

Note the volume of administrative activities that inspectors entrusted to teachers in isolated schools, mainly in recording the "papers" that should be provided for the next meeting, described in these minutes, one by one, separated by dashes, highlighting them. In

⁸ During this period, due to the high failure rates, they reorganized teaching into levels I and II, each with two years, thus, in the passage from 1st to 2nd grade, belonging to level I, there was no failure, as well as from 3rd to the 4th grade, which made up Level II. The final exams, therefore, were only applied to 2nd and 4th grade students.

addition, it is emphatically recorded how the inspectors took care to ensure that everything was carried out, to the point of being a “full explanation”, as noted by the professor at the secretary of the meeting.

According to Mitrulis (1993, p. 40, our translation)

[...] traditionally, Pedagogical Meetings have been known to be more administrative than actually pedagogical. As a general rule, Pedagogical Meetings are seen as another moment of bureaucratic control by the teacher.

As noted, the statements corroborate the description brought by the author.

With regard to pedagogical organization, it should be noted that inspectors brought specialists to each meeting to guide teachers in relation to the content determined by the pedagogical guidance sectors (SOP, Portuguese initials).

The creation of the SOP was made official in 1966 by the Head of Primary Education of the Secretary of State for Education, "with the purpose of educational renewal in the common schools of the official network and with direct and continuous assistance" (MITRULIS, 1993, p. 160, our translation).

Before describing the pedagogical aspects found in the minutes, it is important to clarify the role of the School Inspectors who, even before the officialization of the SOP, were prepared for the direct control of teacher education, as described by Mitrulis (1993, p. 166, our translation):

Until the end of 1965, School Inspectors will receive particular attention from the Head of Primary Education, interested in making this class of professionals effective links between SOP teams, producers of guidance and plans for teaching units and pedagogical support material, and teaching practices within each classroom. Inspectors will be guided to understand their functions as administrative supervision and pedagogical supervision [...]

The SOP was regulated by Ordinance no. 79 of 16 June 1966, which expanded the services to the offices of Elementary Education Departments of the State, with the implementation of the Regional Educational Guidance Sectors (SEROP, Portuguese initials) and established its attributions, among them, the development of activities and formation for primary schools, under the supervision of the inspectorate.

According to Silva Jr. (1984, p. 59, our translation), the result of the work of the regional sectors was considered by those responsible for the Secretary of State for Education as positive and this "generated the conviction of the validity of its systematization and institutionalization", which led to the expansion of this service, in 1968, with the institution of

the Pedagogical Assistance Sector (SAP) and the Regional Pedagogical Assistance Sectors (SERAP, Portuguese initials) together with the regional inspectorates of normal and secondary education. It is observed that by serving normal schools, the State would be training future teachers within the policy that was being developed. This movement aimed at pedagogical assistance aimed to unify the curriculum that was being designed for the formation of primary teachers in the regular course.

During this period there were two Teaching Precincts, one that took care of elementary education and the other that took care of normal and secondary education, including professional education, justifying the existence of two distinct pedagogical sectors, SEROP and SERAP.

In the minutes of the pedagogical meetings there is a record of the monthly formation carried out by specialist teachers, at the request of the inspector. The formation proposal was clearly unilateral in that the SEROP specialist offered the content through the presentation of organized models that were brought by him, and which, according to the records, should be followed by the teachers. It is possible to identify how this happened, according to the minutes of the meeting of 03/04/1971:

*[...] Then began the study of some handouts prepared by SEROP in Assisi, on lesson plans for level I and II reading. For the first year of Level I, we were presented with a “model” plan for storytelling, **to be carried out by everyone**. An interesting aspect of the plan: “the teacher must have previously made, in a serial album, a sequence of pictures according to the story to be given”. We were also provided with a series of suggestions for activities related to reading. For the second year of Level I, third and fourth year of Level II, the reading plan refers to a poem with all the basic steps and is accompanied by a supplementary plan as a related activity. **It is also a “model” and should be applied by all teachers**. After the comments made, we reached the conclusion that **these documents** are of great value in the development of reading, and that if they are executed they will be of great benefit to the student (author’s highlights, our translation).*

The models, according to the record, would be very useful for the student, but it is observed that the focus at that time is on teaching supported by programmed instruction, through which sequential steps were developed about the structure of the language, as in this example. And, as highlighted, the models should be applied by all teachers. However, there is an aspect in this discourse that calls our attention, the word model placed in quotation marks and, as a result, the declaration that this model should be followed by everyone, even though they emphasized that it was just a model. Such highlight in quotation marks seems to show a certain irony of the professor who was the secretary of this meeting, given the clear intention

of a monologic speech of silencing. In view of the pedagogical determinations, all that remained was to comply with them, as in these meetings there is no record of a single moment for teachers to socialize their experiences or discuss the difficulties faced in the daily lives of their classrooms, which are so lonely in isolated schools. In another minutes, dated 02/10/1976, corroborating this idea, it is recorded:

*The prof. Dirceu also recalled that the Curriculum Guides bring the themes and the teacher should measure the depth of the subject according to his class. All themes should be attacked, even if lightly. [...] The teacher Aparecida [...] opined that lately a lot of importance has been given to roles and **that the essence of teaching is being forgotten**. Professor Claudette [...] suggested that **the ability of some teachers be used** in the sense that at each meeting one of them would give suggestions for activities. [...] (Author's highlights, our translation).*

The teachers courageously, in an act of resistance, took a stand against the volume of content offered to them in the pedagogical guidelines with the curricular guides that, it seems, did not meet what the teacher considered the essence of teaching. It is noteworthy that the teachers' act of resistance only appears in the 1976 minutes, when the pedagogical meetings were conducted by supervisors. There is also the suggestion that they should be given control of the teaching action in the preparation of teaching activities. In these minutes there is no record that such suggestions had been accepted, nor in the following ones, on the contrary, they ended up being overtaken by the requests of the supervisors, who were the personification of the State in the exercise of its authority.

This authority was necessary for the implementation of the Teaching Reform of 1st and 2nd degrees in São Paulo, as provided for in article 72 of law 5,692/1971, which determined the implementation of the reform gradually with the preparation of a state plan and this reform brought significant changes in the organization of school education, as described by Ferraz:

[...] it became imperative the formation of teachers and education specialists on a new basis, as well as their constant improvement and updating mandatory; [...] all the supervision charges of 1st and 2nd grade teaching establishments, private and municipal, were transferred to the local systems. (FERRAZ, 1983, p. 65, our translation)

The changes proposed in the reform would require the formation of teachers within the imposed curriculum and, certainly, the supervisory role of supervisors represented the tone of this implementation.

With the implementation of an innovative curriculum, as advocated by the Alliance for Progress⁹ agreement, of teaching materials that could be reproduced and the control of their implementation, which was previously done by school inspectors, would continue to be carried out by supervisors. This proposal, which was based on the mere reproduction of models, when applied, made technical guidance superimpose the knowledge of teachers' pedagogical practice.

In the records analyzed from 1970 to 1973¹⁰, the orientations were carried out by specialists in National Language, Mathematics and Moral and Civic Education and Science, monthly and under the presidency of an inspector. SEROP experts provided the models and formed teachers on how these models should be replicated in the classrooms of isolated schools. The inspector, as described in his attributions, was responsible for monitoring and inspecting in order to ensure that these contents would reach the students, which appears emphatically in all the minutes.

The imposition and control exercised by the School Inspectors in the application of the curriculum appears in the minutes with an emphasis on mandatory, as can be seen in the minutes of 30/04/1970

The Inspector immediately afterwards gave a slight orientation on the Moral, Social and Civic Education Classes that must be given obligatorily twice a week, whose publication was published in the Official Gazette. of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of March next past (our translation).

There are also more emphatic records that highlight this control in an authoritarian and threatening way, as in 31/10/1970:

The inspector gave us the following warning about the lack of attendance for work: the teacher must report his absence immediately, that is, on the first day back on duty. He also said that the teacher must remain at the school for the entire period even if there are no students. He also reminded us that the authorization to travel is given in precarious conditions and can be suspended as long as there is damage to education. He warned us about the Moral and Civic Education Program that should be given as there will be authorized people who will go through the schools in order to check if the classes are being given accordingly (Minute 31/10/1970, p. 4v, our translation).

⁹ The Alliance for Progress is the name of the economic assistance program in which the United States would provide 20 billion dollars for the promotion of economic development in Latin American countries, having as a requirement, among others, the implementation of innovative processes in education, the which translates as the strengthening of technical education.

¹⁰ In 1973, with the reform of education in the State of São Paulo, the SEROPs were extinguished.

This threatening tone is present in the minutes in different situations related to the reproduction of an alienating curriculum, organized in programmed instruction whose speech was justified by the need to fight the high repetition rates, since this was the country's counterpart in the Alliance for Progress.

In São Paulo, the Elementary Education Precincts were guardians of this mission, because as described by Ferraz (1983) there was a commitment from that federated unit in implementing the reform.

The developmental ideology preached modernization, whose model imposed by the North Americans was printed in the materials and pedagogical guidelines that represented the solution to the problems of school failure registered in the failure of primary school students. With the expansion of schooling to eight years and the publication of the Teaching Reform in São Paulo, the dismantling of this structure begins, with the extinction of the SEROPs for the implementation of the Pedagogical Assistance Directorate responsible for the Curriculum Guides that presented themselves as a central determination for their innovation, these followed the federal guidelines in technical design of curriculum, making the Educational Technology Movement strengthened.

And this model ended up driving the extinction of isolated schools, along with other rural schools, because, as disreputable schools, they did not meet the new educational requirements, it was necessary to change practices, since the objectives had changed. Its extinction occurred when resources for transporting schoolchildren in rural areas were provided for by law, which only occurred with the publication of Law 9,394 of 20 December 1996, the LDB, after the 1988 Constitution.

Final considerations

The minutes books, initially seemed like cold records of facts that occurred in pedagogical meetings, however, in the analysis, the voices of teachers and inspectors emerged. The way in which the teachers recorded the facts, often using graphic signs that emphasized certain situations and, in others, by choosing verbs such as "duty" associated with all the determinations of the inspectors, allowed us to understand how to enforce the that was portrayed in the legislation. The words, never neutral, evidence the dominant ideology, which can be confirmed in legal acts and official opinions that submit teacher education to economic interests outlined by the North American vision of modernity. The authoritarian context is revealed in the written speech, as well as the form of resistance of those who saw themselves

as disqualified as professionals, as they were subjected to the reproduction of materials that, in their perspective, deviated from the essence of teaching. And it was in this local discourse that we were able, therefore, to highlight the weight of the ideology that defined national education at the time when the military signed agreements "opting for an associated development, commanded by international groups located mainly in the United States" and that allowed the entry of capital for the implantation of military power in national territory (COSTA, 2004, s/p, our translation).

The militarized state, with an authoritarian feature, received investments that would finance economic development and, consequently, sovereignty, or at least the idea of dominating its borders. However, due to the fluidity of ideological borders, sovereignty was not being preserved, mainly because the investments required, in return, intervention in the educational field with reforms that ranged from primary education to the training of secondary school teachers. Education is, therefore, the territory of a nation, so when this is outlined by other principles, the silent invasion ends up destroying the greatest wealth of the State.

The boundary between national and North American education, not geographically, but ideologically, shaped the role of specialists in order to control and oversee the implementation of imposed models, as they would thus meet the interests of the hegemonic power that spread across throughout Latin America.

The concept of formation observed in the voices of these subjects was defined by the act of "shaping" the professional within the legal precepts, and this occurred with teachers who had their autonomy snuffed out and, also, with the inspectors who incorporated in the technical guidance, the personification of the inspecting State, which was present in the change from the inspectorate to the supervision and which has been perpetuated until the present day, as can be confirmed in the current legislation¹¹.

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¹¹ Decree no. 64,187, of 17 April 2019. Reorganizes the Department of Education and provides related measures, which in its article 74 defines the supervision attributions.

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