

FROM THE IDEAL TO THE CONCRETE: AN ANALYSIS OF ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA'S SCHOOL SPACE CONSIDERING HIS PEDAGOGY

DO IDEAL AO CONCRETO: UMA ANÁLISE DO ESPAÇO ESCOLAR DE ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA À LUZ DE SUA PEDAGOGIA

DE LO IDEAL A LO CONCRETO: UN ANÁLISIS DEL ESPACIO ESCOLAR DE ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA A LA LUZ DE SU PEDAGOGIA

Victor MAURIC¹
Marina MAURIC²

ABSTRACT: The present article seeks to analyze Anísio Teixeira's school buildings considering his conception of education and society. Based on a qualitative analysis of the Brasília School Building Plan and the New School Manifesto, the article will show the way Anísio saw the organization of the school space, the influence received from John Dewey and the different aspects of what he used to define as an integral education. All these elements define a particular type of sociability and a social reality that shape and is shaped by the architecture of schools. The article also presents some reflections on Anísio's legacy for our days.

KEYWORDS: Anísio Teixeira. school architecture. Plano Piloto. Progressive School.

RESUMO: *O presente artigo busca analisar as edificações escolares de Anísio Teixeira à luz de sua concepção de educação e sociedade. Partindo de uma análise qualitativa do Plano de Edificações Escolares de Brasília e do Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Escola Nova, será mostrada a forma como Anísio encarava a organização do espaço escolar, a influência da filosofia de John Dewey e as diferentes vertentes do que seria um ensino integral. Todos esses elementos definem um tipo particular de sociabilidade e uma realidade social que molda e é moldada pela arquitetura das escolas. Ainda, o artigo apresenta algumas reflexões sobre o legado de Anísio para os nossos dias.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Anísio Teixeira. Arquitetura escolar. Plano Piloto. Escola Progressiva.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo busca analizar los edificios escolares de Anísio Teixeira a la luz de su concepción de la educación y de la sociedad. A partir de un análisis cualitativo del Plan de Construcción de la Escuela de Brasília y del Manifiesto de los Pioneros de la Escuela Nueva, se mostrará cómo Anísio veía la organización del espacio escolar, la influencia de John Dewey y los diferentes aspectos de lo que sería una educación integral. Todos estos elementos definen un tipo particular de sociabilidad y una realidad social que*

¹ University of São Paulo (USP), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Graduating in History. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6311-7789>. E-mail: mauricvictor@gmail.com

² University of São Paulo (USP), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Graduating in Architecture. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1665-2372>. E-mail: marinamauric@usp.br

configura la arquitectura al mismo tiempo que la configura. El artículo también presenta algunas reflexiones sobre el legado de Anísio para nuestros días.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Anísio Teixeira. Arquitectura escolar. Plano Piloto. Escuela Progresiva.*

Introduction

Discussions about the school space constitute a fertile field of interdisciplinary research involving pedagogy and architecture. As physical support of education, school buildings have gained relevance in academic debates. According to Dórea (2013, p. 161), in the context of recent academic productions, the importance acquired by school architecture is the result of a new look at the possible objects of education study. The valorization of school building appears, therefore, as an approach capable of understanding the social and material reality of the school³. Thus, the organization of the building models this reality as, through architecture, it models the forms of occupation of space in that environment.

In this sense, one of the great references in Brazilian pedagogy that understood the importance of school architecture was Anísio Teixeira. Throughout his vast career in public education management, Anísio devoted a significant part of his efforts to remodel school buildings. One of the most famous projects in this sense was the School Construction Plan of Brasília (TEIXEIRA, 1963), carried out with the aim of consolidating an educational plan for the new capital. More than that, the Plan tried to scale the Manifesto of the New School of 1932 (SOUZA, 2015, p. 41), making the document an exquisite source for studying the interlocutions between architectural design and pedagogy.

It is important to emphasize that the pedagogical thinking of Anísio Teixeira was closely related to an ideal of society and, consequently, with a political bias. Anísio's entry into the world of education is a great indication of the phenomenon. The political contacts of the Spinola Teixeira family made it possible to occupy the position of Teaching Manager in Salvador. Before this position in public administration, Anísio had studied little about pedagogy and teaching (NUNES, 2010, p. 16). However, the influence he received from American pedagogy, especially from John Dewey, sealed the idea of a public education focused on the public interest. The Deweyan philosophy has guided Anísio's propositions, both in terms of the role of the school for the student and the role of the school for society.

³ Dórea understands by social and material reality the practices, objects and uses within the school space. These elements give a constitutive part of a specific sociability of the school that also constitutes a particular form of knowledge transmission. (DOREA, p.161).

The architectural designs of the schools of Anísio carry these formulations at their core. From the methodological point of view, we started from the qualitative analysis of two primary sources, the Plan of School Constructions of Brasília (TEIXEIRA, 1961) and the Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New School (AZEVEDO *et al.*, 1984), originally published in 1932. From this, an analysis of the school buildings in perspective with the educator's philosophy was proposed in order to understand how space was meant in the context of those schools and to what extent he was responsible for putting into practice the corresponding theory. To this end, we sought to trace the academic trajectory of Anísio Teixeira in order to map central aspects of his pedagogy. In this sense, it was essential to resort to other works by Anísio Teixeira, as well as to a bibliography dedicated to studying the philosophy of the educator.

Although the work of completion of the Plan of School Constructions of Brasília was interrupted at the time of the 1964 coup, the analysis proposed in the article seeks to reflect on the importance of the physical space of the school for pedagogical practice. Still, when thinking about the terms of this interdisciplinarity in Anísio, the very uses of the school space that we make today are on the agenda.

Life and work of Anísio Teixeira

Anísio was born in Caetité, a city in the interior of Bahia, in the year 1900. His social origin presents him as the son of the union between the Teixeira and Spínola families and allowed access to the best schools of his time. He joined The São Luiz Gonzaga College in 1911 and migrated to Antonio Vieira College in 1914. Nunes (2010) points out that the Jesuit tradition of these schools led Anísio to internalize values and moral norms typical of the Society of Jesus. Especially in this period of his life, Anísio defended an elitist and selective conception of teaching. Ideologically, he approached emblematic figures of Brazilian integralism, such as Plínio Salgado and Jackson de Figueiredo.

The last years of his school life were marked by doubt. Torn between following a religious career or assuming his role as political heir to the family, Anísio goes to Rio de Janeiro to study law. Graduated, he returns to Bahia where he entered the public administration with the position of Inspector General of Teaching of Bahia, in 1924, in the management of Góes Calmon. Commenting on Anísio's work, Nunes (2010) points out that the first contacts with educational theories took place after assuming this position. Faced with the new challenge, he began talks with Antonio Carneiro Leão and Afrânio Peixoto, as well as

reading Omer Buyse's "American Methods of Education". Excited by the new ideas, he makes two trips to the United States to get to know the country's educational system.

On the return of the first trip, made in 1927, Anísio brings with him two certainties that would accompany him throughout his life: the passion for education and the striking influence of John Dewey. Nunes (2000, p. 25) points to contact with Deweyan philosophy as a "maternal lap" for Anísio. It was from this approach that the Brazilian pedagogue reconfigured his identity and conceptions about education and about society itself. Anísio imported from the heart of Dewey's thought the identification of democracy with the moral conduct of the individual, something that, according to Westbrook (2010, p. 19), the American philosopher did not hesitate to affirm.

Dewey believed that democratic values should be introduced into children's lives in the early years of basic education. They would be responsible for inserting the sense of collectivity in the students, who would be led to see their aptitudes from the well-being of the collective. This would be the character to be developed in students and education should act as a pivot to achieve these goals. Westbrook (2010) points out that this conception of Deweyan education was up to time with debates about hegemonic individuality in the American education system. To combat it, it was necessary for the school to foster the social spirit of the child and develop the democratic spirit, organizing itself as a cooperative community.⁴

Nunes (2000, p. 13) shows how Anísio took on for himself and for the Brazilian context the struggle for democracy and for an education for this purpose. As part of a generation of intellectuals who, at the beginning of the 20th century, were concerned with forging the people through classrooms, Anísio tried to introduce reforms in the educational system that would meet the democratic conception of teaching. In summary, Anísio tries to transpose to Brazil the notion that access to the school system would be everyone's right. However, Anísio's contact with the public system, when he assumes the position of Inspector in Bahia, arouses some indignation at the precariousness in which the schools were. Anísio is facing a reality diametrically opposed to that which he lived in Jesuit schools and the one he observed on his travels to North America.

According to Dórea (2013), in 1929 Anísio presented a set of suggestions to the government of Bahia aimed at promoting a progressive reorganization of the education system. He denounced the material conditions of the system as a major obstacle to

⁴For Dewey, the notion of cooperative societies was rooted in a romantic vision of American rural societies (NUNES, 2010, p. 45)

implementing the ideas he brought from his travels. It is worth remembering that, at that moment, Anísio had already made his second trip, during which he studied for 10 months at Teachers College of Columbia. Among the criticisms made by the educator was the omission of the public power in providing the material bases for the colleges. Few schools were in operation in the capital and most of them were located in old mansions already in ruins. They lacked teaching and pedagogical materials, leaving the purchase of these resources at the expense of teachers, who often held the position in an improvised way.

In a later text called "Masters of tomorrow" (TEIXEIRA, 2010), originally published in 1963, Anísio resumes criticism of basic education. The writing is a certain continuity of the problems pointed out in the 1929 report. It uses the situation of developed countries as a counterpoint to the national situation: in these places, the State even provides education to all citizens up to eighteen years. It also places the Brazilian elementary school as intellectually unambitious and, limited to literacy, unable to train men for political, social and economic coexistence. In this passage is clear the influence of Deweyan philosophy. More than a "mediocre initiation to civic life" (TEIXEIRA, 2010, p. 75), which prepared man to be in society, basic school should prepare man to be of society.⁵

Knowing the problems of Brazilian education, Anísio opposes Dewey with regard to the applicability of the Deweyan philosophy to countries considered to be underdeveloped. While the latter believed in the full success of reforms in these places due to the absence of cultural traditions, the former critically denounced the obstacles created by these same traditions to changes in the educational system. In the "Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education", published in 1932, (AZEVEDO *et al.*, 1984) the authors take stock of public education in the 43 years of the republican regime in Brazil. It is concluded in the writing that the reforms made were partial and arbitrary, without economic soundness or global view of the educational problem.

The Manifesto, which had Anísio Teixeira as one of its main creators, preached the transfer of coping with educational problems from the administrative sphere to the social-political sphere. It means that the main cause of the disorganization of the public education system went beyond a purely bureaucratic perspective of the State. The source of the problems was rooted in the projects of political power and in the social function that the school assumed in the period: "lack philosophic and scientific spirit in solving the problems of school administration" (AZEVEDO *et al.*, 1984, p. 407, our translation). This absence

⁵ In this moment, Anísio refers to the Aristotelian conception of the slave. According to him, in the Brazilian educational system in force, the student was, like the slave, prepared to be in society, but not to appropriate it (TEIXEIRA, 2010, p. 77).

reflected in the lack of determined purposes for education from a philosophical, social and technical point of view.

This transformation appears even in what Anísio calls the "art of educating" (TEIXEIRA, 2010). In the writing, originally published in 1957, Anísio draws a comparison between the directions taken by medical science over time and those that should be taken by education. For the author, the medical sciences began to progress from the moment they left aside intuition to embrace conscious investigative methods. This new way of looking at the object of study, in this case education, would allow the origin of a systematized body that would receive the nickname "science". The philosophical and scientific spirit mentioned in the manifesto, therefore, enters into the very organization of teacher education. The performance in the classroom ceases to belong to the universe of the intuitive and particular, as in the classrooms of the old mansions in ruins. The magisterium is now considered by Anísio a university discipline, as he experienced during his visit to Teachers College of Columbia.⁶

Still, it is interesting to note that the Manifesto attributes a historical character to education. In the text, it is recognized that it is linked to the philosophy of each epoch, thus understanding that it is based on the hegemonic philosophy of its time and is, consequently, determined by the structure of society. The traditional education fought by the educators who signed the manifesto was a bourgeois conception guided by the doctrine of liberal individualism. On the contrary, the educational reform should propose a socialized school that "far exceeded the narrow picture of class interests" (AZEVEDO *et al.*, 1984, p. 411, our translation). Work, for the Progressive School, is the way of promoting universal and permanent values, such as community social awareness and a spirit of justice.⁷

If the echoes of John Dewey's philosophy can be perceived in the manifesto's denunciations, in the proposed solutions they become even clearer. In the general lines of the plan of reconstruction of national education are: the establishment of scientific principles for the educational system, the integration of all stages between kindergarten and the university, resume the relations between intellectual and manual workers and, finally, reposition the school in the social environment. Education should cease to be seen as a privilege to become a universal right. The school is now seen as a social institution necessary for survival and, as such, should be reconfigured as a living and malleable organism.

⁶ Anísio believed the low development of the source sciences of education in its time was the reason we would still be distant from a science of education itself. Among the source sciences, i.e., those that studies on the education are the socio-anthropological and psychological (ANÍSIO, 2010, p. 88, our translation).

⁷ The term Progressive School marks an attempt by Anísio to differentiate his pedagogy both from that proposed by the New School, and from that traditional education in elitist values.

The rigidity and distancing of the school institution from society should be supplanted by an expanded educational action. This new school should bring together around itself the families of the students and the neighborhoods where they were inserted. In addition, this integration effort by the school should be accompanied and monitored by other community institutions, such as the media and professional organizations. Thus, it proposes a new school sociability rooted in the sense of democracy that Anísio had imported from Deweyan pedagogy.

To comply with the new conception of school and with the pedagogical transformations proposed, Anísio proposed the total reformulation of the school space itself. The School Construction Plan of Brasília (TEIXEIRA, 1961) was the attempt to transpose the ideals of the Manifesto into the concrete of the construction of Brasilia. The buildings idealized by Anísio are, to this day, considered a landmark for Brazilian school architecture (CHANIN, 2016, p. 31).

The construction of Brasilia and the park schools of Anísio Teixeira

The city of Brasilia was built to be a symbol of Juscelino Kubitschek's Goal Plan. Souza (2015, p. 43) characterizes this perspective as a "utopian manifestation" of rupture with the Brazilian past. In the context of liberal democracy and national developmentalism, the construction of the new capital materialized the objectives of developing in the country the necessary conditions for industrial growth. Given the symbolism that the new city represented in JK's discourse, education was promptly placed as one of the fundamental elements of social development.

Law No. 2,874 of 1956 (BRASIL, 1956) territorially delimited the new federal district and constituted the Companhia Urbanizadora da Nova Capital (NOVACAP), a Brazilian state company that, to this day, is responsible for the urban planning of the city. Already in its early days NOVACAP created the Department of Education and Cultural Dissemination, which accompanied the construction of Brasilia from the first moments. At the end of 1959, efforts to organize the model educational system of Brasilia are driven by the construction of the Administration Commission of the Educational System of Brasilia. Through decree no. 47,472 (BRASIL, 1959) the federal government guaranteed the direction of funds to build and maintain schools in the federal capital in 1960. Anísio Teixeira participated in the preparation of the School Construction Plan of Brasília, providing the "master key to the basic lines of the plan" (SOUZA, 2015, p. 46, our translation).

In the Plan written by Anísio (1961) the constitutive elements of primary, secondary and university school buildings are evidenced. The author presents the project as a set of schools that could be an example for the national educational system. The proposed innovations are justified in the light of the needs that modern civilization imposes on the school. From Anísio's perspective, the attributions and functions that the school should assume increased, making traditional education incapable of performing them. Therefore, also, the author makes it clear that his buildings would be rather "centers" than "schools", marking the difference between his pedagogical model and that of traditional schools in the composition of the space.

Primary education would be offered in elementary education centers. Children aged 4, 5 and 6 would attend kindergartens and children aged 7 to 14 would attend the class schools and park schools. In the class, students would have contact with intellectual and systematic education. The park, in turn, would offer activities that would foster physical, artistic, recreational development and initiation into the world of work. In the original project, each block of the new city would receive a kindergarten and a school-class. Park schools would be distributed in the order of one every four blocks. Throughout the school day, which would last eight hours, students would attend both facilities: four hours in class school and four hours in the park school, in turns shifts.

The park schools would have a plot of eighty percent and sixty meters intended to contain 1,000 children at each shift. Anísio points out that the rate of land occupancy should be relatively low, that is, the built area should occupy only a small portion of the land. The intention would be to leave free spaces for the movement of people, cultivation of gardens and areas intended for sports activities.

The distribution of schools by the Plano Piloto, described in the project, materializes the social function defended by Anísio. They would set up an element of the urban equipment network. For Chanin (2016), this conception of the school building ceased to see it as an isolated monument of its surroundings. The geographical approach of the school building to students and family members, provided by the insertion of the building within the blocks, invited a differentiated appropriation of the space, as they would structure the neighborhood units. In such a way, instead of moving away from society and isolating themselves in the walls of the school, like traditional schools, the schools of Brasilia would organize the sociability and community life of the neighborhoods.

In this sense, the convergence movement from class schools to park schools favored an integration between the courts. The indication that auditoriums, museums, libraries and

cultural centers would be installed in these spaces suggests the organization of public events that would invite the community to occupy that space. The very fact that the student has to walk a path to two different schools throughout the day presupposes a different way of relating to the city. In addition, the mix of students from different schools in the same environment favored the exchange of experiences during the activities, whether they were related to the class schools or the neighborhoods from which they came.

The composition of the day-to-day school was designed to provide the comprehensive education that Anísio and the other pioneers of the New School defended in their manifesto. Nunes (2010) shows how, in the manuscript "Knowledge and learning", Anísio defends the need to combine experience with the teaching of regular subjects as a way to achieve integral education. In the class schools, the student would have contact with the regular disciplines and, in the park schools, should use what was learned to solve the practical problems with which he/she would come up. This interpretation is in accordance with the very relationship that Anísio establishes between scientific knowledge and its applicability in daily life in "Science and art of educating" (TEIXEIRA, 2010).

According to the educator, scientific knowledge was not used to be applied as designed in the laboratory. However, from this scientific basis man would be better prepared to deal with practical issues, because he would start to make decisions based on systematic studies and no longer by intuition. As much as, in the text, Anísio was discussing the specific case of the educational sciences, as stated earlier, we can extrapolate these elaborations to the very way park schools thought. In this environment of coexistence and socialization with other students, the student would be led, by experience, to apply the scientific concepts he had learned in the class schools.

This way of looking at knowledge is deeply rooted in the category of "reconstruction" elaborated by Dewey. Nunes (2010) states that this concept was a fundamental stone for Anísio's pedagogy, as it allowed a continuous effort of reconciliation between tradition and science, between the old and the new. Dewey coined the term in his 1920 book "Reconstruction in philosophy" and it was from him that he joined the critique of modern philosophy. The author started from the hypothesis that the process of secularization of the modern world was a direct result of the interference of sciences in the moral and social spheres (NUNES, 2010, p. 41). However, this process would not have led either side to defeat or total victory. Based on this interpretation, Dewey proposes to reconstruct philosophy so that he could rethink the place of science in society. In this way, it would be possible to reconstruct the very activity of thought.

The epistemological unfolding of Deweyan thought is the conception that every future philosophy should involve the moral and social clashes of its time. In the specific case of Dewey and Anísio, these clashes were related to democracy, which was not restricted to political democracy. The "Deweyan utopia", as Nunes (2010) names it, provided for a cooperation of philosophy with the course of events and the promotion of community association around these values. It is precisely this conception of society that is implicit in the philosophy behind the School Construction Plan.

Souza (2015) highlights some principles that guided the elaboration of the project: to distribute in an equitable and equidistant way schools of the Plano Piloto and satellite cities, to universalize teaching and to break the routine of the Brazilian educational system. All these elements are intrinsically related to the democratic conception that Anísio had inherited from Dewey. It is noteworthy, however, that Anísio also incorporated from Dewey a doubly critical bias of the educational currents in dispute at that time. While criticizing the sterility of the Traditional School, they denounced the simplification proposed by the Escola Nova. The attention given to class schools, where teaching resembled traditional schools, calls into question the notion of a rupture. By the very category of reconstruction, Anísio saw the pedagogical conception of his school much more as a reformulation of both aspects aimed at achieving the democratic goal.

Thus, the school buildings of Anísio converged on the conception of school as a miniature of society (ROCHA, 2011, p. 7). They promoted the integration of students from different courts and stimulated learning from the lived and shared experiences. In addition, it stimulated a new look at the school, which was no longer isolated to articulate the neighborhood where it was inserted. These reformulations established in the School Construction Plan of Brasilia called for a new spatial organization of the school environment, because, as Chanin (2016) puts it, the panoptic model of the traditional school would be an obstacle to the full realization of the integral education of the individual.

It is clear the transformation through which Anísio's pedagogical thinking has undergone since his years of Jesuit education. The elitist and selective view of the educational system is replaced by a democratic ideal that permeates his school vision, but also his worldview. This elaboration was made possible thanks to The Philosophy of Dewey, who, according to Nunes (2000), configured the great liberation of Anísio's thought and, at the same time, the great limit of his philosophy.

The role of higher education: UnB in the Plan of School Constructions

The Plan of School Constructions of Brasília was not Anísio's first attempt to implement the park schools' model. The Popular Center of Education Carneiro Ribeiro, built in Salvador in 1955, was "the girl of the golden eyes of Anísio" (CHANIN, 2016, p. 33). While at the head of the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (INEP), he boosted the center's operation through federal investments. In the initial project, park schools would be created together from each of the Popular Education Centers, but only the Carneiro Ribeiro Center was completed. In the case of class schools, three were inaugurated in 1950 and one last only in 1964. The architectural project was elaborated by Diogenes Rebouças and Hélio Duarte.

In another clear inspiration from the American educational model, Anísio took as a model *the platoon school organization* used at the Brady School (ROCHA, 2011, p. 7). As in the Brasilia Plan, the Center proposed an eight-hour school day within which four would be destined for traditional classes and four for park school activities. In this perspective, the focus of attention would shift from content to the interests of the child. When invited to make up NOVACAP's paintings, Anísio sees an opportunity to transport this model to the new capital. The size and visibility of the Plano Piloto made it possible to further expand Salvador's experience.

An important differential between the two projects elaborated by Anísio was the attention given to Higher Education in the case of Brasilia. In it, the educator defines the guidelines that should guide the construction of the University of Brasilia. From the conception of the physical space, we highlight the creation of institutes for basic and specialized scientific education, faculties of intellectual training and professional training, recreation fields, fields dedicated to sport and administrative services.

In the conception of an integrated education advocated by Anísio, UnB should function as a scientific center for scientific research. According to Nunes (2010), in a debate with Darcy Ribeiro, Anísio argued that the university should dedicate itself exclusively to the formation of graduate students interested in entering the higher teaching profession. As in Salvador, Anísio helped UnB at various times through INEP funds. At the head of the institution, he transformed it into an instance of conducting the educational policy he defended. The aid destined to the university system, therefore, shows its relevance to the conception of education of Anísio.

This vision of higher education is in complete agreement with what the New School Pioneer's Manifesto preached. The criticism established to the fragmentation in which the educational system of the 1930s was found encompassed the discontinuity between the different degrees of education. For the creators of the manifesto, the lack of unity between primary, secondary and higher education was one of the great challenges to be faced in order to establish the scientific spirit of education.

The comprehensive education proposed in the Brasilia Plan thus takes on a new aspect. Besides being integral from the perspective of student education, it would be integral from the perspective of education itself. It means that there was a flow of exchange of experiences between higher education and basic education. In the first, the basic sciences that would feed the practice of the second would be developed. It is worth remembering that in the Manifesto (AFRÂNIO, 1984, p. 407), the atmosphere of narrow horizons for education in the country is placed as a direct consequence of the absence of a university culture. Only the integration of higher education with the rest of the educational system would be able to rid the study of pedagogical problems of "coarse empiricism", to which in "Art of educating" (TEIXEIRA, 2010) is given the name of intuitive knowledge.

Final considerations

In addition to the exquisite intellectual legacy, Anísio left a series of material heritages for the history of education and school architecture in Brazil. The attention given to the organization of the school space was a direct reflection of its commitment to reframe the school within Brazilian society. From architecture, Anísio proposed hard-hitting transformations in the way students and the community appropriated the school environment. Introducing the institution at the center of the community organization, it broke with the characteristic isolation of the Republican school until then.

The School Construction Plan of Brasília was the materialization of the ideas elaborated since the 1930s. It was from the opportunity to design a public education system for the Plano Piloto that Anísio tried to apply the ideas of the Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New School. In his own plan, Anísio draws attention to the importance of school architecture to achieve these objectives:

It can be understood that modifications should be introduced in the school architecture to meet the program of this nature. It is no longer about schools and classrooms, but a whole set of places, in which children are distributed, delivered to the activities of "study", "work", "recreation", "meeting",

"administration", "decision" and living and living in the broadest sense of meaning. The school architecture must thus combine aspects of the "traditional school" with those of the "workshop", the "club" of sports and recreation, the "house", the "commerce", the "restaurant", the "theater", comprising, perhaps, the most complex and diversified program of special architectures. (TEIXEIRA, 1961, p. 4, our translation).

The striking influence of John Dewey's philosophy can be felt throughout the interval that distances the cited documents. At no time did Anísio abandon the Deweyan philosophy, although he did not follow the American's elaborations to the letter. Dewey's long and multiple appropriation enabled the development of its own conception of society and education, however much they shared a basic foundation: democratic and universal education, focused on the civic formation of man.

On the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Anísio Teixeira, Cordeiro (2001) published a text reporting the recovery process of the Center for Popular Education of Salvador. In addition to the physical recovery of space, Celia proposes the recovery of the ideas of the educator's philosophy. Bringing this elaboration to the current context, public education cadres face problems similar to the occasion of their 120th anniversary. Silva and Zanin (2017) state that the educational processes experienced in today's schools differ little from the standards of the 19th century (p. 122). Among the points of convergence highlighted is the promotion of a pedagogy centered essentially in the classroom, with rigidly established schedules. Precisely against this form of organization of the school space Anísio fought in his time.

The conception of education and organization of the school space proposed by Anísio Teixeira seeks to solve precisely the points of dissatisfaction with the contemporary school transparent in discourses of teachers, managers and students:

The school, as it is currently presented, does not make sense, because it does not give opportunities for significant learning and leaves no space and time for the experiences to be experienced and elaborated by the subjects, because they are cast by a rigid control of routines, by the fragmentation of knowledge, by the centralization in the figure of the teacher and in the classroom space to the detriment of exchanges between peers and the community as a whole (SILVA; ZANIN, 2017, p. 137-138, our translation).

The environment of the park schools represents an important alternative to the environment described. In addition to the content of the activities carried out, the space itself was planned to be actively appropriated by the students and residents of the neighborhoods of Brasília. However, it is worth mentioning that Anísio did not deny the importance of the traditional classroom environment, contemplated in the Plan by the class schools. On the

contrary, Anísio recognizes that both environments would complement the training of students, not one being the denial of the other. The authors' report, cited above, shows a stagnation of the conception of school space, in which the student is conceived as a passive receiver of the contents taught by the teacher in the classroom.

More than ever, Anísio Teixeira's complaints are extremely pertinent. Today, 50 years after his extremely controversial death, it is increasingly clear that there is a very long way to reach the ideal of the great educator and public servant who was Anísio. The ideal of a democratic education, in terms worked by the educator, encounters the obstacles of a conception of education that inherited many characteristics of traditional education of the nineteenth century.

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