

# The articulation of formal, informal, and non-formal education in Piracicaba-Brazil (1880-1910)

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**ABSTRACT:** In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there were social, political, cultural, and educational transformations in Brazil due to the end of the Empire and the beginning of the Republic. In Piracicaba, state of São Paulo, formal, non-formal, and informal education developed in an intertwined and unique way, with the participation of different sectors of society, in constructing and consolidating the republican regime and a local identity. This article reveals some agents and institutions involved in this process and parallels at the national and international levels. The research is based on the Pedagogical Municipality historiographical category, which helps us develop a meta-history, with a *mezo* approach, using national, regional, and local sources in dialogue with national and international literature.

**EET/TEE KEYWORDS:** History of Education; Formal and non formal education; Brazil; XIX-XX Centuries.

## *Introduction*

This article presents aspects that influenced the educational development of Piracicaba, a Brazilian municipality in the interior of the state of São Paulo, to identify how different types of education were intertwined in specific and general actions, in the historical political moment marked by the transition from

the Empire to the Republic. Thus, the objective is to identify the agents and institutions involved in articulating formal, informal, and non-formal education in Piracicaba, from 1880 to 1910. The justification for researching Piracicaba specifically is that, at the end of the first decade of the 1900s, this municipality stood out in the state scenario of São Paulo due to the number of educational institutions<sup>1</sup>. However, there were no precise indications in the sources of how this movement of educational expansion occurred or when it began. This led us to the decision to delimit the time frame between 1880 and 1910, in order to investigate whether this situation was linked to issues related to the advent of the Brazilian Republic, or whether it arose from the Imperial period.

This research<sup>2</sup> is based on the principle that the educational potential of municipalities is directly related to the articulation between individuals and cultural, political, and economic aspects. To explore this issue, the Pedagogical Municipality historiographical category was used as a theoretical-methodological reference. This category proposes, through metahistory, to treat the municipality as a unit of observation, a product of fragments of record, measurement, and factorization, «with a diachronic and integrative view of a total history»<sup>3</sup>, while also considering the general and regional plan. The aim was to identify whether there is an educational intentionality that brings with it a political-pedagogical project, to spread among citizens the habit of actively and daily participating in educational actions<sup>4</sup>.

To complement the analyses, we used the category of types of education,

<sup>1</sup> Evidence that Piracicaba stood out in the context of the state of São Paulo can be found in the São Paulo State Education Yearbooks – São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1907-1908), São Paulo, Typ. Augusto Siqueira & C, 1908; São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1908-1909), São Paulo, Typ. Siqueira, Salles & C, 1909; São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1909-1910), São Paulo, Typography of the Official Gazette, 1910; São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1910-1911), São Paulo, Typography of the Official Gazette, 1911. As well as in the research of historian M.T.G. Perecin, *A Síntese Urbana*, Piracicaba, Equilíbrio & Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Piracicaba – IHGP, 2009, and the pages of the newspaper *Gazeta de Piracicaba, 1882-1911 – editions 1 to 5289*, Piracicaba, Collection of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Piracicaba – IHGP.

<sup>2</sup> The research production is in the context of the Project *Constitutive actions for the development of formal, informal and non-formal education in the municipalities of Piracicaba/SP (1880-1910) and Londrina/PR (1930-1990)* – started in 2023 with funding from National Council for Scientific and Technological Development – CNPq and Araucaria Foundation/SETI; and the Project *The municipality's action in educational modernization: Piracicaba at the beginning of the first republic (1890-1910)* – started in 2022 with funding from National Council for Scientific and Technological Development – CNPq.

<sup>3</sup> For further information on Pedagogical Municipality see J.P. Magalhães, Á. Adão, *Os municípios na modernização educativa*, Lisboa, Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, 2014 – Coleção Estudos e Ensaios, p. 6, <[www.ie.ulisboa.pt](http://www.ie.ulisboa.pt)> (last access: 09.07.2023).

<sup>4</sup> Still on the subject of Pedagogical Municipality, see W. Gonçalves Neto, *Repensando a História da Educação Brasileira na Primeira República: o município pedagógico como categoria de análise*, in W. Gonçalves Neto, C.H. Carvalho (edd.), *Ação municipal e educação na Primeira República no Brasil*, Belo Horizonte, Edições Mazza, 2015, pp. 19-35.

which encompasses formal, informal, and non-formal education<sup>5</sup>. Formal education is understood as a process of teaching and learning at school, which aims to expand students' potential, generally following the purposes and syllabus imposed by the education systems. Non-formal education consists of actions with pedagogical but non-school intentions, and informal education comes from everyday situations and experiences, arising from other human relationships. At the municipal level, the challenge for local governments is to implement pedagogically planned actions, by interweaving the content of formal education subjects with various informal and non-formal opportunities.

Given this context, the text discusses how formal, non-formal, and informal education was organized in Brazil, specifically in the province/state of São Paulo, and the municipality of Piracicaba, between 1880 and 1910. It then presents the most outstanding situations in Piracicaba, in which these three types of education were articulated. The role of the press, associations, and various entities, including schools, in promoting public events to propagate republican ideals and the importance of education in this movement is highlighted. There is a direct correlation between informal and formal education, and the text also demonstrates how efforts to change mindsets affected the balance between formal education, at school and home, and non-formal education, in private lessons. Throughout the text, we aimed to draw parallels with similar experiences and actions that occurred in other nations.

### 1. *Overview of education in Brazil, province/state of São Paulo and Piracicaba*

Regarding how formal, non-formal, and informal education occurred in Brazil, São Paulo, and Piracicaba, during the end of the Empire period and the beginning of the Republic, we analyzed the legislation in force, literature on the topic, documents from public and private collections and research in the main journals in the area of History of Education in the country—«Cadernos de História da Educação», «Revista Brasileira de História da Educação», «Re-

<sup>5</sup> These three types of education will be treated mainly from the perspective of the following authors: M.G. Gohn, *Educação não-formal, participação da sociedade civil e estruturas colegiadas nas escolas*, «Revista Ensaio: Avaliação de Políticas Públicas Educacionais [online]», vol. 14, n. 50, 2006, pp. 27-38, <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/ensaio/v14n50/30405.pdf>> (last access: 25.07.2023); R. Canário, *A Escola tem Futuro? Das Promessas às Incertezas*, Artmed, 2006; and M. Johnson, D. Majewska, *Formal, non-formal, and informal learning: What are they, and how can we research them?*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press & Assessment Research Report, 2022, <<https://www.cambridgeassessment.org.uk/Images/665425-formal-non-formal-and-informal-learning-what-are-they-and-how-can-we-research-them-.pdf>> (last access: 29.09.2023).

vista História da Educação» and «Revista HISTEDBR». In the specific case of Piracicaba, the newspaper *Gazeta de Piracicaba* was also used.

The research revealed that formal education, among the three types of education, has received predominant attention from researchers in the History of Education, both nationally and internationally. Formal education can be understood conceptually as an educational structure with a methodical character, marked by specific teaching and learning procedures, planned by norms and laws. One of its most common forms is the school institution, which from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards began to play a fundamental role in the urban and industrial European «unity of the modern nation-state»<sup>6</sup>. The relationship between formal education and the formation of States, in Europe, East Asia, and the United States of America, exposes that the origin of the development of educational systems in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries varied according to local particularities, but they have in common the ideal of building a collective mentality of nationality, which is why it was eventually adopted by all social classes. «Learning became irreversibly equated with formal, systematic schooling, and schooling itself became a fundamental feature of the state»<sup>7</sup>.

In Brazil, during the period covered here, formal education took place in a variety of settings, such as public and private schools, tutoring schemes, and asylums. A very common form, especially during the Empire, was domestic education, which took place through preceptors or tutors<sup>8</sup>. All these types of formal education, at the end of the Empire, were regulated by legislation and were structured as follows:

At the dawn of the Republic, the state of education was as follows: primary and secondary education in the Neutral Municipality and higher education throughout the country under the responsibility of the central government and managed by the Minister of the Empire; primary, normal and professional education under the jurisdiction of local powers, legislated by the Provincial Assemblies and administered by the General Inspectorates<sup>9</sup>.

At the Imperial level, Decree 1,331-A of February 17, 1854, known as the *Couto Ferraz Reform*, was in force and regulated the reform of primary and secondary education in the municipality of Corte, the economic and political

<sup>6</sup> R. Canário, *A Escola tem Futuro? Das Promessas às Incertezas*, Artmed, 2006, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> A. Green, *Education and State Formation. Europe, East Asia, and the USA*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Houndmills, Basingstock, Hampshire, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 11, <[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263917935\\_Education\\_and\\_State\\_Formation\\_Europe\\_East\\_Asia\\_and\\_the\\_USA](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263917935_Education_and_State_Formation_Europe_East_Asia_and_the_USA)> (last access: 20.09.2023).

<sup>8</sup> About home education see M.C.C. Vasconcelos, *A casa e seus mestres: a educação no Brasil de oitocentos*, Rio de Janeiro, Gryphus, 2005.

<sup>9</sup> C. Monarcha, *A instrução pública nas vozes dos portadores de futuros (Brasil-séculos XIX and XX)*, Uberlândia, EDUFU, 2016 – Coleção História, Pensamento, Educação, Série novas investigações, Vol. 8, p. 123.

center of the Brazilian Empire since the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, currently in Rio de Janeiro. It defined several rules for public and private educational institutions, as well as home education, such as subjects to be taught, supervision, and obligations of parents or guardians and the government<sup>10</sup>. In the late 1870s, the *Leôncio de Carvalho Reform* – Decree 7, 247 of April 19, 1879 – was the last educational measure devised by the Brazilian Empire. It defended the same principles as the *Couto Ferraz Reform* and attempted to implement proposals that had not yet achieved success, by giving special attention to education in the provinces<sup>11</sup>.

The Proclamation of the Republic in 1889 brought ideals that placed in education the hope of enabling the establishment of a constitutional and representative regime, supported by liberal economic and social precepts, and the industrialization and urbanization of cities. However, despite much enthusiasm, at its beginning, the Republic did not significantly alter the educational structure inherited from the Empire<sup>12</sup>.

The main actions at the national level resulted from a reform in the Federal District, the capital of the Republic, with Decree 981, of November 8, 1890, which was considered an educational renewal, by determining the «systematic examinations, including public examinations with the presence of examining boards, established strict control over enrollment and attendance procedures and over the time allocated to schoolwork»<sup>13</sup>. The *Epitácio Pessoa Code* – Decree 3,890, of January 1, 1901 – a reform in secondary education that changed the syllabus of this stage of education, by equating private and state institutions with the Imperial High School Pedro II, located in Rio de Janeiro, in an effort to standardize national secondary education. High School Pedro II educated the children of the country's economic and political elite, with a secondary education that guaranteed a Bachelor's degree in Languages<sup>14</sup>.

Since the government, both in the Empire and in the Republic, did not define how primary, normal, and professional education should be governed by

<sup>10</sup> To learn more about this decree, see *Decree 1,331-A of February 17, 1854*, <<https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1824-1899/decreto-1331-a-17-fevereiro-1854-590146-publicacaooriginal-115292-pe.html>> (last access: 23.08.2019).

<sup>11</sup> D. Saviani, *O legado educacional do longo século XX brasileiro*, in Id. (ed.), *O legado educacional do século XX no Brasil*, Campinas, Autores Associados, 2004, pp. 9-57.

<sup>12</sup> To better understand the relationship between education and politics in Brazil at this historical moment, see W. Gonçalves Neto, *Repensando a história da educação brasileira na Primeira República: o município pedagógico como categoria de análise*, in J.C. Lombardi (ed.), *Navegando na História da Educação Brasileira*, Campinas, Faculdade de Educação-UNICAMP, 2006, CD-ROM, n.p.

<sup>13</sup> R.F. Souza, *Templos de civilização: a implantação da escola primária graduada no Estado de São Paulo (1890-1910)*, São Paulo, UNESP, 1998, p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> To learn more about Brazilian legislation during this period, consult J.C. Palma Filho, *A República e a educação no Brasil: Primeira República (1889-1930)*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., São Paulo, PROGRAD, UNESP, Santa Clara Editora, 2005.

the provinces/states, many of them used as a model the Decrees cited above, which guided education in the municipality of the Court and, later, in the Federal Capital. In the case of São Paulo, in the 1880s, the province spent almost the entire decade discussing an educational reform, which resulted in Law 81, of April 6, 1887, which followed the precepts of the *Leôncio de Carvalho Reform*<sup>15</sup>.

However, after the Proclamation of the Republic, the state enacted a series of laws and decrees, the most important of which was Law 88 of September 8, 1892, which introduced changes and innovations that produced a new school culture, including repercussions for society in general, by symbolizing important aspects for the promotion of the inculcation of republican precepts. Based on this law and the decrees that regulated it, an educational administrative structure was designed, making schooling compulsory, whether in educational institutions or at home, creating different types of state schools for diverse target audiences, and establishing a complex organization, together with the municipalities, for supervision. São Paulo, together with the Federal District, were the first entities of the Republic to implement educational reforms, which would later serve as an example for the other states of the federation<sup>16</sup>.

In Piracicaba, data on formal education were taken from documents in the Municipal Public Archives – *Minute Books* (1880-1911), *Book of Official Documents* (1890-1910), *Law and Resolution Books* (1892-1910) and the *Municipal Schools Registration Book* (1905-1929) –, from the *São Paulo State Education Yearbooks* (1907-1911) and the «Gazeta de Piracicaba» (1882-1910) newspaper<sup>17</sup>. State and municipal public educational institutions were identified, as well as private educational institutions – confessional, non-con-

<sup>15</sup> On educational policies in the state of São Paulo at the end of the imperial period see M.J. Warde, M.A.R. Paulo, *A instalação do serviço de inspeção escolar na província de São Paulo (1835-1887)*, «Cadernos de História da Educação», vol. 12, n. 1, jan./jun. 2013, pp. 253-275, <<http://www.seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/view/22908/12434>> (last access: 20.08.2018).

<sup>16</sup> About the educational policies of the state of São Paulo at the beginning of the Republic, see C. Monarcha, *A instrução pública nas vozes dos portadores de futuros (Brasil-séculos XIX e XX)*, Uberlândia, EDUFU, 2016 – Coleção História, Pensamento, Educação, Série novas investigações, vol. 8. As well as R.F. Souza, *Templos de civilização: a implantação da escola primária graduada no Estado de São Paulo (1890-1910)*, São Paulo, UNESP, 1998.

<sup>17</sup> Piracicaba City Council, *Minute Books* (1880-1911), Municipal Public Archives of Piracicaba; Piracicaba City Council, *Book of Official Documents* (1890-1910), Municipal Public Archives of Piracicaba; Piracicaba City Council, *Law and Resolution Books* (1892-1910), Municipal Public Archives of Piracicaba; Piracicaba City Council, *Municipal Schools Registration Book* (1905-1929), Municipal Public Archives of Piracicaba; São Paulo State Education Yearbooks – São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1907-1908), São Paulo, Typ. Augusto Siqueira & C, 1908; São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1908-1909), São Paulo, Typ. Siqueira, Salles & C, 1909; São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1909-1910), São Paulo, Typography of the Official Gazette, 1910; São Paulo (State), *São Paulo State Education Yearbook* (1910-1911), São Paulo, Typography of the Official Gazette, 1911; *Gazeta de Piracicaba, 1882-1911 – editions n. 1 to 5289*, Piracicaba, Collection of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Piracicaba – IHGP.



fessional and charitable. These educational institutions were governed by state legislation, except municipal institutions, which had their own guidelines.

About home education, practiced by preceptors or tutors, this practice was used over the centuries, mainly in ancient Greece and Rome, for the education of boys. This practice was transformed and from the Middle Ages onwards it spread throughout Europe, when tutors began to teach not only scientific subjects but also notions of civility and good manners, in addition to starting to serve the female sex. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially in France and England, this custom left the castles and also became part of the education of the children of the aristocracy and wealthy merchants. This practice only fell into disuse with the creation of modern States and the establishment of public education systems, from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in countries of Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe, and Russia, the close relationship the tutor, living in the house or castle, had with the children and parents, meant that there was, in addition to the aspects of formal education, an education that can be considered informal, since the tutor brought with him/her civilizing values considered modern<sup>18</sup>.

There are limitations in the official documentation about homeschooling in Brazil, as there was no provision in the imperial/national and provincial/state legislation for a registry or statistics on this subject. The only obligation of parents and guardians was to present their children to take end-of-year exams at some public educational institution. Thus, the only historical source found on this subject was advertisements in periodicals, usually in the local press<sup>19</sup>. Likewise, there is evidence about homeschooling in Piracicaba only in the press, in this case, the «Gazeta de Piracicaba». Advertisements were found from men and women, Brazilians, and foreigners. Some indicated they had teaching training, others offered themselves in the same advertisement to be foremen, clerks, and homeopathic doctors. Most intended to live in the residence of the family that would hire them, and the offer was for both urban and rural areas.

With respect to non-formal education, research into legislation, literature, and national and international journals in the field did not reveal any inves-

<sup>18</sup> On the topic of home education, check out the research by L. Szuba, *Tutor and tutoring in the history of education (to the Great French Revolution)*, «21<sup>st</sup> Century Pedagogy», vol. I, n. IV, 2020, pp. 49-59, <<https://intapi.sciendo.com/pdf/10.2478/ped21-2020-0008>> (last access: 27.10.2023); and M. Rébay, *Aristocracy and education in Europe from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, «Hungarian Educational Research Journal», vol. 14, n. 1, 2024, pp. 1-6, <<https://akjournals.com/view/journals/063/14/1/article-p1.xml>> (last access: 23.01.2024).

<sup>19</sup> This is evidenced in research by J.J.T. Anjos, *História da educação da criança pela família no século 19: fontes para uma escrita*, «Hist. Educ. (Online)», vol. 19, n. 45, jan./apr., 2015, pp. 67-83, <[https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/43619/pdf\\_57](https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/43619/pdf_57)> (last access: 20.07.2023); and in investigations by M.C.C. Vasconcelos, *Preceptoras estrangeiras para educar meninas nas casas brasileiras do século XIX*, «Cadernos de História da Educação», vol. 17, n. 2, may/aug. 2018, pp. 285-308, <<https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/view/43282/22588>> (last access: 18.07.2023).

tigations that addressed this topic during this historical period. This type of education is characterized by not being systematized and not having a permanently organized process; learning is based on the intentionality of each educational action, which varies according to the needs of the group or individual for whom it is intended. Regarding the physical space where learning takes place, it can be in any location that has the minimum infrastructure appropriate to the specific theme of each action.

Nothing was identified in Brazilian imperial/federal legislation and the state legislation of São Paulo regarding non-formal education. In Piracicaba, a series of advertisements for private lessons were found in the «Gazeta de Piracicaba» newspaper (1882-1910). These lessons were given by both educators and liberal professionals and covered topics such as school subjects at different levels of education—primary, secondary, preparatory, and teacher training—, music, drawing, accounting, and foreign languages. The places where the lessons were offered varied between the teacher's home and the student's home, and there were even lessons given in a hotel in the city.

Informal education has long been neglected by academia and international researchers, who focus their research predominantly on formal or institutionalized education. Nonetheless, it is necessary to address the role of informal education in society, as it involves a mix of factors that occur in everyday life, mainly from social practices and experiences, whether intentional or not. «In this sense, learning is distributed across the social order and embedded within social practices»<sup>20</sup>. Exploring this theme makes it possible to resignify social practices, which provides new interpretations of the relationship between education and society, which involves the power relations and ideologies specific to a nation or location, elements that are directly linked to formal education.

In Brazil, many authors in the field of History of Education<sup>21</sup> address

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the lack of protagonism of informal education in research, see R. Edwards, J. Gallacher, S. Whitaker, *Introduction – Tangled up in learning*, in R. Edwards, J. Gallacher, S. Whitaker (edd.), *Learning outside the academy: international research perspectives on lifelong learning*, London, Routledge, 2006, pp. 1-8, in partic. p. 3, <<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/pdfviewer/>> (last access: 20.02.2024).

<sup>21</sup> In this excerpt from the text, we refer to the following authors and works: M.M.C. Carvalho, *Molde nacional e fôrma cívica: higiene, moral e trabalho no projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931)*, Bragança Paulista, EDUSF, 1998; W. Gonçalves Neto, *Repensando a história da educação brasileira na Primeira República: o município pedagógico como categoria de análise*, in J.C. Lombardi (ed.), *Navegando na História da Educação Brasileira*, Campinas, Faculdade de Educação-UNICAMP, 2006, CD-ROM, n.p.; C. Monarcha, *A instrução pública nas vozes dos portadores de futuros (Brasil-séculos XIX e XX)*, Uberlândia, EDUFU, 2016, Coleção História, Pensamento, Educação, Série novas investigações, Vol. 8; J. Nagle, *Educação e sociedade na Primeira República*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., São Paulo, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2009; M.B.M. Rocha, *Matrizes da modernidade Republicana: cultura política e pensamento educacional no Brasil*, Campinas, Autores Associados, Brasília, Editora Plano, 2004; D. Saviani, *O legado educacional do longo século XX brasileiro*, in D. Saviani (ed.), *O legado educacional do século XX no Brasil*, Campinas, Autores Associados, 2004, pp. 9-57; R.F.



the issue of informal education, mainly from the hindsight of the means that disseminated republican ideals among the population, starting in the 1870s. These researchers discuss how the republican movement, to establish itself in the face of imperial customs and 'vices', used mainly associations, republican clubs, the press, and even public and private educational institutions to build the desired nation. These agents disseminated symbolic ideas and practices in the construction of new democratic and liberal subjectivities, the aim being to mobilize collective memory in the formation of republican citizens.

In the research conducted in Brazilian journals on the History of Education, numerous examples were found throughout the country of agents who, through informal education, disseminated republican precepts, such as associations of immigrants, religious people, politicians, clubs, newspapers, and schools<sup>22</sup>. The research on Piracicaba found that, as in the rest of the country, the press, associations, and clubs of politicians, immigrants, some religious people, such as the Methodists, and mainly state schools, disseminated republican ideals among the population mainly through the promotion of public events.

This movement of the relationship between formal and informal education, in this time frame, with the participation of diverse institutions and information vehicles, also occurred in other countries. The journal «History of Education & Children's Literature» – vol. X, n. 1, 2015 – brings in its core the first part of the dossier *Nineteenth – and Twentieth-century schools as a*

Souza, *Alicerces da pátria: história da escola primária no estado de São Paulo (1890-1976)*, Campinas, Mercado das Letras, 2009.

<sup>22</sup> Some examples include the following articles: M.R. Periotto, *Imprensa, intelectuais e educação: o Brasil em debate no século XIX*, «Revista HISTEDBR On-line», vol. 13, n. 53, oct. 2013, pp. 41-55, <<https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/histedbr/article/view/8640192/7751>> (last access: 07.09.2023); J.C.C. Costa, *Intelectuais, instrução e espaço público no Brasil Império: uma análise do pensamento político e educacional de Tavares Bastos*, «Rev. bras. hist. educ.», vol. 15, n. 2 (38), may/aug. 2015, pp. 81-109, <[https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/38925/pdf\\_62](https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/38925/pdf_62)> (last access: 15.07.2023); M.S.I. Gomes, L.M. Faria Filho, I.M. Mesquita, *A educação no espaço público: a pedagogia cívica dos jornais mineiros no período regencial*, «Cadernos de História da Educação», vol. 17, n. 3, sep./dec. 2018, pp. 604-626, <<https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/view/46013/24598>> (last access: 25.07.2023); M.C. Zica, P.B. Oliveira, *Modelos de Espaço Público em contraste: imprensa e modernidade seletiva nas províncias da Paraíba e Pernambuco (1870-1880)*, «Cadernos de História da Educação», vol. 17, n. 3, sep./dec. 2018, pp. 650-667, <<https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/view/46016/24601>> (last access: 15.05.2023); G.C.V. Gatti, D. Gatti Júnior, *As representações na imprensa de práticas cívico-patrióticas em instituições escolares de Minas Gerais (Brasil) na primeira metade do século XX*, «Rev. HISTEDBR On-line», vol. 18, n. 1 (75), jan./mar. 2018, pp. 29-42, <<https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/histedbr/article/view/8651600/17760>> (last access: 15.07.2023); M.S.I. Gomes, L.M. Faria Filho, *Sociabilidades, espaço público e formação do povo em Minas Gerais no período regencial (1831/1840)*, «Temporalidades – Revista de História», ed. 30, vol. 11, n. 2, may/aug. 2019, pp. 274-293, <<https://periodicos.ufmg.br/index.php/temporalidades/article/view/14783/12201>> (last access: 10.07.2023).

*laboratory for the promotion of national identity and citizenship education*, with a series of examples that coincide with what was happening in Brazil and Piracicaba. The following articles stand out: by Brühwiler<sup>23</sup>, on the use of schools and periodicals as part of education focused on citizenship and nationality in Switzerland in the 1910s, at a time of social and political change; by Uphoff<sup>24</sup>, on a German policy called *Heimat*, which used teaching materials as one of the tools to promote a sense of national collectivity, with the help of local elites and politicians; and Pintassilgo and Silva<sup>25</sup>, which refers to the experience of school decentralization in Lisbon, Portugal, in an ambitious project to modernize popular education, which involved military gymnastics and school battalions, which paraded through the streets of the cities, in this case, the parallel with Brazil is close, as the same occurred at the beginning of the Republic.

This research is based on the principle that these three types of education do not occur in isolation, but rather complement each other in the form of different arrangements. At the local level, the articulations and synergies between formal, informal, and non-formal education allow for the perspective of «territorialization of educational action»<sup>26</sup>, which presupposes the development of networks and partnerships. It is from this perspective that the most striking situations found in Piracicaba will be presented.

## 2. *The link between formal, non-formal, and informal education in Piracicaba*

Between 1880 and 1910, Piracicaba underwent urban remodeling. Its economy, which was basically agricultural and slave-based, was boosted by the arrival of European and North American immigrants, and the growth of commerce and industry, in addition to attracting many liberal professionals. Its politics gradually changed from a monarchist tendency to a republican one. One of its greatest developments was the educational area, especially after the Republic, which had the participation of private individuals and the municipal and provincial/state governments, to the point of being recognized as the

<sup>23</sup> I. Brühwiler, *Citizenship education in Switzerland before, during and after the First World War*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 1, 2015, pp. 99-120.

<sup>24</sup> I.K. Uphoff, *The construction of Heimat on German wallcharts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the part it played in creating a national identity*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 1, 2015, pp. 121-138.

<sup>25</sup> J. Pintassilgo, C.M. Silva, *School military education and the construction of a national identity in Portugal in the passage from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 1, 2015, pp. 339-359.

<sup>26</sup> R. Canário, *A Escola tem Futuro? Das Promessas às Incertezas*, Artmed, 2006, p. 119.

«Paulista Athenaeum»<sup>27</sup>, that is, the center of education in the interior of the state of São Paulo.

Informal education in Piracicaba, during this period, played a relevant role in building a new mentality among the population, about republican values. Piracicaba was one of the main cradles of the Republic in the country, with emphasis on the Moraes Barros family, in the persons of the brothers Prudente José, provisional governor of São Paulo at the implementation of the Republic and, later, the first civilian president of the country, and Manoel, councilman, and senator, besides the latter's sons Paulo and Antônio.

One of the main means of instilling republican ideals in the population was the newspaper «Gazeta de Piracicaba», founded in 1882. It was financed by local republicans, which included farmers, professionals, politicians, educators, and merchants. The newspaper vehemently criticized the Empire and the monarchists, with editorials and opinion pieces that sought to demonstrate to the public the advantages of the Republic<sup>28</sup>. In the country, in general, the press was a means of disseminating ideas and information, trying to present them with a supposedly universal character, which implies the configuration of the networks of social, cultural, and political power. During the period marked by the abolition of slavery and the Proclamation of the Republic, republican newspapers appeared in practically all capitals and many cities in the interior, which called for reforms on different subjects and issues<sup>29</sup>.

However, since at that time not everyone knew how to read, some local associations of immigrants, politicians, and freed blacks promoted events at their headquarters and in public spaces and participated in actions in support of the republican cause. The most representative in Piracicaba were: the Portuguese Charitable Society, Spanish Charitable Guild, September 20th Society, Italian Mutual Aid Society, Victorio Alfieri Guild, Syrian Association, Literary Guild, Avanti Socialist Circle, Antonio Bento Association, Club of Piracicaba, Republican Club, Workers' Charitable Society, Egalitarian Instructive

<sup>27</sup> About the main characteristics of the municipality of Piracicaba consult *Gazeta de Piracicaba, 1882-1911 – editions n. 1 to 5.289*, Piracicaba, Collection of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Piracicaba – IHGP; L. Guerrini, *História de Piracicaba em quadrinhos*, Piracicaba, Imprensa Oficial do Município de Piracicaba, 1970, Vol. 1; M.T.G. Perecin, *A Síntese Urbana*, Piracicaba, Equilíbrio & Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Piracicaba – IHGP, 2009; M.C.T.M. Torres, *Piracicaba no século XIX*, Piracicaba, Equilíbrio & Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Piracicaba – IHGP, 2009.

<sup>28</sup> About the periodicals existing in the municipality of Piracicaba during this period, consult A.C.F. Queiroz, *A trajetória do 'Jornal de Piracicaba' diante da história e do desenvolvimento da cidade no século XX*, São Bernardo do Campo, Cátedra UNESCO, Metodista de Comunicação, 2008.

<sup>29</sup> About the history and characteristics of the press in Brazil see T.R. Luca, *Fontes Impressas – História dos, nos e por meio dos periódicos*, in C.B. Pinsky (ed.), *Fontes históricas*, São Paulo, Contexto, 2008, pp. 111-153; N.W. Sodré, *História da imprensa no Brasil*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Rio de Janeiro, Mauad, 1999.

Society, Iracema Society, Vila Rezende Agricultural Cooperative and Monte Alegre Workers' Charitable and Cooperative Society.

Since education was considered one of the main tools for achieving the desired society, where democracy and liberal principles prevailed, at the beginning of the Republic, many of these associations maintained their own primary schools. These represented another way of disseminating republican principles to children and their parents, based on a close link between informal and formal education. Another educational institution with a great influence on the dissemination of republican principles and with a strong link with the Moraes Barros family was Piracicabano School, maintained by an association of the Methodist Church in the United States of America.

With regard to the public schools in the state of São Paulo, at the beginning of the Republic, they were like «resonances of a broad civilizing project, of social ordering, the moralization of customs, discipline of the working class and inculcation of civic-patriotic values»<sup>30</sup>. The School Groups were created to gather several isolated primary schools in a single building, which generally had a masterful architecture and modern pedagogical proposal. They were located in the cities, served a diverse population, and consecrated school rituals such as exams and end-of-year parties, as well as civic celebrations. In Piracicaba, there were two School Groups, a Complementary School – primary, which also trained teachers – and the Practical Agricultural School, which operated along these lines. The example of the Piracicaba Complementary School is one of the most emblematic, as it was used as a space for the production of republican memory, which established a social dynamic that involved «values, power relationships, educational, cultural and political rites, producers of memory and histories lived within the educational experience that would be relayed to future generations of citizens of the Republic»<sup>31</sup>.

By reading all available editions of the «Gazeta de Piracicaba» newspaper from 1882 to 1910, we identified that all these agents worked together to build a new social subject by instilling a republican mentality in the population. Three situations stood out: marches, visits to the graves of local politicians, and the reception of authorities at the train station. In Piracicaba, the marches aimed to celebrate civic-patriotic dates and the inauguration or anniversary of some educational institution. The press publicized this event with messages that called for public participation, highlighting the importance of honoring and valuing the precepts of the new political and moral order, pointed to as an example of patriotism and civility. After the celebration, its pages highlighted

<sup>30</sup> R.F. Souza, *Alicerces da pátria: história da escola primária no estado de São Paulo (1890-1976)*, Campinas, Mercado das Letras, 2009, p. 126.

<sup>31</sup> T. Honorato, A.C.B. Nery, *The normal school of Piracicaba as a memory place of the republican regime in Brazil*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 163-182, in partic. p. 164.

in detail the participation of students and teachers from different institutions, as well as members of associations who paraded in uniform, with flags and banners.

After the deaths of the brothers Prudente and Manoel Moraes de Barros in 1902, the custom of holding large funerals and visiting the tombs of illustrious republicans began in Piracicaba. Over the years, schools and associations organized groups to visit the cemetery to lay flowers on the graves, in a movement very similar to the events mentioned above. It was an unquestionable manifestation of the link between education and nationalism, as a form of sociopolitical integration. The local press was once again present, both in publicizing and describing what happened, as a privileged device in the formation of the subject/citizen.

The participation of formal educational institutions in events related to the death of prominent national politicians was a custom of that period. An example of this is all the ceremonies that involved the funeral and subsequent tributes to Fridtjov Berg, Sweden's Minister of Education, in 1916. This was a movement that fostered the relationship between death, collectivity, and status, through rituals that aimed to build the collective memory of figures important to the national identity<sup>32</sup>.

Another custom that began after the Republic, and which involved the participation of the agents mentioned above and the organization of the local city council, was the reception of state and federal politicians at the city's central train station. The municipal stewardship and council members called on the public, through the press, to participate in the event, highlighting the importance and reason for the visit, which was usually for the inauguration or inspection of some work, often an educational institution. Public associations and schools, not only large ones but also small ones, both public and private, would participate, lining the streets where the authorities would pass.

This entire movement corresponded to the process of social, political, economic, and educational transformation, through a project to shape the population in search of a desired society, which included a myriad of agents. According to some theorists, this theme, due to its importance, deserves more attention from researchers:

The discursive practices of the civic-nationalist organizations of the First Republic have received little attention from historians: empty chatter, a sham of ideology indicating the impotence of bourgeois politics. As a result, the organizing role that civic discourse played, due to its high degree of generality, relativizing or even erasing divergences and inaugurating spaces for consensual action, whether in each of the organizations or in the space where they converge, has also been underestimated. More than this, the importance

<sup>32</sup> This example can be seen in the following article: J. Landahl, A. Ullman, *The politics of immortality: the funeral of an education minister and teacher unionista*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 261-278.

of the practice of the aforementioned organizations in constituting an ideal profile of the citizen with whom what was considered to be the conditions for exercising citizenship has been minimized<sup>33</sup>.

Another phenomenon was also observed, identified as a link chaining between formal, non-formal, and informal education in Piracicaba, which was how the change in mentality among the population, regarding the importance of education in the Republic (informal education), caused a decrease in the supply of home education (formal education) and an increase in the number of educational institutions (formal education) – public and private – of different modalities, educational levels, and target audience, and, to a lesser extent, private lessons (non-formal education), which in turn helped students both in entering schools and in remaining there.

This dynamic can be observed in Graph 1. It is worth noting that the data collected on formal school education were taken from official municipal and provincial/state documents. However, as no official documents were found on formal home education and non-formal private lessons, as previously explained, other authors also did not find this type of data in these sources. They were taken from the local press, from the advertisements section of the «Gazeta de Piracicaba» newspaper. This means that we can consider these data as representative, as there is a possibility that other educators advertised their services in another way. As the «Gazeta de Piracicaba» newspaper started in 1882, this was the year in which the time frame of the graph began.

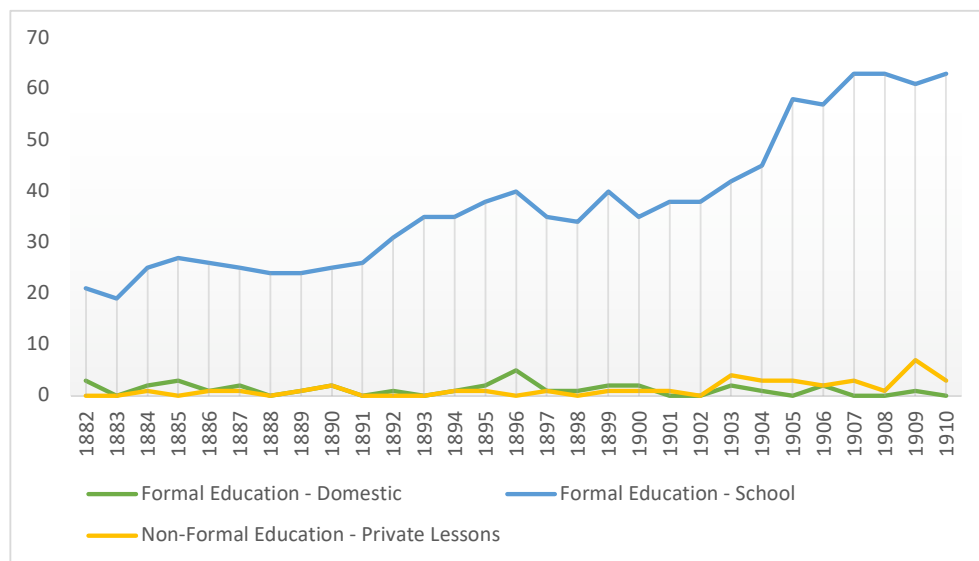
At the end of the Empire (1882-1889), the number of school institutions increased by 14.28%, going from 21 to 24, while home education varied between three and one advertisement per year. Within two years there were no advertisements at all, a rate too low to convert into a percentage, as well as the number of advertisements for private lessons, which were even lower, and varied between one and none per year. In the first years of the Republic (1890-1899), school institutions increased by 60%, going from 25 to 40, home education advertisements remained at an average of between two and one per year, practically remaining at the level of the end of the Empire, except for 1896, with five advertisements, and private lessons advertisements varied between one and two per year, also with a level similar to the previous period.

In the second decade of the Republic (1900-1910), the number of school institutions increased by 80%, going from 35 to 63. Advertisements for home education within the first five years of this period varied between two and one, and in the other five years, there were no advertisements, especially at the end of this period. Concerning advertisements for private lessons, the average was between one and three per year, with a highlight in 1909, with seven advertise-

<sup>33</sup> M.M.C. Carvalho, *Molde nacional e fôrma cívica: higiene, moral e trabalho no projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931)*, Bragança Paulista, EDUSF, 1998, p. 137.



Graph 1. Movement of variation in the amount of home education, school education, and private lessons in Piracicaba, between 1882 and 1910. Graph prepared by the authors. Source: Gazeta de Piracicaba (1882-1910); Minute Books of the Piracicaba City Council (1880-1910); Official Books of the Piracicaba City Council (1900-1910); Laws and Resolutions Books of the Piracicaba City Council (1900-1910); Reports of the Municipal Education Inspectors (1900-1910); São Paulo State Education Yearbooks (1907/1908, 1908/1909, 1909/1910, 1910/1911)



ments. This data is in line with what was considered a movement engendered by several agents, which preached the importance of school as a symbol of social changes, in which the principle of compulsory education, conciliation between state and free education, subsidies and incentives for private schools flourished throughout the country<sup>34</sup>.

### Considerations

The local press, publicized practices, and legislation describe the characteristics of formal, non-formal, and informal education in Brazil and the province/state of São Paulo at the end of the Empire and the beginning of the Republic (1880-1910). Thus, there was a situation that promoted the belief that education could be used to shape a new type of citizen who would think and

<sup>34</sup> This concept can be better understood in D. Saviani, *O legado educacional do longo século XX brasileiro*, in D. Saviani (ed.), *O legado educacional do século XX no Brasil*, Campinas, Autores Associados, 2004, pp. 9-57.

act in accordance with republican ideals. This occurred in the intertwining of different institutions, political groups, and social agents, who encouraged formalized school education, the private lessons that supported it, and the intense propagation of collective and urban practices permeated by democratic and liberal symbolism. This scenario alludes to the different forms of learning, which correspond «in essence, to a temporally and spatially broad and diffuse process that is part of another, also broad and multiform, process of socialization»<sup>35</sup>.

The case of Piracicaba demonstrates how this entire movement developed at a local level, where within the limited space of a Brazilian municipality in the state of São Paulo, there was a close connection between the transformations in political, social, and educational culture. Piracicaba not only stood out for the number of educational institutions but also for being a space for civic and political education, which sought to shape the mindsets and behaviors of its citizens. The initiatives and actions of the local press were fundamental in including education in the debate on the construction of a republican citizen, promoting the visibility of select educational institutions and political groups of the time.

The situations presented about Piracicaba demonstrate how different forms of formal, non-formal, and informal education intertwined in a context that involved different sectors and institutions. This takes us back to the theories that preach about the importance of understanding the parallels between the national, regional, and local plans, as these reveal an interconnectivity between the different possibilities of educational actions.

<sup>35</sup> R. Canário, *A Escola tem Futuro? Das Promessas às Incertezas*, Artmed, 2006, p. 26.