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The school service culture and its practices: sources to study the (im)material heritage of education

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Abstract: Based on the hypothesis that the articulation of auxiliary school institutions in the educational reforms of the 1920s-1930s changed schools' social purposes, this article aims to understand the formation process of a service culture in public schools. Grounded in a reflection on the sources for analyzing this culture, on the one hand, we sought to discuss some practices focused on childcare and the formation of cultural habits, taking as a perspective the expansion of teaching work in consolidating a school representation guided toward social purposes. On the other hand, we were interested in understanding how schools' auxiliary activities turned assistance, care, and extraordinary teaching activities into a cultural heritage of public schools in the country. As a result, the research reflects the role of auxiliary school institutions in the formation process of service culture in primary public education between the 1920s and 1940s.

Keywords: educational reforms; schooling processes; auxiliary teaching institutions; school culture.

1 Introduction

This research started with some reflections arising from the project “Expansion of school tasks: the educational reforms of public education between 1922-1938” and broadened with the project “Brazilian school citadel: the auxiliary educational services in urban schools between 1930 and 1945” (Paulilo, 2021, 2022a, 2022b). The results suggest that the creation of auxiliary and complementary educational services, such as school bank (caixa escolar), the parent and teacher associations, the educational cinema, health platoons, and the leagues of kindness, aiming to popularize school, after the political change to the republican regime associated a service culture with the school culture.

In the places where it was disseminated, the notion of school culture boosted the investigation of educational practices Escolano (2017, p. 29) summarized well the results of studies in this perspective when affirming that “[...] the world of practice, or experience, takes an essential role in building knowledge about school and ground the effective culture which materialize the actions and the discourses implemented and



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interpreted by educational institutions.” Many aspects of classroom and school material culture were investigated in Brazil using this analytical perspective.

The notion of school culture is useful as an analytical category (Vidal; Paulilo, 2018) to study auxiliary institutions of education. Mainly because it allows us, as proposed by Julia (2001) and Chervel (1998), to relate the school practices existing around the school and notice the social originality of school actions, it is an analytical category that guides the investigation into these practices. In Julia’s (2001, p. 10) precise formulations, school culture is defined as “[...] a set of norms that define the knowledge to teach and the behaviors to inculcate, and a set of practices that allow the transmission of these types of knowledge and the incorporation of these behaviors”.

Thus, the hypothesis that guided the survey of sources and the bibliographic review for this research shows the effort to popularize school through the creation of auxiliary and complementary educational services as a work process that, at the beginning of the last century, transformed the 19th- century school culture. In fact, the organization of schools’ banks and cooperatives, the parent and teacher associations, social institutions in public schools, the creation of leagues of kindness, agricultural clubs, and health platoons as ways to answer reformers’ appeal to an education focused on community work with social ends or the efforts to disseminate school libraries and museums and educational cinema that, furthermore, mobilized the activity of countless agents in schools.

During the research, our attention to the participation of teachers, families, and students in these auxiliary institutions led us to perceive the formation of this service culture in primary schools between the 1920s and 1940s as an expression of common practices organized at the time to support children’s school socialization.

Service culture is understood here as the result of relationships that can be built between the public policies of education and social participation in the transformation of educational work in public schools during the period. This article aims to reflect on how these practices, in common, can be understood as part of the school’s immaterial heritage. Hence, first, I present the sources and references for this study. Then, I identify some of the objectives that articulated the different educational reforms in the period, relating them to the creation of auxiliary school services and the efforts to contain school failure. In the last part of the article, I present, more directly, the idea

of service culture as a result of the school reform with social aims between the 1920s and 1940s.

2 Sources and studies about auxiliary school services

To investigate the expansion of school services between the 1920s and 1940s, I researched the legislation governing the education reforms initiated by the signatories of the Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova in 1932. In this sense, I surveyed the legislation on education reform during the period in the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, and the Distrito Federal (Federal District). Later, I searched the press and state government reports for any news on the work of the auxiliary institutions created by the legislation.¹ The administrative reports and publications from the reformers complemented the research sources needed for the intended analysis.

At that time, the services were created or needed to be articulated to four specific and complementary groups. On the one hand, the creation of school banks and funds were actions targeting the concern with teaching material conditions; these actions expanded and generalized during the 1920s-1930s. On the other hand, civic festivities and the incorporation of practices such as scouting aimed to reinforce the civic-patriotic formation in school rather than to raise the population's interest in education. Furthermore, there were also social assistance services and health inspection, and, thus, the distribution of food and medication in schools, in addition to

¹ In Ceará, between April 1922 and December 1923, Lourenço Filho implemented a reform in the public instruction in the state through the Decree nº 474, from January 2, 1923. In Bahia, Anísio Teixeira was in charge of the public instruction between 1924 and 1928, reforming it through the Law nº 1.846, from August 14, 1925. In Minas Gerais, Francisco Campos, as the Secretary of the Interior, and Mario Casassanta, who was then the General Inspector of Instruction, promoted the instruction reform in the state with a series of decrees: Decree nº 7.970-A, from October 15, 1927, which approved the new Regulation of Primary Education; Decree nº 8.904, from December 22, 1927, which approved the Primary Education Teaching Programs; the Decree nº 8.162, from January 20, 1928, which approved the education regulation of Normal School; and the Decree nº 8.225, from February 11, 1928 that approved the Normal Education Programs. In Espírito Santo, Atílio Vivacqua, through Law nº 1693, from December 29, 1928, proposed the reform of the state public education during the government of Aristeu Borges de Aguiar. Fernando de Azevedo reached the proclamation of the Law to reform public instruction at Distrito Federal in January 1928. First, the Decree nº 3.281, from January 23, 1928 and, later, its regulation, in the Decree nº 2.940, from November 22, 1928, reorganized the public education in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Also in Pernambuco, Carneiro Leão, who have guided the public instruction in the federal capital before Fernando de Azevedo, reorganized the public instruction in the state. Through the Act nº 1.239, from December 27, 1928, established norms for normal and primary education and through Act nº 238, from February 8, 1929 established the Normal Education Regulation and connected courses.

investments in sanitation and medical school inspection, and the emergence of physical education departments. Finally, at the time, there was an effort to create auxiliary education services and institutions to foment the establishment of school libraries and museums, and the use of cinema and radio as educational tools. Hence, besides the creation of auxiliary services to the schools in the legislation, the source survey was also concerned to gather material for the publication in books, journals, and the daily press. As a result, the variety of sources allowed us to delineate the theme from several perspectives.

Julia (2001) warns us of the need to pay close attention to the analysis of norms and legislation, which should send us back to the practices; the legislation was read to understand the desired organization of the auxiliary services, but it also considered the obstacles and hardships witnessed by the press and the reports. The work published by the reformers and the teaching journals gathered important information on the results achieved through successive education legislation reforms in the 1920s and 1930s. Interested on how the legislation of a social nature could advance in this period, I searched in the reports, books, didactic journals, and daily press — as well as the presence of school banks and social assistance services for students and technical assistance for teachers —, the political devices and operational schemes that involved their creation, implementation, and administration.²

The bibliographic review followed the survey of sources. We could work with a large body of material about auxiliary services created during the period. There are several works about school banks, parent and teacher associations, health platoons, leagues of kindness, and the organization practices of school routines. The reports of education inspectors in São Paulo (Souza, 2009), classification reports for merit promotion at the Distrito Federal (Paulilo, 2015), and the education e as education journals in São Paulo (Catani, 2003), Rio de Janeiro (Vidal; Camargo, 1992), and Minas Gerais (Biccas, 2008) were analyzed from this perspective and showed how the work of auxiliary education services were organized in the scope of the general education administration as well as in schools.. Mainly focused on this last aspect, the

² Regarding the reformers see the works of Lourenço Filho (2002 [1926]) in Ceará, Anísio Teixeira (1928) in Bahia, Francisco Campos (1940) in Minas Gerais, Atilio Vivacqua (1930) in Espírito Santo, Carneiro Leão (1926; 1942) in the Distrito Federal and Pernambuco, and Fernando de Azevedo (1929; 1931), also in the Distrito Federal. The journals consulted were *Boletim de Educação Pública*, a *Revista Escola Nova* e a *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, mainly their sections about the Press.

studies from Faria Filho and Veiga (1999), Carvalho (1997), Veiga (2000, 2002), and Souza (2009) show the entanglement between public policies of education and the daily education routines when organizing these services at school.

This relation between policy and practice, a determinant in understanding the purposes and reach of auxiliary education services, has been attracting greater attention from the subjects involved in implementing new activities resulting from these initiatives. Considering the growth of studies on the legislation, the programs, and practices of the instruction reform between the 1920s and the 1930s, there was a new wave of interest in the names in the education technical-administrative boards; thus, it is important to question those who implemented at school what was planned by the reformers³. Therefore, the research in the daily press for teachers, children, and families in the routine of educational work transformations became relevant and central. Between the 1920s and 1930s, the work in school banks, parent and teacher associations, health platoons, leagues of kindness, and reading clubs was part of the daily news as an expression of the social ends of education as they were claimed at this period. Thus, to investigate auxiliary education services, newspapers are an undeniable resource for gathering evidence on school organization and its agents.

The resources available at the Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional allow us to gather important data about the organization of school banks, parent and teacher associations, health platoons, leagues of kindness, and reading clubs published in the period press countrywide.⁴ Hence, the attention towards the people working in the implementation and administration of these services, in the main daily group activities, and in association with the children in school let us have a glimpse into those involved with the implementation of the new tasks demanded by these institutions and activities. For this survey, I gathered the production published by reformers about these initiatives to disseminate in schools the deliberation collegiates about fundraising and resources used, as well as the association practices among children.

³ See mainly the Education Programs published in the period at Distrito Federal: **Programmas para os Jardins da Infancia e para as Escolas Primarias**. Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Gráficas do *Jornal do Brasil*, 1929; Programmas para as Escolas Primarias Diurnas. In.: **Boletim da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal**. Ano LXIV, Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Gráficas do *Jornal do Brasil*, jan./jun. 1926, p. 182-261 e Programmas de ensino para as escolas primarias diurnas. **Boletim da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal**. Ano LXI, Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do *Jornal do Commercio*, jan./dez. 1923, p. 349-388.

⁴ The research at Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional allowed for a survey that can show the national reach of the initiatives. See: <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>

When comparing the journal records and the reports of the political-administrative board of public education, I identified how people were mobilized to tasks that the education reforms announced as new and fundamental to turn social concerns into a school end.

We can perceive a consortium of practices in the actions of teachers, students, and families that transformed the school routine through new practices. In this sense, we can understand the work of school banks, parent and teacher associations, and the presence of platoons, leagues, and student clubs in schools as part of the strategies to impose cultural models through schooling. Therefore, we sought to mobilize an analytical repertoire capable of problematizing the school practices between the 1920s and 1940s by studying the auxiliary education institutions.⁵ Therefore, in interpreting the sources (legislation, reports, and journals) to study the auxiliary institutions focused on the partnership among teachers, families, and children, I used the notion of school culture through the concept of service culture.

From the hypothesis that the organization of school banks, the creation of parent and teacher associations, and the presence of platoons, leagues, and student clubs in the schools contributed to creating a service culture in primary schools, this study of these consortia of efforts to improve school performance, decrease dropout, and failure sought to characterize the main elements of this culture. The elements that stand out are the teachers' commitment to extraordinary activities during the creation, organization, and maintenance of bodies, such as school banks and parent and teacher circles, and their unfoldings regarding food assistance or fundraising, as well as mentoring and guiding children's groups in activities around the school. The participation of children in health platoons, their association in reading clubs or, in some cases, agricultural clubs, in leagues of kindness or other student associations, and the family connection with parent and teacher associations were all part of the mobilization at the time in favor of schools' social ends.

⁵ In this sense, see Carvalho (1989), Nunes (1994; 1996), Veiga (2002), and Souza (2011) who, for instance, perceived the disciplinary dimensions of social assistance initiatives and teaching renovation. To the more general interpretation efforts, there were studies focused on particular services, for instance, the hygiene and medical-school inspection (Rocha, 2005; 2015), health platoons (2013), school banks (Carvalho; Bernardo, 2012; Carvalho; Vieira, 2018), parent and teacher association (Bueno, 1987), school food (Nogueira, 2016; Pinho: Martinez, 2017), scouting (Souza, 2000; Herald Jr., 2016), school libraries (Campelo, 2007; Nery, 2013; Valio, 1990)

Even though they are related to the daily, insidious actions of school routine, it is meaningful that, as a whole, these activities mobilized a large number of people associated with the school in practices of self-funding, assistance, leisure, and care. The investigation of small practices during research on the consortium's activities in school, from the perspectives opened by studies on school culture, has led to the delineation of an explanatory framework for the observed recurrences.

The variety of arrangements foreseen in the legislation, the reach, and the results obtained through the organization of school banks, parent-teacher associations, health platoons, leagues of kindness, and student clubs in schools suggest, on the one hand, the specificities of local educational policies. On the other hand, this set of initiatives does not escape the common representations of educational ends and of school action patterns. In this sense, the study of the press was a way to understand the reach of the political effort in the early 20th century to support the permanence in school of large numbers of the population through the assistance and socialization in the everyday life of educational work.

3 Auxiliary education services and the containment of school failure

It is important to highlight that in this survey and review work, we recognize reasonable reasons to relate, in one single movement, the instruction reforms that, between 1922 and 1938, Lourenço Filho, Anísio Teixeira, Francisco Campos e Mario Casasanta, Fernando de Azevedo, Atilio Vivacqua, Carneiro Leão, Almeida Jr. lead in different states of the country and at Distrito Federal. At the time, the social insertion in school practically imposed itself as an educational practice. The connections between school and the social environment became more explicit and expanded in the public discourse of educators who worked in the administration of Brazilian school system. The changes in the school programs were not the only factors that favored the construction of nationalist language, a work ethic, and character formation. The legitimacy given to the teachers also had a very practical nature, which made them participate in the initiatives of the public power when caring for poor children in schools. As Carvalho (1999) points out, the care practices incorporated in the Brazilian educational thought in this period were associated with discipline and moralizing the

poor, the devaluing of intellectual formation in education, and the presence of women in the faculty.

According to Carvalho (1989, 2000), in the implementation of the reforms of the public instruction in the period, there was a transfer of the interests of the education authorities from the political theme of citizenship (considering the increase in the number of voters through literacy) towards the social meaning of popular education. This movement has also involved the establishment of devices able to operationalize the systematization effort of this type of education. The planning, evaluation, and development needed for such a collective and purposeful task demanded new schooling solutions. Between 1922 and 1938, such solutions alternated in the reform discourse across different states and the Distrito Federal.

Due to this perspective, when reading about the implementation of auxiliary and complementary services to school at that time, we can perceive that there is a change in the schooling purposes. The creation of school banks, services of medicine-school inspection, and food assistance are understood as initiatives of social expression. Supported by the press, with the periodic dissemination of statistical bulletins on the volume of services provided by the medical inspection and food distribution in schools, these initiatives were generalized alongside the education reforms that reverberated through them. The daily press also showed the organization of the circle or mothers' associations, school festivities, scouting, and physical education demonstrations that complemented the actions to grant a social expression to the school through various methods to interest the population in the education work.

This period is also marked by the organization and systematization of services that grounded teachers' practice with resources and teaching content. On the one hand, the psychology services, when focusing on learning processes and certain personality traits of children, served the purposes of improving school performance, class homogenization, and the scientific legitimation of educational renovation strategies. On the other hand, the creation of school libraries and museums, reading clubs, movie libraries, and, in the Distrito Federal, an educational radio station, contributed to new teaching materials and resources. In any case, besides the presence of food, health records, several objects of personal hygiene, and other materials favored by the reformist emergency in the 1920s-1930s, new books, films, and collections of objects of didactical meanings also circulated.

Such measures were also primarily aimed to contain low school attendance and high dropout rates by aiding the poorest students. From this perspective, I have been adamant in saying that, at the turn of the 1920s to the 1930s, educators involved in the education reforms established the idea that failed students no longer meant success in the selection device that was the school. (Paulilo, 2017; Paulilo; Gil, 2019). A report published by Teixeira (1935, p. 74) indicated that school failure indicated a flaw in the institution and in the school system:

It is not enough to have schools for the most capable, it is imperative that there are schools for all. It is not enough to have schools for all, it is imperative that everyone learn.

It is not hard to evaluate the extent to which the modification influenced the concept of performance in the school. First, given the selective character, the failure was almost an index of school quality. If many fail, this would mean that the judgment criteria were in fact efficient and one was filtering, for the formation of intellectual and professional elites, the cream of the crop of the population.

If, however, the school has the duty to teach everyone, because everyone needs the fundamental elements of culture to live in modern society, the problem is inverted. A failed students no longer means the success of the selection device, but a failure of the institution that fundamentally prepares citizens, men and women, for the common life.

Anísio Teixeira's (1935) concern with intraschool factors of failure and dropout since the 1930s is evidence that the auxiliary and complementary services worked as a strategy to prevent school failure. Though previous to the reformist emergence of the 1920s-1930s, the concern with school dropout and performance could articulate educational work with the different initiatives of social, medical, and technical assistance that complemented it. Between 1932 and 1933, Teixeira (1935) himself had already organized, together with the Education Department, school-based services, after-school social work, and activities around the school. The same service was expected in São Paulo through the Código de Educação de 1933 [1933 Education Code] (Decreto nº 5884, de 21 de abril de 1933) to reorganize schools based on work social communities, in cooperation, and articulation with the social environment. Together with the service of social works, the hygiene and sanitary education services, cultural outreach, school programs and books, physical education, school libraries and museums, and educational radio and cinema, organized in the country from different institutional arrangements, ensured a place of follow-up, supervision, central education administration, and the consortium of efforts to contain school failure.

Hence, the hypothesis that the effort to popularize school through the creation of auxiliary and complementary education services transformed the school culture was confirmed during the study. In this sense, the emergence of education reformism in the 1920s and 1930s was a moment in which the concern with intraschool factors of failure and dropout transformed the effort to popularize school into an initiative to contain school failure through the expansion of school services. The study of the legislation, the period press, and period statistics not only reaffirmed the social and cultural importance of auxiliary and complementary education services but, above all, their role in reducing dropout and school failure.

At first, philanthropy and the emphasis on the school's technical specificity were articulated as a legitimizing strategy for educational reforms, mobilizing different segments of the population around the school's social work. From the central administration to the children and their families, passing through teaching, we can see a consortium of efforts. In fact, raising funds for the bank or the school cooperative, distributing meals, creating parent-teacher circles, organizing health platoons, leagues of kindness, and movie sessions at school all demanded participation. Similarly, the medical-school inspection, the creation of dental offices, physical and sanitary education, and the organization of school libraries involved key services to the new education proposed in the reforms.

However, the expansion policy for school services consolidated between 1922 and 1938 also responded to a political view aimed at containing "the rebellion of the masses" (Azevedo, 1933). The result of ambiguous politics, the school expansion in this period was grounded in the understanding of the school as a means through which the state could act on the population. This understanding resulted from the political trump of the oligarchic government of the First Republic, as well as the regime that succeeded it after 1930. The assets obtained with the implementation of auxiliary education services were gradually systematized and legitimized by centralized actions. The recognition of these initiatives, through public policies and the technical-administrative specialization of school services, took another step in the creation of the Ministry of Education and Health and the organization in the Departments of central teaching administration.

4 The service culture at school

As a result of the investigation of practices around the creation, organization, and implementation of auxiliary school services, the research perceived in the notion of service culture a way to understand the impact of the change in the objectives of the school claimed by the teaching reforms at the beginning of the last century on school culture. At the turn of the 1920s to the 1930s, according to the Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, published by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), in 1940, the states and the Distrito Federal expanded the social tasks and those of technical aid in the schools, creating services and routines of activities focused on containing children's dropout and failure.

Table 1 – Intraschool institutions.

Specification	Years	Results				
		Federal Education n	State Education	Municipal Education	Private Education	Total
Reading clubs	1932	--	66	122	91	279
	1933	--	253	83	62	398
	1934	--	410	124	196	730
	1935	--	444	119	188	751
Auditorium	1932	--	10	2	27	39
	1933	--	218	21	67	306
	1934	--	401	127	122	650
	1935	--	412	114	116	642
Health Platoons	1932	--	36	118	17	171
	1933	--	80	114	28	222
	1934	--	127	159	24	310
	1935	--	125	171	42	338
Scouting organizations	1932	--	81	2	47	130
	1933	--	123	--	54	177
	1934	--	166	6	58	230
	1935	--	209	10	58	277
Sporting clubs	1932	--	24	20	64	108
	1933	--	57	13	39	109
	1934	--	55	11	86	152
	1935	--	41	10	86	137
Leagues of Kindness	1932	--	64	2	11	77
	1933	--	91	4	10	105
	1934	--	119	9	13	141
	1935	--	202	18	26	246

Source: BRASIL. **Estatística do Ensino** – Separata do Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – ano IV – 1938. Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do IBGE (1940).

Table 2 – Institutions around the schools

Specification	Years	Results				
		Federal Education	State Education	Municipal Education	Private Education	Total
Parent and Teacher Association	1932	--	326	143	40	509
	1933	--	456	132	21	609
	1934	--	398	104	33	535
	1935	--	411	81	32	524
School Councils	1932	--	167	--	55	222
	1933	--	77	16	80	173
	1934	--	90	32	76	198
	1935	--	112	28	69	209
School Banks	1932	--	976	234	80	1.290
	1933	1	971	241	82	1.295
	1934	--	1.258	275	109	1.625
	1935	--	1.425	261	128	1.814
School Funds	1932	--	33	2	14	49
	1933	--	58	4	18	80
	1934	--	107	68	20	195
	1935	--	47	5	30	82

Source: BRASIL. **Estatística do Ensino** – Separata do Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – ano IV – 1938. Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do IBGE (1940).

In this sense, the organization of associations, councils, leagues, clubs, or circles of different types in schools and the practices of food and health assistance were transforming the purposes of public education. At least as an ideal, the primary school gave way as a political asset of local powers to an educational apparatus that, increasingly, depended on support bodies and coordination.

In the institutionalization work that followed this change in concept, the states and the Distrito Federal created superintendencies, sections, divisions, or institutes to promote these services. Through teaching statistics, mainly through the Ministry of Education and Health, the efforts to contain school dropout and improve the performance of the public education apparatus gained some visibility, due to the large numbers. The central government contributed to consolidating a type of service culture in schools without maintaining or funding initiatives with the same reach as those from the states and the Distrito Federal. Together with the apparatus and administrative support that were, to a certain extent, guaranteed by the states and the Distrito Federal, the visibility and comparatives then allowed by the central government through the statistics recognized the relevance of auxiliary and complementary education services.

In fact, on the eve of the coup d'état that established the Estado Novo in Brazil, the answer to the educational reform movement of the 1920s had already led to an ambitious school program of social regeneration. Thus, the measures to halt dropout and the services designed to increase school performance had as a counterpoint what Thompson (2002, p. 31) once called “[...] the wish to dominate and shape the intellectual and cultural development of people towards predetermined and safe objectives”. On the one hand, the payment to support poor students at school, their medical-school assistance, or the better technical teaching apparatus benefited the population with progressive educational policies. On the other hand, authoritarian strategies to expand school tasks stand out; they took education and culture as alms, using once again Thompson (2002, p. 31), that “[...] should be given to the people or removed from them depending on their merits”.

Even within this perspective, the articulation of auxiliary education services at the time started a consistent movement to expand the educational capacity of the population. The reading of sources and the accumulation of studies about the period show that, given the difficult health conditions and economic vulnerability of the children enrolled in the country's public schools, the reforms enabled assistance, inspection, and formation procedures. A series of certainties about the educational value of schoolwork, observation, and experiential learning supported discussions on the implementation of these services. In this sense, the diversification of school practices received support from administrative measures and the available doctrinal and theoretical justifications. Thus, the options for active methods of teaching, the use of educational cinema, the appropriation of experimental psychology, the plate of soup, the glass of milk, the health platoons, and physical education were so representative of the organizational structure of the public school during that period.

In the period between the 1920s and the 1940s, the social tasks of primary school increased, and so did the actions to control the institutions that could be articulated. Each in their own way, the people responsible for the reforms of public instruction in São Paulo, in the Distrito Federal, in Minas Gerais, in Espírito Santo, in Bahia, and in Ceará perceived the multiple articulations entailed by school and the health and assistance services. They also sought the articulation between primary and vocational education. Operating at the program level or through the administrative boards, the order was to systematize public education and “popularize it”. The frontiers

that pedagogy, psychology, clinic, and architecture followed in the public schools were retraced in this same perspective. The approximations between education practices, the concept of childhood, the clinical exams, and the buildings' architecture mix not only the procedures but, mainly, the school with the urban universe of social relationships around it. In the reforms of public instruction that took place between 1922 and 1938, the public power used the school not only as a mediating institution of knowledge but, mainly, as an articulation agency of different practices.

At that period, there was a calculated meeting between political and pedagogical aspirations and the effective practices of implementation. In the administrative actions of these reforms, we can find clues on how apparatus, technologies, and devices were formulated, organized, and implemented; they were not only ideological constructions but effective management tools. They corresponded not only to records of educational work but also to the services of education, health, assistance, and professional guidance provided by Brazilian public schools at the time. Between the 1920s and 1940s, public education was instrumentalized in its teaching methods by a material apparatus that did not always belong to the school, but worked around it: the laboratories, the educational cinema, the dental offices, the school museums, and the school buildings themselves. This technical development created a multiplicity of new professional structures that, besides the teachers, started to work because and for the school space: school dentists, school physicians, visiting nurses. Hence, the school's institutional parameters were expanded. In fact, over these years, the school consolidated a shift in its roles due to new educational practices and the expansion of the learning concept.

However, circumscribing this displacement to the moment of creation and organization of auxiliary institutions is nothing more than a part of the issue. After its creation, the service's continued operation, its reach, and the collaborators gathered at the school better attest to its legitimacy. Therefore, the appropriation of practices organized around the reform of the social purposes of new education is another part of the question of its service culture. From this perspective, the statistics are followed by school inspection records and photos of the many auxiliary activities implemented in the 1920s to the 1940s, which continued in the next two decades.⁶

⁶ See mainly Souza (2009) and Paulilo (2013).

The traces gathered from these practices indicate that many were incorporated into the school's everyday life. Associated with the care practices analyzed by Carvalho (1997), social assistance, didactic and pedagogical support, and complementary activities and services spread into ordinary actions.

These other practices of educational work and their concerns with the conditions for children's school performance—internalized through teaching in its relationship with school culture—were considered here as service culture. These are actions that resulted from the effort to contain school failure through the expansion of auxiliary education services. One can understand them as an intangible heritage of education from that period, the learning embedded in the organized social interaction in school at the time, and its interfaces with culture and philosophy, even more than the preserved materiality of these practices. Understanding the dynamic of the processes of their interaction with material and intangible aspects of school culture benefits from previous studies on auxiliary education institutions and their sources (Souza, 2009; Veiga, 2000; Nunes, 2000). However, like many other transformation processes in the school, these institutions were organized in a highly heterogeneous way at the time and, thus, there are still few scattered references to how these institutions worked nationwide in fact and how people participated in them. Hence, the effort here was only to circumscribe some ideas to understand what I called 'service culture' in school and to suggest that these were part of the intangible heritage of our public education.

5 Final remarks

When examining the role of consortium and associative school activities in the formation of a service culture in primary public education between the 1920s and 1940s, I privileged the reforming action. The production of their main authors served as a guide for investigating the project from which they emerged. However, from this perspective, it is enough to follow what the historiography has gathered regarding children's support in school between the 1920s and the 1940s. Entrusted to the school's auxiliary institutions, children's social and health assistance was subsidized by society's support: raffles, ticket sales, and school parties that raised funds for the school's banks, cooperatives, and associations. On the other hand, the mobilization

within the school around activities that brought students together, through platoons, clubs, and common work, affirmed children's socialization and the school's social purposes.

The so-called renovated school did not result only from an attack against the pedagogical methods considered traditional but, mainly, from a change in the purpose of public school. The "more social than pedagogical role" of public school is expressed in the complementary education institutions and the auxiliary school services claimed, organized, and articulated in the movement of educational renovation. Historiography already understands the creation of these institutions and services as part of the strategies to reform public instruction at the time, and use the sources that contain the records of these practices. Through analyses, such as those by Veiga (2002) and Souza (2009), and those focused on specific institutions and services, we can understand their reach in schoolwork. However, these initiatives are little studied from the perspective of their meaning in school culture.

The practices outlined in this text were foreseen in the legislation, reports, and measured in statistics. In the material published or edited by the education reformers at the time, the school's auxiliary institutions were celebrated as trump cards against the central education administration when reforming the school's purposes. In fact, the testimony and the record of what the administration did to foment these practices show the reformers' view of their own acts, actions, and decisions. They are fundamental sources for understanding the administrative work of the educational reforms at the time and place, and the role of auxiliary education institutions in their ideology.

The appropriation of these practices by the school is a movement much harder to circumscribe than its enunciation by the authorities. However, the permanence of the activities with social purposes in the inspectors' reports, in the statistical indexes of the central bodies, or in oral testimonies indicates that they were used in school daily life. Studies that are more focused and have greater conceptual depth on the issue could advance understanding of the extent to which these practices were incorporated into routines, through what means, and in what context. Even so, as a hypothesis, the proposal that the consortium and associated activities transformed school culture seem to be a fruitful perspective to analyze the social purposes that people wanted to be attributed to education at the time. In this sense, the investigation of service culture as a result of an effort based on children's assistance, on the common work at school,

and the material and pedagogical support of teachers and students to stop dropout and improve school performance enables us to speculate about a group of practices that had its main social interface in the organized sociability through the school.

Therefore, the service culture discussed here tints school culture with demands that are not only pedagogical, but also educational and socializing. It is a perspective of educational action that emphasizes the experience of common and cooperative work, social experience in the community, assistance, and care. In the 1920s/1930s, the effort to reform education, by expanding the scope of school banks, parent and teacher associations, and creating institutions such as leagues of kindness and health platoons, led schools to incorporate practices of fundraising, assistance, and care. Throughout time, we can see their perennity as an element of school culture in elementary education.

Though I cannot go far in this speculation, I wanted to suggest, with the notion of service culture, that the organization in the school of consortium and associative activities intended to transform a whole set of practices to instill conduct and behaviors. The effort to implement auxiliary education institutions and their services did not involve only teaching through extraordinary activities but also committed itself to concerns about the world outside the school. Several different ways to grant the school another purpose, a social purpose, arose from the way to understand service culture, its involvement and commitment.

In this perspective, we proposed here that the auxiliary education services and assistance, generalized in the 1930s, were part of a culture that accommodated itself to the current school culture. The practices of support and aid, cooperatives focused on children's socialization fomented by the organization of intra- and around-school institutions, were not only an expression of the education expansion policy at the time. They also consolidated a way of acting in primary education, mainly involved in care practices and the organization of interactions and sociability in the school's educational work. Therefore, we can say that the efforts during the period to achieve a social objective in the school resulted in auxiliary and extraordinary practices recognized and legitimized by teachers' actions. In the reflections presented here, this appropriation process was called service culture, and its perennity among teachers' attributions was perceived as an intangible heritage of our public education.

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