







## PABAE IN BRAZILIAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY (1997-2024)<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

The article aims to analyze how the PABAE (Brazilian-American Assistance Program for Elementary Education) carried out between 1956 and 1964 has been investigated in the historiography of recent Brazilian education, in works produced between 1997 and 2024. Using three bibliographical bases – journals in the area of History of Education published in Brazil; the CAPES Theses and Dissertations Database and Google Scholar, as well as a printed work considered an obligatory reference on the subject – the conclusions indicate that PABAE has been, quantitatively, the object of a still restricted number of studies – although increasing in recent years –, which suggests that this is a fertile ground for the History Workshop. This is an object that demands greater attention from historians of education who wish to focus on teacher training processes as well as the pedagogical models for primary education in circulation in Brazil in the second half of the 20th century. Studies with regional perspectives on the impact of the Program, with biographical perspectives following the trajectories of students or using the Program's printed material as a source are possibilities for future investigations that this report announces.

**Keywords:** PABAE; Historiography of education; State of the art.

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## O PABAE NA HISTORIOGRAFIA EDUCACIONAL BRASILEIRA (1997-2024)

**Resumo:** O artigo tem por objetivo analisar como o PABAE (Programa de Assistência Brasileiro-Americana ao Ensino Elementar) levado à cabo entre 1956 e 1964 tem sido investigado na historiografia da educação brasileira recente, em trabalhos produzidos entre os anos 1997 e 2024. Recorrendo a três bases bibliográficas – as revistas da área de História da Educação publicadas no Brasil; o Banco de Teses e Dissertações da CAPES e o Google Acadêmico bem como a uma obra impressa considerada referência obrigatória no tema – as conclusões apontam que o PABAE tem sido, quantitativamente, objeto de um número ainda restrito de estudos – embora crescentes nos últimos anos –, o que sugere ser esse um terreno fecundo para a Oficina da História. Trata-se de um objeto que reclama maior atenção dos historiadores da educação que queiram se debruçar sobre os processos de formação de professores bem com os modelos pedagógicos para o ensino primário em circulação no Brasil na segunda metade do século XX. Estudos com recortes regionais acerca do impacto do Programa, com recortes biográficos acompanhando trajetórias de cursistas ou que tomem os impressos do Programa como fonte são possibilidades de investigações futuras que este balanço anuncia.

**Palavras-chave:** PABAE; Historiografia da educação; Estado da arte.

## PABAE EN LA HISTORIOGRAFÍA EDUCATIVA BRASILEÑA (1997-2024)

**Resumen:** El artículo tiene como objetivo analizar cómo el PABAE (Programa Brasileño-Americano de Asistencia a la Educación Primaria) realizado entre 1956 y 1964 ha sido investigado en la historiografía de la educación brasileña reciente, en trabajos producidos entre los años 1997 y 2024. Utilizando tres bases bibliográficas – revistas del área de Historia de la Educación publicadas en Brasil; el Banco de Tesis y Disertaciones de la CAPES y Google Scholar, así como un trabajo impreso considerado referencia obligada sobre el tema – las conclusiones indican que el PABAE ha sido, cuantitativamente, objeto de un número de estudios aún restringido – aunque creciente en los últimos años –, lo que sugiere que este es un terreno fértil para el Taller de Historia. Este es un objeto que exige mayor atención por parte de los historiadores de la educación que quieren profundizar en los procesos de formación de docentes, así como en los modelos pedagógicos para la educación primaria vigentes en Brasil en la segunda mitad del siglo XX. Estudios con secciones regionales sobre el impacto del Programa, con secciones biográficas que sigan las trayectorias de los participantes del curso o que tomen como fuente los materiales impresos del Programa son posibilidades para futuras investigaciones que este informe anuncia.

**Palabras clave:** PABAE; Historiografía de la educación; Estado del arte.

## Introduction

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Between 1956 and 1964, the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE) was carried out in Belo Horizonte, the result of an agreement between Brazil and the United States aimed at modernizing national primary education through the implementation of North American teaching practices and techniques, considered modern and appropriate to the context of developmentalism then experienced by our country. According to the Program's final report, from 1964:

The Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE) was created in response to the official letter from the Minister of Education and Culture of Brazil, dated 11.IV.1956, requesting technical assistance from U.S.O.M. in Brazil. He asked for the creation of a pilot experimental center at the Institute of Education in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais. The request was endorsed by the government of Minas Gerais, the State Department of Education, and the director of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (PABAE, 1964, p. 2).

Three were the main objectives of the Program: I) to introduce and demonstrate to Brazilian educators methods and techniques used in primary education, promoting the analysis, application, and adaptation of these methods to meet community needs in relation to education, by stimulating teacher initiative in the sense of continuous growth and improvement; II) to create, demonstrate, and adapt teaching materials and equipment, based on the analysis of resources available in Brazil and other countries, in the field of primary education; III) to select teachers, based on professional competence, work, and knowledge of the English language, to be sent to the United States for advanced courses in the field of primary education.

For eight years, primary and normal school teachers from Brazilian states completed internships in Belo Horizonte; others were sent to Indiana University and, upon their return, became trainers for the Program. Numerous printed materials were produced recommending practices and materials to be adopted in the various subjects of primary education, in addition to addressing issues of professional guidance. Translations of North American manuals were also carried out (PABAE, 1964). At the end of the Program, its objectives were considered achieved, although its influence on Brazilian education extended until at least the mid-1970s (Paiva; Paixão, 2002).

Outlined this historical context, this article, of a historiographical nature, aims to analyze how PABAE has been investigated in recent Brazilian educational historiography, in works produced between 1997 and 2024. The initial chronological cut-off was due to the date when the oldest research found on the program in the consulted databases was published, and the final cut-off is when this article was written.

According to Jurandir Malerba (2006, p. 15):

The self-reflective character of historical knowledge is perhaps the greatest differentiator of History in the set of human sciences. Although sometimes we come across some aberrations to the contrary, the work of the history professional requires an exercise of memory, of rescuing the production of knowledge about any theme that is investigated. We are not allowed to assume that we start from a “zero point,” decreeing the civic death of a whole cast of people who, in various generations, and in their light, turned to this or that object that may currently interest us. Due to a basic characteristic of historical knowledge, which is its own historicity, we have to deal with all the contributions of those who preceded us. This property elevates historiographical criticism to the foundation of historical knowledge.

Taking, in the light of Malerba (2006), historiography as a kind of intellectual memory of the research field in the history of education in Brazil, it is worth asking what interpretations have been produced by historians about the role and impacts of PABAE on national education or in the various states that participated in it. From this exercise of inquiry, it will be possible to observe the aspects of the Program already visited by historians and those that still need to be frequented in studies that are to be undertaken around this theme.

Methodologically, a survey of the historiographical productions existing in three bibliographic databases was carried out: the set of Brazilian journals in the area of history of education, the CAPES thesis bank, and Google Scholar.

At first, the keyword "PABAE" was used to search the following journals in the area: *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, *Revista História da Educação – ASPHE – UFRGS*, *Cadernos de História da Educação*, *Revista de História e Historiografia da Educação*, *HISTELA – Revista Latino-Americana de História da Educação*, *RIDPHE\_R – Revista Iberoamericana do Patrimônio Histórico Educativo*, and *Revista Histedbr-online*. Only in the latter was an article located.

In a second moment, when searching the CAPES thesis database, also using the keyword “PABAE,” eight results were obtained, five dissertations and three theses, distributed as follows: 1) Elizabete Ribeiro Halfeld Maciel presented a dissertation entitled "Currículo da

Educação Elementar, na perspectiva do Programa de Assistência Brasileiro-Americana ao Ensino Elementar (PABAE), no período de 1956 a 1964" (Elementary Education Curriculum, from the perspective of the Brazilian-American Assistance Program for Elementary Education (PABAE), from 1956 to 1964), defended on May 22, 2016, at the Federal Center for Technological Education of Minas Gerais, in Belo Horizonte. 2) Dulcinéa Campos defended the dissertation "A Alfabetização no Espírito Santo na década de 1950" (Literacy in Espírito Santo in the 1950s), on August 31, 2008, at the Federal University of Espírito Santo, in Vitória. 3) Carlos Roberto Araujo Zacaron presented the dissertation "A influência Norte-Americana no Desenvolvimento Acadêmico Brasileiro Através do PABAE: Área de Matemática" (The North American influence on Brazilian Academic Development Through PABAE: Mathematics Area), on May 31, 1997, at Santa Úrsula University, in Rio de Janeiro. 4) Susane da Costa Waschinewski defended the dissertation "Biblioteca de orientação da professora primária: as regras de civilidade no conteúdo de estudos sociais do programa de assistência brasileiro-americana ao ensino elementar - PABAE (1956-1964)" (Primary teacher guidance library: the rules of civility in the social studies content of the Brazilian-American elementary education assistance program - PABAE (1956-1964)), on March 27, 2017, at the University of Southern Santa Catarina, in Criciúma. 5) André Silva Martins presented the dissertation "A política de capacitação de professores do ensino fundamental em Minas Gerais nos anos 90" (The policy of training elementary school teachers in Minas Gerais in the 1990s), on November 30, 1998, at the Fluminense Federal University, in Niterói. 6) Erineu Foeste defended the thesis "Parceria na formação de professores: do conceito à prática" (Partnership in teacher training: from concept to practice), on April 30, 2002, at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. 7) Susane da Costa Waschinewski also defended the thesis "Jessy Cherem (1929-2014): Percursos da Professora Catarinense e Seu Arquivo em Três Tempos" (Jessy Cherem (1929-2014): Paths of the Catarinense Teacher and Her Archive in Three Times), on December 9, 2020, at the University of the State of Santa Catarina, in Florianópolis. 8) Rita de Cássia de Souza presented the thesis "Não premiarás, não castigarás, não ralharás... dispositivos disciplinares em Grupos Escolares de Belo Horizonte (1925-1955)" (You shall not reward, you shall not punish, you shall not scold... disciplinary devices in School Groups of Belo Horizonte (1925-1955)), on February 28, 2006, at the University of São Paulo. Of these eight studies, some prior to the CAPES Theses and Dissertations database and others digitally unavailable, it was not possible to access the works of Elizabeth Ribeiro Halfeld Maciel, Carlos Roberto Araújo Zacaron. After reading the rest, the studies by André Silva Martins, Erineu Foeste and

Rita de Cássia Souza were excluded, as they did not directly address PABAE. Thus, three works of significant interest to this study remained.

Finally, with the aim of further expanding the research, a sweep was carried out on Google Scholar, a bibliographic database that gathers articles published in journals and conferences in related areas of the history of education, using the keyword "PABAE," considering the results up to the tenth page of occurrences. Eight articles about the Program were found.

During the reading of the inventoried works, a printed book emerged as a common reference in the various works, which led us to include it in this survey as well. This is the work *PABAE (1956-1964): A americanização do ensino elementar no Brasil* (PABAE (1956-1964): The Americanization of Elementary Education in Brazil), by Edil Vasconcellos de Paiva and Léa Pinheiro Paixão (2002). The book resulted from research carried out by the authors in the 1990s with the support of INEP and which, when referenced in most of the works consulted, seems to constitute a fundamental text for understanding PABAE in Brazilian historiography.

In the presentation and discussion of the research data, the article was divided into three parts. In the first, we will analyze the historiography on PABAE contained in the book and in the theses and dissertations located. In the second, the focus falls on the articles published in journals. In the third, we conclude the text by making some notes on the results achieved in this historiographical survey.

### **PABAE in books, theses, and dissertations**

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Published in 2002 by Editora da Universidade Federal Fluminense, in Niterói, the book *PABAE (1956-1964): A americanização do ensino elementar no Brasil* (PABAE (1956-1964): The Americanization of Elementary Education in Brazil) offers a detailed analysis of the Program, one of the main instruments of United States influence on Brazilian primary education in the post-war period (Paiva; Paixão, 2002, p. 58).

The research by Edil Paiva and Léa Paixão (2002) examines not only the institutional trajectory of PABAE, but also its role in the training of human resources and in the dissemination of North American pedagogical ideas and teaching materials in Brazil. The book investigates how these initiatives contributed to primary education, the changes in pedagogical practices and school organization, aligning them with educational principles and instrumental

rationality in Brazil, with emphasis on Minas Gerais, where the program was based (Paiva; Paixão, 2002, p. 9).

Furthermore, the study addresses the political and cultural implications of this Americanization, questioning how the technical assistance offered by PABAE reflected the geopolitical interests of the United States during the Cold War, while also influencing the training of a generation of Brazilian educators. The temporal cut from 1956 to 1964, explored in the work, coincides with a period of international cooperation and transformations in the Brazilian educational system, making this historical research relevant to the understanding of power dynamics and the circulation of knowledge between Brazil and the United States (Paiva; Paixão, 2002, p. 58-61).

Dulcinéa Campos' master's dissertation, titled *A Alfabetização no Espírito Santo na Década de 1950* (Literacy in Espírito Santo in the 1950s), presented in 2008 to the Federal University of Espírito Santo, in Vitória, investigates literacy practices in the state during the 1950s. The main objective of the research was to understand how these practices were implemented, based on testimonies from literacy teachers of the time and the analysis of the primers used in teaching. The methodology adopted included semi-structured interviews with teachers who worked in literacy in the 1950s, in addition to the analysis of historical documents, such as primers and lesson plans. The research was also based on previous studies in the field of literacy history and methodological documents (Campos, 2008).

The study sought to unravel the meanings of literacy in the historical and educational context of the State of Espírito Santo during the 1950s. The main focus was to analyze the constitution of the history of literacy in this period, considering public policies and the practices of literacy teachers. The research highlighted the voices and silences of the subjects involved, as well as the influence of the New School ideology (Campos, 2008).

According to the author, in Espírito Santo, literacy practices predominantly followed the synthetic method, with the use of primers such as "Cartilha Sodré." The interviews revealed that teachers employed strategies focused on syllabic decoding. These practices were adapted according to the experience and training of each teacher, evidencing a contrast between synthetic methods and the emerging Global Method, exemplified by the primer "O Livro de Lili" (Campos, 2008).

The study results indicate that educational practices of the time were strongly oriented by memorization and traditional techniques, with resistance to the adoption of new methods, such as the Global Method, which began to become popular at the end of the decade, promoted

by the then Secretary of Education, Professor Rafael Grisi. The research also revealed the process of nationalization of primary education, characterized by the elaboration of laws and educational programs that served as a reference for the States. Furthermore, the study pointed out the discontinuity in literacy policies, intensified by the introduction of programs such as PABAE, which reflected a technical ideology. Thus, the author argues that:

At the end of the 1950s, we witnessed the implementation of PABAE, which was nothing more than the beginning of pedagogical technicalism marking a nuclear position in the educational discourse, as it was, according to Cambi (1999), a "radical and capillary renewal of pedagogy," attentive above all to the issues of instruction that are configured by a very strong concern with the technical resources developed by science and applicable to the educational domain. It was, evidently, another invention of literacy that took into account only the methods and resources to be used, thus disregarding a broader understanding of pedagogical activity, linked to social and cultural issues. At that moment, the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, with PABAE, another movement of hegemony began around another literacy method that we do not address in this research (Campos, 2008, p. 154).

According to Campos (2008), it is evident that PABAE marked a new phase in Capixaba and Brazilian education, guided by the incorporation of what she considers a pedagogical technicalism that privileged methods and technical resources, to the detriment of a broader and more integrated view of pedagogy. The emphasis on teaching techniques, as observed in the study, disregarded fundamental social and cultural aspects for understanding the educational process. This movement of hegemony, initiated in the late 1950s, reinforced the discontinuity of literacy policies by introducing foreign models that, despite their promise of modernization, did not fully adapt to local realities and needs (Campos, 2008).

Susane da Costa Waschinewski's dissertation (2017), entitled *Biblioteca de Orientação da Professora Primária: As Regras de Civilidade no Conteúdo de Estudos Sociais do Programa de Assistência Brasileiro-Americana ao Ensino Elementar - PABAE (1956-1964)* (Primary Teacher Guidance Library: The Rules of Civility in the Social Studies Content of the Brazilian-American Assistance Program for Elementary Education - PABAE (1956-1964)), was defended on March 27, 2017, at the University of Southern Santa Catarina (UNESC), in Criciúma.

The study focused on the investigation of the precepts of civility present in the manual "Habilidades de Estudos Sociais" (Social Studies Skills) from the "Biblioteca de Orientação da Professora Primária" (Primary Teacher Guidance Library) collection, and in the film "A Escola

Agora é Outra" (The School is Different Now), both produced within the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE). The research covered the period from 1956 to 1964, during which the agreement between Brazil and the United States took place, initiated in the government of Juscelino Kubitschek. Geographically, the analysis focused on the performance of PABAE, which began in Minas Gerais and later expanded to other Brazilian states such as Santa Catarina, Paraná and São Paulo (Waschinewski, 2017). The study concluded that the precepts of civility disseminated by PABAE sought to regulate behaviors such as personal hygiene habits, reading practices and ways of behaving, with the aim of forming well-educated citizens. The research also highlighted that PABAE, through its materials and training programs, played a role that collaborated in the propagation of pedagogical innovations and in the introduction of desired behavioral values and models, aligned with the national developmental movement of the time. Furthermore, the program managed to consolidate and expand its influence to other regions of Brazil, establishing training centers and sending teachers for improvement in the United States (Waschinewski, 2017).

Susane da Costa Waschinewski also defended the thesis entitled *Jessy Cherem (1929-2014): Percursos da Professora Catarinense e Seu Arquivo em Três Tempos* (Jessy Cherem (1929-2014): Paths of the Catarinense Teacher and Her Archive in Three Times), on December 9, 2020, at the University of the State of Santa Catarina (UDESC), in Florianópolis. The research focused on the trajectory of Jessy Cherem, a Catarinense teacher who played a notable role in teacher training and public management. The study examined how aspects of her professional life shaped the educational scenario, with emphasis on her participation in the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE-INEP) between 1956 and 1964 (Waschinewski, 2020).

The geographical scope of the research covered the states of Santa Catarina and Minas Gerais, while the temporal scope included the decades from 1950 to 1970. The sources used were diverse, including documents from Jessy Cherem's personal archive, interviews based on the oral history methodology, in addition to reports, newspapers, and minutes found in collections and archives located in Santa Catarina and Minas Gerais (Waschinewski, 2020).

The research concluded that Jessy Cherem's performance was influenced by the public positions she held and the political alliances she formed throughout her career. Although her participation in PABAE-INEP is little explored in educational historiography, it was useful for the introduction of new pedagogical ideas and methodologies in the state of Santa Catarina. The study also revealed that Jessy Cherem's choices and projects were frequently aligned with party

interests, resulting in concrete initiatives that impacted education in the state. Furthermore, the work highlighted how the relationship networks she established were beneficial for her influence in the field of education and public administration (Waschinewski, 2020).

The book, theses, and dissertations examined point to the capillarity of PABAE, whose teacher training policies had national and regional reach. Let us now see what the articles published in journals reveal about the Program.

### **PABAE in articles published in journals**

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In the *Revista Histedbr-online*, an article titled *A instalação dos centros experimentais de formação de professores primários em Goiás* (The Installation of Experimental Centers for Primary Teacher Training in Goiás), by Fátima Pacheco de Santana Inácio, was found, published in June 2015. In the article, the author investigates the development and implementation of these centers in the state of Goiás during PABAE. The research focuses on the geographical context of Goiás and covers a temporal cut that involves mid-1956 to 1966, using various sources, such as historical documents, official and legislative records, in addition to educational reports. Inácio (2015) concludes that the creation of these centers was a significant response to the educational needs of the state, reflecting the national educational policies of the time, citing the articulations carried out between Brazil and the United States aimed at teacher training, after the Second World War, within the MEC-USAID Agreements. According to the author:

[...] the execution of PABAE resulted in the elaboration of didactic-pedagogical material aimed at teacher training, such as booklets. It is emphasized that, even though the program was extinct as a formal organization in 1964, this material was what supported the teacher training model implemented in the Primary Teacher Training Centers in Goiás during the 1960s (Inácio, 2015, p. 93).

The author clarifies that these centers contributed to the professionalization of primary teaching, improving the quality of education through a more structured training of teachers in Goiás.

The article *O manual pedagógico 'Ver, sentir, descobrir a aritmética': o ensino de frações através das partes fracionárias* (The Pedagogical Manual 'See, Feel, Discover fractions through the fractional parts') (The Pedagogical Manual 'See, Feel, Discover

Arithmetic': Teaching Fractions Through Fractional Parts), by Jeremias Stein Rodrigues, Anieli Joana de Godoi and David Antonio da Costa (2021), investigates the approach to teaching fractions proposed in a PABAE manual for teaching arithmetic. Published in the *Revista de História da Educação Matemática* in 2021, the study focuses on the Brazilian educational context from 1959 to 1968. "Period in which a movement of implementation and renewal of teaching prevailed, which had repercussions in the country and in the world" (Rodrigues; Godoi; Costa; 2021, p. 2). Using the pedagogical manual as the main source, along with academic literature on methods of teaching fractions and the link of the Brazilian-American Assistance Program for Elementary Education (PABAE) in the development and application of this manual, the researchers analyze the effectiveness of the use of fractional parts as a didactic tool. They conclude that the manual offers an effective approach to teaching fractions, facilitating students' understanding through visual and practical methods. Thus, the authors, in the article, analyze the methodology proposed, supported by PABAE, which proved to be efficient for the conceptual understanding of fractions and can be successfully applied in different educational contexts, contributing to the improvement of mathematics teaching (Rodrigues; Godoi; Costa; 2021).

In the article *Supervisão de Ensino no Brasil (1950-1990): de fiscalizadora do trabalho docente, à mediadora da participação social na escola* (Teaching Supervision in Brazil (1950-1990): from supervisor of teaching work, to mediator of social participation in school), Elijane dos Santos Silva, Rosane Michelli de Castro and Gabriel Serrano explore the evolution of the role of educational supervision in Brazil between 1950 and 1990. Published in the journal *Concilium* in 2023, the study covers the entire Brazilian territory over four decades. Using sources such as official documents, historical records, academic literature on educational policies and interviews with supervisors, the authors analyze the transformation of supervision from a predominantly supervisory function to a more mediating and participatory role. They highlight that this change began with the adoption of the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE), which initially disseminated teaching supervision as a mechanism for supervising teaching work, reflecting North American designs in Brazilian education. Clarifying that: "This program, based in the city of Belo Horizonte -MG, can be understood as an agreement made by the government of Brazil, through the Ministry of Education (MEC), together with the U.S.A, and had as its principle to provide financial and technical support to Brazilian education" (Silva; Castro; Serrano, 2023, p. 873). Thus, they conclude that this evolution reflected changes in educational policies and social demands,

highlighting the importance of supervision as a facilitator of social participation and pedagogical development in Brazilian schools (Silva; Castro; Serrano, 2023).

In the article *A difusão das boas maneiras universais por meio dos manuais do PABAE-INEP* (The Diffusion of Universal Good Manners Through the Manuals of PABAE-INEP), Márcia Santos and Susane Waschinewski (2021) investigate how the manuals of the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE) and the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP) promoted the diffusion of universal good manners. Published in the journal *Momento-Diálogos em Educação* in 2021, the study focuses on Brazil during the PABAE period, mainly between the 1950s and 1960s. Using sources such as pedagogical manuals, official PABAE and INEP documents as well as academic literature on educational policies, the authors analyze the influence of these materials on teacher training and educational practice. “With emphasis on the improvement of Brazilian professionals, the Program aimed to improve the educational indices of the time, such as school dropout and grade retention” (Santos; Waschinewski, 2021, p. 399). The authors conclude that the manuals not only transmitted pedagogical content, but also incorporated behavioral norms and cultural values considered universal, reflecting an attempt at behavioral and educational standardization in Brazil, influenced by North American models (Santos; Waschinewski, 2021).

The article by Diogo Ferreira Jandrey, Laura Silva Dias and Edilene Simões Costa dos Santos, entitled *Saberes Para Ensinar Frações no Livro: O Ensino de Aritmética pela Compreensão* (Knowledge to Teach Fractions in the Book: The Teaching of Arithmetic by Understanding), was presented in the Annals of ENAPHEM-National Meeting of Research in the History of Mathematics Education in 2020. According to the authors:

We emphasize that during the 1960s, a set of actions was carried out by the MEC-USAID agreement (Ministry of Education and Culture – United States Agency for International Development) that aimed to modernize the Brazilian Education System (Jandrey; Dias; Santos, 2020, p. 2).

The authors investigated the methods and knowledge necessary to teach fractions through the book "O Ensino de Aritmética pela Compreensão" (The Teaching of Arithmetic by Understanding), focusing on the Brazilian educational context. The research encompasses a contemporary temporal cut, analyzing the content and pedagogical approach proposed by the book, specifically 1965, when it was translated and published in Brazil. The main source used

was the manual itself. Among the main conclusions, the comprehensive approach to teaching fractions and the need to adapt teaching methods to students' cognitive abilities stand out, aiming at a better understanding and application of mathematical concepts. The authors also point out the influence of the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE) in the dissemination of pedagogical practices and teaching materials during the 1960s, highlighting how this program impacted teacher training and the quality of arithmetic teaching in Brazil (Jandrey; Dias; Santos, 2020).

In the article *Ficou tudo tão diferente sem a sua presença: diálogos com a escrita epistolar* (Everything became so different without your presence: dialogues with epistolary writing), published in 2022 in the journal *História da Educação*, Susane da Costa Waschinewski (2022) researched the use of epistolary writing as a historical source to understand personal and social aspects of education in Brazil. In Jessy Cherem's personal archive (1929-2014), two documents draw attention: old letters sent by a former student to the Catarinense teacher, kept for more than fifty years. By investigating the path taken by these missives, it was possible to locate their origin and destination with their author. Sent by a student, their contents reveal the significant presence of a teacher, leaving marks beyond the classroom. Waschinewski concludes that epistolary writing reveals the experiences and feelings of educators, highlighting the relevance of these correspondences in the construction of a collective memory of education. The author also discusses the influence of the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE), highlighting how it contributed to teacher training and the development of pedagogical practices during the 1960s, evidencing throughout the professional trajectory of teacher Jessy Cherem, that the program contributed to the improvement of teaching and the introduction of new educational methodologies in Brazil (Waschinewski, 2022).

In the article *Aspectos das culturas escolares da escola primária em Brasília nas colunas de Yvonne Jean (1962-1964)* (Aspects of school cultures of primary school in Brasília in Yvonne Jean's columns (1962-1964)), published in the *Revista Diálogo Educacional* in 2024, Juarez José Tuchinski dos Anjos researched the practices and school cultures of primary school in Brasília during the years 1962 to 1964. The sources used were the columns written by Yvonne Jean, published in newspapers of the time, which detailed the school daily life, pedagogical practices and the lives of students and teachers. Dos Anjos clarifies that these columns offer an understanding of school cultures and educational changes in a period of political and social transition in Brazil. The author also highlights the influence of the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE) in the educational context of Brasília,

highlighting how the program helped to introduce new pedagogical methods and improve teacher training, contributing to the development of primary education in the new capital (Anjos, 2024). According to the author:

Essaying an interpretation in the field of historical possibilities (Davis, 1987), the passage of Brasília teachers through PABAE courses and contact with their materials may have provided them with what was most current in the pedagogical repertoire of that time, conferring on them a considerable "cultural capital" that could be used upon their return in their teaching, guidance, and direction practices in the School-Classes of Brasília (Anjos, 2024, p. 324).

By exploring Yvonne Jean's columns, the author not only reveals the daily life and pedagogical practices of the time but also contextualizes PABAE in the modernization and improvement of teaching in the newly inaugurated capital. The research suggests that the program provided Brasília teachers with an estimated "cultural capital," which directly influenced their educational practices, contributing to the development of primary education in Brasília.

In the article *O que é Jardim da Infância: aspectos para uma pauta de discussões sobre defesas em conflito na história da Educação Infantil brasileira (1960)* (What is Kindergarten: aspects for a discussion agenda on defenses in conflict in the history of Brazilian Early Childhood Education (1960)), published in the journal *Zero-a-Seis* in 2017, Rosane Michelli de Castro, Vandeí Pinto da Silva and Cláudia Cristina de Farias dos Santos de Moura (2017) investigated the debates and conflicts around the definition and objectives of Kindergarten in Brazil during the 1960s. The study is based on the teaching manual "O que é Jardim da Infância" (What is Kindergarten), by educator Nazira Féres Abi-Sáber, published within the scope of the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE) developed in Belo Horizonte-MG. The authors analyzed the historical and didactic aspects of the manual, considering the historical moment and social context of its production, the target audience, the objectives and needs it responded to, and the contributions to the training of primary teachers in Brazil. According to the authors:

The defenses of this educator were and are considered far ahead of her time, the 1960s, because, in line with the assertions of Craidy and Kaercher (2001), they valued a physical and social space as fundamental for the development of children. The author of the manual considered the planning of pedagogical work, especially in work with young children, which requires us to think about

education, care, safety, and development. Therefore, she argued that work with children needs the care and mediation of an adult so that they can learn and develop. In this sense, in the school environment, the teacher is an essential figure (Castro; Silva; Moura, 2017, p. 475).

The authors conclude in this article that there was a diversity of opinions and interests at stake, reflecting tensions between different pedagogical conceptions and public policies aimed at Early Childhood Education. These discussions influenced the implementation and development of educational policies for Kindergarten in Brazil, highlighting the role of PABAE in the introduction of new pedagogical practices and the improvement of teacher training during the period (Castro; Silva; Moura, 2017).

Finally, the article *A Ênfase Metodológica na Formação de Professores no PABAE* (The Methodological Emphasis in Teacher Training in PABAE) by Carmem Lúcia Eiterer and Cláudia Bergerhoff Leite Abreu (2008), published in the journal *Linhas* in 2008, investigates the methodological perspective in teacher training in the Brazilian-American Elementary Education Assistance Program (PABAE). The study is concentrated in Brazil, mainly between 1956 and 1964 and uses sources such as official PABAE documents, teacher training reports, teaching materials and interviews with educators involved in the program. The main conclusions indicate that PABAE collaborated in the methodological training of Brazilian teachers, pointing out innovative pedagogical practices and the use of specific teaching materials, cooperating for the modernization of primary education in Brazil during the analyzed period and according to the authors “The Program was based on a vision of psychology as a positive science, according to the scientific mentality appropriate to the time” (Eiterer; Abreu, 2008, p. 105).

### **Final considerations**

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This article aimed to analyze how PABAE has been investigated in recent Brazilian educational historiography, between the years 1997 and 2024. Based on the survey undertaken, it is possible to affirm that PABAE has been, quantitatively, the object of a restricted number of studies – although growing in recent years –, which suggests that this is still a fertile ground for the Workshop of History. In fact, it is an object that demands greater attention from historians of education who wish to delve into the processes of teacher training as well as the

pedagogical models for primary education in circulation in Brazil in the second half of the 20th century.

From the inventoried works, it is perceived that the impact of the Program in some Brazilian regions (such as the States of Espírito Santo, Goiás, and Santa Catarina and the current Federal District) and in the lives of certain characters, such as Nazira Féres Abi-Sáber (author of one of the PABAE manuals) and Jessy Cherem (Catarinense student of the program), has already been studied. Studies that have taken PABAE's printed materials as a historical source, to study teaching models for kindergartens, for teacher training, or for the teaching of arithmetic, for example, also deserve to be highlighted. However, these are approaches that do not exhaust the possibilities of future research. Rather, they are an intriguing invitation to continue to tread the paths they point out and deepen them in various aspects.

An investment to be made, as this survey suggests, is the expansion of studies on PABAE with regional cut-offs, which evidence the reaches and limits of the proposals of this program in the conformation of Brazilian school cultures during its period of operation. For this approach, it seems fundamental to resort to local and personal archives existing in the various states of the federation, in search of clues and indications of the participation of teachers from different states in PABAE courses as well as the intellectual baggage they built and took with them for their subsequent teaching practice.

In addition to a regional cut-off, a biographical cut-off also seems opportune, by studying the trajectory of actors and actresses involved with PABAE, whether as trainers or as student teachers. For this type of research, the annex with the list of Brazilian teachers sent to Indiana University published by Paiva and Paixão (2002) can be a starting point for studies that, pursuing the thread of the name (Ginzburg, 1991), seek to delineate the networks of relationships and the formative paths trodden by professionals who went through PABAE courses. The INEP Archives in Brasília and the Museum of the School of Belo Horizonte, which contain documents on PABAE and detailed data on the public that attended it, can be another path for these studies, without disregarding the possibility of consulting the archives of Indiana University in the United States, through which a significant number of Brazilian PABAE scholarship holders passed. What was taught at that university when the Brazilian students passed through? What were the programs of the courses they attended? What is their relationship with the demands of Brazilian education in the period? What did these teachers do with the cultural capital acquired upon their return to Brazil? These are questions that can be answered from the perspective of these biographical studies.

Finally, the analysis of printed materials produced by PABAE remains a fertile field for new studies. According to the report prepared at the end of the Program, at least six types of printed materials were put into circulation: 1) the mimeographed booklets and bulletins during the courses in Belo Horizonte, eventually remaining in libraries and archives in Minas Gerais; 2) the final versions of these materials published in book form throughout the program; 3) the final works of the students of the courses, existing in public and/or private collections; 4) the magazine "Criança e Escola" ("Child and School") published from 1963 and which had editions until the beginning of the following decade, thus prolonging the reach of PABAE's ideas on Brazilian soil; 5) other printed books that did not circulate directly in the program courses but were translated and put into circulation in Brazil on their initiative; 6) and the Primary Teacher Guidance Library (PABAE, 1964). By taking these various printed materials as supports for pedagogical models for primary education that PABAE sought to disseminate in Brazil, verticalized studies on specific works can be carried out – many available for purchase in virtual second-hand bookstores or held by Brazilian Public Libraries – in order to advance the knowledge about the pedagogical practices and teaching materials that PABAE presented as opportune to the modernization of the Brazilian primary school of the 1950s and 1960s. This is yet another research possibility that this survey allows to enunciate.

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