Subjects, knowledges and practices circulating in the International Meeting of Physical Education: pedagogical textures and models (Belo Horizonte, 1957-1962)

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Abstract: This article discusses, from a historical perspective, training of Physical Education teachers based on methods, contents and subjects circulating in the International Meeting of Physical Education held in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, from 1957 to 1962. Using written sources and statements, it found a Physical Education with moralizing features, based on religious prescriptions, indicating the precepts of a whole and humanistic education.

Keywords: Physical Education History. Teacher training. Pedagogical models.

1 INTRODUCTION

From 1957 to 1962, the city of Belo Horizonte hosted a number of technical and pedagogical training courses called International Meeting of Physical Education (Jornadas Internacionais de Educação Física). They aimed to expand the training of teachers and instructors already working in schools and sports squares, as well as Physical Education students at the newly opened School of Physical Education of Minas Gerais. From that time/place for pedagogical practices, this article discusses, from a historical perspective, training in Physical Education based on methods, contents and subjects circulating at those Meetings.

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Such courses gained importance for Physical Education in Minas Gerais at the time, modeling representations about the training in and teaching of that curricular component. There were five editions, held annually, with an average length of two weeks each. In the study, we sought to know the details of those courses: teachers who organized them and those invited to teach classes, the public’s profile, pedagogical organization, supports and political bases, teaching contents selected for each edition, among others. By analyzing these elements, it was possible to identify some projects that pedagogically modeled Physical Education in Belo Horizonte, as well as to know the organizers of the Conference and the actions resulting from it.

The study is part of an ongoing research program entitled “Modelos pedagógicos, formação docente e práticas escolares: o ensino da Educação Física em Belo Horizonte (1947-1977)” developed by CEMEF – UFMG’s Center for the Memory of Physical Education, Sports and Leisure.1 At that institutional place of document research and storage, historical studies on teacher training and the very process of creation and affirmation of the field of Physical Education in Minas Gerais are fed by the wealth of sources under the center’s custody. Researchers working in document organization tend to get involved in the plot of the files, thereby extracting original research questions. This was the case of the study that addressed, in a peculiar way, the International Meetings of Physical Education (LIMA, 2012).

The document corpus included sources of varied kinds, such as newspapers, photographs, lesson plans, planning notebooks, annals and film. In the exercise of crossing sources, some oral statements also composed the interpretive possibilities, because we consider relevant to listen to the stories of those who somehow participated in that course, thus showing their unique interpretations of the experience and confirming the assumption that memory, forgetfulness and reconstruction are choices of each

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subject. The printed sources were taken to the interviews, and such methodological choice allowed us to understand that respondents explore subjective meanings on lived experience when dealing with what they recall. In that rational and emotional selection, they produce a particular point of view on what happened (THOMPSON; FRISCH; HAMILTON, 2002).

By turning the analysis of sources into written history, it was possible to recognize that Physical Education in Belo Horizonte during that period was strongly connected to Catholic moral precepts and linked with the medical and the military institutions, repeatedly confirmed by historiography. There was significant presence of nuns and priests participating as students or organizing and giving lectures and courses. As we intend to discuss in this article, the construction of a Physical Education based on prescriptions and religious practices guided a specific pedagogical model, of moralizing features, which emphasized a whole and humanistic education – aspects that were commonly highlighted by students and teachers who participated in the event. Another prominent element was interdependence, disseminated in the state capital and in smaller towns, between pedagogical practice in school Physical Education and that carried out in other educational spaces such as clubs, recreational streets and several sport squares. We were also concerned to show how the Meetings were the time and place for circulation of teachers from other Brazilian states, Europe, North America, Asia and neighboring Latin American countries, and for spreading and conveying educational ideas, concepts, practices and values still little explored in the history of Brazilian Physical Education in the second half of the twentieth century.
During that period, Meetings were held on a regular basis every year, except for 1961. Those responsible for the organization included the Minas Gerais Department of Sports (DEMG), the Minas Gerais School of Physical Education (EEF-MG) and the Association of Alumni of FES-MG – political and institutional places that actively participated in the legitimization of Physical Education in the state. All editions happened in July and/or August, announced by local newspapers with great euphoria and presented as a “bold initiative”, while the contents taught were considered most innovative (ABRE-SE..., 1957).

In its first edition, the course was called “Physical Education Studies Meeting” and it later became “International Meeting of Physical Education”.

Source: Newspaper Diário da Tarde, July 30, 1960
Physical Education”, which would remain until the last edition. Its main goal was to bring “the most modern concepts and methods” (ABRE-SE..., 1957) produced in Physical Education, in order to update teachers’ and specialists’ knowledge. Each year, students came from several regions of Minas Gerais, from other states and even from abroad.

From the first to the fourth edition, the Meetings were supported and sponsored by the government of Joaquim Francisco Bias Fortes. A politician linked to the Social Democratic Party (PSD), he governed the state between 1956 and 1961, when he exerted strong influence within EEF-MG. Interestingly, some sources such as Jornal Educação Física and interviews with Fernando Campos Furtado (2011) and Owalder Rolim (2011) mention the person of the governor rather than the state, giving a personalistic character to Bias Fortes’s relationship with Physical Education. He not only provided financial resources but also attended ceremonies related to the Meetings and his speeches were highly complimentary towards event and its organizers.

In 1961, with José de Magalhães Pinto as governor elected by the National Democratic Union (UDN), the course was not held. In his statement, Fernando C. Furtado (2011) called the absence of the “event” in that year a “boycott”, as a kind of rejection by the new administration to continue the work of its predecessors. In 1962, the last edition of the Meeting, it was organized in a fairly simple format that was very different from previous ones. For lack of funds, the programming was more local, including teachers from Belo Horizonte. One factor that may be related to the end of that effort was the “crisis” faced by the School of Physical Education in the early 1960s. Coinciding with the change in government, the institution experienced political and financial problems, when its closure was considered. Its activities were gradually ending and probably because of that, the School stopped publishing

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2 The four editions of Jornal Educação Física emphasize the person of governor Bias Fortes as a benefactor of FES-MG and of Physical Education in Minas Gerais. See also Furtado (2011) and Rolim (2011).
Already under the DEMG, there also seemed to be a different “crisis” concerning a quarrel between so-called graduates and so-called “lay people”, especially in activities in Sports Squares – spaces managed by the DEMG. In those places, even before the creation of the EEF-MG, there were instructors, mostly from military institutions (SILVA, 2009). Owalder Rolim and Fernando Furtado regarded the DEMG and its spaces as the “natural path” for the school’s recent graduates. For them, that institution was the place to practice the knowledge they had acquired during college. Thus, a campaign was established by “technicians” (graduated at the school) against “practitioners” who were still working in education. In “Preparação integral para os futuros professores”, published by Jornal Educação Física (1958), Roberto C. de Queiroz advocated the importance that students strongly engage in knowing the theoretical and practical aspects of Physical Education and sports. For him, Physical Education students and graduates had to be aware that “while we have a legal right to the places occupied by ‘practitioners’, we also have a moral duty, inherent in any professional ethics, to prepare ourselves not only intellectually, but also practically, for the exercise of our profession” (PREPARAÇÃO..., 1958).

Changes on the DEMG board in 1956 also intensified the disputes between “lay people” and “graduates”. Teacher Sylvio José Raso is seen as the director who changed the agency’s internal policy, forming a work team made up of teachers and technicians, and promoting several activities such as recreational streets, tournaments, gymnastics demonstrations, and recreational courses. Prior to his term, actions were limited to offering jerseys to the city’s football teams.

Therefore, we can consider that the process of professional legitimation of Physical Education involved tensions between technicians and the military, since the latter – the “practitioners” –

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were used to teach gymnastics and sports. Administrative changes tended to benefit college-trained “technicians”. The sources consulted do not distinguish between the terms “technician” and “teacher” to designate those who attended the newly created Higher Education Course in Physical Education.

Thus, when addressing the context where the Meetings took place, it was necessary to consider disputes and negotiations and how the dialogue in support of different interests developed. Attention had to be paid to struggles for power and representation, since such practices guided, at the cultural level, the construction of an imaginary on Physical Education in Minas Gerais (BACZKO, 1985). In this sense, we understand that a given organization emerges in the midst of plots established between subjects who thus establish their identities and senses of belonging to a particular group or social practice under construction (CHARTIER, 1991).

It also seems possible to state that holding the International Meeting in Belo Horizonte was related to broader politics. In December 1957, Boletim de Educação Física, a newsletter of the Division of Physical Education of the National Department of Physical Education, presented a list of technical and pedagogical improvement courses for Physical Education instructors and teachers carried out in several Brazilian states in the 1950s. The teachers invited to some of those courses included Alfredo Colombo, then director of the Division of Physical Education, and Auguste Listello (France) and Gerhard Schimidt (Austria), who had been to the Meeting in Minas gerais. Those aspects indicate investment on a larger scale, publicizing, in different regions of Brazil, those subjects identified as promoters of methodologies and pedagogical proposals able to renew and “specialize” the teaching of Physical Education (NOTICIÁRIO..., 1957).5

As for the audience, the number of teachers in Europe, Asia and South and North America invited to teach courses gradually

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5Boletim provided by the Centro de Memória da Educação Física, do Esporte e do Lazer (CEMEF/UFMG). Professors’s personal archives. Fundo Nella Testa Taranto.
increased from the first to the fourth edition. This also happened to the students or “interns” who came from neighboring countries (Argentina, Mexico, Japan, Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador), from states like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Pará, Rio Grande do Sul, Espírito Santo and many cities in Minas Gerais. Such diversity, as emphasized by newspapers, produces representations of the events in order to enhance, repeatedly, the work’s scope, quality and originality. Perhaps as a peculiarity of Minas Gerais, there was also significant presence of religious participants, reported in the press as a concrete possibility of bringing development of Physical Education together with the precepts of a moral education and an improvement of the spirit.

In addition to the pedagogical activities in the form of courses, there were also other recreational and socialization activities during the Meetings, such as tributes, visits to other cities, night parties, dances and also the organization of recreational streets involving children and young people at the end of the proceedings of International Meetings in 1958, 1959 and 1960. Those moments were supposed to help students to practice what they had learned. Here we highlight several teaching and teacher training strategies that, when adopted, also functioned as moments of integration among participants and a possibility of public and political visibility for Physical Education in the state.

In the statements, the subject also appears repeatedly. For José Atayde Lacerda, the most important legacy of the courses was the exchange of experience: “[t]hat exchange of information [...] Oh! It was huge, very good”. In an interview, Owalder Rolim stressed indications of appropriation of that knowledge in his teaching practice. He spoke of the diversification of contents and access to knowledge of new teaching materials, commenting on

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their use after the course. Fernando Campos Furtado⁹ also recalled the lessons, especially those by Austrian professor Gerhard Schimidt, saying that during his career he used the games learned on that occasion because he said the course offered “pedagogical processes that remained”.

During the Third Meeting, the newspaper *Diário de Minas* of July 31st, 1959, announced: “National and foreign participants seek to get the best out of the event sponsored by the Department of Sports”. And it added: “People from Brazil and abroad in search of better knowledge on sporting subjects and Physical Education came to join participants from the capital, forming a group of 450 people”. The newspaper also reported that attendance was mandatory in theoretical and practical lessons as well as in lectures, film screenings and demonstrations. For Argentinean student Aurora Bugiolacchi, the course’s time load was too long and its schedule was not flexible. She was part of an Argentinean delegation of 30 teachers led by Dr. Ramon Muros, director of the School of Physical Education of “that friendly country” (TÉCNICA..., 1959). Note that in the same period, many teachers from Minas Gerais also participated in events related to Physical Education in Argentina, showing a network of exchanges between the two countries, still not explored by Brazilian Physical Education historiography.

The term “modern” was widely used in opposition to “old”, as an exercise to break away from the past and to promote the present. Used repeatedly in newspaper ads and in the teachers’ discourses, “modern” approached discussions in Brazilian educational field in the 1950s. According to Josildeth Consorte (1997, p. 3), “the perception of Brazil as two countries – an archaic, traditional one and a modern one – prevailed then, as well as the belief that the development of its modern portion would lead to overcoming its contradictions, making it finally take the long-awaited leap into the future”.

However, the “modern” that came to Minas Gerais from different places would pass through the sieve of tradition. By

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combining modernity and tradition, the Meetings fulfilled their purpose of interrogating Physical Education practiced in Brazil, comparing it with that practiced in European countries. In the sources analyzed, our country was sometimes seen as backward while European countries were references for progress. With such features and under such conditions, the several annual editions realized the purpose of giving visibility and legitimacy to the training of Physical Education teachers.

Figure 2 – Teacher Gerhard Schimidt and students during the Third International Meeting of Physical Education

Source: Collection of CEMEF/UFMG. Iconographic collection (Meetings).

3 CONTENT AND KNOWLEDGES CIRCULATING IN TIMES AND SPACES OF THE EVENT

Several contents used to circulate in the Meetings, showing that Brazilian Physical Education at the time gathered a wide repertoire of themes and practices identified as legitimate for teaching and teachers’ training. Some courses were directly linked to the composition of classes and educational programs, and addressed, among other subjects, gymnastics, sports, dances, children’s games. Others were about issues related to teaching’s
Subjects, knowledges and practices circulating in the International ... daily life, current legislation, and the guiding principles of what would be good conduct expected of teachers.

We identified strong presence of gymnastics contents, represented in the five editions by a range of adjectives: Swedish, general, modern, educational, acrobatic, children’s, Austrian, etc. Individual and collective sports courses were also taught (basketball, volleyball, athletics, swimming, futsal, handball, etc.). There was focus on court games, always more frequent than those seen as “individual”. Most courses with dance as content were focused on folkloric (foreign and Brazilian) and school dances. We also found dance as part of other topics such as recreation, children’s games and gymnastics.

Sports practices gradually gained more space during the five editions of the Meetings, with differences in the way of addressing them. Firstly, only teacher Moacyr Daiuto talked about it in the basketball planning book, addressing tactical, technical and social issues. In the planning documents that dealt with handball, futsal and volleyball, contents were more informative, emphasizing rules and techniques related to those sports. The procedures of the Fifth Meeting, in turn, presented texts in which teachers paid more attention to moral and social issues, emphasizing educational principles as guides in teaching rules and the basics of sports. Another concern of most teachers was with pleasant learning. Teaching of Physical Education was expected to instill the desire to practice sports in young people, even without the presence of a teacher.

In planning notebooks systematized by teachers for the courses it was possible to note that the roles of “teacher” and “coach” often mixed without clear distinction. Referring to students, they mentioned especially children or sportsman/player, most often using male words (in Portuguese, o aluno, o esportista, o jogador). Age seems to be the strongest differentiation. But there was no consensus on teachers’ recommendations about the age to start practicing sports. Some argued that children should start at 4-6 while for others, it was at 10.
Regarding gender in the first edition, only the themes of dance and women’s gymnastics were treated in the female gender. In the Fifth Meeting, in turn, there was constant reference to the presence of women in team sports, plus teachers’ emphasis in saying that playing sports would not alter the so-called feminine attributes – “lightness”, “plasticity”, “harmony”. In the five editions, while we can see men in command of activities with different themes, such as recreation courses, folkloric dance, gymnastics, games and several sports, we found that women were in charge of activities related to dance, children’s games and especially gymnastics and its ramifications. Men were allowed to transit through the various contents and practices while women were restricted to the world of childhood and harmonic, light and smooth exercises. However, while participation by female teachers was restricted to these topics, the time allocated to their courses occupied about 50% of the workload.

Most times, the content proposed for the courses was announced by exalting the name of their teachers who received designations as “great master”, “great expression”, “highly recognized name”. In Table 1, we present some of those teachers and the subjects of the courses they taught.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Course taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gerhard Schimitd</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Austrian natural method and general gymnastics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanns Prochowinck</td>
<td>Brazil (RJ)</td>
<td>Soil Gymnastics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Listello</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Generalized physical activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antônio Boaventura da Silva</td>
<td>Brazil (SP)</td>
<td>Swedish Gymnastics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moacyr Daiuto</td>
<td>Brazil (SP)</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Weil</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Psychology applied to Physical Education</td>
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According to each Meeting’s programming, we can infer that organizers wanted to offer participants varied knowledge that included details of the technical dimensions of each activity, and that they were apprehended as scientifically and pedagogically systematized knowledges. Such references were repeatedly linked to moral development and the role conferred to Physical Education in the development of human relations. The sources allow us to find formative intentions in those choices, consistent with the principles that organizers believed to be the best. In these terms, when selecting contents to be taught and teachers invited to teach them, they carried out a clear selection of educational values and norms (HÉBRARD, 1990).

A Physical Education that covered moral issues was a concern pervading most contents and was directly linked to Catholic beliefs. By educating wills, suppressing aggression, directing motivation, Physical Education would contribute to the whole formation of subjects that, thus educated, would bring benefits to society. As
Governor Bias Fortes announced in 1958 when highlighting the full confidence he had on the training offered by EEF-MG, its work was a “guarantee of the high standard of teaching and the rigid moral orientation, according to the healthiest Christian principles that ensure full achievement of the goals of all residents of Minas Gerais” (O COROAMENTO..., 1958). The governor’s assumptions were endorsed by Father Carlos José Gonçalves, a professor of Religious Culture and Anthropology, in a lecture given at the Second Meeting:

> When we say MORALITY, we mean exactly Religious Morality, a moral that comes from God and that leads to God. Morality without religion is nonsense. It has no right to exist because it is fake morality, false in its principles and pernicious in its consequences (O COROAMENTO..., 1958) (emphasis added).

In the opening lecture of the Third Meeting, given by then auxiliary bishop of Belo Horizonte Dom Serafim Fernandes de Araújo, the connection between religion and Physical Education was highlighted again and the points he highlighted resembled the speech delivered by Pope Pius XII on November 8, 1952 (PIO XII, 1952). Dom Serafim spoke about the “dignity of the body”, explaining the differences between the materialist view and Christian thought: “The maxim is this: yes to body care; no to cult of the body, to body deification […] the spirit comes first rather than the body” (RELIGIÃO..., 1958). He also claimed to be a mistake to consider sport or Physical Education as an end in itself, and its practice should be a means.

The Meetings held in Belo Horizonte seemed to model Physical Education as a discipline committed to the precepts of Christian morality, and teachers had to watch over the “spirit” of their students. As Father Carlos oriented: “Between two athletes who compete on the track, one may be more of an athlete. But, he will not be more of a MAN if he cannot ally his muscles to the strength of his soul” (CORPUS..., 1957) (emphasis added).
Although most teachers relied on Christian precepts to stress the moral importance of Physical Education, we find another focus in the arguments of teacher Albano Augusto Pinto Corrêa Filho, more linked to the notion of civility. For him, teachers should pay attention to subjects’ civic education, because only then they would form people of the status of martyrs such as Tiradentes and geniuses like Santos Dumont. He also justified that his classes were not related to “militaristic” logic but to the desire that his students became “good teachers, respected in the profession they have chosen” (DISCIPLINA..., 1958).

The arguments related to a whole education echoed recurrently in the Meetings, reaffirming the principles already in vogue in Physical Education in previous decades. For Hungarian teacher Afonz Renez (1957), Physical Education was not responsible for forming athletes, but for “providing a foundation”: the “educator has a major duty to form the small in their wholeness”. Austrian teacher Gerhard Schimidt, in turn, emphasized the importance of “pedagogically guided” exercise because the result would always be positive and permeate “the organic, intellectual, moral and spiritual aspects” (MÉTODO..., 1957).

The emphasis seemed to be on thinking Physical Education without dichotomies and focused on children’s needs. To Moacyr Daiuto, as well as for Luiz Mattos, Guiomar M. Becker and Afonz Renez, educators should develop students’ personality harmoniously and appreciate not only efficiency, but also individuals’ emotional and intellectual development, integrating them socially. To mark their arguments, teachers said that the discipline, due to its uniqueness, could interfere more effectively than others with the physical body, mind, morality and spirit.

In courses focused on sports, masters exposed several advices to teachers about the importance of the technician’s personal conduct in training students and also about athletes’ moral education. Those recommendations range from attention to the light in the lesson place to suggestion that it is teachers’ responsibility to establish
a “comradely spirit” among students, teaching them to respect referees and not to use vain means to win. It was a long list of didactic guidelines full of concern for human formation. According to teacher Adolfo Guilherme,

putting together a group that can play VOLLEYBALL is not enough to form a great team. It is also necessary to extend athletes’ moral qualities and instruct their conduct during training in order to adapt more easily within the team. In addition to correct execution of fundamentals, other qualities to be developed in athletes include: the notion of duty – attendance, punctuality, etc.; CHIVALRY; to be good WINNERS and good LOSERS; having SELF-RESPECT to react when one is being OVERCOME; dominating the NERVOUS SYSTEM in order not to disturb the HARMONY of the team and not to cause lack of control; knowing how to awaken in one’s teammates the PLEASURE of playing volleyball together […] understanding that it is IMPOSSIBLE to form a great team with MEDIocre players (GUILHERME, A., July, 1962) (emphasis added).

These, among so many other educational codes and principles, circulated in the International Meetings, expanding the view on Physical Education, even if, for many teachers, education is presented as an action for transmission of content and values. And, however much they attributed the role of forming subjects “in their entirety” to Physical Education, teacher Pedro Rodrigues warned that teachers of that discipline could not solve the problem of education entirely on their own. Teacher Afonz Renez (1957) argued for the need of the various school disciplines to join and act “as machine gears.”
Figure 3 – Planning Notebook of the First Meeting. Generalized Physical Activities (teacher Auguste Listello, Aug. 1957)

Source: Collection of CEMEF/UFMG. Institutional Fund E.E.F.M.G.

4 OTHER MEETINGS

The study allows us to state that in the training offered by the Meetings, there was strong integration of contents, subjects and practices, in an ongoing process of negotiating pedagogical values and ideals. In the 1950s and 1960s, Physical Education teachers insisted in relating biological and social contents, advocating a correlation between them and investing on students’ whole formation, or a “psycho-socio-morpho-physiological” educational process, as they liked to call it. There was great interaction between
subjects involved in classes: bodily interaction, based on trust, respect and solidarity. We also identified integration between students and teachers in implementing the activities.

Both in written sources and in interviews, we apprehended a latent desire to “make it work”. In each of the participating subject’s professional trajectory, it may be possible to identify cultural processes of appropriation of knowledges that were presented and practiced at the Meetings. Although such investigative movement is beyond the purposes of this study, the sources mobilized allow us to raise this hypothesis.

Another aspect to consider is the emphasis from outside, especially when it was produced in other countries, represented as good, “modern”, “evolved”. That becomes more complex in Austrian teacher Gerhard Schimidt’s speech. He affirmed the importance of Physical Education in youth education, noting that it was more evident in Brazil where “there is a race in the making” (MÉTODO..., 1957). Such discourse is related to the belief in an archaic, backwards Brazil and a weak and uneducated people. As stressed by Marcos Freitas (2010, p. 36), “a country always close to modernity, but never fully in it”. Therefore, we found in Physical Education major issues of a decades-old debate on the formation of the Brazilian people.

As for methodological aspects, we noted that the interviews given by teachers Fernando Campos Furtado, José Atayde Lacerda and Owalder Rolim were essential in building that narrative. Protagonists of this plot, they are no longer the same, and the way they look at the past is in synch with the

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ideals they presently believe in. However, our intention was to emphasize what they chose to perpetuate, as Ecléa Bosi (2003) teaches us. That concern guided the effort for each clue to be valued as important information. Our goal was to improve the analysis and challenge the sources as well as the narrative of this story.

Several subjects addressed within the framework of the Meetings seem to be still present in the daily tasks of school Physical Education: games as important means of children’s education; the recreational inclination of school; the relevance of certain physical attributes to practice some sports; lack of equipment and specific spaces in schools; how to plan and organize classes; among others. Noting such permanent elements, we argue that it is not an “expression of inertia or mere historical-cultural reproduction” (LINHALES, 2006, p. 246). Rather, such facts reinforce the understanding that the history of the formation of Physical Education teachers and teaching practices in Minas Gerais will be better understood with studies that cover long timeframes and that are capable of indicating the meanings ascribed to ruptures and continuities.

Reflecting on today’s training of Physical Education teachers, we ask: have we, teachers and students of Physical Education, become “poorer rather than richer in communicable experience”? (BENJAMIN, 1987, p. 114). Teacher Owalder Rolim¹³ shared similar impressions when handling documents during his interview: “It’s funny... instead of evolving, things sometimes vanish”.

REFERENCES


