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Article

CONTROL AND SUPERVISION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC: THE INSPECTION OF ISOLATED SCHOOLS IN THE INTERIOR OF PARÁ (1891-1905)

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes school inspection as a dimension of the State's system of control and supervision of public education between 1891 and 1905. This historical research utilizes sources such as regulations, inspectors' reports, and messages from governors. These documents were collected from the Public Archives of the State of Pará (APEP) and the Arthur Vianna Public Library (CENTUR). To better understand inspection as a mechanism of State control over public education, we employed Michel Foucault's (2014) concept of "power". The research findings indicate that the educational inspection service, conceived as a control strategy, underwent significant changes, becoming a fundamental part of the "new society's" establishment in Pará.

Keywords: Control and supervision, school inspection, Education in Pará

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CONTROLE E FISCALIZAÇÃO DO ENSINO PRIMÁRIO NA PRIMEIRA REPÚBLICA: A INSPEÇÃO DAS ESCOLAS ISOLADAS NO INTERIOR DO PARÁ (1891-1905)

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa a inspeção escolar como dimensão do sistema de controle e fiscalização da instrução pública por parte do Estado, entre os anos de 1891 e 1905. Trata-se de uma pesquisa histórica que realizou o levantamento de fontes como regulamentos, relatórios de inspetores e mensagens de governadores. Tais documentos foram coletados no Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará (APEP) e na Biblioteca Pública Arthur Vianna (CENTUR). Com vistas a melhor compreender a inspeção enquanto mecanismo de controle do Estado sobre a instrução pública, empregamos o conceito de "poder", a partir dos escritos de Michel Foucault (2014). Em termos de resultados, a pesquisa demonstra que o serviço de inspeção do ensino, pensado como estratégia de controle, também passou por alterações significativas, tornando-se uma peça fundamental na construção da "nova sociedade" paraense.

Palavras-chave: Controle e fiscalização, inspeção escolar, Educação no Pará.

CONTROL Y FISCALIZACIÓN DE LA ENSEÑANZA PRIMARIA EN LA PRIMERA REPÚBLICA: LA INSPECCIÓN DE LAS ESCUELAS AISLADAS EN EL INTERIOR DE PARÁ (1891-1905)

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza la inspección escolar como una dimensión del sistema de control y fiscalización de la instrucción pública por parte del Estado, entre los años 1891 y 1905. Se trata de una investigación histórica que realizó un levantamiento de fuentes como reglamentos, informes de inspectores y mensajes de gobernadores. Dichos documentos fueron recopilados en el Archivo Público del Estado de Pará (APEP) y en la Biblioteca Pública Arthur Vianna (CENTUR). Con vistas a comprender mejor la inspección como mecanismo de control del Estado sobre la instrucción pública, empleamos el concepto de "poder" a partir de los escritos de Michel Foucault (2014). En cuanto a los resultados, la investigación demuestra que el servicio de inspección de la enseñanza, concebido como estrategia de control, también experimentó cambios significativos, convirtiéndose en una pieza fundamental en la construcción de la "nueva sociedad" del estado de Pará.

Palabras clave: Control y fiscalización, inspección escolar, Educación en Pará

CONTRÔLE ET SURVEILLANCE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE DANS LA PREMIÈRE RÉPUBLIQUE : L'INSPECTION DES ÉCOLES ISOLÉES À L'INTÉRIEUR DU PARÁ (1891-1905)

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article analyse l'inspection scolaire comme une dimension du système de contrôle et de surveillance de l'instruction publique par l'État, entre 1891 et 1905. Il s'agit d'une recherche historique qui a collecté des sources telles que des règlements, des rapports d'inspecteurs et des messages de gouverneurs. Ces documents ont été rassemblés aux Archives Publiques de l'État du Pará (APEP) et à la Bibliothèque Publique Arthur Vianna (CENTUR). Afin de mieux comprendre l'inspection en tant que mécanisme de contrôle de l'État sur l'instruction publique, nous avons utilisé le concept de "pouvoir" à partir des écrits de Michel Foucault (2014). En termes de résultats, la recherche démontre que le service d'inspection de l'enseignement, conçu comme une stratégie de contrôle, a également subi des changements significatifs, devenant un élément fondamental dans la construction de la "nouvelle société" du Pará.

Mots-clés: Contrôle et surveillance, inspection scolaire, Éducation au Pará

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to analyze school inspection as a dimension of the control and oversight system of public instruction, focusing on primary education between 1891 and 1905 in the state of Pará. It is a historical research project conducted through the analysis of sources such as public instruction regulations, which defined the duties and criteria necessary to hold the position of school inspector; inspector reports, which included evaluations of schools and teachers' work; and governors' messages addressing the organization of instruction, school practices, and the control of activities. All sources were obtained from the Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará (APEP) [Public Archive of the State of Pará] and the Biblioteca Pública Arthur Vianna (CENTUR) [Arthur Vianna Public Library].

To better understand the inspection service[1] as a mechanism of state control over public education, we use the concept of "power" from the writings of Michel Foucault, for whom power permeates social relations, is not restricted to an institution or person, and is not configured as an object of possession, but rather as a relationship: "In short, we must admit that power is exercised rather than possessed, that it is not the 'privilege' acquired or preserved by the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions" (Foucault, 2021, p. 30, our translation). For that author, there are different forms of power, among them "sovereign power," which allows its holder to appropriate the goods and wealth of their subjects, and disciplinary power, which is not limited to concrete objects and, therefore, cannot be transferred as property. It is a "power that, instead of appropriating and withdrawing, has as its main function 'to train'" (Foucault, 2021, p. 167, our translation). Therefore, instead of homogenizing what is subjugated to it, it seeks to separate, analyze, and establish differences to increase the usefulness of individuals. With regard to institutions, which might be schools, prisons, or barracks, the power relations existing there are marked by discipline that "'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (Foucault, 2021, p. 167). Discipline can be considered a form of exercising power, that is, a particular way in which some exercise power over others. On this point, that author reinforces that (Foucault, 2021, p. 30):

> 'Discipline' may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology (Foucault, 2021, p. 21).

1 The education reforms occurred in the Republican period sought the desired modernity. For this reason, they were an attemp to create a new identity, with "better prepared" educators, new teaching methods, curriculum, teaching material and suitable spaces for teaching activities. Vidal (2006) emphasizes that a whole apparatus was created for the rationalization of school time and educational activities, which defined the sequence to be followed to offer content, calendar, exercise schedule and intervals. Such initiatives aimed to discipline students' and teachers' conducts. Reformers, intellectuals, politicians, and educators were also concerned with the dissemination of civic and patriotic values since the construction of nationality was an urgent issue.

Discipline can also be understood as a kind of political autonomy whose ultimate aim is to fabricate docile and useful bodies, which are, consequently, obedient. It manipulates body movements, behaviors and gestures developing a mode of operation in it. In this perspective, to analyze the organization and meaning of school inspection service in the process of public instruction organization in the early 20th century in the state of Pará, we surveyed the legislation of that time, which according to Gondra (2018), was constituted

> as a relevant source for the history of education, renewed through an approach that, alongside exegesis, also focuses on grasping it at the surface of its emergence, in its interaction with knowledge, agents, and institutions, and also considering the effects that the norm produces in the field where it is inscribed (GONDRA, 2018, p. 19, our translation).

In addition, we resorted to newspapers, which reported school inspectors' visits to cities; to the magazines of that period, which published inspections reports; and inspectors' reports, which included assessments of the physical space where schools operated, the students' level of development and their impressions about teachers' performance.

SCHOOL INSPECTION ORGANIZATION IN PARÁ

The government of Lauro Sodré, which began on June 24, 1891, was marked by a series of reforms in public education, of which we highlight, primarily, Decree No. 372, of July 13, 1891, which altered public education in the State under the justification that it was necessary to

> reorganize Public Instruction, keeping as its foundation the Regulation of May 7, 1890, which morally and materially raised the level of education [...], correcting that Regulation in some of its provisions, according to the lessons of practice and experience, and harmonizing it as a whole with the principles enshrined in our Constitution (Pará, 1891, p. 317, our translation).

The document, containing fifteen chapters, provided for, respectively, education organization; Education General Management; General Manager; General Secretary; Higher Board; School Councils; teaching inspections and school inspectors; School Fund; Primary Education organization; creation of schools; appointment of teachers; public teachers, their rights and duties; primary teachers' salaries, retirement pensions and leaves; school economy and discipline; primary school exams; primary school certificate; secondary school and other issues related to the state's public education system. It also stipulated that public education comprised primary education, teacher training, secondary education, and vocational and technical education, in addition to reaffirming the secular nature and free provision of primary education.

Primary teaching was supplied by primary and elementary institutions, at the Colégio do Amparo[2], the Instituto Paraense de Educandos Artífices[3] and evening schools dedicated to teaching adults. Secondary education, in turn, was offered by the Lyceu Paraense, in Sciences and Language courses. Teaching Schools were spaces dedicated to the qualification of teachers; and, finally, technical educations was managed by the Instituto de Educandos Artífices (Pará, 1891). The state primary education was divided into elementary and integral, with the following organization:

> Art. 51. Elementary education, provided by elementar schools, includes;
>
> 1st The concrete teaching of shapes, colors, Numbers, sizes, time, sounds, quality of objects, their uses and applications.
>
> 2nd Practical geometry and notions of measurement of areas and capacities;
>
> 3rd Writing and reading;
>
> 4th Practical teaching of mother tongue, deserving major attention to the concrete construction of sentences and spelling;
>
> 5th Practical arithmetic, including the four operations, decimal and ordinary fractions, metric system, proportions, rule of three, interest calculation and concretely formulated problems.
>
> 6th Geography, general notions of Brazilian geography and general notions of universal geography;
>
> Art. 52. Elementary school courses shall last for at least three years;
>
> Art. 53. Integral instruction is supplied by primary schools;
>
> Art. 54 These schools' courses shall mandatorily last for six years, two for the elementary course, two for the intermediate course, and two for the higher course; (Pará, 1891, p. 327).

All teaching branches[4] remained free and independent, and any individual, Brazilian or not, could open a school, provided that the rules described in the education regulation were followed. Such rules included: previous communication to the Public Instruction General Director, informing the owner's and principal's name, the institution name and address. In addition, they had to "provide within eight days, whenever requested by those civil servants, maps of enrollment and frequency, indicating the students' grade, place of birth, class and age" (Pará, 1891, article 8th, our translation). Finally, the presentation of a certificate of good hygiene conditions of the building issued by competent authority was mandatory.

2 "The Colégio Nossa Senhora do Amparo, initially called Recolhimento das Educandas [Gathering of Female Students], was created in 1804 by the Bishop of Pará, Manoel de Almeida Carvalho, in the municipality of Belém do Pará to shelter indigenous girls." (Souza; França, 2011, p. 177)

3 "Founded in 1870, the Instituto Paraense de Educandos Artífices, also known as Instituto de Educandos Artífices, was an institution destined to instruct poor and deprived boys. After the installation of the First Republic, the institution kept the same name until the publication of Decree nº 414, of February 01, 1897, changing it to Instituto Lauro Sodré." (Santos, 2023, p. 12)

4 Term used at the time to refer to what is currently called phases of education.

One of the great novelties of Regulation of June 13, 1891 was the elaboration of a specific chapter dedicated to "inspection of teaching and school inspectors" (Pará, 1891, 325, our translation), which described all attributions of that profession and the rules that had to be followed by those occupying such positions. The General Director, Higher Council, Municipal School Boards and the special delegates were in charge of teaching inspection and should inspect directly teaching facilities in the interior, at least twice a year. Delegates were individuals trusted by the General Director and authorized by the governor. The inspection of schools in the capital was supervised by the General Director, and it could be delegated to members of the Higher Council, who should report inspection results monthly.

> Art. 40. — Delegates, who shall be titled school inspectors shall not be less than three, and must present the following conditions:
>
> Being over 25 years old, being in full enjoyment of their civil and political rights, and holding a diploma from the Teaching School, the *Liceu Paraense*, or a higher education institution in the country, or owing the recognized and well-known qualifications, capacity, and morality indispensable for the exercise of such functions (Pará, 1891, 325, our translation)

To guarantee the inspection service regularity, the regulation determined the division of the state into districts according to the number of inspectors employed. Article 43 described the 12 attributions of school inspectors, of which we highlight:

> 1.º Visiting all schools within the district:
>
> 2.º Observing at least one lesson in the schools within the district.
>
> 3.º Inspecting thoroughly public primary and secondary education institutions or others, covering the subject, hygiene conditions and technical aspects of teaching.
>
> 4.º Complying with and making comply with school regulations and decisions by the General Board.
>
> 6.º Promoting with interest and effort, the adoption of the best methods of physical, intellectual and moral teaching, without neglecting official programs.
>
> 7.º Warning and advising teachers regarding absences.
>
> 8.º Recording the school visit form in the specific book, observing in detail whatever deserves praise or censoring.
>
> 9.º Verifying whether books have been officially adopted.
>
> 10º Presenting a detailed report to the General Director regarding inspection and visits, adding the remarks that are considered necessary (Pará, 1891, p. 325, our translation).

Based on a reading of the inspectors' duties, we can consider that this was one of the strategies to ensure disciplined teaching, as their job was to observe not only the school's structure but also to evaluate the teachers' work and the students' performance. In this context, we understand the exercise of power through school inspection not necessarily as something negative that only repressed and censored, but, above all, as a strategic function that justifies the target being "the human body, not to torture or mutilate it, but to improve and train it" (Foucault, 2021, p. 20, our translation). From this perspective, it is not possible to explain power solely from the perspective of repression or coercive marginalization. For Foucault (2021)

> What interests it, basically, is not to expel men from social life, to prevent the exercise of their activities, but rather to manage the lives of men, to control their actions so that it is possible and feasible to use them to the fullest, taking advantage of their potential and using a system of gradual and continuous improvement of their abilities. (...) Therefore, to increase economic utility and decrease inconveniences and political dangers; to increase economic power and decrease political power (Foucault, 2021, p. 20, our translation).

According to this perspective, the school inspector was a type of guarantor of order and the full functioning of public instruction during that period, insofar as it would not be beneficial to the system in force for the teacher to behave freely and unhindered. In this sense, the education offered by the school had the duty to place itself at the service of the State, in the sense of preventing certain behaviors, ordering and disciplining subjects. Foucault calls the "apparatus" "strategies of power relations sustaining types of knowledge and being sustained by them" (Foucault, 2021, p. 246, our translation).

Eight years later, during Paes de Carvalho's government, the Primary Education General Regulation was enacted by Decree nº 625, of January 2, 1899, which reorganized primary education in the state and described in greater detail the inspection services and school inspector's duties. In the new document, those agents were called "teaching inspectors". The Decree explained in its first article that the highest direction of primary education in the state would be exercised by the governor, with the assistance of the Public Instruction General Director and the Higher Board. Furthermore, the document established that the Public Instruction General Director was the official responsible for executing all decisions relating to public instruction in the State and that their appointment and dismissal were the exclusive responsibility of the Governor. Any citizen of recognized aptitude and special qualifications could be appointed to the position provided they met the following requirements: "Holding a degree from any recognized scientific faculty or school in the country, having held positions in teaching or in the direction of public instruction, or having distinguished themselves in studies related to it." (Pará, 1899, p. 62, our translation)

The Regulation set twenty-five competencies to the General Director, of which we highlight:

> 1. Directly inspecting and supervising public and private schools.
>
> 2. Studying all issues related to primary education, its application and practice in the state.
>
> 4. Proposing to the governor appointments and dismissal of all permanent and temporary primary school teachers.
>
> 5. Issuing special pedagogical orders and instructions for the development and progress of education.
>
> 6. Attesting to the attendance of teachers in the capital and endorsing the certificates issued to teachers in the interior, or providing them with new certificates, when it is found that the authorities in charge of this service refuse to do so without cause [...]
>
> 12. Imposing to workers in primary education disciplining penalties according to this regulation and applying those imposed by the Higher Council.
>
> 13. Appointing substitutes for tenured and assistant teachers during their absences and approving or denying approval of appointments made by the teaching inspectors.
>
> 14. Informing the governor in a detailed annual report about the primary education current conditions, proposing the necessary measures for its improvement and dissemination throughout the State, and making special mention of the teachers from the capital and the interior who have distinguished themselves most during the school year, taking into account the results of the primary school diploma examinations. (Pará, 1899, p. 62, our translation).

The document reveals that the General Direction created ways of influencing school routines, resorting to rules and penalties that implied more general tasks, such as appointments, pedagogical instructions and the assessment of the work developed by teachers, which refers to the idea of a disciplinary power. It should be noted that this power was observed in the various instances of the organization of public instruction and, even though the system had a hierarchical structure, the power was dispersed among the various subjects that made up that structure, without being concentrated in the hands of the General Director, for example. This is truer if we accept that the ways in which power is exercised are not necessarily punitive or repressive, and may even produce effects considered "positive," since

> not only does disciplining power aim to refrain, repress or limit, but it is also useful to shape the individual's body to the desired pattern, while surveillance is one of the most effective artifices of discipline insofar as power is largely produced by the perception of being watched and not solely by the fear of violence and force (Dourado, 2022, 47, our translation).

Containing 20 articles and respective paragraphs and items, the chapter of the Public Education General Regulation providing for the school inspection addresses and regulates issues such as inspectors' duties, requirements and criteria for their appointment, the districts[5] where they would work — corresponding to 16 regions comprising neighboring municipalities —, determinations regarding logistics of travelling, accommodation, remuneration as well as their duties at the inspection site. Articles 22 to 24 present the appointment criteria and the qualities required for the position:

> Art. 22.— Teaching inspectors are in charge of observing and inspecting teaching in the districts under their supervision. They are also responsible for developing all services related to public instruction in those districts.
>
> Art. 23.— Teaching inspectors were appointed among individuals of recognized special qualifications for the position, by a governor Ordinance, following proposal by the General Director.
>
> Art. 24.— Some reasons for preferential treatment in the appointment of education inspectors include:
>
> a. Having a diploma issued by the State Teaching School.
>
> b. Having a degree issued by any of the faculties of the Republic.
>
> §Sole Paragraph. A public-school teacher currently working in the teaching profession cannot be appointed to the position of education inspector. (Pará, 1899, p. 66, our translation).

The position of teaching inspector could not, in any circumstances, be accumulated with any other position or remuneration, either federal or state. It is noteworthy that alongside the director and the teacher, the inspector formed a fundamental and structuring tripod in the functioning of the educational system of the time. Their target was the student, who, with the help of the family, had the duty of acquiring good habits of behavior, health and hygiene, in addition to incorporating and practicing the moral and patriotic values necessary to become a respectful citizen and reproducer of the new republican order.

5 1st *Region,* including all existing schools in the 1st , 2nd and 3rd districts of the capital, the Itapicurú river, the Guajará river, the Onças island, Barcarena and Conde, with main office in the capital. 2nd *Region,* including all existing schools in the 4th district of the capital, in the area of the Bragança railway, Mosqueiro and Pinheiro, with main office in the capital. 3rd *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of S. Domingos da Bôa- Vista, S. Miguel do Guamá, Ourem and Irituia, with main office in S. Miguel do Guamá. 4th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Abaeté, Igarapé-miry, Mojú, Acará, with main office in Abaeté. 5th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Soure, Monsarás, Cachoeira, Ponta de Pedras, Muaná, S. Sebastião da Bôa-Vista and Curralínho, with main office in Soure. 6th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Oeiras, Breves, Melgaço, Portel, Bagre, Anajás, Afuá, Chaves, Macapá and Mazagão, with main office in Breves. 7th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Cametá, Mocajuba and Baião, with main office in Cametá. 8ª *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Collares, Vigia, S. Caetano de Odivellas and Curuçá, with main office in Vigia. 9th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Marapanim, Maracanã, Santarem-Novo, Salina, Quatipurú, Bragança and Vize, with main office in Bragança. 10th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Prainha, Almeirim, Gurupá, Porto de Móz and Souzel, with main office in Gurupá. 11th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Santarem, Aveiros and Itaituba, with main office in Santarem. 12th *Region,* including all existing schools in the municipalities of Monte-Alegre, Alemquer, Obitos, Oriximiná, Juruty and Fáro, with main office in Alemquer (Pará, 1899).

Among the 22 attributions listed in the document, at least 10 grant the inspector significant power over the teachers' work and the development of school activities.

> 1.Visiting at least once every semester each of the schools in their region, having a special record of their visit drawn up, in which they shall report everything that seems worthy of praise or censure.
>
> 2. Instructing teachers about the fulfilment of their duties, resolving doubts that they might present.
>
> 3. Organizing a statistical map of enrollment and frequency in the schools of their region every semester, according to the models approved by the General Director, sending it to that Director in July and November of each year (Pará, 1899, p. 68, our translation).

In such context, the inspector was a central figure in the school inspection system since he represented the state. Their regular visits to teaching institutions had the clear purpose of monitoring and evaluating whether those institutions worked according to the provisions of the teaching regulations.

As already seen, everything that was observed and evaluated during the inspector visits should be recorded in a document entitled "Visit Special Form". That record worked as a proof of the inspector's visit and enabled the creation of a database about the institutions and the teachers' work, which according to (2000), means the production of "knowledge about individuals that arises from the observation of individuals, the classification, recording and analysis of their behaviors, and their comparison" (Foucault, 2000, p. 121, our translation).

> 4 Proposing to the General Director the names of Citizens that should take part in the examining board of candidates to primary study diplomas, and the appointment in the region main office of candidates to elementary study certificates.
>
> 10 Opening and initializing the books necessary for the school's record-keeping.
>
> 11 Instructing school boards and teachers regarding the school population census, and teachers for the service provisions of these regulations and recommendations of the General Director.
>
> 12 Communicating to the General Director Geral the start of activities by teachers, teacher leaves, and any other occurrences about the school routine.
>
> 13 Appointing suitable individuals from the district to substitute for teachers during their absences, submitting the appointment order to the General Director for approval within a maximum period of 30 days.
>
> 14 Communicating to the General Director, as soon as possible, about vacancies in schools of their region, proposing a suitable person who, in the absence of a professional, can temporarily fill the position.
>
> 15 Request from school councils all clarifications considered necessary about teachers' attendance and the regularity of teaching in the municipality where they work.
>
> 17 Attesting the work of teachers in their region when verifying that the school councils refuse to do so without cause; and challenging them before the General Director, when believing that the council is acting improperly.
>
> 19. Proposing to the General Director the dismissal of temporary lay teachers who are not qualified for the position.

> 20. Imposing the following penalties to teachers found to be in violation:
>
> a) Warning.
>
> b) Reprimand
>
> c) Fine from 20 to 50 thousand reis
>
> d). Suspension of up to 30 days.
>
> 22. Submitting to the General Director annually, by November 30th, a detailed report on the progress of education in the region under their responsibility, indicating the improvements and modifications they deem appropriate to introduce into the school system and expressing their opinion on the state of each school, as well as the zeal and aptitude of each teacher (Pará, 1899, p. 69, our translation).

Considering the inspector's duties, we identify a tool, which according to Foucault (2014), is used to operationalize disciplinary power, namely, the normalizing sanction. This sanction operates as a device capable of conducting evaluations and applying rewards or penalties based on results. This mechanism is evident in the school context, where it acts through punitive measures related to lateness, absences, disobedience to regulations, among other situations in which a standard is established. Thus, actions that deviate from this standard are sanctioned, resulting in the promotion of socially accepted behaviors. Therefore, the aim is to

> It was a question both of making the slightest departures from correct behaviour subject to punishment, and of giving a punitive function to the apparently indifferent elements of the disciplinary apparatus: so that, if necessary, everything might serve to punish the slightest thing; each subject find himself caught in a punishable, punishing universality (Foucault, 2014, p. 175).

The inspector worked as a kind of plenipotentiary agent of the state's public education system, insofar as

> the main instruments of control and exercise of power the inspectors had were the visit reports, written at the end of the school inspection, and the reports they presented to the public instruction director at the end of the inspection of a set of schools. Through them, inspectors reported their impressions and recommendations, mainly regarding teachers' work (Nascimento, 2010, p. 370, our translation).

By means of meticulous, efficient, and effective on-site inspections, the inspectors acted as guarantors of the full functioning of the education system, as predetermined by the state government. From this perspective, it would be of little use for the teacher to be free and unhindered to work or for the principal to ensure the school structure functioned satisfactorily. To prevent fraud or falsification, it was essential that the entire process be under the supervision of the inspectors, so that the system operated within the parameters determined by the authorities.

SCHOOL FACILITIES AND THEIR AGENTS THROUGH THE INSPECTOR'S LENSES: THE TESTIMONY OF INSPECTION REPORTS

Inspector Hilário Sant'Anna's reports offer relevant evidence regarding the mechanisms moving the process of organization of schooling in Pará in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Insofar as the inspectors were responsible for overseeing the work of teachers, evaluating their morality, the teaching methods used, the physical conditions of the educational establishments, the students' learning level, identifying the needs for furniture and bibliographic resources, as well as preparing statistical maps relating to schools and their clientele.

The inspection reports reveal in a more transparent manner the essence of the disciplining power, through the categories of hierarchical look and examination. Even if, they are sometimes seen in isolation, in most situations those two categories interact and manifest, either in between lines or explicitly, in the inspector's recurrent practices. It is worth noting that Hilário de Sant'Anna manifested absolute preference by the evaluation of method and teacher's procedures to the detriment of other aspects observed in the school structure

> I believe that the school inspector's job should not be limited to examining children to judge their level of development. The location of the school, the cleanliness observed there, the school records, the classification of students and, above all, the method the teacher follows in his teaching and the way in which he executes it, should be observed cautiously and meticulously (A escola, 1902, p. 72, our translation)

In this excerpt, especially, Sant'Anna reveals his main intention of arguing that teaching work best represents the intentions of the republican government, which, in its own way, materializes surveillance in its hierarchical, constant, and functional form—surveillance that is not a "creation" of the 18th century, "but its insidious extension owed its importance to the mechanisms of power that it brought with it. By means of such surveillance, disciplinary power became an 'integrated' system, linked from the inside to the economy and to the aims of the mechanism in which it was practised" (Foucault, 2014, p. 173), as is the case in the school environment and the instances of its management.

A significant dimension of the surveilling look can be observed in the thorough description the inspector presented in his reports about students' performance and, mainly, in his evaluation of teachers' work. Foucault (2014) emphasizes that in this context "Surveillance thus becomes a decisive economic operator both as an internal part of the production machinery and as a specific mechanism in the disciplinary power" (Foucault, 2014, p. 173).

Examination is another of the components responsible for shaping individuals as power objects since combined with hierarchical surveillance and normalizing penalty it "performs the major disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximizing the extraction of strength and time, continuous genetic accumulation, and optimal composition of aptitudes" (Foucault, 2014, p. 188), being able to extract from students and teachers the maximum of their capabilities for the achievement of the education model proposed.

Examination is the tool of hierarchy that performs a dual function of surveillance and punishment. In this perspective, it manifests as

> It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth (Foucault, 2014, p. 181).

This is the key understanding that we applied to the analytical reading of inspector Hilário Maximo de Sant'Anna's reports, of 1902, published in the magazine "A Escola" [The School] and the 1905 report, published in the journal "Boletim Official da Instrucção Publica do Estado do Pará[6]" [Official Bulletin of the Public Instruction of the state of Para].

According to Santos and França (2020), the magazine entitled "A Escola" was launched on April 30, 1900, in the municipality of Belém, b the State Interior, Justice and Public Instruction Secretariat, as an initiative of the Public Instruction General Director at the time, Virgílio Cardoso de Oliveira. The periodical had among its editors notable figures from the Pará region such as José Veríssimo, Arthur Vianna, Vilhena Alves, Lira Castro and Octávio Pires, among others. The creation of such journal was already provided for in article 5th of Decree nº 625, of January 2, 1899, which established, among the Public Instruction General Director's duties, "start the publication of an education magazine aiming to promote the state public instruction development and to inform teachers of the education progress and reforms promoted" (Pará, 1899, p. 63, our translation).

The magazine targeted primary teachers from the state of Pará to guarantee the dissemination of pedagogical knowledge and practices. Decree nº 850, of April 30, 1900, made the subscription to that magazine mandatory to those professionals. The annual contribution, worth six thousand gold reis to paid in twelve 500-reis installments, was discounted monthly from their salary, which made them the main financers of that publication. This measure, apart from securing a significant amount to sponsor governmental actions in the education area, also represented exclusiveness in the production of content to be consumed by those teachers. It aimed at guaranteeing standardization in the verticalization of educational and pedagogical information and conceptions. Therefore, the periodical "had a high cost to teachers, who in addition to having part of their salaries withheld at source, also had their intellectual and professional autonomy guided by the state" (Santos; França, 2020, p. 16, our translation).

6 The Bulletin was created to substitute the magazine "A Escola", since it implied in discounts in teachers' salaries. Therefore, the Secretary of Interior, Justice and Public Instruction, Genuíno Amazonas de Figueiredo, decided to stop its publication and substitute it with the said Bulletin, created as a three-month publication for the dissemination of all laws, acts and decisions related to education.

Santos and França (2020) also highlighted that, in the context of the Brazilian Republic consolidation, the magazine "A Escola" ´played a crucial role in the dissemination of Republican ideals in the state of Pará. Between 1900 and 1905, a period marked by the debate around the reorganization of the education system, the magazine reached the peak of its circulation, thus becoming an important vehicle of dissemination, among other topics, of the state government education policies, their pedagogical ideas and the school inspection reports. Such reports are documents are a Portrait of what was considered fundamental for the good development of public instruction in the interior of Pará. It is worth mentioning that such registers were filled with interests and intentions and that, therefore, catered or could cater for specific interests, since "no document is neutral, and always conveys the opinion of the person and/or agency that wrote it" (Bacellar, 2011, p. 63, our translation)

The information presented, sometimes based on the inspectors' value judgment, reveal the meanings ascribed to teaching, teachers' work and, in general, to the formation of primary schools in Pará. It seems relevant to emphasize that the reports used in this study only refer to inspections carried out in the interior of the state. Costa (2015), in a brief analysis of the inspection in the capital, highlighted that "the impressions about schools in the city of Belém, suggested by the teaching inspectors' reports, pointed out a series of problems, which were very different from the discourses produced by politicians and intellectuals from Pará about public instruction" (Costa, 2015, p. 91, our translation). This reveals that both the inspectors in the interior and in the capital criticized the public instruction conditions.

Sant'Anna's first report describes the inspection of schools in the region of Salgado, which joins the municipalities of Vigia, São Caetano, Curuça, Marapanin, Maracanã, Salinas, Bragança, Vizeu and Santarém Novo. In that document, the inspector justified the impossibility of carrying out the inspection in the schools in Santarém Novo, Bragança and Vizeu, ascribing this impediment to difficulties of transport and unfavorable weather conditions in the region, which made his access unfeasible for being "a dangerous journey on sailboats, and with [...] flooded fields, making it impossible to travel by land" (A escola, 1902a, p. 116, our translation). The inspection activities in the region of Salgado were developed in March, April and May 1902, when three school groups and 48 isolated schools were inspected.

His second report portrays the inspections carried out from July 13 to August 06 in the region of Baixo Tocantins, in the municipalities of Cametá, Mocajuba, Baião, Abaeté, Igarape-Miry and Moju. In the third report, the inspection activities described refer to schools in the municipalities of S. Domingos da Boa Vista, S. Miguel do Guamá, Irituia, Ourém and Bragança carried out from September 5 and October 18, 1902 (Table 1).

Table 1 — Inspections carried out in 1902

Period	Municipalities	N° of School Groups	N° of isolated schools	Total
March 6 to May 13	Vigia São Caetano Marapanim Maracanan Salinas	3	48	51
June 13 to August 06	Cametá Mocajuba Baião Abaete Igarape-Miry Moju	1	37	38
September 5 to October 18	S. Domingos da Boa Vista S. Miguel do Guamá Irituia Ourém Bragança	1	21	22
Total	**18**	**5**	**106**	**129**

Source: Elaboratec by the author based on Sant'Anna's reports published in the magazine *A escola* (1902)

In 1902, Pará had 52 municipalities, of which Sant'Anna visited 18, inspecting a hundred and six isolated schools and five school groups, totaling 129 education institutions in the interior of Pará, throughout eight months of activities.

Public teaching in Pará, according to the organization set forth in Decree nº 625 of January 1899, was taught in isolated schools[7], model-schools and school groups. Schools could be separate for each sex or mixed[8]. Isolated schools were classified as elementary[9] and complementary[10]. In the morning, girls were taught, while boys were taught in the afternoon. Elementary schools were created in the capital, in other municipalities, villages and other locations where school statistics showed the existence of over 20 school-age children. Complementary schools were located in the districts of the capital and in towns and villages in the interior where there were over 50 pupils of both sexes enrolled. In cases in which

7 Isolated schools usually operated in a rented room in the teacher's home and comprised one class and its respective teacher.

8 Coeducational schools taught boys and girls, provided that female and coeducational (mixed) schools could only be managed by female teachers.

9 Teaching in elementary schools was developed in a three-year course comprising "Reading and writing, notions of things, arithmetic calculus with integer and fractions, metric system, grammar, geography and drawing notions" (Pará, 1899, p. 17, our translation)

10 The elementary course was divided into two levels: intermediate and Higher lasting two years each.

these numbers were not reached, coeducational complementary schools were created. We observed that all isolated schools inspected by Sant'Anna were at the elementary level, while complementary schools were only observed in school groups.

When starting his reports, Sant'Anna made some remarks that he thought were needed for the good development of public instruction in the state. He highlighted that in Pará "civic education is not yet a reality, where duty is fulfilled more for fear of consequences than out of love for duty" (A escola, 1902, p. 74, our translation) and insisted that "rigorous, constant and unexpected inspection is a need, so that the school of Pará is worth of its name" (A escola, 1902a, p. 75, our translation). By stating that duty was fulfilled more for fear than out of love, the inspector signaled that punishment was not only a possibility, but rather a tool for control and inspection; or also that the very idea of being inspected should guarantee obedience and subservience of the subjects involved.

According to Foucault (2014), the ultimate aim of normative standard is not the punishment for itself; on the contrary, sanctions had the ultimate aim of normalizing and correcting. Therefore, when analyzing Sant'Anna's notes about teachers, we identified elements of hierarchical surveillance, especially if we consider that surveillance and hierarchy generate a power effect and that, in disciplinary societies, such dynamics of surveillance and hierarchy establishes a field in which everyone finds themselves, to some degree, under the gaze of others, feeling watched and, at the same time, watching—albeit unconsciously.

When visiting schools, the inspector talked to members of the community, in a context that might be considered part of the surveillance mechanisms. Such practice allowed him to collect information and opinions that were used in the evaluation of the work developed by teachers. One example of this occurred in the district of Tupinambá, which belonged to the municipality of Vigia, where the inspector visited the male elementary school, run by teacher Domingos Alfredo, and elaborated the following report:

> There, I had the displeasure of not finding teacher Domingos Alfredo da Silva, against whom there were widespread complaints in the locality.
>
> I learned that teacher Domingos Alfredo spent most of his time engaged in fishing and other pursuits unrelated to teaching. (A escola, 1902a, p. 86, our translation)

When receiving such complaints, the inspector requested the immediate substitution of that teacher and the transformation of that school, which was male elementary — into a coeducational school. Reports by the locals that were taken into consideration, worked as important elements in the teachers' evaluation, for the construction of either a positive or negative image. The pursuit of standardization of behaviors occurs, for example, by the exclusion of those that do not fit previously set standards. That was the case of teacher Domingos Alfredo, who, by dedicating his time to activities that were "unrelated to teaching", became "deviant", and was punished with substitution.

Another case described by Sant'Anna, in which we can identify elements of hierarchical surveillance, occurred in the municipality of Curuçá, where, according to the inspector, the

person accommodating him asked how many students he had found in teacher Isaias Franklin's school. The inspector answered that he had found only eight pupils, but teacher Isaias, who accompanied him, justified: "that is because it rained a lot today, [...] but there were 12 yesterday" (A escola. 1902a, p. 97, our translation). However, the inspector had verified the register of Frequency and found the presence of 21 pupils, which made him conclude that the teacher had lied.

Based on surveillance, power is configured as multiple, automatic and anonymous machinery (Foucault, 2014), which involves the kind of power that is, at the same time discrete and indiscrete, since on the one hand, it is everywhere, and on the other hand, it operates silently. "It can also be thought as the power of calculated gaze, since discipline is enforced by its own mechanisms. This shows that hierarchical surveillance is eminently a strategy of multiplying the gaze" (Candiotto, 2012, p. 21, our translation).

At a certain point in his report, Sant'Anna highlighted that the Interior, Justice and Public Instruction Secretary, Genuíno Amazonas, had asked him for detailed information about the procedures of fulfillment of duties by the teacher of the Curuçá School Group, Lauro Mattos Guerreiro, which was immediately collected and registered in a letter to be sent to that authority. According to Sant'Anna

> Teacher Lauro de Mattos Guerreiro can no longer continue working in the group where he is a dishonorable exception.
>
> His continuous trips to this capital during the past year, forcing successive replacements, his rebellion against the discipline and order of the establishment, the state of exaltation in which he sometimes presents himself for work, all speak against the employee.
>
> Due to such attitudes, the inspector points out that the teacher does not have the trust of the parents.
>
> I gathered all this information with the discretion that, by the delicate commission I was assigned, was ordered to me. I began my inquiries with the members of the School Council, then extended them to the principal, teachers and employees of the group, and to the most circumspect participants in the locality (A escola, 1902a, p. 104).

As observed, the inspection task, when collecting detailed information about the teacher, listening to different subjects in the workplace and the community where that professional developed his activities, exercises constant surveillance and creates an environment of control and discipline, which activates a relational power "which is self-supported by its own mechanisms and substitutes the bright of manifestations for the uninterrupted game of calculated gazes" (Foucault, 2014, p. 174, our translation). For this reason, the teacher subject that did not fit the expected behavior standards was seen as a threat to the order and discipline, and, consequently, should be punished.

In such context, disciplinary punishment aims at preventing or reducing behavior deviations, while the penalty configures a system of gratification and punishment that is a " system that operates in the process of training and correction" (Foucault, 2014, p. 177).

The inspectors' remarks were not limited to describing the stances considered incorrect or deviant, he also registered postures that deserved praise. One example is his mention to teacher Augusto Ramos Primeiro, who run the male elementary school in the school group of Curuçá. About that teacher, he admitted that "it is unnecessary to emphasize the merits of such a distinct colleague, who runs this school. Author of teaching books, he is well-known in this state" (A escola, 1902a p. 100, our translation).

A similar case was found in the inspector's opinion about teacher Constantina da Costa Porto, manager of the coeducational elemenary school in Arapiranga, in the municipality of Vigia, who "has worked some years as a teacher and is highly dedicated, which is confirmed by the high number of pupils in that school. There are pupils coming from the city to study in the school she runs. This shows how much the parents believe in her work" (A escola, 1902a, 82, our translation). Another similar episode was found in the municipality of Mocajuba, in the female elementar school run by teacher Maria Eloy dos Santos, a person whose, according to the report "dedication is confirmed by the whole population" (A escola, 1902b, 215, our translation).

In the district of Nazarethe, municipality of Curuçá, he wrote the following report about the permanent teacher João Francisco Gomes: "a true sample of teaching, the master of the interior, teaching a problem to his pupils. Advanced in age, wearing glasses, decently dressed, albeit with sandals, as he was forced to do by long-standing suffering, there was the good old man going about his duties [...]" (A escola, 1902b, p. 95, our translation). Sant'Anna continued describing that the pupils confirmed great learning during the exam preparation and that the teacher, who is experienced in teaching, is cherished in that place, where he had been teaching since he was a young man. In those cases, what is observed is the functioning of the disciplinary society, which is based on power in its varied forms and that "all the time punishes and rewards, evaluates, classifies, saying who is better and who is worse" (Foucault, 2014, p. 120, our translation).

Another aspect evaluated by the inspector was the teaching method employed by teachers. In his inspection in the village of Fazenda, which belonged to the municipality of Vigia, he reported having arrived to the school as a surprise and found the teacher working. The state of the school pleased him: "Pupils decently dressed, good teaching method, regular classification, well-done writing, but the house where it operates is horrible. There is no furniture. The teacher uses three long benches, a small table and a small blackboard, all belonging to him" (A escola, 1902a, p. 84, our translation).

In context, the analysis works as a power technology, the school inspection appears as a standardization mechanism that aims at standardizing the education practices and, to a certain extent, submit them to external control. The inspector, when examining and evaluating the "teaching method", the "pupils' classification" and the "documents" is, in fact, classifying and hierarchically describing schools and teachers, inserting them in a system of norms and standards. The unexpected visit reveals the importance of visibility in power dynamics and,

in such perspective, schools are spaces of power and the subjects linked to it are permanently assessed, not exclusively by some hierarchical superior entity.

In Jacarécaia, municipality of Mocajuba, the inspector found a similar and equally satisfactory situation in the school run by teacher João Manoel Vicente de Leão. The school stood out by the high Frequency of pupils, the confirmed learning of contents and pupils' satisfaction. Such context, combined with the teacher's long experience, evidenced a genuine love for the profession. During his visit, the inspector had the chance to observe the pupils leaving the school, which marked him profoundly, when he expressed

> I have fond memories of the spectacle I witnessed, watching that group of children, divided into small canoes, go up and down the river, forming a regatta, doing beneficial physical exercise and thus enjoying the benefits that, with the help of a dedicated assistant, the public authorities provide them (A escola, 1902b, p. 218, our translation).

However, at the female elementary school of Collares, which was run by the deputy teacher Dona Raymunda Clara dos Santos Porto — to who, according to Sant'Anna lacked skills for the good development of her duties — record books were ruined and the furniture was in bad state of conservation. "The room where the school operated was bad and the walls were covered with drawings of boats and others probably drawn by the children during the time they should destine to studying" (A escola, 1902a, p. 84, our translation).

In 1905, Hilário recorded in his report some remarks about the education situation in school groups in the region of the Tocantins of Pará, from different aspects, considering from the physical structure to items of pedagogical order. Sant'Anna started his report highlighting that the creation of school groups in the interior represented significant advancement for the primary public instruction. According to him, "visiting for the second time these places where I now return, I can affirm, without fear of being contested, the progress occurred in the primary public instruction with the institution of school groups" (Pará, 1905, p. 5, our translation).

When comparing the data found in the 1902 and 1905 reports, a significant reduction in the number of isolated schools is observed. Such reduction can be explained, in great part, by the creation of school groups in the cities of the interior, which gradually substituted isolated schools. This fact becomes evident with the report of only two isolated schools in the municipality of Mojú, with the following remark made by Sant'Anna "and this is the only place, among those visited by me, where there are still isolated schools, if one can call a school what I saw there" (Boletim Official da Instrucção Publica do Estado do Pará, 1905, p. 18, our translation). Everything left much to be desired, worsening the inspector's impression, which led him to suggest the creation of a group in that location, even noting that there was a building that could perfectly serve that purpose.

As observed, the critique recorded in the inspection reports referred to the teacher's lack of method and reinforced the idea that the school's success or failure was directly related to her actions, even if material conditions were unfavorable for the good development of her activities. In such perspective, the analysis carried out by the inspector appeared as a

relevant instrument of power of individualization of discipline, and operated as a control and surveillance mechanism, being able to classify subjects as "good" or "bad" regarding the development of their functions. Therefore, during the inspection and analysis, the individual " may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality" (Foucault, 2014, p. 170), in a context where the subjects being examined were subjected to classifications, standardizations, inclusions or exclusions.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Understanding the process of school inspection organization and inspectors' practices in the state of Pará was sought from the analysis of the law in force at that time, which enabled us to state that from 1891 onwards, there was a clear effort toward the construction of a more efficient inspection system, founded in an education project that matched the interests and needs of the ruling elites of that period.

As previously mentioned, the inspection activities went through relevant changes, which occurred more effectively and systematically from 1902 onwards, when two teachers of the teaching course were commissioned to develop this function in the municipalities of the interior of the state. One of them was Hilario Maximo Sant'Anna, who started his professional career in Oeiras, and after being approved in a public test, worked for the schools of Soure and Cametá. Sant'Anna also contributed to the education debate held in the first Pedagogical Congress of Pará and in the elaboration of theses in partnership with other educators. His trajectory peaked with his appointment to positions such as school inspector and head of the theoretical teaching at the Lauro Sodré Institute, during the government of Augusto Montenegro between 1901 and 1909.

When analyzing his inspection reports, describing the functioning of isolated schools, we found out that, although at the level of the discourse the republican regime indicated education as a priority, the effective conditions of its offer were seen to be precarious, mainly in the interior of the state. Even if the information found in the inspections reports might be frequently permeated by the inspector's value judgement, they provide crucial clues about the concepts of teaching, the perception of teachers' work, and the objectives of primary education in Pará. Therefore, those documents enabled the unveiling of meanings ascribed to school and the education of pupils in that historical context.

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