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History, Reforms, Challenges and Perspectives: the past and present of Sociology Teaching in Brazil

Abstract

This article addresses the paths of sociology teaching in Brazil, highlighting the curricular and political disputes that shaped its course throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Investigating the past, the text explores the origins of the discipline in the Brazilian educational context and the challenges faced in its implementation. It then analyzes recent transformations, considering educational policies and their implications. Its objective is to draw a historical and contemporary overview of the discipline and to offer paths for reflection on the debates around the presence of Sociology in the Brazilian school curriculum, highlighting its role in educational reforms, in the political struggle and in Brazilian education in a broader way.

Keywords: sociology teaching, university education, school, political struggle.

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Introduction

Discuss or debate the History of Sociology Teaching in Brazil is an arduous task, as there are multiple constraints to be considered, given the relevance of the theme in Brazilian schools and universities, the longevity of the discussion and the various possible paths of analysis and recovery of this debate.

To give an initial idea, proposals for the inclusion of Sociology as a discipline in Brazilian educational systems date back to the late nineteenth century (Bodart &

Cigales, 2021). However, only in 1925, with the Rocha Vaz Educational Reform¹, the discipline was included in Secondary Education and in the Normal Schools of Recife and Rio de Janeiro², in this same year it is also introduced in the curriculum of Colégio Pedro II³, initiating a process of nationalization. In the Francisco Campos reform of 1931⁴, it remains, and is withdrawn in 1942 by the Gustavo Capanema reform⁵, returns in 2008⁶ by virtue of the Law No. 11,684 and today suffers from the instabilities arising from the conjuncture of the Brazilian national crisis.

This fast historical recovery of the trajectory of the discipline shows us that we are, therefore, almost a century after the effective entry of the discipline into Brazilian education. However, apart from specific periods in the history of the Social Sciences in Brazil, the teaching of sociology in the schools constituted a hidden scientific object, with few debates and relative invisibility at least until the 2000s.

¹ Brazil. (1925). Decree No. 16,782-A, of January 13, 1925. It establishes the Union's competition for the diffusion of primary education, organizes the National Department of Education, reforms secondary education and makes other provisions. Retrieved from <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1920-1929/decreto-16782-a-13-janeiro-1925-517461-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>

² Normal Schools in Brazil are institutions established in the 19th century with the aim of training teachers for act on primary education. These schools played a crucial role in the early professionalization and appreciation of the teaching profession. They followed european models and contributed to the standardization and improvement of the quality of basic education in the country. Over the years, the Normal Schools underwent several reforms, reflecting changes in Brazilian educational policies, until they were replaced in large scale by higher education courses in pedagogy and teaching degrees starting in the second half of the 20th century.

³ Colégio Pedro II, founded in 1837 in Rio de Janeiro, is one of the most traditional educational institutions in Brazil. Established to provide an excellent education and to train the intellectual and political elite of the country, it has become a benchmark for the quality of secondary education. Throughout its history, the school has played a central role in the training of teachers and the dissemination of innovative pedagogical practices. Its importance lies not only in student education but also in its influence on Brazilian educational and curricular policies.

⁴ Brazil. (1931). Decree No. 19,890, of April 18, 1931. Provides for the organization of secondary education. Retrieved from <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1930-1939/decreto-19890-18-abril-1931-504631-publicacaooriginal-141245-pe.html>

⁵ Brazil. (1942). Decree-Law No. 4,244, of April 9, 1942. Organic Law on Secondary Education. Retrieved from <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1940-1949/decreto-lei-4244-9-abril-1942-414155-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>

⁶ Brazil. (2008). Law No. 11,684, of June 2, 2008. Amends article 36 of Law No. 9,394, of December 20, 1996, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education, to include Philosophy and Sociology as mandatory subjects in high school curricula. Recovered from https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2007-2010/2008/lei/11684.htm. It should be noted that the discipline returned definitively in 2008 by the force of this federal law, however this return was already taking place gradually in the states of the federation by virtue, in some cases, of state laws. In 2008, it was already present in practically all states, becoming mandatory by federal law (Bodart, Azevedo & Tavares, 2020).

This phenomenon certainly had implications that have not yet been evaluated in studies on Sociology in Brazil. Above all, because the interpretations about the emergence of the discipline in the country were initially made from biases that privileged the academic and/or scientific history of the discipline (Miceli, 1989). This perspective ended up marginalizing those productions that would have been generated outside of these standards and logics.

In this sense, the field of research in the Teaching of Sociology itself has been responsible, especially since the return to the school benches in 2008, for initiating a renewed process of investigation of the process of institutionalization of the discipline. This resumption takes place primarily through the consideration and analysis of the production before the "cut" between the "pre-scientific" period and the "scientific" period of the discipline, bringing to the center of the debate the reflection on the production of sociological ideas - even those that were not produced in the academic environment - advancing to research about questions that deals with the contemporary issues related to the discipline.

As mentioned above, school sociology in Brazil was born under the crisis of the Primeira República⁷, a period of criticism of the federative agreement of the Constitution of 1891 and was 'nationalized'⁸ in the school in the period 1925-1942, part of this period under the dictatorship of the Estado Novo⁹.

Thus, we believe that we have two explanatory lines of the History of Sociology Teaching in Brazil: the first is that even though the discipline has left the curriculum in 1942, due to the Capanema Reform, the same content that was taught reappears

⁷ The Primeira República ("The First Republic") is the period in the history of Brazil that took place from 1889 to 1930, having begun with the Proclamation of the Republic that took place on November 15, 1889 and ended with the deposition of Washington Luís as a consequence of the Revolution of 1930.

⁸ We put 'nationalized' in quotation marks, because we cannot consider Brazilian education as broadly national in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Almost a third of the secondary schools, for example, were concentrated in São Paulo (Romanelli, 1991).

⁹ The Estado Novo ("Brazilian New State") in Brazil was a period of political authoritarianism that lasted from 1937 to 1945, under the government of Getúlio Vargas. Established through a coup d'état, it was characterized by political centralism, suppression of civil rights, and repression of opponents. Vargas concentrated powers, ruling by decree-laws. The period ended with the end of World War II and the pressure for redemocratization, culminating in the departure of Vargas in 1945.

inserted in the school in the 1950s and 1970s under the name of other disciplines¹⁰. In this sense, we could break with the discourse, sometimes present in the debates on the Teaching of Sociology, which assert that the discipline has not been part of the school curriculum since the 1940s only because a long period of absence of democratic institutions.

It seems to us that Sociology was not, until its departure from the school curriculum, a school discipline committed to democratic, or even progressive, values (Lima, 2020; Meucci, 2011). The teaching of Sociology at the time was marked by a strong positivist influence and the discipline was understood as an efficient instrument for the analysis and understanding of society (Machado, 1987), which remains with the disciplines taught in its place from 1942 onwards. As a result, what would have been modified, in fact, would have been only the name of the discipline¹¹.

This explanatory line is intimately related to the second, since we believe that from the beginning of the 1980s - with the political reopening¹² and with the experience and accumulation of academic debates held in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s - there was the beginning of the gestation of a new meaning for the teaching of Sociology. Although it is difficult to capture this in retrospect in everyday school practice, it seems evident to us that there was a movement that aimed to move school sociology away from its normative and conservative sense, present in the first decades of the twentieth century¹³.

Thus, we propose that there was - still in the twentieth century - a break with the historical trajectory of the discipline that will be decisive for the characteristics that it

¹⁰ Among which: “Social Studies”, “Moral and Civic Studies”, “Social and Political Organization of Brazil Studies” and “Studies of Brazilian Problems”. It is worth pointing out, in this sense, that the training of Sociology teachers has been continuous since the 1930s, which has made it possible for some of these professionals to continue to work, now with the teaching of these disciplines in school.

¹¹ This is a complex issue, since it is not the theme or the contribution itself to the analysis of social reality that denotes the specificity of the presence or not of the discipline in the curriculum: what we can affirm is that the Social Sciences influenced other disciplines but did not take their place or become them. Or, since many teachers of History, Geography and Social Studies were graduates in Social Sciences, the *ethos* of social scientist appeared, to some extent, in their classes.

¹² The political opening was the process of leaving the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil between 1964 and 1985. This process began in 1974, still under the dictatorship itself, and ended in 1988 with the promulgation of the new Constitution.

¹³ The reading of the above-mentioned conjuncture can also be observed in the examination of textbooks released in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, which have different theoretical and thematic aspects from the books of the first half of the twentieth century.

assumes from the return of Sociology as a mandatory component throughout the country in 2008, as well as in the return to state curricula still in the 1980s, and that has repercussions in the struggle for its permanence in the curriculum from 2016 onwards.

In the diverse scientific production on the Teaching of Sociology, a tradition seems to be common to most works on the history of the discipline: the observation and reaffirmation of the intermittency of the teaching of the discipline and its impacts. We will try, however, to distance ourselves from this perspective, and we will do so not because we consider it irrelevant, but because it seems to us to be little explanatory for what we will undertake in this text. Because of this, we propose a recovery of the trajectory of the discipline that has already begun in the debates from the 1940s, because we believe in a clipping of this history that privileges the capture of the ideas and imaginaries present in the sociological production and performance of those who thought about the Teaching of Sociology.

We divided our analysis into three periods: **1. from 1942 to 1987**, when the discipline is no longer mandatory in the official curricula, but debates about its reinsertion begin¹⁴; **2. From 1988 to 2007**, with the 1988 Constituent Assembly and the resumption of democracy, there is gradually the gradual reinsertion of the discipline in high school through state initiatives¹⁵; and national reintegration and its impacts; **3. 2008 to current challenges**, a period in which the discipline was finally included as mandatory in the high school curriculum - which leads to several advances - but later has its insertion changed by the reform of high school, which today is responsible for instabilities in the offer of the discipline and makes the teaching work and student learning insecure.

1942 to 1987: The extinction of the obligation and gestation of another meaning for the Teaching of Sociology

¹⁴ We chose to cut this period as one of absence, but it is worth noting that this absence was not total. São Paulo and other states had already included the discipline in their curricula before 1987. See Cravo's dissertation (2014) on this periodization. In 1985, Ianni ([1985], 2011) discussed a possible curriculum for the state of São Paulo.

¹⁵ During this period, the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education, Law No. 9394/96 was enacted, which establishes in its article 36, paragraph 1, item III that: "*at the end of high school, the student demonstrates: mastery of knowledge of philosophy and sociology necessary for the exercise of citizenship*", but does not establish the creation of a school discipline for such purposes.

1942 to 1953 – Capanema reform and debate in the 1940s and 1950s

The 1930s are considered fruitful in the Social Sciences, since it was in this decade that the debates on the Teaching of Sociology began, motivated, among others, by the intense bibliographic production, including manuals dedicated to secondary education, the Revista *Sociologia*¹⁶, the publication of the classic works of the so-called "interpreters" of Brazil, and by the fact that the discipline had occupied a central place in the country at that time which articulated three ideals/goals: reach scientific standards, modernity and progress with education.

Although the debate on the Teaching of Sociology flourished in the 1930s, we believe that it acquired a new meaning in the 1940s, because the decade began with a strong blow. In 1942, the Gustavo Capanema reform excluded Sociology from schools, restricting it to Normal Schools and the first undergraduate courses in Social Sciences created in the 1930s.

This removal of Sociology from the school curriculum, as Schwartzman (2000) makes evident, represents the successful pact between the Ministry of Education and the Catholic Church. Practices such as those proposed by the Escola Nova movement¹⁷ - gestated in the 1930s - of teaching aimed at the autonomous construction of students should be rejected, and this included the Teaching of Sociology: if this did not serve to maintain the current order or proposed a change in it, it should be hidden. On the other hand, Costa Pinto and Carneiro ([1955], 2012) point out that the withdrawal occurred precisely because Sociology did not dialogue with students and their realities, being too theoretical. Since the Escola Nova movement advocated a more meaningful education, Sociology did not serve this purpose.

The withdrawal of Sociology from school was, therefore, the object of intense reflection and debate that involved the first group of specialized social scientists of

¹⁶ Founded in 1939, the Revista Sociologia ("The Journal of Sociology") established itself as a platform for disseminating theories and research in the Social Sciences, being the first and, for a long time, the most enduring periodical in the field in Brazil.

¹⁷ The Movimento da Escola Nova ("New School Movement"), which gained momentum in Brazil in the early decades of the 20th century, sought to reform the educational system through progressive, student-centered principles. Inspired by European and American educational theories, it emphasized the importance of active learning, student individuality, and the integration of school and society. The movement promoted significant changes in curriculum, teaching methods, and teacher training, leaving a legacy in Brazilian education.

the country, for their return to the school space. Before we go into these discussions, it is important to point out that, in this period, a "missionary" role was conferred on the sciences in general and on Sociology specifically.

Sociology in this context appears as a way of rationally interpreting/understanding history and helping the Brazilian rupture with its past. Its teaching, in secondary schools, was seen as an instrument to raise the intellectual level of the great masses and an effective instrument of social change and democratization of Brazilian society, as it would produce answers to existing social problems (Fernandes, [1954], 1976). The debate about the Teaching of Sociology was inscribed in a political objective of social reform and democratization of Brazilian society, based on the role of scientific knowledge. This is evident in the debates held in the 1940s and 1950s, although these only took place after the end of the Estado Novo and Capanema's departure from the Ministry of Education¹⁸.

It is also worth remembering that the Teaching of Sociology was also the subject of debate in the 1950s, with the holding of the First Brazilian Congress of Sociology in 1954. A milestone is the communication by Florestan Fernandes in which the author proposed a sociological analysis of the possibilities of reintroducing sociology in Brazilian secondary education, starting from the evaluation of the position of secondary education in the educational system, considering this system in relation to the sociocultural conditions that support it, and finally analyzing the effects of the introduction of a "new" discipline in this context.

Brazilian secondary education in the 1950s is defined by him as a type of *static education* that aims solely the preservation of social order, unable to "become a conscious instrument of social progress" or a "dynamic education" (Fernandes, [1954], 1976, p. 98). For Fernandes, in this static educational system, the Social Sciences cannot play any role, a fact that the author regrets considering the conditions of formation of Brazilian society, the process of democratization of education with the

¹⁸ The post-Capanema reform context represented a setback in the development of school sociology, as the attraction of the course/diploma deprived of one of its main professional meanings diminished (Pinto, Carneiro [1955], 2012). The majority of those who sought courses in the Social Sciences sought to apply for secondary teaching and it did not make sense – in an environment in which the job market was so restricted – that a university course existed as an isolated effort for the training of high-level technicians and researchers in the Social Sciences.

expansion of access to school, the disaggregation of the slave order, the establishment of democracy, the formation of social classes and political parties.

In the face of all these social changes, the school was not given any constructive role in the formation of the civic consciousness of the citizens and Fernandes defends the legitimacy of the Teaching of Sociology in secondary school, contributing precisely to the "formation of civic attitudes and to the constitution of a political consciousness defined around the understanding of the rights and duties of citizens" (Fernandes, [1954], 1977, p.103). We can say that Florestan Fernandes was concerned with the reform of the Brazilian educational system and had a very clear notion of the role that Sociology could play in this context.

1954 to 1987 – Withdrawal of discipline from school and absence of debates

Sociology, despite having left the secondary school curriculum in 1942¹⁹, built from the 1940s onwards a respected place in academia. The impact of the withdrawal of Sociology from secondary courses required a new redirection and accelerated changes in academic courses, which had previously been particularly focused on the preparation of teachers rather than researchers per se.

The performance of authoritarian regimes was fundamental for this redirection; however, it seems something yet necessary to reflect on the role of the Teaching of Sociology in them. We recall that the meaning attributed to the Teaching of Sociology that apparently emerged victorious in the debates in the 1930s and 1940s was the one linked to Sociology connected to authoritarian regimes and conservative sociological theories.

Obviously, authoritarian regimes have enormous explanatory weight when we think that the discipline leaves the curriculum in the Estado Novo and remains outside the curriculum throughout the military dictatorship²⁰ and that these regimes

¹⁹ We emphasize, once again, that the discipline has left the high school and the complementary courses for access to higher education but continued in Normal Schools (until the 1990s).

²⁰ The military dictatorship in Brazil refers to the period of authoritarianism that lasted from 1964 to 1985, after a coup d'état that deposed President João Goulart. It was characterized by the suppression of civil rights, censorship of the press, political persecution, and multiple human rights

persecuted those or any initiative that was contrary to their conceptions. But we wonder, in curricular terms, if the withdrawal of that Sociology connected to conservative values had a relevant impact, although at first it represented a political victory for certain social groups.

In this sense, it is necessary to revisit the academic production after the university reform of 1968 because fundamental issues of the Brazilian reality, such as the racial and educational issues, social inequalities and the very role of intellectuals in Brazilian political life, gained ground and resulted in scientific research of great scope. These researches that address Brazilian issues will help foster the debate on the Teaching of Sociology during and after the civil-military dictatorship.

A paradox is then formed, at the same time that Sociology and its intellectuals distance themselves from the public debate on the insertion of the discipline in the school (and from the school itself, in a certain sense) and from the Teaching of School Sociology, the research and debates carried out in the academic space end up feeding back the struggles for the reinsertion of the discipline in the curriculum. This is because in the 1960s and 1970s, the Sociology practiced in Brazil turned to the study of themes related to the working classes, such as wages and working hours, in addition to being concerned with the process of industrialization of the country, with issues related to agrarian reform and social movements (in the city and in the countryside), and focus on the major socioeconomic and political issues in Brazil – notably the confrontation of inequalities and the struggle for rights – have gained ground in sociological research (Perruso, 2009).

1988 to 2007: Gradual reintegration into secondary/secondary education through state initiatives: estrangement and denaturalization

violations. Military governments imposed themselves by basically controlling the executive, legislative and judicial powers, marked by arbitrary interventions and repression of social and political movements. The period also witnessed an economic boom, but at the expense of wealth concentration and social inequality. Redemocratization began in the 1980s, culminating in the election of Tancredo Neves in 1985 and the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, ending the military regime.

The 1980s represented a renewal of the debate about the Teaching of Sociology. The discipline is gradually reintroduced through specific initiatives in some states of the federation, with the outstanding performance of various sectors of civil society that organized movements in favor of the reinsertion of Sociology in schools in line with the process of redemocratization of the country. In this decade, the debate has definitely taken other contours. The very reinsertion of the discipline in the state curricula (such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo)²¹ boosts the national struggle for the adoption of the discipline.

In the field of meanings attributed to the discipline, we found a significant change: while the previous debate took place publicly and was based on moral and civic issues of the Brazilian educational and political reality; the debate of the 1980s yearned for public recognition and held as a kind of "ace up its sleeve": the great accumulation of scientific research on the country.

In addition to the knowledge acquired in research, we found a significant change in meanings. In the 1980s, Sociology acquired a meaning that relates and guides its content and the training of its students to the struggle to obtain rights in the democracy. The argument starts to focus on the idea that contents related to the Brazilian reality have been systematically denied to secondary students and that this would limit their reflection and ability to interfere and transform this conjuncture (Carvalho, 2004).

The groups fighting for the reinsertion of the discipline in the 1980s were the first intellectuals and militants who were able to openly question the conceptions of school Sociology as thought by Catholic sociology and in the post-military dictatorship. Taking a temporal leap, the articulation of the groups that emerged from the struggle of the 1980s were fundamental for the approval of the Bill of Law,

²¹ Although this process had begun earlier, as we have highlighted, the promulgation of the constitutions of the states in 1989 was fundamental to give more impetus to the struggle, since they made the introduction of the discipline by the states of the federation autonomous. Although we found that in later years there were attempts to circumvent the legislation, with the discipline resembling a weekly class only and being taught by professionals not trained in the Social Sciences.

PLC No. 9/2000²², authored by Deputy Padre Roque (PT-PR), in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate in 2001.

The Bill was later vetoed by the then president (and sociologist) Fernando Henrique Cardoso²³. We do not intend to dwell at this point on the justifications for the presidential veto, but criticism fell on the president of the republic, again centered on the idea that the student was being denied, now on purpose, access to the possibility of reflecting with full instruments on the Brazilian reality. As evidenced by Lejeune Carvalho:

"Personally, I have always been among those who never had the slightest illusion about Cardoso's position. A neoliberal government, which deepened the abyss between the poor and the rich in its years of government, which deeply implanted the exclusionary neoliberal model in the country, with savage and irresponsible privatizations, whose legislative support base has always been with the right-wing parties, which has always done what the IMF and the World Bank have determined, couldn't approve a law that would bring our youth more opportunities for political, social and philosophical awareness." (Carvalho, 2004, p. 28 – translated to English by the author)²⁴.

In this period, the knowledge produced by Sociology has been defended as necessary for the exercise of citizenship, and there is an expressive association - made by legislation and ministerial documents - of sociological knowledge at this level of education, on the one hand, for the formation of citizenship, and on the other, for the ability to provoke the "denaturalization" and "estrangement" of social phenomena (Moraes, 2009).

This official discourse strongly impacts the conception of Sociology disseminated to the school universe, and it is recurrent to find, both in teaching practice and in textbooks, the justifications attributed to sociological knowledge and its validity for basic education, listed in the Curricular Guidelines for High School (BRASIL, 2006)²⁵.

²² Brazil. (2000). House Bill No. 9 of 2000. Amends article 36 of Law No. 9394, of December 20, 1996, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education. Retrieved from <https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/43730>

²³ The government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Brazil, between 1995 and 2002, was marked by a political orientation centered on social-democratic ideas. As president, Cardoso promoted neoliberal economic policies aimed at stabilizing the currency, through the Real Plan, and opening the economy to foreign capital, with privatizations of state-owned companies.

²⁴ It should also be noted that when the federal law was passed, almost all (if not all) states already offered Sociology in high school, but in a limited to a few schools. The law guaranteed the expansion for all.

²⁵ Brazil. (2006). Human sciences and their technologies. Department of Basic Education. Brasília: Ministry of Education, Secretariat of Basic Education. (Curriculum Guidelines for High School; volume 3). Retrieved from http://portal.mec.gov.br/seb/arquivos/pdf/book_volume_03_internet.pdf

Another meaning often attributed to the Teaching of Sociology, in the twenty-first century, refers to its ability to develop the "sociological imagination" of students in the sense of the term disseminated by the homonymous book by Wright Mills (1972).

The ideas of "denaturalization", "estrangement" and "sociological imagination" are, therefore, intimately related to the idea that Sociology can be a kind of "compass" for the student for critical knowledge of the Brazilian social conjuncture.

2008 to the present day: reintegration and reform

Based on the struggle of the previous two decades, Law No. 11,684 of June 2, 2008 was finally enacted, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education, to include Philosophy and Sociology as mandatory subjects in high school curricula.

It is worth noting that it is not possible to understand this process of approval of Sociology and Philosophy in basic education without also referring to the broader dynamics related to educational policy in Brazil in this period. We were living in a democratic period from 1988 onwards in which – through various struggles – it was possible to expand basic education and higher education²⁶, which also allowed for curricular advances²⁷.

This scenario strongly impacts the development of Sociology Teaching both in the school space with new teacher jobs in the states and federation, strengthening of professional associations, need for Sociology textbooks, increase of teaching strategies, insertion of the discipline in the daily school curricular dispute, among others; as well as in the academic space with the increase of the Working Groups of Teaching Sociology in the principles of national meetings of research in the area (of the Brazilian Society of Sociology and the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences), the creation of the National Meeting for the Teaching of Sociology in Basic Education (Eneseb), the creation of the Brazilian

²⁶ Constitutional Amendment No. 59/2009 included secondary education in the basic education stage, making its provision mandatory by the states of the federation, for example.

²⁷ Advances such as: the inclusion in 2003 of the contents related to African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture in the curriculum; in 2005, the mandatory provision of Spanish as a foreign language; in 2008, the mandatory content related to Music and Indigenous History and Culture.

Association of Teaching of Social Sciences (Abecs) and its national congress, creation of academic journals and publications on the subject, in addition to the growth of academic research in its most varied facets and interfaces.

In this sense, we can highlight the period that begins in 2008 and runs until 2016²⁸ as an especially virtuous period of the discipline in school and of the Teaching of Sociology as an area of research and scientific object. However, on the other hand, it should be noted that the Brazilian conjuncture since 2013 has been bumpy, to say the least, for the discipline.

This is because in June 2013, Brazil experienced a wave of protests that began as a demand for better public transport conditions and later expanded to other social demands, such as access to health, education and public safety. These protests were marked by a strong presence on social networks and with the initial spontaneous mobilization of young people²⁹.

Some analysts argue that these demonstrations were the harbinger of the 2016 parliamentary coup, as they called into question the legitimacy of the government of then-President Dilma Rousseff³⁰ and contributed to a sense of widespread dissatisfaction among the population. The fact is that a conservative government led by Michel Temer rises to power within a period marked by political polarization that

²⁸ This period encompasses the first two governments of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in Brazil, from 2003 to 2010, that were marked by a center-left political orientation. Lula prioritized social policies aimed at reducing social inequality, implementing economic inclusion programs and income distribution policies. At the international level, it sought greater integration and cooperation with developing countries.

²⁹ June 2013 in Brazil was a period of intense protests in several cities of the country, initially motivated by the increase in public transport fares in some capitals, such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. However, the protests quickly evolved into a broad protest against corruption, the poor quality of public services, the lack of investment in areas such as health and education, and dissatisfaction with the political class in general. The protests were marked by a wide diversity of demands, participants and political orientations, including youth, workers, social movements and students. June 2013 was a milestone in Brazil's recent political history, indicating growing popular dissatisfaction and influencing the political and social debate in the country in the following years.

³⁰ Dilma Rousseff's government was characterized by a center-left political orientation. During his terms in office, he prioritized social and inclusion policies like his predecessor. The end of his government was marked by an impeachment process, which began in 2016. The opposition claimed that she had committed crimes of fiscal responsibility, although there were questions about the legality and legitimacy of this process. However, the president was removed in May 2016 and her vice president, Michel Temer, took office. Michel Temer's 2016-2018 government, on the other hand, was characterized by a center-right political orientation. Temer, were implemented in the economy liberal policies, such as labor and social security reforms, in addition to the adoption of fiscal austerity measures. Michel Temer's government has faced low popularity and several accusations of corruption.

involved various sectors of Brazilian society, from politicians, businessmen and the media to social movements.

The relationship between the 2013 demonstrations and the 2016 coup is complex and multifaceted. However, it seems to us that there have been several changes in the country's educational policy, which have been implemented without due dialogue with civil society and the school and academic communities that have strongly impacted the Teaching of Sociology. One of these changes was the Secondary Education Reform, approved in 2017 and criticized by experts in the field of education because it did not consider the needs and demands of students and teachers.

In fact, without dialogue, the reform revoked the mandatory presence of Sociology in all years of high school, with the fall of Law No. 11,684, which made the presence of the discipline in the curricula unstable³¹. Even considering the training itineraries proposed by the reform, which include one related to the Human Sciences, there is still uncertainty about the role that will be played by the discipline. In some high school curricula currently spread throughout Brazil, for example, the workload of the discipline appears reduced, in others it has been replaced by curricular components such as "life project", among other cases that outline a process of precariousness of its offer.

In the recent historical scenario, the Teaching of Sociology in Brazil has continued to be the object of intense transformations and challenges, especially during the Jair Bolsonaro government³². Even before the beginning of his mandate,

³¹ Although the law was repealed, the mandatory studies and practices of Sociology were indicated in Article 3 § 2 of Law No. 13,415/2017: "the National Common Curricular Base referring to high school to

³² Jair Bolsonaro's government, which began in January 2019, is marked by a far-right political orientation. Bolsonaro was elected on a conservative platform on human rights, social, economic and public security issues. His government implemented policies of environmental deregulation and flexibilization of labor laws. In addition, he adopted a confrontational stance with democratic institutions, frequently attacking the press, the judiciary and the organs of control. It was also marked by setbacks in several areas, notably the environmental policies that resulted in an increase in deforestation in the Amazon, the withdrawal of rights from minorities and vulnerable groups, and the negligence in confronting the COVID-19 pandemic. The management of the health crisis has been widely criticized, with the promotion of treatments without proven efficacy and a denialist approach to the severity of the disease. Public security policies have been questioned by escalating violence and police abuses and disrespect for human rights.

he expressed his contempt for the human sciences³³, manifesting specific attacks on Sociology and other fields of knowledge.

In several speeches, the then-candidate expressed his skepticism regarding the usefulness of disciplines such as Sociology and Philosophy, questioning the relevance of these areas in the school curriculum and suggesting that their presence would contribute to a supposed ideological indoctrination - indicating a supposed preference for disciplines that were aligned with his political and ideological convictions, attested by his approach to movements such as Escola Sem Partido³⁴. This stance raised concerns among educators and experts³⁵, who feared direct interference in the content and approach of disciplines related to the humanities/social sciences.

This is because the then president, throughout his political career, directed attacks at teachers, accusing them of promoting alleged political indoctrination in classrooms. This rhetoric contributed to creating an environment of distrust towards educators, affecting pedagogical autonomy and freedom of professorship, and upon assuming the presidency³⁶, Bolsonaro maintained his critical stance towards the

³³ Under threat of cuts in Bolsonaro's government, courses in social sciences and humanities concentrate racial diversity. (2019, May 9). BBC News Brasil. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-48201426>

³⁴ The Escola Sem Partido ("School Without Party movement") is an initiative that supposedly sought to promote ideological neutrality in the school environment, arguing that educational institutions should abstain from any political, religious, or philosophical orientation. Advocating the elimination of alleged indoctrination and ideological bias on the part of educators, its proponents claim that the movement aims to guarantee freedom of thought and impartiality in the teaching process. However, Escola sem Partido limits the autonomy of teachers by restricting critical discussion and harming students' citizenship education by preventing them from addressing relevant and controversial topics. The emergence of this movement has generated debates in Brazil about academic freedom and the nature of teaching, highlighting the tension between the search for objectivity and the recognition of the diversity of perspectives in the educational environment. The relationship between Jair Bolsonaro and the Escola Sem Partido was marked by ideological alignments and convergent positions. The movement found an echo in the president's statements and actions, both before and during his term. This approach contributed to intense debates on freedom of expression and pedagogical autonomy, putting on the agenda the influence of the movement on the government's educational policies.

³⁵ Why do Philosophy and Sociology courses bother Bolsonaro? (2019, April 26). Carta Capital. Retrieved from <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/educacao/por-que-os-cursos-de-filosofia-e-sociologia-incomodam-bolsonaro/>

³⁶ It is important to highlight that social movements such as Professores Contra o Escola Sem Partido ("Teachers Against School Without Party" - <https://profscontraoesp.org>) have functioned as an organized response of educators who oppose the proposal of Escola Sem Partido. This movement argues that the initiative poses a threat to freedom of expression and pedagogical autonomy, claiming that absolute neutrality is impossible, and that the movement result in the censorship of

humanities/social sciences, reflected in policies that impacted the teaching of Sociology.

The biggest impact was the cuts in resources for education - which have been constant in recent years - which have directly affected the quality of education. This scarcity of resources has manifested itself in several ways: in the lack of investment in school infrastructure, in the lack of appreciation of teachers and education professionals, in addition to the decrease in student assistance policies. The absence of a clear and consistent policy for the area has generated insecurity and uncertainty.

The Covid-19 pandemic further aggravated the situation since with the closure of schools, where many students were left without access to education, which generated a series of losses for learning and exposed Brazilian educational inequalities. In Sociology, this impact was greatly felt, since the use of virtual learning media – and the difficulty of access them by public school students – compromised the time needed to discuss the proposed themes, considering that sociological knowledge implies a mutual construction that requires classes/meetings and dialogical activities, debates, questionings and a qualitative and quantitative process of intellectual maturation.

Even if we considered the classes of the discipline as predominantly expository (which, in fact, does not occur), the virtual media also prevent an adequate exposition of the themes with the precision and depth typical of high school education. In addition, didactic resources such as film screenings, seminar programming, debates, and teamwork were impaired/compromised.

Conclusion

Summarizing, we realize that Sociology has several difficulties to overcome in the current conjuncture for the full development of the expected competencies: what will be done and what will be its role in the reform of secondary education, the lack

teachers and the restriction of critical debate in the classroom. Proponents of this movement highlight the importance of pluralism of ideas and respect for diversity, arguing for the need to address controversial topics for a thorough and critical education.

of public funding for education, the absence of a national policy for the area and for the discipline, and, more recently, the repercussions of the Covid-19 pandemic.

From a political point of view, since the election of the third government of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva in 2022³⁷, for example, one of the expectations of civil society and various educational entities is the repeal of the High School Reform. However, to date, this repeal has not yet occurred, which has generated pressure from these same groups.

At the beginning of 2023, amid a recent wave of demonstrations against the reform, Camilo Santana, responsible for the Ministry of Education (MEC), published Ordinance No. 627/2023 in the Official Gazette³⁸. The measure provided the suspension of the National Schedule for the Implementation of the High School Reform for 60 days. This ordinance also provided a process of public consultation with civil society about the secondary education, from which government proposals were formulated for changes in this stage of basic education.

The government's proposals included the recomposition of basic general education to 2,400 hours, except for technical courses; the reduction from 5 to 3 in the number of training itineraries and the maintenance of Enem³⁹ 2024 aimed at basic training. In addition, the formative itineraries are now called “paths of deepening” and “integration of studies”. These curricular components would encompass the following areas: languages, mathematics, natural sciences; humanities & social sciences and technical & vocational training. The Ministry of Education also advocated that subjects such as spanish, art, physical education, literature, history,

³⁷ In 2022, Brazil witnessed a remarkable electoral process, characterized by intense political debates and broad participation of the population. The election resulted in the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to his third term as the country's president, marking his return to power after a 12-year gap since his last term. Lula's third term so far has been guided by measures aimed at resuming economic growth, inclusive social policies, and efforts to address emerging challenges, such as the global environmental crisis. This period has been closely followed by Brazilian society and the international community, with expectations and analyses on the country's political and economic directions.

³⁸ Brazil. Ministry of Education. (2023). MEC Ordinance No. 627, of April 04, 2023. Suspends the ongoing deadlines of MEC Ordinance No. 521, of July 13, 2021, which instituted the National Schedule for the Implementation of the New High School. Retrieved from <https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou/-/portaria-n-627-de-4-de-abril-de-2023-475187235>

³⁹ The National High School Exam (ENEM) is an annual assessment administered by the Brazilian Ministry of Education. Established in 1998, the exam aims to evaluate the academic performance of students at the end of high school and is widely used as a selection criterion for admission to public and private universities, as well as for scholarship and student financing programs. The ENEM also serves as a tool to assess the quality of high school education in the country.

sociology, philosophy, geography, chemistry, physics, biology and digital education should once again be included as mandatory in basic general education, in addition to asking for the prohibition of distance education in basic general training and for the use of up to 20% in the offer for Technical Professional Education to be authorized.

These proposals were delivered by the Federal Government to the National Congress through Bill 5,230/23⁴⁰. This project, however, was delivered to the rapporteurship of federal deputy Mendonça Filho – who had been minister of education and directly responsible for the approval of the original project – and he presented his report still to be voted on. Among the changes is a new workload for mandatory and optional subjects, with the maintenance of the 3,000-hour high school workload (1,000 hours per year) stipulated in Law 13,415 of 2017 but changed its distribution between optional and mandatory subjects.

If the proposal had been approved in the manner presented by the rapporteur, students would have had 2,100 hours for mandatory subjects and 900 hours for electives disciplines (training itineraries chosen by the student). Mendonça's proposal increases the number of hours for mandatory subjects in relation to the current rule but is lower than what the Ministry of Education had suggested to the president. In addition, 300 hours of the mandatory workload must be dedicated to deepening the contents of the National Common Curricular Base directly related to the technical and professional training offered.

The text would also make it possible to offer technical courses of up to 1,200 hours, in an integrated way with regular high school. Another point is that schools will be able to offer other foreign languages, but they must prioritize spanish. The bill determines that the workload for basic general training is offered in person, but allows distance classes, mediated by technology, when necessary. According to the

⁴⁰ Brazil. Chamber of Deputies. (2023). Bill PL 5230/2023. Amends Law No. 9,394, of December 20, 1996 (Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education), in order to define guidelines for secondary education, and Laws No. 14,818, of January 16, 2024, 12,711, of August 29, 2012, and 11,096, of January 13, 2005. Retrieved from <https://www.camara.leg.br/propostas-legislativas/2399598>

text, remote classes consider the specificities of Brazilian regions, to facilitate access to education for indigenous, rural and quilombola⁴¹ youth and adults

Several entities criticized the new document, which would be voted on and approved in 2023, pointing out its flaws and mistakes, the document was withdrawn of the voting agenda of the Chamber of Deputies, to enable more in-depth discussion in the year 2024⁴². With regard to the debate on the Teaching of Sociology, it is up to us that the discipline appears as a mandatory component in the report, however, although the project mentions, in a generic way, the curricular components, it is necessary to make the teaching of the disciplines mandatory, assigning them a minimum workload in all schools. This is because the way it appears in the document, the measure encourages an unequal supply of curricular components between education networks. A historical problem of the Teaching of Sociology, which, when offered, appears with a reduced workload and in precarious conditions in the teaching networks.

The text, despite the clashes between the government and the rapporteur, was approved on March 20, 2024 with 2,400 hours of classes required for basic training and 600 hours for the so-called "training itinerary", which allows the student to complete the school schedule with areas of interest. In the approved version, Sociology appears alongside History, Geography and Philosophy as mandatory subjects in the curriculum, grouped in the area of "applied human and social sciences". The text now goes to discussion and final approval in the Brazilian Senate.

Thus, despite what happened in some of the historical periods that we have seen earlier in this text, the debate on the Teaching of Sociology and its role in the school and in the curriculum has not cooled down and no longer constitutes a hidden scientific object in the discussion forums about discipline and education. This is being carried forward by intellectuals, educators and school communities committed to a

⁴¹ "Quilombola" refers to the descendants of enslaved Africans who formed communities called quilombos, where they resisted oppression and preserved their cultures and traditions. These communities, present in various regions of Brazil, are recognized for their historical and cultural contributions, and have specific rights guaranteed by Brazilian legislation.

⁴² Victory for Brazilian Education: withdrawal of PL 5230/2023 from the agenda of the Chamber of Deputies represents the strength of the educational community and the retreat of sectors averse to the right to education. (2023, December 20). National Campaign for the Right to Education. Recovered from <https://campanha.org.br/noticias/2023/12/20/vitoria-da-educacao-brasileira-retirada-do-pl-52302023-da-pauta-da-camara-dos-deputados-representa-a-forca-da-comunidade-educacional-e-recuo-de-setores-avessos-ao-direito-a-educacao/>

public, free, quality and socially referenced education. In other words, there are paths and hope for the struggle for permanence and a dignified place for discipline in high school based on the political-educational debate, the construction of alternatives and the resolution of the problems verified. One of the symptoms of this construction was the approval at the National Conference on Education (Conae),⁴³ 2024 edition – based on pressure from Abecs and the National Campaign for the Right to Education – in the Base Document of Axis III of CONAE 2024 the mandatory teaching of Sociology in all years of High School and the implementation in the 8th and 9th years of Elementary School, that now depends on the deputies and senators to, in fact, have their approval and implementation of this indication of the document.

We believe that in the coming years the story of Teaching of Sociology will continue in the Brazilian conjuncture, with new challenges: the effective conclusion of the debate on High School and the debate on the new National Education Plan (Pne) 2024-2034⁴⁴, which may impact the Teaching of Sociology within a context of fierce disputes – in the political field – between the progressive camp and the far right⁴⁵. This debate is on the agenda in the national and international contexts⁴⁶ and the level of organization and action of the actors of the opposing political fields will be fundamental for the maintenance of discipline in the school benches.

⁴³ The National Conference on Education (Conae) is an important event that aims to promote the debate and development of educational public policies in Brazil. Its central attribution is to provide a democratic space for dialogue between different actors in the educational community, including government, civil society, education professionals and students, to discuss relevant issues and propose guidelines for the improvement of the country's education system. Conae has significant weight in the formulation of educational policies, as its deliberations directly influence the decisions made by public managers and can guide future actions in the field of education.

⁴⁴ The National Education Plan (PNE) is a fundamental instrument to guide educational policies in Brazil. It establishes goals and strategies for the development of education in various areas, such as the universalization of access to basic and higher education, the improvement of the quality of teaching, the appreciation of education professionals, and the promotion of inclusion and diversity. The PNE is prepared based on extensive consultation with civil society and has a ten-year time horizon and is periodically reviewed to monitor and adapt to the country's educational demands and challenges. As a guiding document, the PNE has great relevance in the definition of policies and actions implemented by federal, state and municipal governments in the field of education.

⁴⁵ A more conservative Congress. (2022, November 25). Perseu Abramo Foundation. Retrieved from <https://fpabramo.org.br/focusbrasil/2022/11/25/um-congresso-mais-conservador/>

⁴⁶ Florida to Abolish Sociology Teaching at State Colleges: 'Hijacked by the Left' (2024, January 28). MediaTalks. Retrieved from <https://mediatalks.uol.com.br/2024/01/28/florida-remove-ensino-de-sociologia-das-faculdades-estaduais>

From a curricular point of view, we believe that today the discipline also has challenges, especially if we consider its presence in school benches, since it faces significant obstacles when it comes to effectively incorporating the theme of diversity. The perspective of the Teaching of Sociology, still connected to the capacity to provoke the "denaturalization" and the "estrangement" of social phenomena, finds itself in a new moment, in which a perspective flourishes – based on the debates on the formation for citizenship – in which Brazil is interpreted (and is on the stage of) one of the greatest socioeconomic disparities in the world.

While some enjoy privileges and access to opportunities, a significant portion of the population faces precarious living conditions. From this perspective, the Teaching of Sociology in high school should address these disparities, providing conceptual tools for students to understand the origins and consequences of social inequality, as well as to explore possible ways to reduce it.

Thus, in the face of a Brazil marked by inequality, racism and violence, the Teaching of Sociology in high school should, in theory, provide conceptual tools and space for open discussions, capable of facing the challenges of a complex society and, more importantly, committed to the construction of a more just and egalitarian country. The discipline is therefore being confronted with the need to consider critical approaches that act to dismantle the colonial structures that persist in the Brazilian culture.

One of the challenges for advancing over this obstacle is the persistence of epistemic monoculture, in which certain perspectives dominate academic discourse through the need to decentralize knowledge and recognize the various forms of knowledge production, incorporating historically marginalized voices. This indicates that the Teaching of Sociology has often reproduced eurocentric tendencies, neglecting local experiences and knowledge, and today it is urged to deconstruct these hegemonic narratives, promoting the valorization of plural and contextualized epistemologies.

Institutional structures also pose important challenges for the inclusion of diversity in sociological teaching. The lack of representation in teaching bodies – although this perspective may be questioned in public schools – and curricular rigidity can limit the effectiveness of inclusive initiatives. Teacher training, therefore, is also a key component in overcoming these challenges. Empowering educators to

incorporate cultural diversity into their pedagogical practices is essential to transform sociology teaching into an inclusive and diverse space.

In addition, we believe that promoting intercultural and interclass dialogue is crucial to creating spaces for negotiation between different cultures and epistemologies, recognizing the richness that diversity brings to sociological understanding. Finally, the inclusion of the theme of diversity in the Teaching of Sociology in Brazil requires a critical approach that is still in the process of construction and debate.

Overcoming the challenges involves not only the revision of curricula – although the broadest possible discussion about their assumptions is essential – but also a profound change in the way knowledge is produced, disseminated and valued in the Brazilian academic and school environment. Where these debates go, however, only time will tell⁴⁷.

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⁴⁷ To deepen this debate, we recommend three works: a. the "Dictionary of Sociology Teaching" (Brunetta, Bodart, Cigales 2020) which contains entries that deepen in detail all the meanings assumed by the discipline reported in the excerpts that we detail here; b. for the recovery of the developmentalist debate of the 1960s and 1970s in Brazil and what meanings were gestated for the discipline in this period, we believe that the analysis of the works of Alexandre Fraga (Fraga, 2020) and Marco Antonio Perruso (Perruso, 2009) is of great value; c. we also indicate, and finally, the article by Cristiano Bodart (Bodart, 2021) that expands in the second decade of the twenty-first century the conception of the Teaching of Sociology beyond the meaning for the discipline gestated between the 1980s and the 2000s.

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How does Sociology teaching happen on the short video app TikTok? An analysis of the editions

Abstract

Sociology teaching is not only carried out in formal classrooms, it also takes place in many other spaces. In this article, we intend to explore one of the places of informal teaching, which is the social network TikTok. As a way to delimit the phenomenon, we use the concept of liquidity formulated by Zigmund Bauman, which is characterized, in simple terms, as impermanence in relationships. Videos whose theme was Sociology in basic education were collected and these were analysed extensively (in their profile) and intensively (in their editing components). The results showed that it is possible to observe that the teaching of Sociology is punctual and that it is focused on the ENEM. The profile of the videos is of few editing resources in comparison to other videos on the platform. In this way, the teacher, with his performance on the platform, creates a "broth" in the Baumanian liquidity by referring to the content of longer duration in time (such as video classes or books).

Keywords: teaching sociology in Basic Education; TikTok; short video apps;

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Introduction

Social networks and applications have helped create interaction within the immense database that is the Internet. The possibilities for communication between individuals are potentially infinite, and one of them is education. Among those interacting are teachers and students. The focus of this study is how the contents of the TikTok application bring the teaching of Sociology.

Why is it important to study this app? Well, other social networks or virtual learning environments allow access to Sociology classes that last many hours. In contrast, TikTok allocates videos of up to 3 minutes, which, in theory, is not enough time for a didactic elaboration. Even so, teachers produce videos for the platform. Therefore, the question arises: how does this teaching work in this space? Our focus was on Sociology classes, which deal directly with issues that affect the daily lives of students through their role as users. It is interesting for Sociology to be present in all spaces, including TikTok. Sociology in high school is taught mainly to young people. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse this space where young people are. The object becomes relevant.

We emphasize that the analysis was based on the video edits, and not on the raw material:

Reflection on video production and its forms of expression, relating to technological and everyday knowledge, offers subjects opportunities to overcome the challenges imposed by the technological world, acquiring knowledge about the different ways of editing educational videos (Rocha, 2018, p.6).

Thus, the editing we have access to occurs on a film, which is the raw material recorded by the teacher. The teacher stands in front of the camera and performs. Editing, then, will be the activity of modifying the images and sounds initially generated, cutting some segments of the video or adding visual effects not present in the original media.

The research problem, therefore, was: how is the teaching of Sociology at the secondary level reinterpreted by teachers for the social network TikTok? To this end, we studied videos searched for by the platform, selected according to the theoretical and methodological references presented below.

Theoretical framework: teaching Sociology, short video application and liquidity

This research is an empirical investigation into the teaching of Sociology brought to a short video application. However, to prevent the research from becoming too descriptive, we brought the concept of liquidity to help frame the phenomena and contribute to broader sociological theory.

The first concept is that of

We seek to demonstrate that what makes school Sociology peculiar and specific is the historical-relational-dialectical perspective (or cognitive perspective) of social structures that it can awaken in students, and not just the denaturalization and estrangement of social phenomena. We will call this perspective “figurational perception of social reality”. It is not that other disciplines in the Humanities do not seek to understand the relationships between social phenomena and their history, but this is one of the greatest concerns and contributions of Social Sciences today (Bodart, 2021, p. 149).

In this way, teaching outside the school environment becomes, in addition to reinforcement, a possibility of accessing the subject itself, and educational platforms and social networks are privileged *places for the first contact*.

Another important concept is that of a short video application, which will allow us to frame the phenomenon:

In these applications, the videos are made by the users themselves and are usually funny or quite entertaining. The videos last only a few seconds and can be edited easily. It is possible to add various effects, such as filters, audio, subtitles and many other features (Santana, 2021, n/p).

As we can see, users are the producers of the videos, and they are short in length – which makes editing easier, and can incorporate the aforementioned effects, an essential element for our investigation. Thus, a short video is heavily edited, as it only takes a few seconds to become attractive to the user. On the other hand, there are many videos available on the platform that are discontinued. This leads to the sociological concept of liquidity.

Liquidity is a category studied by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1925-2017), who discusses the fragility of human bonds, whatever they may be, including relationships between friends, parents and children, work relationships, social networks, and romantic relationships. Thus, “love” or “passion” no longer make sense, they have become empty in a society that lives at high speed, with no time to reflect on oneself or one’s relationship with others. However, we would like to use a summary of the idea, through commentators. We do so to take a more panoramic and operational look at the concept, since the commentator, by being focused on explaining the argument, can give up the evidence that supports it: These are reasons to consider 'fluidity' or 'liquidity' as fitting metaphors when we wish to grasp the nature of the present, in many ways novel, phase in the history of modernity (Bauman, 2006, p.2). The metaphor of liquidity

clarifies how human relations, economy and politics are configured in Liquid Modernity. The figure of speech is used to illustrate the intensification of values such as individualism, transience, anguish, instantaneity, ambivalence and, especially, consumerism, which has significant implications for effective relationships. Human bonds are characterized by vulnerability and ephemerality in a world constantly driven by the new and strongly influenced by consumerism. Long-lasting and deep bonds end up losing their meaning.

In this way, ephemerality is the search for the new. In liquid modernity, everything that is established can be dismantled, discredited, or replaced. Persistence in relationships would not, therefore, compensate for the advantages of opting for other relationships, which become frugal in comparison with the first (solid) modernity and tradition. Of course, YouTube, with its infinite collection of videos, could be considered more liquid concerning television (where one chooses the channel and not the program), which would be less liquid than the printed newspaper (which remains at home even after use), which is less liquid in relation to the printed book (which requires more time to read), and so on. Thus, the research will help to reflect on the liquidity of TikTok based on the videos analysed.

Methodology

This is a qualitative study that deals in depth with the teachers' videos. We carried out an analysis that was, to a certain extent, iconographic and textual, in an attempt to extract broader meanings from the material posted by the teachers.

First, we conduct an extensive analysis of the collected videos, focusing on four variables to determine trends (such as the academic background of *TikTokers*) and to help understand the collected videos as a product of social groups. The posts will be intensively analysed for their assessment based on evidence from the editing process.

First, we searched for the terms “Sociology” and “Sociology ENEM” within the TikTok environment, intending to delimit the phenomenon within the platform itself. From this, we selected a list of videos that would make up the sample analysed. We chose Brazilian TikTokers because of our prior knowledge of the country’s legislation; we also excluded posts that referred to the teaching of Sociology at the higher education level.

At another point, we accessed the teachers' profiles to ensure that the post was not an isolated phenomenon that could be biasing our data collection system. After all these procedures, we performed the final collection, which will be presented below. The intensive analysis was performed using the components in Table 1:

Table 1: evidence and descriptors.

Evidence of editing	Descriptor
Subtitles ¹	These are the words that are contained in the channel description and also in each video.
Images	How are images produced with the filming? Are external images inserted into it?
Texts	In what ways are texts articulated with other audiovisual elements?
Framing	From what angle is the camera filming the teacher positioned?

Source: own authorship.

When we refer to editing as an analytical concept, the focus is not on the raw material filmed by the content producers, since we did not have access to it. The idea of editing is to find the composition of effects and the communication through audiovisual media. The aim is to attract viewers, who have many options. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind that this is a video competing in a liquid environment. Therefore, strategies are necessary to obtain engagement.

We analyse the images and sounds (focusing on the edits) following these parameters and then proceed to the inferences, allocated in the global considerations. However, before accessing the produced content, we need to know the micro-video application.

Contextualizing TikTok: what is the secret to its success?

Basically, TikTok offers a myriad of videos organized by *playlists* and the user first watches a sample of each video to choose whether to watch it in full or not. It is

¹ Adding captions to videos is crucial for several reasons. First, they ensure accessibility by allowing people with hearing impairments to consume the content. Second, they promote inclusivity by making the material understandable to people of different nationalities. Additionally, captions help to maintain viewers' engagement by ensuring that they do not miss important information and by reinforcing comprehension and retention of the material. They also increase the reach of the content by making it stand out in internet search engines and improve the user experience by conveying the impression of a well-crafted production. Finally, captions allow the video to be viewed in any environment without disturbing others and can contribute to business growth by making the content accessible to a global audience.

worth noting that TikTok was not the first micro-video app; at least there was Wine before it, which went bankrupt in 2017. TikTok was successful in Brazil during the pandemic, and its success would need to be investigated more carefully. But the app was developed :

Among some of the emerging social networks, we find TikTok, launched in 2016 for the Chinese market under the name *Douyin* and in 2017 for the international market as TikTok. This application allows you to create short videos of 15 to 60 seconds, with easy and quick editing, and a multitude of effects and sounds. However, the essential peculiarity of this platform is the use of AI technology (Artificial intelligence, by its acronym in English) by which its algorithm ²quickly and efficiently filters the preferences of users, according to their interactions (Vintimilla-León; Torres-Toukoumidis, 2021, p.17)

Therefore, we can see that the shorter duration of videos makes it easier for non-expert users to edit them. Finally, video consumption is facilitated by artificial intelligence ³, which allows users to more easily access the videos they prefer. These elements resulted in the success of the application :

TikTok is one of the most popular applications in the world: hundreds of millions of users, many of them children and teenagers, use it to upload, watch and browse lip-sync videos and memes. TikTok, developed by ByteDance, a Chinese company, allows users to upload up to 60-second lip-synched videos with a variety of creative and interactive features. It is the fastest-growing app and is ranked the seventh most downloaded app of the past decade. However, this app has a darker side. TikTok users are sharing calls for violence against people of colour and Jews, as well as creating and sharing neo-Nazi propaganda. Technically, according to the company's Terms of Service, TikTok does not allow people under 13 years of age to use its platform, but many of its users in videos are clearly younger (Weimann; Masri, 2020, p.1).

The information presented in the previous paragraph shows a great deal of media dispersion: there are many *downloads* and many accesses, so much so that there is even criminal advertising – which surely circulates because of the media's reach. The time to enjoy a video is very short, which leads users to search for others and forces content creators to look for resources to capture users' attention.

² A social media algorithm is a set of rules and calculations used to determine what content is displayed to users, based on their behavior, preferences and interactions.

³ Artificial intelligence is the ability of computer systems to perform tasks that normally require human intelligence, such as learning, reasoning, and problem-solving.

Extensive analysis of the profile of selected videos

In this section, we will evaluate the profile of the videos, trying to trace some trends within the occurrences. They are the first results that a user finds when searching for the subject on TikTok. We will organize the data by variables, but we will not perform correlation tests or graphical analysis of the results due to the low number of occurrences, in order to avoid statistical illusion. The survey was a summary, the data from which will be evaluated below.

First, we will analyse table 2:

Table 2: Teacher, URL, and Teacher Focus

Teacher's name	Video URL Analyzed	Focus	Do you have another social network?	Training
<i>Gabriela Goncalves</i>	https://www.tiktok.com/@ggabrielaigoncalves/video/7017899543836560645?lang=pt-BR	Organization	Instagram ⁴	Bachelor's Degree in Social Communication and Journalism
Renato Palmeira	https://www.tiktok.com/@renato_palmeira/video/6915473442930167046?lang=pt-BR	Mentor	Instagram ⁵	Medicine
<i>Gabriel Corttezi</i>	https://www.tiktok.com/@gabrielcorttezi/video/7009781774591053062?lang=pt-BR	Researcher	Instagram	Bachelor's Degree in Social Sciences
Simplify (Debora Andrade)	https://www.tiktok.com/@descomplica/video/6995940118477556997?lang=pt-BR	Preparatory Course	Instagram ⁶	Professor of some undetermined degree
Erickson Americo	https://www.tiktok.com/@ericksonaamerico/video/6886878322282728705?is_copy_url=1&is_from_webapp=v1&lang=pt-BR	Professor Writing	Youtube ⁷	Nursing student ⁸
Charles Douglas	https://www.tiktok.com/@prof.charlesdouglas/video/6899144	History/Philosophy	Urlebard ⁹	Not found

⁴ <https://www.instagram.com/ggabrielagoncalves/>

⁵ https://www.instagram.com/renato_palmeira/

⁶ https://www.instagram.com/prof_debyandrade/

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCCLcT0dSwsSlEkJ5UX-ag8Q>

⁸ <http://lattes.cnpq.br/5118076079319711>

⁹ <https://urlebird.com/user/prof.charlesdouglas/>

	323980446978?is_copy_url=1&is_from_webapp=v1&q=Sociologia&t=1644492454585	Teacher		
Lovely	https://www.tiktok.com/@isabelas.studies/video/6901975243984817409	Study mentor	Instagram ¹⁰	Not found
Leticia Almeida	https://www.tiktok.com/@soua.le/video/6979645772895767813	Social Science Student	Not found	Not found
Bat Marks	https://www.tiktok.com/@morcego_marcos_/video/7029269139080367365	Social Science Student	Instagram ¹¹	Undergraduate in Social Sciences

Source: own authorship.

In a more general trend, we can see that the teaching of Sociology is no longer linked to teachers trained in Sociology and is linked to preparatory teaching for the ENEM, linking with other teachers – in this case, Sociology appears as ENEM content. It is important to note that this is a trend that is already occurring in the classroom, as there are few teachers trained in the area of teaching in it (BODART, SILVA, 2016).

Another issue is that, based on a preliminary analysis of publications on TikTok, it is clear that in this space, undergraduate students in social sciences are focused on research and teaching – it is worth noting that many foreign *TikTokers were found* addressing scientific research in greater depth (especially in Spanish). This would generate more interest, at least on this social network. Regarding other professors, how is the mobilization of Sociology occurring?

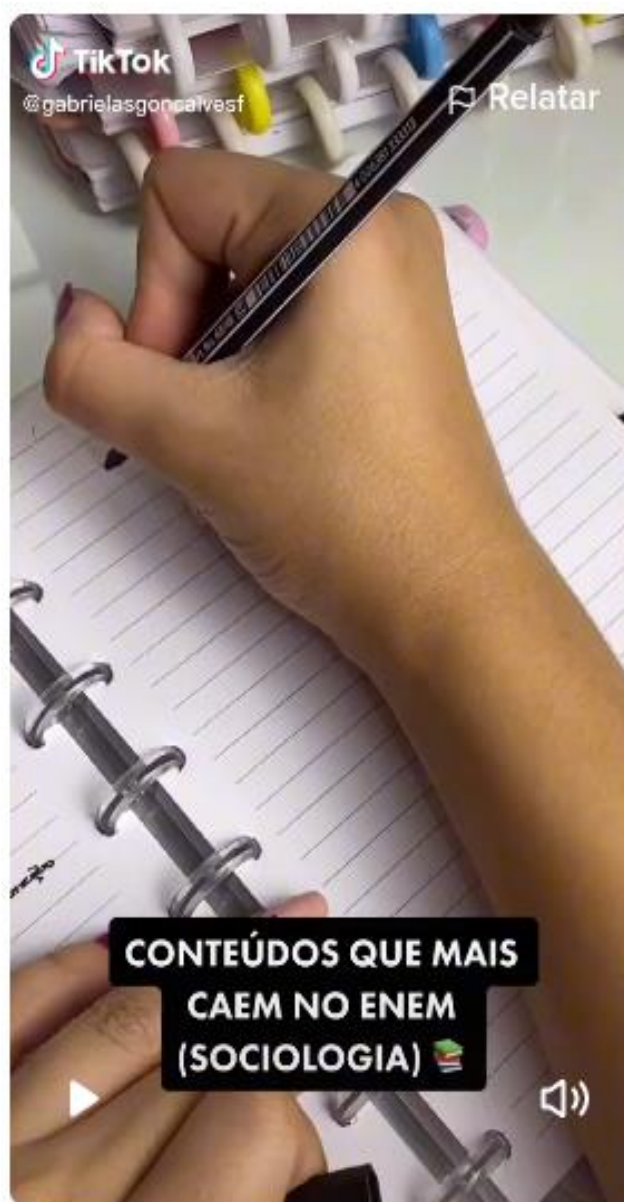
Intensive analysis of video edits

In this section, we will perform an empirical analysis of the collected videos, focusing on qualitative data. In this section, we will watch each of them and apply the editing criteria proposed in the methodology. We will start with Figure 1:

¹⁰ <https://www.instagram.com/izabella.studies/>

¹¹ https://www.instagram.com/morcego_marcos_/

Figure 1: Video 1.



Source:

<https://www.tiktok.com/@ggabrielagoncalves/video/7017899543836560645?lang=pt-BR>

The first thing that stands out is the Google narration, not Gabriela's voice narrating, which produces a normal image. This is one of the only editing elements applied to the video, along with the camera zoom. Furthermore, the list of contents is written on a sheet of notebook paper, in human handwriting, not typed. The technical characteristics of the video media, here, favour the composition: the user can pause the playback and read the exposed text, without the detriment of following a synchronous in-person class.

Figure 2 shows a face:

Figure 2: Video 2.



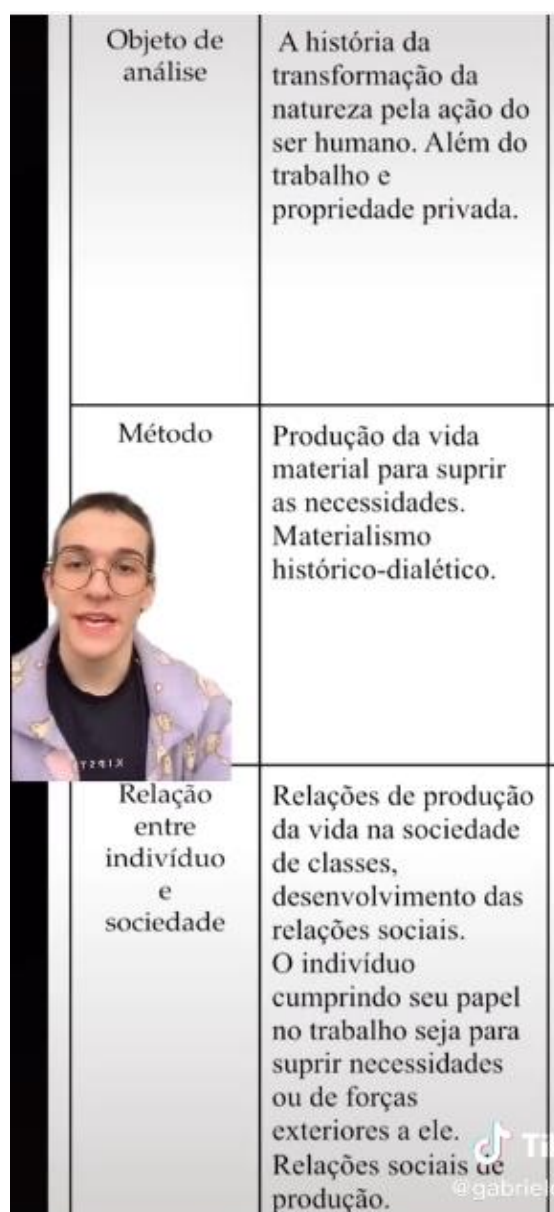
Source:

https://www.tiktok.com/@renato_palmeira/video/6915473442930167046?lang=pt-BR

Here you can already see a background scene (which is not a *chroma key* or a notebook, as in the previous video). Editing occurs by placing a sign, with the application of *zoom*. An interesting effect is that the surface of the video becomes a board/slate, on which teachers can write and communicate – which, in comparison with the other videos, has shown itself to be a trend adopted in other productions.

The next figure is 3:

Figure 3: Video 3.



Objeto de análise	A história da transformação da natureza pela ação do ser humano. Além do trabalho e propriedade privada.
Método	Produção da vida material para suprir as necessidades. Materialismo histórico-dialético.
Relação entre indivíduo e sociedade	Relações de produção da vida na sociedade de classes, desenvolvimento das relações sociais. O indivíduo cumprindo seu papel no trabalho seja para suprir necessidades ou de forças exteriores a ele. Relações sociais de produção.

Source: <https://www.tiktok.com/@gabrielcortezzi/video/7009781774591053062?lang=pt-BR>

This was the closest video we found on YouTube, of a lecture using slides (the teacher used *Chrome key*), and the slideshow scheme. We did not detect any extra effects, as the camera remained fixed. More than in the other videos, the content producer also makes notes on the video screen, which makes it eminently visual, and the writing deepens what is said, and can be stopped.

In figure 4, the pattern is similar, but not identical:

Figure 4: Video 4

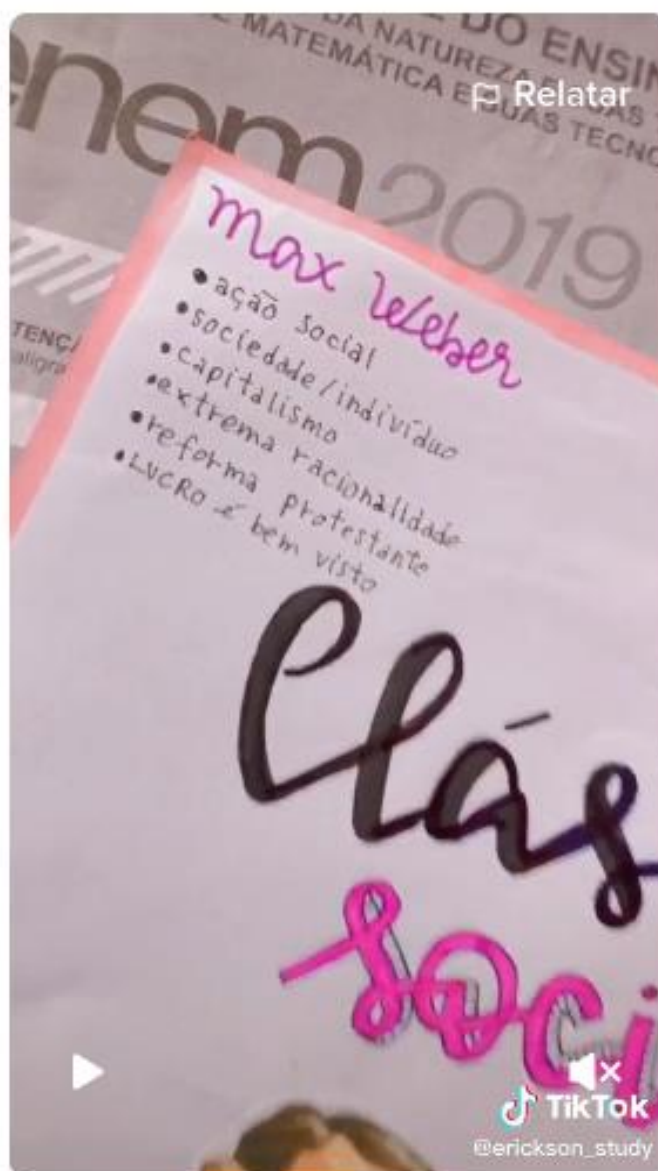


Source: <https://www.tiktok.com/@descomplica/video/6995940118477556997?lang=pt-BR>

There are transcriptions of the teacher's speeches with subtitles, which, in theory, would increase the accessibility of the video for non-Portuguese-speaking listeners. Apart from this detail, the raw material is almost “all” in the publication: it is the image of the teacher explaining, without any kind of extra effect. Perhaps the promise of a quick explanation of controversy was the biggest attraction of the video, an evident investment in the script instead of the other editing elements.

Figure 5 is not the most edited:

Figure 5: Video 5.



Source:

https://www.tiktok.com/@ericksonaamerico/video/6886878322282728705?is_copy_url=1&is_from_webapp=v1&lang=pt-BR

In this video, we can see that a sheet of paper was filmed. The author is sure that the user knows that he should pause the video to read his list of categories since he only presents it and does not make contact with the content at any time. Another non-editable element is the placement of a notebook with ENEM questions behind the board.

In figure 6, the images are more dynamic:

Figure 6: Video 6.



Source:

https://www.tiktok.com/@prof.charlesdouglas/video/6899144323980446978?is_copy_url=1&is_from_webapp=v1&q=Sociologia&t=1644492454585

This was the video that best adapted, in our opinion, to TikTok's features. After all, there is the use of a *chroma key* ¹², which allows the articulation of many images in sequence, which accompany the speech and converge the two symbolic elements.

¹² Chroma key is a video editing technique that allows you to replace a uniformly colored background, usually green or blue, with another scene or image, creating the illusion of a different environment.

In addition, there is a transcription of the speech in subtitles, which also allows greater circulation of the video among different users.

Another video, the one in figure 7, uses the following message:

Figure 7: Video 7.



Source:

<https://www.tiktok.com/@isabelas.studies/video/6901975243984817409>

This video is the only one that features background music. However, it is a film of the notebook seen from above, probably on a bedspread. The way the video was planned and executed highlights a certain relationship between TikTok and reading as an important means of communication, as producers prioritize it when they want

to add depth to their content. Writing conveys a lot of information, which shows that the app encourages reading.

Is this articulation of the application with writing reflected in figure number 8?

Figure 8: Video 8.



Source: <https://www.tiktok.com/@soua.le/video/6979645772895767813>

In this video, we can see some characteristics, such as the camera not moving, in addition to the lack of other audiovisual effects. The screen receives written information, like a blackboard, but the focus is not basically on education, but on professional training (which ends up creating a connection with high school, even if

unintentionally). Figure 9 presents similar considerations, although from an eminently more critical perspective:

Figure 9: Video 9.



Source:

https://www.tiktok.com/@morcego_marcos_/video/7029269139080367365

You can tell that the content producer is responding to a post, as it appears in the video. This is a technical feature that belongs to the style of the application itself, which places the message on the screen as a contextualizing mechanism. There are no edits beyond this, which are inserted by the platform itself.

In the content, we can see that Marcos is showing his vision as a student, which also brings him back to professional education. This helps to understand a certain tendency of social science students to present the course to interested parties.

After analysing the individual videos, we can assess the data in an articulated manner, also producing a transition to the theoretical level. This connection will occur in the subsequent section, that of global considerations.

Global Considerations

The analysis of the videos allowed us, at first, to detect similarities and, at another time, differences between them. Regarding the second, we can observe, also taking into account the videos watched in the exploratory fieldwork, some “ideal types” of content, or at least “subgenres”:

- * **Lists:** lists of something related to the didactic content of high school Sociology are presented. It is worth noting that lists are very common content in the digital age;

- * **Pro-Socratic:** some videos are ironic and only seek to produce some kind of social questioning, which evidently cannot be developed much due to the length of the media, as the focus ends up being on iconoclasm. We use the corruption “pro-Socratic” in the sense that maieutics is unconsciously used¹³ as a teaching tool, although there is no space within TikTok for good synchronous interaction, as occurred on the Athenian streets.

- * **School routine:** many videos were found that parody the routine of classes in schools, which brings the idea of a certain backstage being presented to the general public, with the teachers' point of view and;

- * **Content:** some teachers present sociological content within 1 minute (we also found videos lasting 2 minutes), but in video-class format, we only found one record.

After these differences, we can draw some similarities between the materials, looking for major trends that can be used for analysis by future researchers. It is worth noting that, unlike YouTube or Facebook, no more than one explicit video lesson was found (at most, videos talking about video lessons).

¹³Maieutics is the method used by Socrates to, through questions and conceptual definitions, “give birth” to the individual’s knowledge, remembering that Socrates starts from the theory of reminiscence, which states that all human beings know all human knowledge, but forget it. before birth.

Another trend is the elimination of metadata ¹⁴, compared to YouTube, for example. Subtitles are replaced by *hashtags* ¹⁵. The text box also replaces the video title. In this case, the video is self-contained and can move more easily between different social networks. This makes it more the property of the producer than of the platform, allowing it to be fed to multiple networks. We could call this process a certain “ demetadatadization ” of videos.

Thus, the app is seen as a showcase for the teacher (who becomes an *influencer*), and not for the content specifically, which serves more to create a digital footprint). It is a sample of larger and more in-depth content or a way to bring students closer together. We assume that this is more viable because editing videos on TikTok, even though teachers do not use very complex editing resources, is less laborious than on longer video platforms like YouTube.

As for the edits, we can also notice some gradations in terms of adaptation to digital language. This means that either there is an image construction that “purifies” the usual language of TikTok to adapt it to education or there is a lack of technical knowledge of these resources on the part of the teachers. Therefore, in general, we can see that the surface of the video becomes the teacher’s blackboard, and when there is more proximity to digital language, the image accompanies the speech of the content producer.

After clarifying these elements, we can conclude with a direct answer to the initial research problem. Sociology teaching is specific and focused on the ENEM, using a few editing resources and following some trends of the application (such as the increasing elimination of metadata). In this way, the teacher creates a “broth” in Baumanian liquidity by referring to content of greater duration in time (such as video classes or books). In other words, TikTok currently serves as a kind of “electronic” business card for the teacher and fails to fulfil the primary function of the application, the immersion of the user through artificial intelligence. Therefore, shortly, we do

¹⁴ Metadata is information that describes and provides context about other data, making it easier to organize, search, and manage.

¹⁵ Hashtags are words or phrases preceded by the symbol “#”, used on social networks to categorize and facilitate the search for content related to a specific topic.

not believe that there will be “educational TikTokers” like there are *edutubers*. – as studied by Lopes (2021) on YouTube.

Final Considerations

This article discussed the teaching of Sociology on TikTok, focusing on teachers who post short videos (up to 3 minutes) about sociological programmatic content. We analysed 9 videos on the app and concluded that teachers use fewer editing resources and produce lures for other social networks, using Sociology as a kind of “portfolio”. We can conclude the text with some reflections.

The first is a methodological issue, which has to do with the analysis of “micro-videos”. Here, field exploration (in which it is necessary to come into contact with part of the field data) is almost synonymous with fieldwork, because the videos are very fast. Of course, there remains an in-depth look at the videos, but there has already been a first contact, which makes the research experience somewhat different from the usual one when we are surprised by the data *during* the foray into the field or the documents. Another issue that changes is that of peer review: the evaluation of 20 videos can last a little over 20 minutes, which allows a reviewer to have viable access to the “corpus” analysed by a researcher. This results in more consideration of the material and enriches the editorial process.

Another issue is a greater appreciation of TikTok's communication model, which is very little based on dialogue and more on a certain pro-Socraticism. In this case, there is not even any fluidity in communication, there is a kind of attempt at an “epistemological knockout” – something that does not work, because it is not possible to shame someone who does not feel ashamed, because coercion cannot be outsourced.

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Teaching Sociology in Brazil: an interview with Carlos Benedito Martins

Abstract

This interview was conducted with Carlos Benedito Martins, a full professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Brasilia. The aim was to highlight the author's educational and professional background, as well as to understand the writing of the book *O que é Sociologia*, published by Brasiliense in the 1980s. This book has more than 60 editions and approximately 750,000 printings, which represents a notable editorial success for an introductory book on sociology for Brazilian readers. In the interview, the author presents some aspects that help us to understand the social relations involved in writing the book, as well as his vision of the teaching of sociology in Brazil.

Keywords: Sociology teaching, books, Sociology, Brazil.

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Introductory notes on the interviewee

Professor Carlos Benedito de Campos Martins graduated in Social Sciences from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (1971), continued his career with a master's degree in Social Sciences from the same institution in 1979, and completed the first part of his training with a doctorate in Sociology from the University of Paris V - René Descartes (1986), with a scholarship from the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES). His professional career includes post-doctoral internships in Sociology at Columbia University (2006-2007) and Oxford University (2011-2012). He has also been a visiting professor at Columbia University (2008 and 2010), the University of Oxford (2011-2012), the University of

Lisbon (2009, 2010 and 2012), the Free University of Berlin (2014), the University of Hong Kong (2016), the National University of Singapore (2017), the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (2018) and University College London (2022).

He joined the Department of Sociology at the University of Brasilia (UnB) in 1987 and retired in 2023. He is recognized as a leading figure in strengthening the research fields of Higher Education and Contemporary Sociological Theory in Brazil, having participated in the management of the most prestigious academic and scientific associations in the area of Social Sciences and Sociology. He has served as Director of the National Association for Graduate Studies and Research in the Social Sciences (ANPOCS), as well as President of the Brazilian Society of Sociology (SBS) for two consecutive terms. In both organizations, he held various management positions and coordinated working groups that were essential in shaping and consolidating these areas of research in Brazil.

These leading positions in the field of Brazilian Social Sciences were achieved due to the recognition of his peers for his research work, which has become a reference for understanding the characteristics and configurations of higher education models in Brazil and, in recent decades, in a comparative analysis with other countries, from a global perspective. His books, such as *Ensino Pago: Um Retrato Sem Retoques* (published by Autores Associados), *Educação Superior e desafios no novo século: contextos e diálogos Brasil-Portugal* (published by Editora UnB), *Olhares Cruzados: Brasil-França* (published by Editora Pontes) and *Diálogos entre o Brasil e a França: formação e cooperação acadêmica* (published by Editora Massangana), reflect his decades-long dedication to the subject and make him a leading researcher in the country.

In addition to the field of higher education research, Professor Carlos Benedito Martins has been concerned with updating the theoretical debate in the Social Sciences in Brazil, having coordinated the publication *Horizontes das Ciências Sociais*, comprising three volumes in the areas of Sociology, Politics and Anthropology (2010), the collection *Teoria sociológica contemporânea: autores e perspectivas* (published by Vozes in), and *As Ciências Sociais no mundo contemporâneo: revisões e prospecções* (published by UnB), bringing together various researchers linked to the most prestigious teaching and research centers. He was also responsible for writing the book *O que é Sociologia (Brasiliense)*, which for more than four decades has

remained a reference for teachers, researchers and students in the field of Social Sciences in Brazil, both in higher education and in the teaching of sociology in basic education, with around seven hundred and fifty thousand copies in print.

Her career has also been marked by efforts to build international collaborations between various reference centers and leading researchers in the field of social science research. He was Brazil's representative on the Institute for Research on Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean IESALC/UNESCO. He is also currently coordinator of the Capes-Cofecub Project (2020/2023), entitled Globalization of French and Brazilian sociologies: agents, institutions, themes, in partnership with the École Normale Supérieure Paris-Saclay.

In this interview we tried to find out more about the writing and dissemination of the book *O que é Sociologia*, published in the collection *Primeiros Passos* by Editora Brasiliense. *O que é Sociologia* was published in the 1980s, a time of re-democratization in Brazil, which had lived under military rule between 1964 and 1985. It is important to note that the book's publication was also concomitant with the expansion of enrollment in higher education, which may partly explain the book's editorial success, which currently has more than 60 editions and around 750,000 copies in print, which shows the editorial success of a book aimed at introducing Brazilian readers to sociology.

Interview

Could you tell us about your research career in the social sciences? What did you research for your master's and doctorate?

I started my training in Goiânia, which was very bad at the time, in 1968. In 1969, I went to São Paulo, which was a very impactful thing for me. The city of Goiânia had 150,000 inhabitants at the time and the city of São Paulo had almost 6 million. I did my master's degree at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo and later became a professor there. I did my undergraduate degree at PUC and I was very lucky, because the year I graduated the basic cycle was created and, as a result, the institution hired many teachers from my generation. I had a very strong training to be a teacher, inspired by Paulo Freire and behaviorism. I was on a behaviorist team, so I was very much trained to be a teacher.

During my master's degree, I began to see the difference I was making at PUC, which was creating private education in São Paulo. A very important person in this process was Maurício Tragtenberg, a famous professor in the city, a Weberian and an anarchist. He was very impressed with my research project and I talked to him a lot. At that time, Florestan Fernandes and Octávio Ianni arrived at PUC to become professors.

I was head of the Sociology Department at the time, so I was in contact with Florestan and discussed my project with him, Octávio Ianni and Maurício Tragtenberg. I had the idea of doing research on higher education, first analyzing a school in São Paulo - which at that time was being formed, and had a very curious fact: all the participants, directors, founders and so on endorsed the 1964 military coup. At the same time, many of the students studying there were from the security agencies. When Maurício Tragtenberg wrote the preface to the book [A empresa cultural no Brasil], he called it a "regime school". In my analysis, I used Foucault's concept of the panopticon a lot, because there was a very large surveillance system.

I remember that my advisor, Maria Andréa Loyola, had just arrived from France and was Alain Touraine's advisor, but she was very involved with Pierre Bourdieu. I remember the day I finished my master's defense and she said: - Carlos, now you're going to France. I had no idea. She said: - Go, go to France. She wrote to Pierre Bourdieu to ask him to accept me, but he said that he wasn't accepting anyone else at that point. Bourdieu appointed someone else to advise me on my doctorate, Viviane Isambert-Jamati.

I went to France and did my doctorate on the expansion not only of private education but also of business schools in São Paulo. I researched some schools and their students too, "what did you come here to do?", what kind of student they were, the expectations they had and, at the same time, I built up a bit about the question of administration in Brazil, the importance of training staff for this and what kind of institution was training those students who were quite lower middle class and wanted to rise, I discuss a lot the question of higher education as a mechanism of ascension, also of reproduction.

That done, I stayed in France for five years. I attended Pierre Bourdieu's seminar for the whole period, a closed seminar for fifteen students. I attended his

classes at the College de France and became very close to Monique Saint Martin, the second person in his hierarchy, who discussed my thesis with him a lot.

When I wanted to go back to São Paulo, PUC did me a great disservice, because I was the first PUC professor in São Paulo to leave to do a doctorate abroad, with a scholarship from CAPES [Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel]. Until then, everyone did a PhD at USP [University of São Paulo], and there were very few PhDs in the Sociology department. The few who did were graduates of USP. When I came to Brazil to do field research, I told PUC that I wanted to go back. I had a 40-hour contract. And the dean of the PUC - who was a friend of mine, from my department, left-wing and all that - said that it was impossible to take me on because there was no more room for 40 hours. Only twenty hours. I said: look, I'm sorry because you're going to lose a doctor who is arriving with great enthusiasm.

When I returned to France, I sent a letter to the Sociology Department at UnB, and João Gabriel, the head of the department at the time, said: - we have every interest in you coming here. I arrived here as a CNPq [National Council for Scientific and Technological Development] scholarship holder. Then I took the public exam to become a permanent professor.

From then on, I started writing a lot about higher education in Brazil. I did some research here on private education in the Federal District [the capital of Brazil]. I had a very interesting experience at CAPES because Clarissa Baeta Neves, president of the institution at the time, asked me to advise her. As she was leaving, I bumped into Abílio Neves, Clarissa's husband, and he asked: "What are you doing here?". I said: "I'm leaving". He said: "No, you're staying here with me". I spent almost ten years at Capes as an advisor to the President and it was a very incredible experience because... I continued here at UnB, teaching, doing everything, but I began to understand the postgraduate system in general. So it was a time when I wrote a lot about postgraduate studies. Afterwards, I took part in the 2010-2020 national postgraduate plan and produced a lot about postgraduate studies.

Later, I went to the United States and began to read about American higher education and to better understand the process of globalization in higher education.

Then I went to England, to Oxford University, to do a post-doctorate. Since then, I've written very little about Brazil, but I'm working a lot theoretically on the issue of globalization, how it impacts on higher education, who the actors are. In addition to this research agenda, I'm also interested in the sociology of intellectuals. I realized that those who are driving the debate on higher education are not sociologists, they are educators, so I took two teams of academic researchers: those who propose a neoliberal perspective, who have very important people, who drive higher education and, generally, produce in English, produce a lot, important publishers, maintain connections with the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], with UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization], with the World Bank. Theirs is a normative production with a lot of impact. At the same time, critics generally don't have that much input. For example, the French publish in French, so few people read them. They're completely unknown. There's a guy who's very important in France, Christophe Charle, who researches universities, he published that little book on the history of universities that he wrote with Verger. He's just published a book on the deregulation of higher education, but nobody reads it because it's in French. There are some people there who are critical too, but they don't have the visibility of the neoliberals. I'm working on it now. The question I'm asking now is: what model is emerging in higher education? What is this model? It's a model I'm trying to understand and who is involved in building this model. I'm taking the most important intellectuals involved in building this model. Just to tell you that at the moment I'm not messing with Brazil. However, there's something else: in this whole process I discovered a guy, Hector [Gutierrez], do you know him? Hector [Gutierrez], who founded an association called the Triple Helix, which advocates this participation of government [university], state and business, and who today is the guy who most influences higher education worldwide. The issue of entrepreneurial education, everything comes from him, he even founded an international association called the International Triple Helix Association, which has an impressive global connection. There are people from all over the world. There are more than 120 Brazilians there. So now I'm tracking down who these Brazilians are, how this discussion is reaching Brazil. I'm going back to Brazil, from the international process to Brazil. I'm going to see what comes of it. But at the moment,

I'm seeing who the guys are who are talking about it, where they are, which universities they're at, what they're publishing, how they're publishing it, the networks they're setting up. I've left Brazil for a while and I'm looking at higher education on an international level.

So your research interests relate to the sociology of education, sociological theory and the sociology of intellectuals?

Yes, sociological theory because I'm working on globalization. Sociology of Higher Education because I'm focusing my question [the different models] on higher education from a sociological substrate and with globalization. From a sociological point of view, globalization has been studied a lot from the point of view of culture, sport, and very little about the university. It's the educators who have been working on this, and sometimes from a very normative perspective, where concepts such as the knowledge society, the knowledge economy are produced, which are terms that sociology itself has sometimes used without questioning where these terms came from. So I'm doing a sociology of the sociology of higher education production.

*How did you come up with the idea of writing the book *What is Sociology*, published by Brasiliense?*

The idea of writing the book was sketched out in the city of São Paulo. Florestan Fernandes arrived at the Sociology Department of PUC-SP and I became very good friends with him. He wrote the preface to the second edition of my book. He once gave a course on the formation of sociology and he wrote a book called *The Sociological Nature of Sociology* and I was very taken with this book.

At that time, the collection *Primeiros Passos* (First Steps) was coming out, and I had a friend [Vavy Pacheco Borges] who wrote *O que é História* (What is History) in that collection. She was a historian and a close friend of Caio Graco Prado, who owned Brasiliense, one of the most important publishing houses in São Paulo. She said: "Carlos...[me talking to her about it] why don't you write a book about it, go and talk to Caio". I went to talk to him. Caio is a very interesting guy, he only had a high school education, no higher education, but he was attentive to art, music, cinema and politics. We became friends, and from there I started writing this book when my

second child was being born and I was going for my doctorate in France, with my house almost dismantled, a small table and a typewriter.

I sent him the text and he said that he had already sent it to my nephew and that he liked it very much, and he replied [it was all by letter back then] that my nephew was very intelligent but that the text was very complicated. I needed to reduce the text. So I settled in France and spent nights rewriting the book. And this little book, I was looking at it, has already sold around 700,000 copies, it's circulated a lot. Caio died, dramatically, in a motorcycle accident at the age of 60. His sister later took over the publishing house. One day we talked about the possibility of updating the book, I was very Marxist at the time I wrote the book, because of the influence of Florestan Fernandes and Octavio Ianni, at that time [the 70s and 80s] Marxism was a very important thing in the country. I wanted to rewrite the book, but for the price offered by the publisher it wasn't worth the effort. Today, it's a very incomplete book, I think those first two parts on the history of sociology are still relevant, but the final part, which is the development of sociology, is totally out of date.

When I went to do my doctorate in France, I was very impressed by Bourdieu's reflections on sociology because he said: "it's not just doing sociology, it's thinking sociologically about sociology". And I've been working a lot with this now, which is to compare the formation of Sociology in France and the formation of Sociology in Brazil, what it has in the current phase, what it has in common and what it doesn't have. I mean, it's thinking again, not about the history of Sociology, but about how they are facing the problem of globalization, the insertion of Brazilian and French Sociology and it's interesting because the French are much better known but there are some spaces where Brazil has more presence, for example, at the ISA [International Sociological Association] the Brazilian delegation is much more important than the French because they invest in other things, they invest in a French-speaking Sociology association.

I think the book was important for me because it made Sociology an object of reflection and now I'm thinking about how globalization impacts higher education and Sociology. It's funny because a lot of the history of sociology people don't take into account the context of university institutions. How can you understand the implementation of Sociology in Brazil if you don't take into account the history of

higher education? And it's the same in France. But many books on the history of sociology leave this issue aside. It's to say that the institutional basis is in the state, in the functioning of the state, but it's also in the composition of the institutions.

And in which year was it first published?

In 1981

So you wrote it at the end of the 1970s?

It was in 1979, 1980 and 1981.

You mentioned the influence of Marxism and then also Bourdieu.

Yes, I stopped at Bourdieu.

How many editions of the book were there?

I think the book had about fifty editions. Now the publisher only puts out the reprint. I remember that when I applied to become a full professor in 2011, I asked the publisher to send me the number of books sold so far. At that time there were 500,000 copies. In 2011, I believe it must have sold 700,000 copies. The publisher isn't publishing anything else at the moment. I really enjoyed writing this book. Once I was invited to give a lecture in the interior of the state of Bahia, at a college, and I was very moved because a woman came up to me and said: "Professor, I came from the interior of the state because I knew you were coming here and I had read your book and wanted to meet you". I was so moved by that.

And you mentioned to the publisher that he asked for a revision to make it more accessible to a wider audience... did you have to think about that, think about an ideal audience for the book?

Because I think that when I wrote the first version it was in very sociological language. In fact, the First Steps Collection was designed for secondary school students. It wasn't for the university. Understand? Caio Graco thought the language was too difficult, so I had to change the language. I think I had to reduce it from 100 to 70 pages, I reduced it a lot and it was difficult to make that cut because at the time without a computer you had to write everything on a typewriter, it was a hassle.

You wrote the book presenting a history and development of Sociology, then a process of institutionalization. Did you come up with this structure or did you have any guidance from the publisher?

I thought it up myself because I was reading a lot about it. This book by Florestan Fernandes, *The Sociological Nature of Sociology*, was a book that really caught my attention. So I covered the impact of the industrial revolution, the French revolution on the formation of sociology, then the development of sociology to talk about Marx, Durkheim, Weber and then the final part of the development of sociology. I think the first part is interesting because I think I've captured the question of how the French and industrial revolutions impacted on the emergence of sociology. Now, the second part is very superficial and the third part I think is completely out of date, because in the 1980s, Bourdieu was the most contemporary author in my reading.

And what would you add to the book at this point?

I would say that during a certain period there was a very big war between paradigms. The paradigms were seen as mutually exclusive, either you were a Marxist or a Weberian, and Bourdieu had a huge impact on my education, showing me how these separations were canonical, they had no epistemological foundations, they were much more struggles for positions, for recognition, struggles in the field. I think I would take the notion of the field, not the notion of the field behind it, showing that things were a field in conflict and that today you have gone through a time of great paradigmatic wars, then there was a time of calm and today I think we are entering a very complicated time again, which is also a time of internecine wars in Sociology, which I find very worrying because Sociology today has the economy in front of it, which can explain society much faster than sociologists, and we're fighting amongst ourselves about whether the decolonial or the post-colonial is better and a whole attack on the classical tradition of Sociology.

I think it's always important to review Sociology, its foundations, I really think that its basis is very Eurocentric, European, but I think that today, in this study of globalization, Sociology has also become globalized, it's a world Sociology, it's no longer a European, North American sociology. Sociology is currently in more than 150 countries, a great diversity, but we're still at a time of an internal fight to attack

the classics. So I'm very concerned about the teaching of sociology. This is a concern that I have a very Weberian attitude towards. I think that the teacher should have an exemption from values in order to transmit sociology.

I'm afraid of the teachers who teach sociology in secondary schools, because many of them have no training in sociology. And many of these teachers pass on preconceived ideas to their students. And also at university, many teachers pass on their personal preferences to their students. In almost forty years in the profession, I've never told students that Pierre Bourdieu was the best. I always point out: "Look, he was a guy who was susceptible to success, susceptible to mistakes". I go into a classroom and try to present the advances and limits of each author and theory.

Could you elaborate on your understanding of the role of teaching sociology at school?

I think it's very important. I don't know yet, because I'm a little removed from it, how to teach sociology in elementary school. But I think it gives students elements to question the world, question their families, question and rethink the social world. It provides students with a minimum basis for being able to denaturalize social relations. I think the subject plays a very big role in shaping citizenship. At university, you go in one way and come out another, it's much more diverse, much richer, it's a process of constant clashes between different areas. So when students arrive at university, they discover a very rich world. In high school, they are still very tied to their families, very tied to their private world. I think that teaching sociology should problematize this a little for the students: their family, their sexual choices, the political choices they make, inserting these questions to really awaken the spirit of inquiry. I don't think it's a question of teaching Durkheim, Marx and Weber, as is done at university. It's like doing something pleasant, enjoyable, so that he can... newspaper clippings, news reports, and you work out the categories behind them. But, what I think, I could be wrong, the categories appear first as a first point and the information comes in the background. I think that should be reversed. I think one of our problems, one of our challenges, is to train teachers for this. A very serious problem: training good teachers to teach sociology. And it's not just about knowledge... it's also about technique, which I think we need to discuss a lot, you know?

Do you think the publication of the book was important for your professional career?

I'd say it was more important for me to reflect on sociology in my professional and intellectual life, you know? I think that, of course, professionally it was nice because it circulated a lot but, for me, the most important thing about this book wasn't it. It gave me a trajectory of thought and, above all, when I wrote this book, I hadn't even had any contact with Bourdieu's work and after I started reading Bourdieu's work... I think Bourdieu's work is always a sociological reflection on sociology. And then I said: "Man, this is something I want to continue", so, thinking about Sociology, I think this book led me to the commitment of always thinking about Sociology. You know? Its historical nature. Its social value. The question of the intellectual's responsibility, but above all to think about the process of building Sociology. The clashes it has. The false clashes it has. Understand? The mystifications. The people who come in defending positions that sometimes seem super universalist but are actually particularist. This book opened up a reflection for me, so much so that I continue to read a lot about sociology, which is an area I've fallen in love with.

When you returned to Brazil at that time, the process of re-democratization was underway. Does this have anything to do with publishing, the dissemination of books and the expansion of the social sciences in Brazil? The development of postgraduate studies? I think that, perhaps, the book circulated in all these spaces: in secondary education, in undergraduate courses, not only in social sciences courses, but also in introductory sociology courses

I hadn't thought of that. I wrote a book during the dictatorship. I think it was later used, so to speak, by students and teachers to think about certain things. But I hadn't thought about it. You know? Those effects that you don't foresee? I never thought about it, but I knew that the dictatorship would end. I've always believed in sociology as an instrument of social criticism, as an instrument for rethinking life. I wrote for that purpose. I wrote almost like a teacher, you know? I gave that course in my introduction. So much so that there are notes from my classes.

Was the book ever censored?

No. Caio Graco was a progressive, left-wing figure. And the Brasiliense publishing house, at that time, published many works of literature. This First Steps Collection published *What is Ideology*, by Marilena Chauí, *What is University*, by Luiz Eduardo Wanderley. Caio had the idea that these publications would have a social impact. The aim was to tackle broad themes, and he said: "Let's get these kids thinking"; he had this aim.

Thank you very much for the interview!

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Some contributions of ethnographies to educational research

Oliveira, Amurabi. 2023. *Etnografia para Educadores*. São Paulo: Editora Unesp.

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The book "Etnografia para Educadores" [Ethnography for Educators] was written by Amurabi Oliveira who is a professor at Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (University of Santa Catarina) and was published in 2023 by Editora UNESP (Publisher of State University of São Paulo "Júlio de Mesquita Filho"). He is a highly active Brazilian social scientist who, among other themes, explores the connections and contributions between education and anthropology. A quick search on Google Scholar reveals that a significant amount of the academic works published about these topics in Portuguese are authored by him. As well, the author is the vice-president of the Thematic Group 09 - Sociological Teaching - of the International Sociological Association (ISA) and has published many articles aimed to discuss Educational Sociology and Sociological Teaching.

Some of his works: "Reading the world through the educational curriculum" (Oliveira, 2021), "The rise of School Without Party movement and the denunciations" (Oliveira, 2022), "O combate à ideologia de gênero e o impacto sobre o ensino de ciências humanas e sociais" (Oliveira, 2023) and "A ascensão dos populismos e a crise democrática: desafios para o ensino das ciências humanas e sociais hoje" (Oliveira, 2023) discuss the advance of the extreme right in the political field and its consequences for educational policies, especially its effects on the humanities and social sciences curricula in Brazil. "Etnografia para Educadores" may be a helpful book to introduce the possibilities of using ethnographic methods to sociological teaching newcomers researchers and also has great potential in becoming a reference text for sociological methods teaching at both secondary and university education.

"Etnografia para Educadores" aims to be a contribution to developing ethnographies in education by presenting discussions, principles, and pathways of ethnographic research. The text's most notable aspect is its extensive use of quotations, weaving together theoretical concepts and practical experiences from various researchers, resulting in what the author names a "polyphonic narrative", contributing to the text with a dialogical and multiperspective nature which presents to the readers a glance on macrological aspects of the ethnographic research processes. Oliveira asserts the viability of conducting ethnographic research within educational contexts and offers strategies for addressing the structural challenges in employing this research methodology.

In the first chapter, he contextualizes the potential use of ethnography, asserting that education is an essential part of the broader cultural fabric of societies. He suggests that adopting an ethnographic style can facilitate the interpretation of "school culture," thereby giving educators an opportunity to cultivate a fresh perspective on already known environments and equip them with tools to foster a more comprehensive understanding of educational processes.

Historically, ethnographic research primarily focused on interpreting cultures and contexts external to the Western societies from which anthropologists originated, often emphasizing radical otherness. However, contemporary anthropologists are increasingly exploring subtle nuances of alterity closer to their cultural milieu. The author invokes the insights of Clifford Geertz to position ethnography not as a direct transcription of cultural practices and perspectives, but rather as an interpretation shaped by both the researcher's standpoint and the perspectives of "native" informants. Geertz characterizes ethnography as a dialogue, an interpretation of the native informant's cultural perspective by the researcher, emphasizing collaboration rather than observation. Thus, the distinctive quality of ethnography, relative to other research methodologies, lies in its inherently dialogical nature.

Amurabi acknowledges the challenge in instructing individuals on conducting ethnographic research, given its reliance on various factors such as the researcher's specificities, the characteristics of research subjects, and the theoretical-methodological framework. While ethnographic interpretations are, to some extent, unique and irreplicable, they engage with broader cultural aspects and extend beyond

mere "case studies". Through these contributions of a more general nature, ethnographies continually enrich socio-anthropological theories, catalyzing their ongoing refinement. Particularly, the use of ethnography as a methodological approach of education emphasizes the importance of comprehending day to day school practices to comprehend broader cultural processes of societies.

In the second chapter, he discusses the preparatory phases of ethnographic fieldwork, which include: developing the ethnographic gaze, crafting the research project, selecting the field site, and establishing the theoretical framework. He emphasizes the importance of acquainting oneself with the field before commencing research, which may involve prior engagement with the institution or reviewing institutional documents and data. Oliveira underlines the necessity of immersing oneself in existing ethnographic literature and honing ethnographic writing skills. Furthermore, the importance of identifying ethnographic potential in the chosen field and considering the viability of research implementation and access to the desired space is highlighted. Flexibility in adapting the research project to suit the objective conditions of the field is crucial. As a matter of fact, researchers frequently encounter challenges in gaining acceptance within the field, a phenomenon which may also happen in educational ethnographies, where researchers may be seen by "natives" as they are evaluating educational practices and potentially menacing institutional reputations or professional careers.

Regarding the theoretical framework choice, the author recommends engaging with literature pertinent to the research project to familiarize oneself with theoretical articulations relevant to the ethnographic field. The primary objective is to ensure that the theoretical framework contributes effectively to the research's development and outcomes.

In the third chapter, he delves into the intricacies of entering the research field. Drawing insights from anthropologist Ruth Landes (2002), he contends that researchers should engage in self-reflection regarding their relationship with the field, primarily through written reflection. This process proves valuable as it allows researchers to visualize their journey and decision-making regarding the research subject and fieldwork.

Additionally, the author underscores the significance of preparing necessary instruments, documents, and obtaining permissions for fieldwork. Subsequently, he discusses the initial phases of fieldwork, stressing the importance of attentiveness during both formal and informal interactions, considering the impact researchers' presence may have on participants. Available time emerges as a crucial element in ethnography, as ethnographers, despite linguistic fluency and prior training, must acclimate themselves to the dynamics and cultural norms of the researched schools. Besides, time and informal interactions may help the researcher's acceptance within the field.

Regarding ethics in this kind of research, he proposes that it involves collaborating "with" individuals rather than simply studying them as subjects, which requires considering different ethical dimensions beyond traditional biomedical standards. Despite this perspective, he acknowledges the challenge of establishing ethical guidelines tailored specifically for educational research.

When it comes to gaining acceptance in the field, the author references Clifford Geertz's experience conducting research in Indonesia. The community he was researching only truly accepted him when he joined them in hiding during a police raid on an illegal cockfight. This event illustrates that the unfamiliarity subjects may feel toward the researcher can pose a significant obstacle to ethnographic research. An "informant" who feels uneasy or mistrustful of the researcher may withhold information or even fabricate it to avoid scrutiny. Therefore, it is essential that the researcher takes advantage of situations (usually informal ones) to get closer to the subjects. It may be that official authorizations the researcher may have with him at certain times will serve more as an element to distance him from the subjects than to bring them closer together; hence the importance of taking advantage of informal moments to get closer, but without dispensing with ethical precepts.

Concerning sociological teaching research, approaching the field and self-reflecting your own practices has its own particular issues, primarily because almost everyone is familiarized with school contexts, making it even more critical to be aligned with ethical parameters and to distance oneself from preconceptions which may bias the investigation.

In the fourth chapter, the author explores the observation of school practices. He contends that through an "ethnographic lens," researchers should be adept at

capturing, interpreting, and verbally depicting the connection between local phenomena in the field and broader societal and cultural aspects. Additionally, the author theoretically distinguishes between "school culture" and "schooling culture": the former relates to the educational process and organization within modern societies, while the latter encompasses the empirical practices occurring in day-to-day school activities specific to each school context. The key lies in ensuring that ethnographic observation remains attuned to this interplay between general and specific elements. On sociological investigations this means one must explore the connections between school practices and the broader processes of cultural development and reproduction in societies. Oliveira also discusses the feasibility of integrating ethnographic observation with other methods, such as interviews and visual documentation, contingent upon the research design and objectives.

In the fifth and final chapter, the author focuses on reflecting on ethnographic writing, with particular emphasis on the field diary as a crucial tool to support this endeavor. The diary enables researchers to create distance from the field, facilitating a diachronic perspective on their work. It may thoroughly document field experiences and perceptions, serving as the foundation for crafting the final text. If we conceptualize ethnography as a process of learning and generating knowledge about a specific reality, it's within the final text that the author communicates his or her findings. Amurabi stresses the importance of striving to comprehend how categories manifest in reality during the writing process, while also cautioning against allowing the theoretical framework to unduly constrain the researcher's interpretation. Also, he emphasizes the significance of attending to native categories, as this interplay between theoretical frameworks and empirical data serves as a fundamental means of refining the theory itself.

This book aids newcomers to do ethnographic research, highlighting critical issues encountered when conducting ethnographies in school contexts. Additionally, it emphasizes their potential to provoke reflection and challenge conventional understandings of teaching-learning processes, thereby fostering knowledge development and school practices enhancement through an anthropological lens. According to the author, it is important to contemplate the production of

ethnographies within school contexts to advocate for their use as a collaborative means of generating knowledge.

In addition, this work establishes itself as a significant effort to draw attention to the possible contributions of anthropology to the social sciences and sociological teaching field. This action may be a great aid in Brazil, where sociology has taken center stage in teaching of social sciences educational practices and given the relative isolation of anthropology and political science from the non-academic educational context.

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