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Teacher Marianna Augusto, “chosen by God” and linked to science: contributions to the creation of the first university children daycare center in Brazil (1940-1970)

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Abstract: Marianna Augusto was born on February 8, 1921, in Botucatu, a city in the interior of São Paulo. She studied at the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem (EPE) during the 1940s, where she later became a professor and maintained professional and emotional ties until the end of her life. She specialized in Childcare in France and Switzerland and was responsible for establishing a daycare center to care for the children of students and faculty in the Nursing program. This center, called Comunidade Infantil, would later become the Early Childhood Education Center of the Federal University of São Paulo (Unifesp). She also contributed to the implementation of the Postgraduate Program in Pediatric Nursing and Childcare at EPE. Marianna often said she had been “chosen by God” to carry out this mission. A committed scholar engaged with to issues concerning children and women, she used her social network to support young students studying abroad and also wrote manuals on childcare practices, linking them to educational concerns. The aim of this article is to examine the trajectory as a professor, nurse and intellectual Mariana Augusto, while they worked. The research methods included semi-structured interviews, and the sources were analyzed through the lens of social memory, which views memories as constructed expressions of identity shaped by social frameworks.

Keywords: Paulista School of Nursing; Children's Community; professionalization of women; memories; daycare.

1 Introduction

Marianna Augusto was born on February 8, 1921, in the city of Botucatu, a city in the interior of São Paulo, and died on September 8, 2020, in São Paulo, the capital. She arrived in the capital in 1940 to study at the São Paulo Hospital School of Nurses (EEHSP)¹. She specialized in Pediatrics and Childcare at the École de Puericulture de Faculté de Medicine de La Université de Paris. She was a student of

¹ The São Paulo Hospital School of Nurses was founded in 1939 and still whit this name until 1968, when it became known as the Paulista School of Nursing. In 1977, it was incorporated into the Paulista School of Medicine (Gallian, 2008).



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Jean Piaget from 1955 to 1956, when she studied in Switzerland and in also in Austria and the United States, always with scholarships and incentives from the Paulista School of Medicine (EPM) (Pereira; Carmagnani; Silva, 2010).

The objective of this article is to present a study about the professor, nurse and intellectual Marianna Augusto and her role, especially in the creation of the Comunidade Infantil in 1971, the first Brazilian university Nursery, whose purpose was to provide assistance for some mothers who needed a safe place to leave their children while they were working (Oliveira, 2019). Augusto's trajectory was closely linked to the history of the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem (EPE) and the women's professionalization movement.

Regarding the women's professionalization, Weinstein (1995) worked with the historical category of working women, highlighting two antagonistic roles that women played in the mid-20th century: the first one considered acceptable as housewife; the second one considered unusual, to work outside the home and getting money. In a patriarchal society, from and for men, several feminist movements² were born, in reality different from each other. Among them was the Women's Movement the Struggle for Nurserys (Rosemberg, 1984). This days, daycare became an important point, as mothers who worked as professionals at the Paulista School of Nursing and the Paulista School of Medicine could let their children in daycare and work in paid jobs outside their homes and nursing students could continue their studies.

Professor Marianna Augusto contributed to the creation of the Community School, contributed to creation of Nurserys at other brazilian universities throughout the 1970s, offering academic training to young women, and dedication to EPE and academic production in the Nursing. Among her productions, the following stand out: doctoral thesis: Popular knowledge about infant feeding, about women who attend prenatal and infant hygiene services at the clinic in Paulista School of Medicine (1972), Pediatric nurse in intensive care (Augusto; Noda, 1978), Community Children's Nursery (1979), Experience of teaching and care integration in the social pediatrics developed in a community on the poor zone of São Paulo, covering care, teaching and

² Starting in 1975, the United Nations (UN) created the International Women's Year, groups of feminist organizations were organized, which gave rise to feminist movements and women's movements. Among the other movements, working-class women and mothers came together to demand, together with the authorities, daycare centers in the workplace. The Movement for the Struggle for Daycare Centers was officially created in 1979.

research (1983), Analyzing the lines of research used in the nursing postgraduate course at E.P.M (1984), Community Children's Nursery (1985), The knowledge of scientific research and nursing practice (1986), Knowledge and opinions of nurses working in the city of São Paulo regarding some aspects of family planning (Augusto; Noda; Silva, 1988), The importance of researches in Nursing (1990), Proceedings of the First South American Research Seminar in Nursing about women's and children's health (Augusto; Noda; Naganuma, 1990).

How should we proceed in a study about this woman, nurse, professor, intellectual? Sirinelli (1996) sought a better understanding for intellectual. In the article entitled "Os intelectuais" [Intellectuals], the author presents both the polysemic nature of the definition and the polymorphic aspect of the intellectual environment, which causes imprecision in establishing criteria to define the term, in addition, of course, to the evolution generated by societal mutations themselves. Thus, he defends "[...] the definition of variable geometry, but based on invariants" (Sirinelli, 1996, p. 242), presenting two meanings of the term intellectual. The first, of a broader and sociocultural nature, encompasses creators, that is, all those who "[...] participate in artistic and literary creation, or in the advancement of knowledge" (Sirinelli, 1998, p. 261), and cultural mediators, a category composed of those who "[...] contribute to disseminating and popularizing knowledge of this creation and this knowledge" (Sirinelli, 1998, p. 261). The second meaning, in a more restricted nature, refers to the notion of engagement in the life of the city as an author, through the intellectual intervention in issues that legitimize or privilege it, taking them to the service of the causes he defends.

Although quite operational, it is necessary, however, to avoid the establishment of rigid boundaries halfway creators and cultural mediators. As Gomes and Hansen (2016) warn us, the distinction does not lie between subjects who are creators and those who are mediators, who, in fact, can even perform both functions at the same time, but rather between "[...] the cultural practices and political projects with which an intellectual (individually or in a group) acts in a given context, constantly in multiple ways" (Gomes; Hansen, 2016, p. 27). It is also important to think about the transfers promoted by cultural mediators. The contributions of Gomes and Hansen (2016) were borrowed to break with the dichotomies and hierarchies between the poles of transfer, that is, between the poles that are being brought together, even though they

are characterized as distinct nations, languages and cultural customs. According to the authors:

[...] the operations of cultural transfer or mediation, by making these poles communicate with each other, are “mixing or crossbreeding” their elements and meanings and, in this way, creating new meanings that are part of a third product/cultural code, which is no longer either of those other two (Gomes; Hansen, 2016, p. 32).

Thinking specifically about Marianna Augusto's work, it is less about seeking to import practices and conducts from Europe, and more about the transfer, or cultural mediation as the creation of something new, intercultural, a composite of cultural marks and traits, constituted from school, cultural, religious and professional training, which produced a third element, the publication of a book for women who worked caring for babies and small children in Nurserys.

In a bibliographic survey carried out, the paper *Memórias de Marianna Augusto: um cabedal infinito*, in which Oliveira (2022) presents the tribute when the Nursery was created. Other productions recognize its relevance in the area of education for women and children, such as those by Barbieri and Rodrigues (2010), Silva (2022), Oliveira (2019, 2021, 2022a, 2022b), Oliveira; Panizzolo (2020, 2023), Oliveira; Costa (2022) and Panizzolo (2022).

This study is part of the perspective of Cultural History, according to which objects, signs and iconography are recognized as sources of investigation, therefore going beyond written documents, surpassing the writing of history based on chronicles or memorials and based on sources considered official. Derived from research carried out in a master's dissertation³, semi-structured interviews were conducted in the homes of professors Marianna Augusto⁴ and Aparecida Mâncio⁵, on very pleasant afternoons. Questions were asked and objects and images were often presented to help with remembrance. On two occasions, the interviewees contacted the researcher

³ Research approved by the Ethics Committee (CEP/UNIFESP) No. 1,559/2017, dated 1, February, 2018.

⁴ Marianna Augusto - interviewe on February 1 and 24, 2018.

⁵ Aparecida Mâncio - Nurse Specialist in Pediatrics and Childcare, responsible for the Pediatric Nursing discipline at EPE, professor of the Postgraduate and Specialization Course in Pediatric Nursing. She completed her Postgraduate degree in Pediatrics and Master's degree in Paris. In addition to being a coworker, she maintained a friendly relationship with Marianna Augusto. She was interviewed on February 24, 2018 (Oliveira, 2019).

and requested that the interview be resumed, because they had remembered information and details that they considered important for the research.

To analyze the interviews, the memory category was used, based on the references of Halbwachs (2003) and Bosi (2004). According to Halbwachs (2003), an individual's memory is constituted from collective memory; remembrances are developed from complex combinations of social frameworks that are reinterpreted according to the importance of the context, even leading to forgetfulness. According to Bosi (2004), the memories of the elderly have been rejected and confused with dreams and daydreams. According to the author, recollection plays the role of connecting the beginning to the end, encouraging the marks of the path, which are undone or restructured.

This text is organized into three sections. First one, Marianna Augusto: a woman with eyes on the present, explores the memories of Marianna's trajectory since her arrival at the Nursing School, through her education, the establishment of her professional career, and the difficulties she encountered in the academic field; the second section, Women (are not) meant to be married: if they pray, they will marry and marry well?, discusses the memories of the ways in which she helped women, the moral and social issues in her actions, and the sociability network that made her projects possible; the third one, Marianna and the creation of the first University Nursery: a professor "chosen by God" and connected to science, presents the teacher's participation in the creation of the Nursery, the technical-scientific project for its implementation, and the erasure she suffered; and the Final Considerations.

2 Marianna Augusto: a woman with her eyes on the present

Marianna Augusto arrived in the city of São Paulo in 1940 to study at the Nursing School of the Hospital São Paulo. She spent most of her life in the neighborhood called Vila Clementino, in the southern part of the city of São Paulo, near where the Paulista School of Nursing and the Hospital São Paulo are located. Sister of Esmeralda Augusto, also a teacher at the EPE, she lived with her son in the last years of her life and had the help of Maria, who worked in her house for 40 years, and

of Maria's daughters, Tânia and Sandra⁶, who she called her assistants. And as necessary to taking care of the house and her health, they also took care of the books and read to Marianna, as she went blind in her elderly.

Figure 1- Marianna Augusto – in 1970s



Source: Escola Paulista de Enfermagem Observatory - UNIFESP

From a Catholic family, except for her father, who was not religious but, according to Augusto, had a broad view of all religions, she carried these marks in her professional work. During the interview, she was asked if there were religious practices in the Nursery she founded. Marianna then recalled part of her childhood, when she lived in the city of Bebedouro, a small city in the interior of São Paulo State, and would visit the house of a neighbor, the mother of her schoolmates.

We had a neighbor who was a spiritualist and work in a school as a teacher, a very educated woman. She told me what she knew. She used to talk a lot whit me, and I asked her all sorts of questions about spiritualism. I had always been interested in learning about all religions—Buddhism, Catholicism, and all types of evangelicalism. I have been very interested my entire life, because I thought: "There is only one God, all this is his." And that was when I first got an idea of life in the other world.

[...]

After that, I never wanted to know about her daughters again, only about the mother. I choose daughters' friendship for mother's, isn't that funny? I think it's fantastic (Marianna Augusto, February 24, 2018).

⁶ Throughout the interviews, Professor Marianna Augusto highlighted the importance of these women who dedicated her lifes to taking care of their families, however she did not mention their surnames.

In the Marianna's narrative it is possible to observe Marianna's interest in religious issues and the importance of her teacher, who talked about issues that were considered important and probably could not be answered by her own family. These conversations reverberated into an intergenerational friendship and probably impacted on her humanistic and scientific education. Regarding the act of remembering, Halbwachs (2003) states that,

When we meet again a friend, from whom life has separated us, we initially have to make some effort to reconnection. However, as soon as we recall together various circumstances that each of us remembers and that are not the same, although related to the same events, we are able to think, to remember past events together, they take on greater importance and we believe we are reliving them with greater intensity, because we are no longer alone in representing them to ourselves. We no longer see them as we once did, when we were simultaneously looking with our own eyes and with the eyes of another.

Our memories remain collective and are remembered by others, even if they are events in which only we were involved and objects that only we saw. This happens because we are never alone. It is not necessary for others to be present materially, distinct from us, because we always carry with us, within us, a certain number of people who do not get confused (Halbwachs, 2003, p. 29-30).

In the case of Marianna's narrative, a question about religiosity in the Nursery made her contact with the past, perhaps forgotten for years, which can return and be shared, acquiring a place of relevance for the interviewee. Augusto was a boarder at the Nursing School of the São Paulo Hospital and shared a residence with some Franciscan Missionary of Mary nuns. When she gave the interviews, she was almost a centenarian, however, she remembered the events of the time when she was a student in a way that brought those stories to life. On this subject, Bosi (2004) states: "Narration is an artisanal form of communication. It does not aim to transmit "in itself" what happened, it weaves it until it reaches a good form. It invests in the object and transforms it" (Bosi, 2004, p. 88).

Marianna Augusto would often start a topic and then move on to another, which might not seem to make sense, but her memories would soon materialize through cohesive narratives and enrich a story she had lived. To start the story of the creation of the Children's Community, she said it was necessary to understand the creation of the Nursery school.

The history of the Nursing School is as follows... The Escola Paulista de Enfermagem began as a Nursing School at the Hospital São Paulo, [...] it's an interesting story! You don't need to mention it, but I'll tell you the story.

Professors from USP and a medical school in Rio decided to create another medical school here in São Paulo, because they couldn't handle all the applicants. And so they founded the Escola Paulista de Medicina, several professors from Rio and here bought land and invested their own money. When it was time to think about the nursing, who would take care of it, **the directors, who were fantastic, rich, traditional men from São Paulo**, didn't know what to do, and went to consult the cardinal of São Paulo.

[...] Cardinal Dom José Gaspar de Afonseca e Silva, **handsome**, very good looking!

He said: It's a very happy coincidence, because the Catholic Church in São Paulo is thinking about how it would provide instruction to the nuns who worked in hospitals, who were **devoted, religious**, but had no professional experience. They had a practice that they learned from themselves, so they did a lot of wrong things, incomplete things for the patients in the hospitals.

So they decided to consult and ask the Pope for recommendations, whoever could, for congregations of nuns trained in well-developed countries who could come to take charge of the Hospital São Paulo. And then came the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, whose main headquarters was in Rome, and they were nuns from all countries, elegant, **educated young women from refined families**, young women who would become nuns and many of whom would go on to become nurses.

[...]

They were French nun nurses, **all very educated, very chic, who played the organ wonderfully**, prayed day and night, and worked like slaves. The nurses were **very well-prepared** and **we had ballet, French, higher geography and English classes. We got up early and were already doing gymnastics at 6 o'clock**. As the years went by, the school was highly respected because **Mother Domineuc was a genius** [...] (Marianna Augusto, February 1, 2018, emphasis added).

It is remarkable the importance that Marianna assign to nurses who take care of sick people, since this was one of the economical/social groups she belonged to. She referred to the men in this story as fantastic, rich and traditional, but emphasized that they did not know how to do nursing work. At this point, she presents the importance of women in the scene and uses adjectives such as devoted, religious, educated and refined. In addition, she values their knowledge, stating that the students were very well prepared, "they played the organ wonderfully", had ballet, gymnastics, French, English and higher geography classes and, furthermore, that Mother Domineuc was a genius.

Many of the characteristics emphasized in the previous excerpt do not refer directly to the training a nurse, but rather to the social stereotypes of training for middle-class girls at that time. Weinstein (1995) helps us understand the mentality of the time regarding women's work, which,

[...] working outside the home was constantly described as a regrettable but inevitable necessity (as we can see in women's magazines and associations). In this sense, the type of work considered appropriate or acceptable in relation to women was at stake (Weinstein, 1995, p. 146).

The qualities and knowledge attributed to nursing students, both nuns and laywomen, placed them in a type of female work that was acceptable of a certain social class. Unlike what happened with the lower classes, who learned to cook, embroider, sew, make hats, do home economics, among others (Weinstein, 1995).

Marianna began teaching at the Nursing School of the São Paulo Hospital in 1945, a year in which most of the students were no longer nuns. That year, the school's curriculum was changed, lasting 36 months, with 6,353 hours, of which 1,301 were theoretical classes and 5,052 were practical classes, aiming to help the students acquire the skills needed to care for the sick people (Barbieri; Rodrigues, 2010). Considering her intellectual and economic conditions, Marianna was able to take many courses abroad during the 1950s:

I took many courses, I took a course at the International Center for Childhood, I also got a scholarship to take a course, I don't know if you've heard of Piaget. So, I took a course at the Faculty of Psychology with Piaget, in Switzerland, Geneva, It was fantastic, fantastic! They had research and experiences that you can't imagine. They studied on the mothers of children in New York and in several countries [...]. There are fantastic things in the world, that you have no idea about! (Marianna Augusto, February 1, 2018).

As a result of her training and accumulated knowledge about childcare, in 1971 she founded the Comunidade Infantil Nursery⁷; in 1972 her project to open the Postgraduate Program in Nursing at the Paulista School of Medicine was approved by the Directorate of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Brazil, 1982), and, from there, she founded the specialization course in Pediatric Nursing and Childcare, which aimed to train professionals specialized in caring for sick children. In 1978 she created the Master's course in Pediatric Nursing, the first Master's course at the Paulista School of Medicine.

In an interview to Gutiérrez, Schirmer and Pedreira (2010), in 2008, Marianna Augusto revealed that female teachers needed to overcome prejudices suffered by men within the institution to guarantee and conquer their rights as intellectuals and academics:

She says that, on the day she submitted the project for analysis at the university, she heard: "Just imagine, nurses don't even know what a PhD is." However, after being analyzed, the project was approved and considered a

⁷ Children's Community - This was the first name given to the Children's Education Center - Paulistinha School of Education (NEI-Paulistinha) at Federal University of São Paulo.

model for the opening of other courses at Unifesp (Gutiérrez; Schirmer; Pedreira, 2010, p.153).

The Paulista School of Nursing was made up mostly of women, but was linked to the Paulista School of Medicine, which was made up mostly of men. Hierarchical relationships were maintained, with men occupying leadership positions and intellectual recognition. However, the sources studied point to the disruptions caused by Marianna Augusto in these structures. The nursing professor, using her knowledge, culture and intelligence, entered spaces previously occupied by men and brought with her other professionals, who will be presented throughout this text.

In 1981, she started process number 0729/81 with the Federal Council of Education (CFE) of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), with two claims. The first one referred to the recognition of her Doctorate degree, obtained at the School of Nursing of the University of São Paulo-USP, issued in accordance with opinion CFE 77/69, and the second one, so that she could be functionally classified as a Collaborating Professor.

The petition described her teaching activities, courses taken since 1945, her academic productions and the postgraduate courses she founded. It states that she held the position of Assistant Professor at EPE and that, with Decree No. 79.656, of 04.05.77, that determined the Escola Paulista de Medicina which as part of Federal Administration, the working conditions, salary and functional classification were changed. In view of this, she began to be classified functionally as an assistant professor-level I, because her doctorate degree, obtained at the University of São Paulo, was not considered, under the allegation that it was defended after April 1969 (Brazil, 1982). She stated that her thesis defense took place in 1973, because it followed the schedule stipulated by the university. She also stated that she was aware that holders of similar degrees had been classified as assistant professors at the Federal Universities of Santa Catarina in the State of Santa Catarina and Federal University of Mato Grosso both in the State of Mato Grosso.

The rapporteur's finally report acknowledged all the merits and high qualifications of Marianna Augusto's research and scientific productions and even notice the recognition of her doctorate degree since the accreditation of the EPE Master's course. Nonetheless, the result of the process was as follows:

Rapporteur's vote

In accordance with information above, the Rapporteur votes:

- a) Rejection of the request for recognition of the title of Doctor in the form in which it was requested in view of the statements of this collegiate;
- b) Regarding the issue of functional classification, the professor should appeal to the competent Collegiate of the Paulista School of Medicine (Brazil, 1982).

The process was closed with the rejection of the two requests. It is not known if the teacher was functionally framed as she had claimed, but the interviewees stated that there were many changes, considered losses for students and teachers, leading to the end, for example, of the EPE student housing: "The residence was to live there to study. When the school federalized, the residency ended and we who were teachers went home and the students also began to provide housing" (Aparecida Mâncio, 24 Feb. 2018). Could the fact that the lawsuit was filed by a woman have bothered the intellectuals of the Federal Council of Education, and they even rejected it and denied their requests? Would the classification in a lower functional category have been one of the tricks to prevent a professor of the Nursing course from having the same position and salary as a professor of Medicine? Issues to be deepened in other investigations regarding women in the area of Health Education.

During the interviews, Marianna showed herself as a strong woman who understood the issues of her time. She reported that she headed several departments at EPE, which allowed her to meet many women, including students, employees and teachers. Some of them were part of her life and were introduced during the interviews. Aparecida Mâncio recalls the period when they worked together:

It was never easy to live with her, but she is very intelligent, very kind, creative. I had already told you about the things she created in the Nursing Department [...]. She changed everything and did several things in social pediatrics and childcare, I lived day after day with her, in the nursery, in the postgraduate course. She did two doctorates, one here at USP and another. She has two doctorates, she defended both of them at the School. She was always very respected, there is also a large room with her name (Aparecida Mâncio, February 24, 2018).

The excerpt reveals Aparecida's admiration for Marianna's professionalism, mentions her creativity, initiatives and creations that gave new directions to EPE, as well as the respect she earned from everyone throughout her career. It is worth highlighting the recognition of her professional and academic career materialized in the naming of one of EPE's amphitheatres, named Marianna Augusto. Regarding their "not very easy" coexistence, although there is no information to delve deeper into it, it

may have been a consequence of the many responsibilities she took on, or even a question of personality. In any case, it seems that this did not compromise the friendship that the two maintained throughout their lives.

Augusto and Mâncio worked together for a long time, both in Pediatrics and in Pediatric Nursing courses and in other projects by Marianna Augusto related to maternal and child protection. In the mid-20th century, in general, Nursing was central to the care service, however, the Paulista School of Nursing, through its curriculum, expressed concerns beyond the care services manifested in the creation of the institutions Amparo Maternal, Comunidade Infantil and Creche do Jardim Sabiá⁸, the last two being the responsibility of Marianna Augusto (Barbieri; Rodrigues, 2010).

In the late 1970s, with the collaboration of nurses specializing in Pediatrics and Childcare, including Aparecida Mâncio, Marianna published the manual *Comunidade Infantil - Creche* (Children's Community - Nursery) (Augusto, 1979), as part of a set of guidelines for the coordination of children's institutions. The document established instructions for the administration, organization and operation of Nurseries.

The preface is written by the director of the Paulista School of Medicine, Professor Imídeo Giuseppe Nérici. The professor presents in a complimentary manner the organizer of the work, Professor Marianna Augusta, as well as the published work:

In this preface it would not be possible to omit the name of a remarkable creature: Dr^a. Marianna Augusto, Coordinator of the Master's Course in Pediatric Nursing at the Paulista School of Medicine, Department of Nursing, who has dedicated her entire life to the redemption of children, striving to ensure that they are understood in their fragility, strength, potential and promise. Dr^a. Marianna Augusto is a creature with eyes focused on the present, when she strives to provide better care for children, and projected towards the future, idealizing the formation of conscious, capable and responsible citizens.

The creator of this work, Dr^a. Marianna Augusto, in addition to having written two chapters, encouraged the writing of the others, guiding a group of notable pediatric nurses to this end: Esmeralda Augusto, Maria Aparecida Carlini, Maria Aparecida Mâncio, Luiza Harunari, Massae Noda, Maria Lúcia Menezes Régis, Tereza Yoshiko Kakehashi, Dirce Trevis Prado Novaes, Seiko Kakehashi, Danielle Elizabeth Savina, Renata Fuchs and Maria Goretti Angarten.

⁸ Jardim Sabiá Daycare Center - Created in the Parelheiros region on land donated to build housing for needy mothers and children. In addition to caring for the children so that the mothers could work, the daycare center provided daily medical care with teachers and students from the EPE. The Jardim Sabiá Daycare Center was one of Marianna's projects, but this subject will not be discussed in this research, leaving room for future investigations.

Pediatrics and Childcare were awarded with this excellent work, Children's Community - Nursery, for its notable and useful practical and theoretical aspects.

Imídeo Giuseppe Nérici
São Paulo, September 17, 1978 (Nérici, 1979, p. 5).

This initial presentation by the renowned professor and director of the Escola Paulista de Medicina is a clue to approach the book. As Chartier (1998) stated, "The book has always aimed to establish an order; whether it be the order of its decipherment, the order within which it should be understood, or even the order desired by the authority that commissioned it or allowed its publication" (Chartier, 1998, p. 8). This order is quite evident in the words of the preface writer, in the proposal for the use of the work. Professor Nérici's words operate as a recommendation to teachers and nurses who work with young children, which Chartier (1996) called a panoply of narratives that would function as "[...] a machinery that should produce mandatory effects, ensuring good reading" (Chartier, 1996, p. 96).

During the interviews, Marianna Augusto revealed that Nérici's vision of the future had been learned during her studies in France. According to her, shortly after the Second World War, when the Frenches were going through a very difficult social and economic situation, parents had to work, but did not have daycare to leave their children in. The government adopted a policy of paying some families to care for a specific number of children during the day, allowing the remaining parents to work. This project highlighted the premise of care and education for citizenship (Marianna, February 1, 2018).

During the interviews, it was possible to verify that the interviewee's identity was directly linked to her memory and history, provoking her recognition as an integral part of the constitution of these institutions and, therefore, removing her from anonymity. In this sense, Gagnebin (2005) states that history is always linked to a narrative process of oneself, diversified and in movement, which is crossed and transformed by temporality, when the subject takes the floor and remembers events. But she is no longer the same person as before, since, in the case of this article, Professor Marianna Augusto carried the collective memory worked on her individual memory.

3 Women are (not) to marry: if you pray, will you marry well?

The trajectory of teacher Marianna Augusto was marked by the contributions that she, endowed with sensitivity and concern for women's issues, was able to make to the education of women. She recalled a certain moment in her life, most likely in the 1960s, when she was a professor of the Postgraduate and Specialization Course in Pediatric Nursing at EPE, in which she helped a nurse who worked at the Maternal Support⁹:

Now let me tell you an interesting story [...] there was a nurse from USP, called Dirce¹⁰, who worked at Amparo Maternal. I knew her by sight. Every day at four in the afternoon she would go out to have a coffee at the bars, to get away from that school environment for a while [...] (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

One day he observed a girl crying and started a conversation:

I asked: -What's your name? She said: -Dirce.

I said: -Do you know me? And she said: I know you very well and by name. You're famous. And she said she worked at Amparo Maternal, in the Obstetrics. I said: -Excuse me, but why are you crying? Oh, I'll tell you. She looked me in the eyes and said: -You deserve to be trusted. I really want to get married. When I was close to my wedding I got dumped for someone else. The one I thought was going to marry me got married yesterday to someone else and I'm desperate. I said to her: -Dirce, why do you lose your time crying over this man? And she looked at me in astonishment: -But, don't you think it's a good reason? I said: No. I think it's really silly. She asked: -But what can I do? (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

Based on the question asked by the girl, he took advantage of the opportunity and offered a possibility of starting over:

- You can do something very good. Don't you want to go to France to study in the course I did? Come back and help me? She looked at me in surprised. - But how am I going to go to France? I don't even speak French and I don't know how I would get there. - Don't worry, I'll give you all the information, needed including where you'll find a scholarship that will take you there. She said: You're very funny, you talk as if all this could happen [...].

⁹ Amparo Maternal- Institution created on August 20, 1939 in the city of São Paulo to assist single, poor, mixed-race and black pregnant women, excluded by society for their unwanted or unplanned pregnancy, many of them living on the streets of the city of São Paulo. To learn more, see: Associação Amparo Maternal, available at: <https://amparomaternal.org/nossa-historia/>. on: 06 Feb. 2025.

¹⁰ Dirce Trevisse Prado Novais – Master in Nursing from the School of Nursing at the University of São Paulo. Nurse specialized in Childcare from the École de Puericultura of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris. Technical Director of the Faculty of Nursing and Obstetrics of the Prudentina Association of Education and Culture -Presidente Prudente (Augusto, 1985, p. II).

I said: - It will happen. You go to the French consulate, try to get a scholarship, and I'll sign all the papers you need. I'll communicate with the school and then you can go to Paris.

She went to France. To a school at a great college, the School of Childcare at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Paris, with fantastic services, with professors from many countries. Stayed there for two or three years. She came back and helped me a lot. She's still my good friend. (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

The story about women's natural destiny being marriage, and the consequent motherhood and dedication to the home deserves special mention. Bassanezi (2004) states that, in the mid-20s, the media, especially the women's magazines, promoted an ideal female model for marriage. They even stated that sexual relations were forbidden to single women, but allowed to single men, as they were not with their girlfriends but with prostitutes, that is, with the "women of the night". Women lived under codes of morality and civility imposed by men and institutions, often commanded by them. They were disgraced for being flirts or, when they were abandoned or left by their husbands, all quite common expressions that lasted for decades, they were generally considered to be to blame for unsuccessful relationships, in addition to being attributed moral responsibility for the educational failure of their sons and daughters due to emotional problems, among other things.

Returning to the story about Dirce, when she returned to Brazil, she became a friend and professional partner of Marianna Augusto in projects at the Paulista School of Nursing, the Children's Community and the Jardim Sabiá Nursery. In addition to Health area, Dirce also studied Law and retired as a labor judge (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

We found support from Bosi (2004) to reflect on the account given by Marianna Augusto about her role in the life of the young Dirce:

When society empties our time of meaningful experiences, pushing it to the margins, the memory of better times becomes a substitute for life. And present life only seems to have meaning if it draws inspiration from another era. The link with another era, the awareness of having endured and understood a lot, brings joy to the elderly and an opportunity to demonstrate their competence. Their life gains purpose if it finds attentive ears and resonance (Bosi, 2004, p. 82).

Bosi (2004) states the importance of listening to the memories of the elderly, who, when narrating past events, give them new meaning and attribute activity to the narrator, even though the remembrance needs to be seen as a representation of the

past and not as a faithful copy of the event. As In adiction, memories are reconfigured and adapted to the conceptions of the present, as stated by Halbwachs (2003).

Additionally, Marianna reports that, although she managed to open specialization courses, she did not have the number of teachers needed to implement the master's degree at the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem, which is why she resorted to the strategy of recommending and guiding her students, such as Maria Aparecida Carlini and Maria Aparecida Mâncio, to study abroad, especially in France, with the objetctive to, in the near future, being able to take in her work team and academic projects.

Their academic production demonstrates their concern for women and the training of nurses. Augusto, Noda and Silva (1988) published a study on nurses' opinions on family planning. They state that they were studied because "[...] nurses simultaneously perform the role of health educators in providing care and in teaching" (Augusto; Noda; Silva, 1988, p. 67-68). The relevance of the study is the context of social reconfigurations in the search for civil rights after the military government. According to Brasil (1999), the average number of children per woman in the 1980s was 4.1 and, although there was a decrease in relation to the previous decade, when it was 5.8, it was a high number and knowledge about contraceptive methods was necessary for women's health. The data confirmed the importance of the education provided by nurses. The study by Augusto, Noda and Silva (1988) explains that family planning was strictly related to social class and for the most part, the interviewees stated that the discussion about the number of children should occur between the couple and that they were aware of contraceptive methods.

The association of practice with social aspects and scientific rigor in professional matters was noted at various moments in the narratives, even though religiosity was present in their orientations, teaching and academic activities.

When I said to hesr: - Are you crying because of a man? There are plenty of men in the square. She said: - But I wanted to get married so much and it never works out. I said: - Look, I learned something from an American group, to get married you need to pray to Our Lady. **If you pray, you get married and you get married well.** It really works. - I had also joined a religious group that my son attends to this day [...] in the United States. I learned a lot in the Spiritual area and I passed all of this on to the students (Marianna, February 24, 2018, emphasis added).

The narrative expresses that although she was concerned with the education of women, she also advised them on marriage. The two expressions “If you pray, you will marry” and “you will marry well” indicate the social groups to which he belonged, the first being religious and the second belonging to a middle class. Regarding religiousness, he reveals that:

One time, my classmate and I were in Paris, taking a course at a school that was a construction site and had students from eighty different countries, from Africa and other places. So, you lived with people of all nationalities. Black, white, rich, people who lived on scholarships, etc. And then, when All Souls' Day was approaching, the French teacher, who we were taking a refresher course for, said he would give us homework because there would be no classes for a week. You go to the cemetery to do research. In the cemeteries and gardens of France and Switzerland, you put a coin in, press a button, and the person's history comes out. So, I went to the cemetery considered the largest in Paris and pressed the button. The story of the founder of spiritualism in Brazil, Allan Kardec, came out (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

Other life stories could have been chosen in that cemetery, such as those of scientists, doctors, women, etc., but the choice fell on a religious personality. The narrative endorses an interest shown since her childhood, dating back to her father figure and her neighbor. During the interviews, there was possible to notice that Marianna Augusto is a very erudite person. Regarding the findings of her research, she reveals that:

Allan Kardec was a Druid priest. Do you know who the Druids were? The Druids were a people who lived in a country far from France. Jesus' uncle traveled, was rich, did business and took Jesus with him. So, when he was doing business, the boy would stay in a place of prayer. And then there were these people called the Druids. The Druids spoke to those who had already died. They spoke normally, like we are talking. And then I began to know and learn about the Druids through this historical part linked to Jesus.

So, Allan Kardec was a very evolved being, a descendant of the Druids, who spoke to those who had already gone to the other world, normally, like we are talking. So, the more you read and study, the more you begin to see how ignorant you are. From that day on, I began to understand Spiritism and Allan Kardec in Brazil in a completely different way (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

Marianna combines her Catholic studies with insights on spiritualism. She constructs a coherent and cohesive narrative about the origin of spiritualism so that she could validate the mysticism that occurs in her speech. It is important to highlight that each time she referred to religious issues, she justified them with her knowledge, expertise and erudition, taking them out of the common sense by associating them with scientific knowledge. Whenever she mentioned religious issues, she justified them with

her expertise, associating them with scientific knowledge rather than common sense. Her scholarly approach was evident, as she had donated many books to friends and students but still kept numerous others on the subject.

This study does not aim to validate or refute the teacher's narratives but to showcase how she crafted her memories. Benjamin (1994) describes narrative as a communication art from the popular classes with limited access to writing, such as artisans, peasants, and fishermen. These narratives include moral teachings, practical advice, and life norms. Historians should present them as worldviews, not merely historical models or descriptions.

Marianna Augusto says that everyone knew her spirituality and that she learned to make horoscopes. In his spare time, he made horoscopes for co-workers, which he always considered accurate. She also helped her friend Kelly choose her daughter's name.

-Marianna, I would like you to do a horoscope to give my unborn baby girl a name. I said: -I can do it. Give me ten names that you would like [...]. After the calculations I'll give you the girl's name, they were all American names and no one was good enough. The only one that worked was Catherine, in French. And she gave the girl that name. Today she is married to a Turkish man and has two children. She lives in the United States and on the day the Twin Towers came down, she was on duty at a hospital in New York (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

For Augusto, the girl's success in her personal and professional life was due to the choice of her name. She declared herself "[...] very interested in the technical-scientific revolution, and in spiritual evolution, and I think we came into this world to do something" (Marianna, February 24, 2018). It is also noted that Catherine was married to a Turkish man. According to Marianna, he had helped her during an accident and they got married shortly after. The issue of marriage is a constant in the narratives. When he presents Dirce, Kelly and Catherine as Health professionals, he does not abandon the idea of associating them with marriage, pointing to an element that he considered essential in the life of an adult woman.

The narratives indicate that the teacher was willing to help women and relied on her social network to carry out her projects. Kelly was an American with a degree in Nursing and worked at the Paulista School of Nursing. According to Marianna Augusto, she was very rich and came to Brazil to accompany her husband, a director of the Bank Boston in São Paulo. After a while, they returned to live in the United

States. So that her children, Catherine and Matheus, would not lose contact with the Portuguese language, she asked Marianna Augusto to recommend a young woman to live in her house, help with the care of her children and practice the Portuguese language with them. Professor Augusto recommended her niece Esmeraldinha:

She didn't even know how to speak English. So I put her on the plane and explained everything. I told her that she had to get off at the airport with the Brazilian flag and a red rose in her hand. She stayed at Kelly's house. And she was extremely efficient and happy there (Marianna, Feb 24, 2018).

Esmeraldinha returned years later, and two other nieces were sent at different times. Living abroad, according to Professor Marianna Augusto, was an opportunity for studies, cultural expansion and a differential in the training of young Brazilian women.

4 Marianna and the creation of the first University Nursery: a professor “chosen by God” and linked to science

The Early Childhood Education Center - Paulistinha Nursery (NEI-Paulistinha) was founded by Marianna Augusto in 1971. It was the first Brazilian University Nursery and was named Comunidade Infantil. After this initiative, other university nurserys were created in the same decade, such as the Francesca Zácara Faraco Nursery at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, the Criarte Early Childhood Education Center at the Federal University of Espírito Santo in the State of Espírito Santo, the Academic Unit for Early Childhood Education at the Federal University of Mato Grosso in the State of Mato Grosso, the Integrated Early Childhood Education Unit at the Federal University of Viçosa in the State of Minas Gerais, and the Early Childhood Education Center at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte in the State of Rio Grande do Norte, in addition to others in the following decades, totaling 26 University Nurserys in Brazil (Oliveira, 2019).

The Paulistinha Nursery is currently located at 54, Varpa Street - Vila Clementino¹¹, an upper middle class neighborhood in the southern part of the city of

¹¹ Vila Clementino - At the end of the 19th century, it was known as the neighborhood of the Municipal Slaughterhouse. It prospered with the arrival of immigrants who founded factories and businesses, as well as hospitals and leisure areas. Today, it is considered an upscale region of the city of São Paulo,

São Paulo, close to Ibirapuera Park. Initially, it served the children of women who worked as doctors, nurses, department heads, professors and postgraduate students at the Paulista School of Nursing and the Paulista School of Medicine. Marianna Augusto recalls the moment she was nominated and the reasons for creating the daycare:

It was God who chose me! It was God who chose me, not me! Because the Nursery was founded after a disagreement with Mother Áurea's secretary, who was the school principal. Since I was the one who dealt with children, the mother called me and said:

-Marianna, what are we going to do? This, this, this is happening. Suzana is desperate, she can't work with me anymore and at the same time she needs the job, but she has three children. She was separated, divorced, I don't know what, and she was the sister of a professor at the school. So I said: -Madam, give me a room and for now, two good assistants, so they can take care of the children, and we'll start from there. Then I'll see what happens. And that's how the Nursery was born (Marianna, February 1, 2018).

She begins the narrative with a mark of her identity linked to religiosity. Her speech refers to family background and the time when she herself was a student at the Nursing School under the direction of Franciscan nuns. The story follows:

Suzana had two daughters who were staying with the maid. One day she went home, called by a neighbor, to go urgently. When she arrived, the maid had opened the gas cylinder and left, leaving the children breathing gas. She went back to school with the girls and was desperate! And she said: - And now, Mother, what do I do? I have to work! Then, the mother said to me: Marianna, what are we going to do? I said: - You give me an office, and give me two attendants who work here at the school and who I know well, to take care of the children until we can sort out the rest! Then, the mother gave me an office, which was on the first floor, or on the ground floor, I don't remember, and two very polite attendants. The people who worked at the school were very polite when it came to taking care of the children, feeding them, changing clothes, no major technical tasks, what they knew how to do was like a mother (Marianna, February 1, 2018).

The narrative recalls the times when the Nursery was created. She uses an accident at Suzana's house as a reason, but her memories are most likely impacted by the present, since, according to Oliveira (2019, p. 106), "Suzana reveals that she never left the children with a maid, and that she needed to request care because her

located close to the neighborhoods of Vila Mariana and Moema. The inhabitants have a high average income, around R\$3,600 per month, superior of the municipal index, which is around R\$1,300, and a high level of education at secondary level, 71.34% compared to the municipal average of 33.68%. Source:

https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/regionais/vila_mariana/historico/index.php?p=416. on 02/22/2025.

mother, who cares after the children, had fallen ill and was no longer physically able to take care of the girls!”

Marianna's memories reveal her recognition of that episode for writing a history of the Children's Community and, in view of this, the justification used is that the relevance for the foundation of that institution. In this regard, Bosi (2004) explains that, according to Bergson, the past is preserved and acts in the present, thus triggering two types of memories: memory-habit, which is part of everyday life and acquired through cultural training, and memory-dream, which spontaneously evokes more distant points with less rigidity. In the narrative above, it is possible to locate the two types of memories, memory-habit when it presents the responsibility attributed to the double shift of mother and worker, and memory-dream when it uses a plausible motive, perhaps experienced or observed in another situation. In view of this analysis, it is possible to affirm that her care was to show the relationships “[...] between the preservation of the past and its articulation with the present, the confluence of memory and perception” (Bosi, 2004, p. 49).

In addition to the room, the teacher had asked Mother Áurea for two “very polite” attendants, because, it was important the care provided at the Nursery was the same as that a mother. Regarding the children cared for, she recalls that:

These three girls were of different ages. Babies of two years old, three years old, I remember, and older. Since they were treated very well, it worked out very well, other medical teachers came to ask to leave their children there. The daycare started this way and continued in a very improved technical and scientific way.

When the doctors found out and went to visit and saw that the children were better than the ones they left at home with the maid, they started asking to leave their children there. And that's when the real daycare began (Marianna, February 1, 2018).

The first three children at the Nursery were Alessandra and Daniele, daughters of secretary Suzana, and Hugo, son of Maria Gaby, who was then a professor at the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem. As the number of children grew, concerns intensified, including the qualifications of the people who worked there. To this end, Professor Augusto used her social network to arrange for professionals to come to give lectures and offer courses at the daycare:

Then I managed to get a teacher from the United States to come and live in Brazil. She spoke Portuguese very well, and became a friend to this day, Keren, spoke several languages. From time to time, APAE (Association of

fathers and mothers) hire American and English teachers to provide stimulation, and I invited them to give seminars at the school. It was a very well-done project, following France's lead in setting up the Nursery, and it developed day by day, till the point that, later on, the doctors at Escola Paulista really wanted to send their children there, of course! Because it was better than leaving them with a maid alone, right?! And everyone gets married or not, but they have children and they have to take care of them (Marianna, February 1, 2018).

This excerpt reveals that the teacher sought the most current international references of the time to implement the Nursery. In addition to childcare, she was also concerned with the pedagogical aspect and, for this purpose, the first teacher, named Carlini, was hired. This was an unusual situation for that time, given that in the 1970s, Nurserys had as their primary function the provision of care. However, since the Children's Community served the sons and daughters of women who, for the most part, held prominent positions at the Paulista School of Nursing and Medicine, the concern for preschool education was present.

According to Oliveira (2019), Maria Aparecida Carlini, a graduate of Escola Complementar Padre Anchieta, a psychologist and pedagogue from the National Institute of Pedagogical Research of the French Ministry of Education, was the only professional in the Educational area of early childhood education during that decade, and the other employees belonged to the Health area. The pedagogue was one of the collaborators of the manual *Comunidade Infantil – Creche* (1979) with the writing of Chapter 5 of the Manual, entitled *The Daily Rhythm of a Child in Nursery*, which addresses the process of admitting a child to daycare, selection and enrollment procedures, organization of environments, in addition to the division of groups and establishment of a routine focused on pedagogical aspects (Oliveira, 2019). In addition to the actions considered cutting-edge, Marianna Augusto organized the manuals *Comunidade Infantil – Creche* 1979 and 1985, which dealt with essential issues for organizing a Nursery, in addition to guidance for mothers.

During the 1980s, the Nursery ended operating in the building of the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem and was transferred to another address. Due to her dedication to the EPE Postgraduate Program, Marianna gradually moved away from the daycare activities, other people were hired, and little by little the history of the creation and its subjects began to fade. Still in the 1980s, “[...] the employees of that other time claimed they had never heard of it. “I don’t know! Who is Marianna Augusto?

[...] I didn't know Carlini either. Was she from Nursing too? She wasn't there when I arrived" (Oliveira, 2019, p. 166).

In 1996, the Nursery began to serve babies and children in elementary school first degree, and its name was changed to Paulistinha (Oliveira, 2019). Teacher Marianna Augusto categorically expressed her disagreement with the name change:

[...] who started working there in the administration of the Paulista School of Medicine transferred all of this to the name of Paulista. They came up with this nonsense of calling it Paulistinha. In fact, it should have been called creche or madre Domineuc, which was the name of the founder of the school, or madre Áurea, who was the administration during which the creche was founded. Unfortunately, they transferred everything to Paulista as if it belonged to Medicine. As if Medicine had any interest or capacity to do that (Marianna, February 1, 2025).

There are two points to be made here. The first is the constant presence of religious marks that accompanied her throughout her life, which is why she suggested that, if there was a need to change the name, it should be for one of the founding nuns, either Mother Domineuc or Mother Áurea, since the former was responsible for the School of Nurses and the latter was the one who authorized and provided conditions, even if not ideal, for the opening of the Nursery. The second is the *sui generis* interpretation she made of Paulista and Paulistinha, as a reference to the Paulista School of Medicine, without even considering it to be the Paulista School of Nursing.

It can be stated that, over approximately four decades, the figure of Marianna Augusto gained recognition regarding her work as a professor at the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem, at the same time that she went through a process of erasing issues related to the Comunidade Infantil/Paulistinha, which was resumed in the second decade of the 21st century, through studies on the history of this institution, especially that of Oliveira (2019) and Silva (2022).

Marianna never dissociated the history of the Children's Community, later Paulistinha, and currently Núcleo de Educação Infantil-Escola Paulistinha de Educação (NEI-Paulistinha) from the history of the Escola Paulista de Enfermagem. At the end of the second and last day of the interview, when the researcher asked if there was anything else she would like to report, she replied: "I don't remember anything, there are a million things, but I don't remember anything. But whenever you want, or if you want any other information, you can call me" (Marianna, February 24, 2018).

The expression “I don’t remember” accompanied the teacher’s reports. According to Braga (2004), the brain’s work of forgetting is essential to guarantee the individual’s health and, bearing in mind that memory and forgetting are directly linked to the related period of life, it can be stated that “[...] what forgets is not an organism, a brain. What forgets is a person” (Braga, 2004, p. 596). Marianna, almost a hundred years old, used her connections with the lived experience to bring a distant story to life; her trembling voice was able to teach what she had learned.

5 Final considerations

This study was conducted to highlight the significance of elderly people's memories in consumer society, where they are often viewed as non-producers. According to Bosi (2004), memories are reflective works that convey feelings, not as a mere repetition of the past, but as a reappearance infused with morality evoked by social frameworks.

Marianna Augusto's memoirs revealed many other women, such as Mother Domineuc, Mother Áurea, her sister Esmeralda Augusto, her collaborators Maria, Tânia and Sandra, her neighbor, a teacher, her friend Aparecida Mâncio, the nurse Dirce, the teacher Carlini, her friend Kelly, Catherine, Esmeraldinha, her friend Keren and her nieces. It is clear that the women presented by Marianna were part of her public life, but mainly of her private life and belonged to the social circles of the professor's professional, academic and friendship ties.

In addition to the women mentioned in the teacher's memoirs, other individuals played significant roles in this narrative. These include mothers Suzana and Maria Gaby, girls Alessandra and Daniele, as well as unnamed nurses, students, mothers, and assistants whose contributions were noteworthy. The men in the story appeared less prominently, such as Cardinal Dom José Gaspar de Afonseca e Silva, described as strikingly handsome; Imídio Giuseppe Néríci, the director of Escola Paulista de Medicina; the rapporteur of the Federal Council of Education of the MEC; a friend's husband who was the director at Banco de Boston; and Catherine's affluent Turkish spouse. Although not extensively detailed, these men typically held higher hierarchical or financial positions compared to the women.

Memories express not only the individual perspective, but also an amalgamation of the perspective of others, which is formed collectively. The analyses based on social frameworks allowed us to understand the explicit and silenced memories that were manifested as a result of an organization that complied with the imposed institutional and moral rules, even if in a veiled or naturalized way.

Marianna's memoirs brought to light power games, gender stigmas, coercive and moral forces, often naturalized in a patriarchal society. Marianna Augusto's memoirs stories revealed that could lead to further investigations. They were able to represent what they experienced without worrying about veracity, but rather about unity from beginning to end, calming the marks of their long journey. Marianna's memories and stories deserve to be told, just as those of so many other women, nurses, teachers and intellectuals need to be told.

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