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Curriculum changes in Brazilian Librarianship and its relations with the gendering of the librarian profession

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: It highlights how gender relations are inserted in the logic of power and are supported by the production of diffusion of discourses to penetrate people's daily lives and produce docile individuals. **Objective:** To present a theoretical discussion about how the curricular changes of Librarianship courses in Brazil – sometimes more humanistic, sometimes more technical – influenced the process of feminization of the profession and the insertion of the profession in the list of professions notably marked by the sexual division of labor. **Method:** bibliographic review about the role of curricula as disseminators of discourses and power relations and in the gendering of professions; historical course of Librarianship curricula in Brazil and its insertion of gendered discourses in the librarian profession. **Results:** This work sought to show how the curriculum was used as a device for the dissemination of certain discourses in relation to the librarian profession and how it contributed to its feminization. **Conclusion:** It is proposed that the librarian profession has become feminized over time and changes in curricular focus have contributed to this movement, where the adoption of more technical curricula has contributed to the insertion of the profession in the list of professions notably marked by the sexual division of labor. Finally, it is pointed out that, from the 1980s, a timid approach of men to the area also led to a change in the curricular focus and in the discourse around the profession.

KEYWORDS

Librarian profession. Gender studies. Gender relations. Sexual division of labor. Curriculum.

As mudanças curriculares da Biblioteconomia brasileira e suas relações com a generificação da profissão bibliotecária

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RESUMO

Introdução: Destaca como as relações de gênero se inserem na lógica do poder e se apoiam na produção de difusão de discursos para penetrar no cotidiano das pessoas e produzir indivíduos dóceis. **Objetivo:** Apresentar discussão teórica acerca de como as mudanças curriculares dos cursos de Biblioteconomia no Brasil – ora mais humanistas, ora mais técnicos – influenciaram no processo de feminização da profissão e de inserção da profissão no rol de profissões notadamente marcadas pela divisão sexual do trabalho. **Método:** revisão bibliográfica acerca do papel dos currículos enquanto disseminadores de discursos e de relações de poder e na generificação das profissões; percurso histórico dos currículos de

Biblioteconomia no Brasil e sua inserção de discursos generificados na profissão bibliotecária. **Resultados:** Buscou-se evidenciar neste trabalho como o currículo foi utilizado como dispositivo para difusão de certos discursos em relação à profissão bibliotecária e como este colaborou para a feminização desta. **Conclusão:** Propõe-se que a profissão bibliotecária se tornou feminilizada ao longo do tempo e as mudanças de enfoque curricular colaboraram para tal movimento, onde a adoção de currículos mais técnicos colaborou na inserção da profissão no rol de profissões notadamente marcadas pela divisão sexual do trabalho. Aponta-se, finalmente, que, a partir dos anos 1980 uma tímida aproximação dos homens com a área também levou a uma mudança de enfoque curricular e no discurso em torno da profissão.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Profissão bibliotecária. Estudos de gênero. Relações de gênero. Divisão sexual do trabalho. Currículo.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Gender relations are inserted in the logic of power relations, where opportunities and behaviors accepted and expected from society by a certain gender are unequal. It is through the exercise of power that society confers on men over women, or through the affirmation of the supremacy of the masculine over the feminine, that many of the inequalities are created. Gender relations, and the power contained within them, spill over into the most different fields of social life, from personal and professional choices to the places men and women occupy in society.

Gender, then, is produced in power relations. Power creates docile bodies, induces behavior, and shapes individuals' actions and perceptions. Power, thus, not only censors and forbids, but also produces and incites (MACHADO, 2007). It is within the networks and power relations that differences between men and women are instituted and named, which are not created only through mechanisms of censorship and repression, but through social relations and practices that "**institute** gestures, ways of being in the world, ways of speaking and acting, **appropriate** (and usually, diverse) conducts and postures. The genders are produced, therefore, in and by power relations" (LOURO, 2014, p.45; emphasis added).

It is worth considering that power, in the Foucauldian conception that will be adopted in this article, is understood as a particular set of relations that, without descending from a superiority, is capable of producing asymmetries; that, being permanently exercised, acts also from the bottom up in society sustaining the instances of authority instead of acting only from the top down and merely to submit the lower layers; and that, instead of being restricted to slaughter and confiscation as is proposed in more classical conceptions, creates situations in which production is encouraged and leaves individuals no choices but to produce. It is not something that can be shared, taken or acquired, being exercised from numerous points in interactions (FOUCAULT, 2003; 2013).

Through the use and control of certain discourses, it is used with determined goals, inserting itself in the bodies of individuals, molding them, having its effects present in the identities of the subjects. To this end, certain spaces act as disseminators of discourses that aim to reach the bodies and make them docile, influencing their gestures, attitudes, and learning. Among these spaces, the school and the teaching environments can be considered as one of the first places that will act to discipline the bodies. Through the dissemination of certain discourses that will be incorporated by the students, the educational space functions as a transmitter of a repertoire of modes and objective experiences of the world, in addition to the experiences that people have of themselves and of others as subjects.

But the (con)formation of individuals does not stop at the end of the school, and university institutions are also crossed by power relations and act as instruments for the diffusion of discourses. University curricula, as well as school curricula, are also influenced by the most different discursive modalities, coming from sectors such as the labor market, economy, education, and the dispute between political sectors, among others.

From the 19th century on, universities became sites for the legitimization of knowledge and disciplines, linked to the procedures of production and dissemination of regimes of truth. Discourses and knowledge had to be submitted to internal rules of delimitation of the false and the true and, at the same time, to define criteria of scientificity. According to Julia Varela (1994)¹, "each knowledge had to constitute itself as a discipline within a global field (that of science), a field that was faced with the problem of the division of knowledge, its communication, classification, and hierarchization" (p.91). In this context, the knowledges built at the margins of the validating institutions often encountered difficulties in the new arrangement of sciences.

¹ It was opted to always present the first name of an author when he/she is cited indirectly for the first time, highlighting and giving visibility to the authors who served as a bibliographic basis for the construction of this work.

Such regimes of truth are intertwined with the relations of knowledge and power, since according to Michel Foucault (2003), in our society, truth is produced at every moment and that such production cannot be dissociated from power and its mechanisms. These mechanisms submit us, at certain times, to rules of truth and to discourses validated as true. The political economy of truth is centered in the form of scientific discourse and in the institutions that produce them, becoming the object of gigantic diffusion and consumption, circulating in the apparatuses of education and information, besides being produced and transmitted under the control of some political or economic apparatuses, such as the university, the army, and the media. For Foucault (2007), each society has its regime of truth², defining the types of discourse that it welcomes and makes work as true, as well as

[...] the mechanisms and instances that allow one to distinguish true from false statements, the way in which one sanctions the other; the techniques and procedures that are valued for obtaining the truth; the status of those who oversee saying what functions as true. (p. 12)

It is from the definition of their curricula that educational institutions disseminate discourses and, consequently, collaborate to the maintenance (and in many cases to the change and subversion) of power relations. In this sense, curricula can be considered devices that establish regimes of truth and instruments of generification, since they also act in the docilization and (con)formation of bodies around a masculine, heterosexual, and white matrix. Therefore, through a literature review and discussion about the role of curricula as disseminators of discourses and power relations and in the generification of professions, this article aims to reflect in which ways the curricula of Library Science courses collaborated to the feminization of the profession. To this end, it reflects on how the curriculum is linked to power and gender relations; how the library profession is historically situated as a profession marked by the sexual division of labor and how the curricula of library courses may have collaborated to this.

2 UNIVERSITY CURRICULA AND THE GENERIFICATION OF PROFESSIONS

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Curricula can be pointed as devices that establish regimes of truth within the university, where they accept and make certain discourses work as true³ to the detriment of others. In this sense, according to Marlucy Paraíso (2016), the curriculum not only transmits knowledge, skills, concepts and content, but also differentiates bodies, practices, governs conducts and hierarchizes, normalizes and produces divisions. Thomas Popkewitz (1994) states that the curriculum causes certain attitudes to be embodied by subjects from an early age, since the organization of school knowledge can be seen as a form of social regulation and "embodies particular ways of acting, feeling, speaking, and 'seeing' the world and the 'self'" (POPKEWITZ, 1994, p.174).

The curriculum causes certain effects of power to circulate in the social body in a continuous, uninterrupted, adapted and individualized way. It will produce and reproduce attitudes, behaviors, and forms of subjectivation that will contribute to the maintenance or deconstruction of power relations. By selecting what should or should not be learned or what is or is not valid as knowledge or truth, curricula carry with them mechanisms of power and control (OLIVEIRA, 2016) and will act with procedures of exclusion of discourses, interdicting

² In later studies, especially those carried out in the 1980s, Foucault revised his concept of regime of truth, moving it away from the notion of knowledge-power and linking it to the formation of the subject and how he is led to manifest the truth. In this paper, we will use the concept of regime of truth linked to the question of knowledge-power and discourses, because we believe that it fits the objectives.

³ It should be noted that truth is understood here as "a set of regulated procedures for the production, law, distribution, circulation, and operation of utterances" and that it "is circularly linked to systems of power, which produce and support it, and to effects of power that it induces and that reproduce it. 'Regime' of truth" (FOUCAULT, 2007, p.14)

what should not be said, separating and rejecting what should be learned, saying what is true and what is false. Curricula can thus be considered as technological apparatuses that aim to produce certain subjects and where what is to be taught is preceded by a pretension of subject by those who organize the curricula (OLIVEIRA, NEIRA, 2019), making the curricular apparatus form a territory of constant disputes.

From the 1920s, the curriculum became the object of studies that were influenced by the massification of schooling, especially from industrialization, where a process of rationalization of educational outcomes began. In this sense, the first curricular theories had as their centrality the technical issue, being a reaction to the classical and humanistic curriculum in force. These first scholars of the curriculum issue believed that the educational system should be as efficient as any economic enterprise (SILVA, 2005).

The first studies on the curriculum subject suffered the influence of the test subjects and the examination boards of the universities, making the students' mentality and interest become criteria of differentiation. During the 19th century, the classical curricula were clearly marked by the goal of differentiation between social classes. Schooling up to the ages of 18 and 19 was intended for the children of well-to-do families, while schooling up to the age of 16 was intended for the children of the merchant class. The curriculum thus had the power to determine and enforce differentiation, which "gave the curriculum a definitive position in the epistemology of education" (GOODSON, 2008, p. 35).

The view that the curriculum has a direct influence on the maintenance and production of economic inequalities will gain substance from the 1960s, with the development of critical curriculum theories. These theories seek to examine, in general, how a system of unequal power in a society is maintained through the transmission of culture by institutions, such as schools. Theorists aligned to these critical perspectives, believe that the field of curriculum actively participates in social control, since it is one of the instruments for differentiation among students, where different types of students will receive different "types" of knowledge. Classrooms, in this way, operate as a microcosm of society, where there is an unfair distribution of cultural capital in society (APPLE, 2006).

In this sense, Michael Apple (2006) argues that the notions of science and the individual are ideological and economic categories, which are essential to produce agents who fill certain existing economic roles and who accept these roles without much questioning. Criticizing the technicalization of life, the author points out that educational institutions are less concerned with the distribution of skills than with the distribution of norms and dispositions that fit individuals into the hierarchical society, where technical knowledge does not help reduce inequalities, but rather feeds them. In this way, the field of curriculum, more especially than in other educational areas, has been dominated by a perspective that might be called "technological," since the major interest that guides its work involves shortening the best set of means to achieve previously chosen educational ends (APPLE, 2006, p.82)

The curriculum can thus be seen, within an ideological view, as a transmitter of knowledge that serves to reproduce class inequalities. After the 1960s, the work of authors such as Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, among others, influenced curriculum studies and made them focus on understanding the curriculum as an artifact that serves to disseminate discourses and regimes of truth, providing ways and manners of seeing the world and giving it meaning. Such studies, called post-structuralist, are characterized, in general, by a critique of modernity; a questioning of knowledge, its effects of truth and power play; understanding the subject as a historical being, constructed by truths, knowledge, and powers (CORAZZA, 2000).

In this conception, the knowledge included in the curricula is not neutral, being crossed by the matrices of gender, race and social class that hierarchize the knowledge. Gender, understood here as one of the elements of power relations and as a discursive practice that organizes the most diverse fields of society, also crosses and sizes the curriculum practices, causing it to assume, according to Maria Cláudia Dal'Igna, Carin Klein and Dagmar Meyer (2016), in addition to the male matrix, the heterosexuality as a standard.

The curriculum, as Ederson Cruz (2015) observes, is a place of subjectivation and individualization, being a center of events, of dispute of different identities, "in which gender marks and differences are produced and reproduced, among others" (p. 26). Such productions and reproductions will also be noticed inside the universities in the selection, classification and ordering of knowledge transmitted for the exercise of a certain profession and in the reflections about gender inside university curricula and in the labor market, relations which will collaborate in the creation of professional identities and stereotypes linked to professions.

Universities have acquired a fundamental role, especially in countries like Brazil, as producers and disseminators of science. Now, if university institutions are linked to scientific production and diffusion and are crossed by power relations and regimes of truth, it is necessary to consider that generified discourses will also cross them, in the formation of their students. University curricula, in this way, can be seen - just like in basic school - with discursive elements that will produce, hierarchize, classify individuals and spread the unequal relations between genders.

Gender inequality is an element embedded in social relations and in the culture of institutions. Cristina Vereá (2004) points out that higher education institutions produce and reproduce their own specific culture and that the institutions' traditions, customs, and routines condition the type of life that develops there and reinforce values, expectations, and beliefs in the social groups that live in these places. According to the author, in order to understand gender as part of university institutional culture, one can think of gender as

[...] a discursive fabric that participates in the naturalization of the assumptions on which relations are built and which are grounded in the differences that distinguish the sexes, but also as a game of institutional rules, of generalized techniques and procedures, applied in the staging/reproduction of social practices differentiated by sex (p.34; our translation).

Guacira Louro (2014) points out that institutions "manufacture" the subjects and are produced by social practices and gender relations. The curriculum carries generified aspects since its conception, since men who have historically produced knowledge and select the subjects that appear in the curricular paths, even though in schools, women occupy the classrooms. According to the author

From architecture to physical arrangements, from symbols to dispositions about behavior and practices; from teaching techniques to assessment strategies; everything operates in the constitution of boys and girls, of men and women - inside and outside the school (since the institution 'says' something not only to those inside it, but also to those outside it) (LOURO, 2004, p. 95).

In this sense, universities develop collective processes of elaboration and evolution of study plans, linked to technical aspects and university curricula are strongly conditioned to historical moments and the production of professional identities and their practices. The development of professions is linked to the processes of formalization and specialization of knowledge, where the structuring axis of the curriculum is the professional component (COLLAZO, 2010).

3 THE LIBRARY PROFESSION AND GENDER RELATIONS

The library profession has been marked in its history by gender relations. Born as an erudite profession and occupied by men, the profession has become feminized over time. Such aspects, in a world strongly marked by machismo and patriarchy, have influenced the professional librarian identity, the stereotypes created around the profession and the position(s) it occupies in society.

The first library training course in Brazil was created in the second decade of the 20th century, as a result of the efforts made by the National Library to train senior staff to work in

the institution itself. Before that, the libraries that existed in the country were linked, at first, to Jesuitical schools and institutions, and after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil and the educational expansion - albeit timid - seen during the Empire and Early Republic, to schools and university institutes.

It is in the wake of the development of several actions⁴ in the field of Librarianship occurred during the nineteenth century, coupled with the political changes in the country with the recent Proclamation of the Republic and the great French and positivist influence in the Brazilian intellectual circle, that in 1911, the National Library created the first training course for librarians in the country, since the lack of qualified staff was a constant complaint from the directors of the institution. The decree⁵ that created the course determined that it would last one year, with classes being given once a week, lasting one hour and held between the months of April and November. At the end of the course, the students would be given a written and an oral examination, each lasting two hours and half an hour respectively.

Conjugated to this image and the French influence in the society of the early twentieth century, the first training course for librarians based in the National Library was marked by a humanistic influence and had subjects that prioritized aspects related to cultural theory. Reflecting the need to train an erudite professional, humanist and an excellent conservator of the collections, the curriculum of the course at the National Library gave priority to disciplines related to cultural theory, had a duration of one year and had as its main objective to solve the existing difficulties in the library regarding the training of staff. (CASTRO, 2000; SILVEIRA, 2007). Librarians in this period

[...] besides possessing a vast general culture, (...) they should master several languages, especially their mother tongue, as well as knowledge about Arts, Sciences and Letters that would make them able to actively participate in the formation of the Brazilian intellectual, socio-historical and cultural framework (SILVEIRA, 2007, p.134).

After a halt that lasted more than 10 years, the BN course returned to its activities in the 1930s and maintained the high requirements to study Library Science at the institution. Candidates were required to have certificates of completion of the 5th grade of high school, certificates of approval in Portuguese, French, English, Latin, Arithmetic, Geography, Universal History, Chorography⁶ and History of Brazil exams, certificates of identity, health and moral suitability (CASTRO, 2000). In a society where, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, only 0.36% of the population was enrolled in secondary education, the BN Librarianship course did not collaborate to increase the access to higher education for the less wealthy layers of society, nor to promote the training of personnel that would enable the democratization of access to libraries across the country, fulfilling its purpose of training only staff to work in the institution itself (SOUZA, 2009).

The barriers imposed by the qualification exams did not allow women and poorer people to access the higher education course in Librarianship at the National Library, since, in the period, the access to schools was still mostly male and from the middle and upper classes of society. Moreover, the library profession in the period remained being seen as a profession "destined" to educated men, with high erudition and general culture - which was already expressed in the curriculum of the BN course.

In the 1930's there was also the diffusion and influence of the American technicist mode in the Brazilian curricula, where the ways of doing were privileged in detriment of the

⁴ As actions, one can mention the publication of cataloging rules made by the British Museum, in 1841; the creation of formal courses of Library Science, such as the one at the École Nationale de Chartes in 1821 and the one at the University of Columbia, in the USA, created by Melvil Dewey. In Brazil, we can mention the publication in 1880 of the "Bibliografia da língua Tupi or Guarani also called the general language of Brazil", by Alfredo do Vale Cabral and the beginning of the publication of the "Boletim Bibliográfico da Biblioteca Nacional", in 1886 (SOUZA, 2009).

⁵ Decree No. 8.835, July 11, 1911.

⁶ The discipline of chorography referred to the study of specific geographical regions of a given country.

contents. This period coincides with the university expansion in the country, the greater control of the State over Education and the increase in the number of training courses for librarians in Brazil, for example. At this time, the movement of growth in the number of women in the labor market and the search for more schooling on their part, even if these occurred in courses of less social prestige, also became stronger, since the reforms that took place in Brazilian Higher Education until the third decade of the 20th century - which aimed to decrease the State's space in Higher Education and favor the creation of private establishments - did not bring effective measures that sought to achieve equity in the access to education. The entry into primary and secondary education was difficult for the poor and for women in the first years of the Republic, which was also reflected in the number of those enrolled in higher education.

Heleieth Saffioti (2013) points out that at the end of the Old Republic, women had not yet significantly penetrated Brazilian higher education courses, especially those of greater social prestige, such as Medicine and Dentistry. The Republic accentuated the trend of concentration of women in certain branches of education less socially valued and that the higher concentration of women in pharmacy courses can be explained by the downgrading of the profession of pharmacist, a fact that can also be observed in the library profession, the focus of this work. In the words of the author

It is very likely that the discredit into which the profession of pharmacist has fallen, transforming it into a seller of industrialized medicines, is the factor largely responsible for the penetration of the female element in this occupational sector (SAFFIOTI, 2013, p.310-311).

When presenting data from the State of São Paulo, the author highlights that the traditional branch occupied by women who sought to become professionals was the normal professional education⁷, focused on the training of labor to work in the teaching profession. Many girls, however, opted for normal education also because it was an opportunity to receive general culture, given the scarcity of official high schools, in addition to being an opportunity to enter the labor market (SAFFIOTI, 2013), in a "respectable" way in the eyes of society, since, according to Claudia Fonseca (2018), the woman who worked outside

Instead of being admired for being a "good worker," like the man in a similar situation, the woman in wage labor had to defend her reputation against moral pollution, since sexual harassment was legendary. (...) Women who worked in traditionally female household chores, laundresses, ironers, seemed to be in less moral danger than industrial workers, even in these cases, they were always threatened with the accusation of being relapsing mothers (p. 516)

It is worth mentioning that when one talks about women seeking the job market in the first half of the 20th century, it refers to a female contingent of women mostly white and belonging to the middle and upper classes of society. Poor women, mostly black, have always worked outside the home so that they could support themselves, either as washerwomen, ironers, wet nurses, seamstresses, etc. And for these women, the school spaces were distant and excluding. The library profession, after the appearance of the first courses and especially in the 1950s and 1960s, was occupied by women from the higher strata of society.

Black working women were already in the labor market and the discourse around female fragility present in the 20th century did not extend to the black female population. According to Fonseca (2018), the discourse in the early twentieth century that women should stay at home, sheltered and taking care of household chores was linked to a stereotype based on the values of the colonial elite, "and often mirrored in the reports of European travelers, which served as an ideological instrument to mark the distinction between the bourgeois and the poor" (p. 517). Sueli Carneiro (2013) points out that when it comes to female fragility, which justified the paternalistic protection of women by men, we are talking about a contingent

⁷ In 1929, the number of female students in the pedagogical course exceeded 7,000, and less than 10% of the total contingent were men.

of women that does not include black women. These women worked for centuries in the fields, as saleswomen, greengrocers, and prostitutes, and because of this, they were not reached and included when white feminists said that women should take to the streets and work, since they already did that. According to the author

Black women have had a differentiated historical experience that the classical discourse on the oppression of women has not recognized, just as it has not accounted for the qualitative difference that the effect of the oppression suffered had and still has on the feminine identity of black women. (‘) When we talk about guaranteeing the same opportunities for men and women in the job market, we are guaranteeing employment for what type of woman? We are part of a contingent of women for whom job advertisements highlight the phrase: "good looks are required" (CARNEIRO, 2003, p. 51)

Margareth Rago (2018) points out that many women and poor children worked as labor force in Brazilian industries in the early twentieth century and that the female contingent was concentrated in the spinning and weaving industries⁸, which had little mechanization; they were in smaller numbers in the metallurgy and furniture sectors, for example. Many of these women were inserted in the labor movement and led strikes and political mobilizations against labor exploitation inside the factories, but the discourses produced around them, produced by men, portrayed them as

[...] unhappy and fragile young girls. They appeared unprotected and emotionally vulnerable in the eyes of society, and therefore could fall prey to male ambition. (...) Frail and unhappy to journalists, dangerous and "undesirable" to employers, passive and unconscious to political activists, lost and "degenerate" to doctors and jurists, women workers were perceived in various ways. (p.578-579)

The Librarianship courses that appeared in the 1930's, such as the one at Mackenzie College, in São Paulo, already brought the more technical aspect inspired by the American models in their curriculum. With rational, linear and positivist project, Mackenzie's course intended to graduate librarians who were able to perform all the technical routines necessary for the circulation of knowledge and information (SILVEIRA, 2007), where the "knowing how to do" was more important than the "thinking". César Castro (2000) highlights that since its foundation in Brazil, in 1870, College Mackenzie carried with it "revolutionary" ideas in comparison to what was practiced in most schools in the country, such as freedom of religious teaching, the adoption of mixed classrooms, "the elimination of physical punishment, such as the use of the palm tree, sports for women and teaching focused on understanding, when in other schools the decoration predominated" (p. 64).

The foundation of the Librarianship course in the American model also reflects the influence of discourses that made the relation between what came from the USA with modernity and in face of this, there was the need to create modern libraries in the country. In addition, library professionals from all Latin America were encouraged to go to the U.S. to get to know the libraries and to take courses in the country. It was in one of these exchanges that librarian Adelpha Rodrigues, an effective librarian at Mackenzie College, went to take a preparatory course in a course for Latin American women by the American Association of University Women. Castro (2000) also highlights that there was a great interest of the USA in Latin American Librarianship and that influence was also given by the financial support given by several organizations and the organization of conferences in Brazil, Cuba, Chile and Argentina such as the Pan American Conference of Municipalities held in Cuba in 1938 "with the purpose of encouraging the development of libraries in the three Americas and stimulate the taste for reading" (p. 67) and the already mentioned American Association of University Women which granted scholarships to Latin American librarians to study in the USA.

⁸ The author highlights that in 1901, 72.74% of the people who worked in the textile industries, in the state of São Paulo, were women and children. In the 1920 census, 247 textile industries were inspected and 17,747 (50.96%) were women, against 14,352 (41.21%) men.

The library profession in the US was already consolidated at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century as a feminized profession. When the theorist Mevil Dewey founded the course at Columbia University in 1896, seventeen of the twenty people enrolled in the course were women and Dewey was one of the first to hire women as librarians at the university (GIACOMETTI; VELLOSO, 1987). Kathleen Wiebel and Kathleen Heim (1979) retrieve Melvil Dewey's own article (1886), written in the late 19th century in which he sought to explain his view of why women were paid less than their male counterparts. In his explanatory statement, Dewey disregarded the social aspects involved in the inequalities between men and women in society developing the same professions and considered that with the formation of a larger number of professionals, salaries would naturally increase, since there would be increased competition for vacancies. This argument reveals a logical contradiction, since if we consider a greater supply of people for vacancies, this will also lead to a greater competition for vacancies and the consequent decrease in salaries, and not the opposite. Moreover, he positions himself as a benefactor and points out that his preference for hiring women for the library profession was because graduation from the course could be considered a prize given for their perseverance in studying and given the low number of women with college degrees, the librarians who graduated represented the best of the technical staff available in the country.

Anita Schiller (1970), however, highlights the real intentions of the theorist and points out that, in fact, when hiring women as librarians, Dewey did not seek to give them more opportunities or to promote greater wage equality between the sexes, but considered aspects related to the economy of library resources, since by hiring women, one could pay lower salaries to them and, thus, save resources for sectors considered more important.

Thus, Librarianship as a professional practice in the US has, since the beginning of its training courses, carried aspects of generified discourses. The greater technicality of the curricula of the courses and of the profession can be considered as one of the strategies used to make the library profession less complex and, within the context of the sexual division of labor, "meant for women". By sponsoring Latin American professionals to study in the U.S., there is the diffusion in Brazil, after the return of these professionals, that Librarianship should be more technical and less erudite and that their curricula should be more focused on technical aspects of the profession.

The number of enrolled people surveyed by Castro (2000) evidence that in the 1940's, Librarianship started to attract a larger number of women to its banks. Between 1940 and 1943 of the 795 students enrolled in the course, 715 (or 89.93%) of the total were women and, although there were many dropouts during the two years of the course, in the end, 68 women graduated as librarians and only 6 men. The same phenomenon also occurred in São Paulo, during the Culture Department of the City Hall, where according to Ana Laura Xavier (2020), from the 59 students graduated in the course, 43 were women.

Elisabeth Martucci (1996) raises the hypothesis that the growing approximation of Librarianship with the area of Education may be considered as one of the reasons for a larger number of women entering the course, since teaching was already a profession mostly occupied by women and the library started to be seen as an extension of the classroom and because of this, it should also be occupied by them. The educational expansion observed during the First Republic and starting in the 1940s led to an increase in the creation of libraries in the country. Data from Sonia Gomes (1983) cited by Martucci (1996) show that between 1889 and 1930, 58.2% of the libraries created in the country were connected to schools, especially in São Paulo and Minas Gerais and that such libraries aimed at offering important works for the study of the studied subjects and these libraries were taken care of by teachers and not by librarians.

From the end of the Estado Novo in 1945 until 1968, during the Military Regime, the number of higher education schools in the country increased exponentially, and only between 1960 and 1968, more schools were created than in the entire period from 1900 to 1945. This increase was due to the great expansion of the private market in education, which saw the

increase in demand for higher education in the country as an opportunity to increase profits (SAMPAIO, 1991). In this period also, the number of people employed in technical and administrative functions grew about 200%, which led the middle classes to redefine the role of women in the world of work, but without changing their domestic function, assigning them to the positions of teacher, banker, to work in offices, commerce, etc. (CUNHA, 1983). This educational expansion also increased the number of Librarianship courses and libraries, which were often born connected to colleges and universities.

Women in this period started to occupy jobs outside the home and that were mostly linked to the discourses that reflected the sexual division of labor, which associated the tasks performed by women with notions of zeal, promptness, care, extensions of domestic, private work. The jobs of teacher and nurse, for example, already fit into these professions, and with the increase in the number of establishments, libraries were considered places that did not "threaten" the tasks performed by women at home, as they were associated with notions of care. Claudia Alvarenga and Cláudia Vianna (2012) point out that the social relations between genders - based on power relations - and the sexual division of labor are inseparable, but the sexual division of labor is only one aspect of gender relations, where the productive sphere is destined for men, being more valued and associated with prestigious positions, while the reproductive sphere is associated with women and the private world.

Thus, Helena Hirata (2017) cites Danièle Kergoat (2005) and points out that the sexual division of labor is organized based on two principles: that of separation, which is related to the division of what is configured as female work and what is male work in society; and that of hierarchy, where it is defined that male work is superior and has greater value than female work.

With the increase of the female contingent in the library profession, it is also possible to observe a shift in the image that society starts to have of information and the stereotypes that come to characterize the profession. If 1) in ancient times librarians enjoyed a certain prestige because they became librarians as a complement to an activity they already performed and by the need to conduct research within their field; 2) and if with the passage of time and the emergence of a society based on knowledge and information, they come to be seen as keepers and guardians of knowledge (ROGGAU, 2006), 3) in the twentieth century, with the increase of feminization, there is the association of the professional librarian to an old woman and,

[...] especially, with two main props, as a kind of trademark, which are the unfailing glasses and the notorious coke in the hair, besides a posture generally antagonistic and unreceptive to users, probably in gestures that indicate an emphatic request for silence (WALTER, BAPTISTA, 2007, p. 30).

While reflecting on the US context, Marie Radford and Gary Radford (1997) consider that the stereotype of the spinster librarian has prevailed and appeared in many cultural forms such as stories, novels, cartoons, newspapers, magazines, etc. For the authors, the stereotype of librarians mixes the views that society has of libraries, seen as places of control of knowledge and truth, which with their indexers, controlled vocabularies, and information retrieval systems manage the dangers of uncontrolled discourse. The terrible, stern, serious, and obsessive librarian with the organization can be seen as a strategy for the management/administration of the fear that control over discourses will be lost. However, when closely observed, she cannot be considered so frightening, after all she is just a woman.

Paula Chies (2010) points out that stereotypes about women's professions are generated by basic questions such as 'what is expected from a woman' and 'what is expected from a man'. In this sense, professions linked to the notion of care and activities developed in the private sphere are devalued. Maria Tereza Walter and Sofia Baptista (2007) point out that the association of the library profession to women has added stereotypes linked to the female gender, where women are associated with non-competitive professions, with low wages and docile behaviors.

It is worth noting that stereotypes are also associated with men who become librarians and, according to Beatriz Sousa (2014), many of them relate mainly to issues of sexual

orientation and many librarians show fear of being mistaken for homosexuals. One of those interviewed by the author emphasizes that in every place he goes, he needs to affirm that he is not gay (SOUSA, 2014). Both views associated with those who practice the profession, women or men, have the same matrix, which is the devaluation of what can be associated with the feminine, arising from the unequal power relations between genders within the patriarchal society, while demonstrating the importance that is given by non-homosexual men to the gesture of informing that they are not gay, as if being gay were a demerit.

4 THE CURRICULUM AS AN ELEMENT OF GENERIFICATION OF THE LIBRARY PROFESSION

The curriculum, as explained above, is an artifact that carries with it and disseminates discourses and power relations, and in this way, it can be considered as one of the elements that have contributed to the feminization of the library profession. It is considered here that it is one of the nodes of the network of power relations that influence the profession and that penetrates the bodies, influencing gestures, attitudes and behaviors. The university curriculum is understood here not only as a representation of the power of the State, which exerts domination over certain sectors and imposes certain discourses to the detriment of others, but also as an amalgam of other various dispersed discourses (or not) that influence the training given, the profile of the desired professional and how this professional should behave, present him/herself and what skills he/she should have.

The discourse of the job market, in this sense, can be cited as an example of great influence in delineating the "type" of professional that the courses should form. In the field of Librarianship, the increase in technicality is linked to the approximation of the field with Librarianship made in the USA, but not only to it. There is also a change, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, regarding what the market expectations around the profession are.

The discourses of the area around the librarian as an agent of informational organization, especially scientific - and which crystallized with the founding of the IBBD in the 1950s, for example - sought to train professionals who could deal with the increased production of technical-scientific information. Discourses that valued specialized libraries and the work they do started to be present in the discussions of librarianship, giving less importance to more general libraries, such as public and school libraries. The image of the modern information professional was aligned with the North-American model, where the librarian should be specialized, knowing the main sources of the areas in which she/he works, their terminologies and the way these areas are structured and thus get closer to the researcher, being the librarian a research assistant and collaborating to the progress of science in the scientific information centers, where the "librarian's erudition gave way to specialization" (CASTRO, 2000, p. 122).

In this sense, the minimum curriculum established in 1962 can be considered a milestone for greater technicality of the profession, since it sought to standardize the education given in Librarianship throughout the country but was marked by the overvaluation of the contents of technical subjects in detriment of the cultural subjects. According to Antônio Lemos (1973), the 1962 curriculum aimed at conciliating the two courses - humanistic and technical - generalizing the teaching experience of the period between 1929 and 1944, in addition to admitting the influences of Documentation in the field of Librarianship and making the discipline of Paleography compulsory. After analyzing an initial proposal with 17 subjects prepared by a Committee of Library Science Specialists, the Federal Board of Education⁹ determined that the courses would have a duration of 3 years and established 10 compulsory subjects for the 14 Brazilian schools of Library Science.

⁹ The Minimum Curriculum for Librarianship was established in a Resolution dated 11/16/1962, after opinion N° 326/62 prepared by José Montello.

According to Fabrício Silveira (2007)

[...] intending to form a workforce capable of contributing to the project of an independent country, the Librarianship that is instituted here reinforced, in its first decades of activity, the thesis that the library is an extremely important body for the construction of the many historical landscapes. However, the basis of its argument was that such condition would only be achieved through the diffusion of strict technical standards around the execution of the routines of capturing, organizing, preserving, and disseminating information (p.141).

Criticism of the more technical curriculum of 1962 was many. Laura Russo (1966), for example, credited the increased technicality of the curricula with lowering the level of librarian, who had been "reduced to producing cards and sorting books on shelves, without participating in the responsibilities of library management which are calling, on an increasing scale, for the guidance of technically skilled persons. (p.23)". Lemos (1973) considered that in terms of content, what happened was an oversizing of the technical disciplines in order to reach the 2025 hours stipulated for the courses, which made the cultural disciplines to be presented as "allegedly encyclopedic collections of topics that could certainly be covered according to the professional activities of the librarian" (p.53).

From that moment on, the feminization of the area was already taking place in a more concrete way. The data collected by Hugo Pires (2016) show that from the 1960s on there is a greater demand of women for courses in Librarianship. In the course at the Federal University of Pernambuco, for example, 106 women became librarians in the 1950s and 194 women by the end of 1960, representing 98.97% of the number of people graduated. In the same period, 25 men graduated in Librarianship at UFPE. The same occurred at the Federal University of Minas Gerais where, between 1950 and 1960, 4 men and 294 women graduated in Librarianship.

It is also worth mentioning that, in the same period, there is also a growing insertion of the library (especially the school library) within a discourse where the library is a place of zeal, of care and the librarianship professional has promptness and dedication - and this characteristic can be seen when the need for the librarian to work with scientists was stated. The minimum curriculum, by giving a technical formation to the students, in detriment of a humanistic and "thinking" formation, collaborated to such a prejudiced view about women and to the insertion of the library activity in the list of professions notably marked by the sexual division of labor, where the professions occupied by women are related to the maternal characteristics, being considered extensions of the private world and that demonstrate, according to Helena Hirata and Daniele Kergoat (2003), the unequal power relations between men and women.

The discussions around technical curriculum versus humanistic curriculum will permeate the trajectory of Brazilian Librarianship in the subsequent years and a new minimum curriculum was established in 1982, which tried to balance the technical and cultural aspects and according to Silveira (2007), adopted the interdisciplinarity as basic proposition. For Francisco Souza (2009), the minimum curriculum of 1982 still maintained the crisis of little relation between what was taught and the reality of the country.

This curriculum underwent changes in the following years, especially in the matter of adding technological subjects, since the Internet and the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) were developing, and a new professional profile was required by the market. There is also in this period a closer approach of Librarianship with Information Science and areas such as Administration and Computing, for example, areas which are notably "masculine". For Souza (2009) the speeches about the "modern information professional" which gained strength from the 1990s on, denoted a disqualification of Librarianship and the

figure of the librarian and associated with a neoliberal¹⁰ logic that penetrated not only the political and economic sphere of the country, but also the professional one. For the author

In the years of the 1990s, it was once again evident that the teaching of Library Science in Brazil was still lacking directions that could guide it to meet the interests of Brazil, which, on the other hand, was seeking a safe harbor in the economic world (p. 145)

The approximation of Librarianship with the other areas mentioned above and the emergence of this new profile of information professional coincides with a higher number of men in Librarianship courses, in addition to a consolidation of the profession as an employer. In other words, from the 1990's on, the curricula seek a supposed professional valorization and a change in the vision that society has of the library profession to meet a demand from the labor market. The curricular structure of courses began to privilege technical disciplines focused on the activities of collection, management, preservation and dissemination of information resources (SILVEIRA, 2007), and the education given sought to form a professional who would meet the neoliberal market logic, in which the labor market demanded dynamic, skilled, creative and competent professionals, who showed productivity and were constantly updated.

Within this intention of professional valuation, Anízia Nascimento, Etienny Figueiredo and Georgete Freitas (2003) in an article written at the beginning of the 21st century, for example, highlighted the need of Librarianship to show that the library was not the only place of librarianship, and that the librarian was no longer seen as a guardian, but as a disseminator of information, who should act as a structurer, planner or administrator of information. For Mary Ferreira (2003), the use of the term "information professional" was due to the belief that the workspace had evolved, and that information was vital to businesses. In the words of the author, "the information professional is today's prototype for tomorrow's knowledge worker" (p. 43)

Souza (2009), however, criticizes this view within the neoliberal and business logic of the profession and highlights that the term "modern information professional" is used as a disqualifier of Librarianship and the library profession, since focused on information management, training schools should prepare modern, efficient and competent professionals. According to the author

This put in many texts, lectures, etc. thickened a discourse that carried as a subliminal message the extinction of the librarian, as a career and professional position, in total contrast to the professional discourses in Europe and the United States, for example. (p. 146)

It is worth noting that it is in the same period in which the profile of the "new information professional" emerges and (perhaps because of this) that the male contingent in the courses increases considerably. According to Pires (2016), at the Federal University of Goiás (UFG), for example, there was an increase of 675% in the number of graduates in Librarianship between the 1990s and 2000s. The same phenomenon can be observed at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), where in the daytime course the number of men graduating in the decades of 1990 and 2000 practically doubles if compared to previous decades, while in the night course, created in the early 2000s, they represented 41% of graduates in Librarianship by the end of the decade.

That is, from the greater entry of men in the profession, there was a delineation of the curricula and the discourses around the professional role to change the vision that society had of the librarian. Although during the period the consolidation of the profession as an employer and with reasonable salaries, it is clear that in order to move away as soon as possible from the traditional vision of the librarian, the strategy was to create a more marketable profile,

¹⁰ Souza (2009) points out that the neoliberal focus "was the defense of the idea that the private market was more efficient than the state's economic actions of production - it is verified that this phenomenology was transported to all the other spheres, including the professional" (p. 145)

supposedly more rational, balanced, a true manager.

The change in the names of schools and courses, which was very common in the late 1990s and early 2000s, came in the same direction of trying to make them more and more "attractive" to the general public. In an article justifying the change in the name of UFMG's School of Librarianship to UFMG's School of Information Science, for example, Ricardo Barbosa, Beatriz Cendón, Paulo Caldeira and Marcelo Bax (2000) pointed out that the change in the name of the course would also be a "natural evolution of the curricular changes now underway" (p. 82), since the term "information science" is a term that is used to refer to the school's curriculum. 82), since the term Librarianship referred "to an inadequate image of its object of study and its relationship with the job market, not highlighting how important a name is as a symbol of a certain institution" (p. 88). The name of the course - and consequently the profession of librarian - carried with it aspects which provided little professional valuation linked to its name and because of this "the maintenance of the name Librarianship for the academic units has undoubtedly contributed to hinder the visibility and absorption by the market of the professionals graduated from them" (p.88; emphasis added).

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The power relations present in society permeate the most different areas of our lives, shaping bodies, encouraging or discouraging behaviors, actions and thoughts. Within the logic of power, gender relations act as important instruments in the (con)formation of bodies, in the creation of subjectivities and in the determination of spaces that women and men will occupy in society, turning them into ideas introjected very early on in children. When playing "doll" or "house", girls associate these activities with the feminine and have their own identities associated with domestic, mechanical, and less socially prestigious tasks, which does not occur with boys, who are mostly encouraged to develop activities that stimulate intellectuality and creativity, for example.

Therefore, unequal gender relations and the notion of the sexual division of labor are absorbed by women and men from an early age, and when they enter the world of work, these notions influence the professions occupied by people. Thus, women are destined (and are destined by the discourses disseminated around them) to professions linked to notions of care, zeal, and promptness, such as the professions of nurse, teacher, and librarian, for example. In a world marked by unequal gender relations, these professions also have less social prestige, a fact quite different from "masculine" professions such as doctor, lawyer or engineer.

The molding of bodies and subjectivities is based on the dissemination of discourses, which are instruments for power to act on individuals. Curricula can be considered as important mechanisms for the diffusion of these discourses, allowing power relations to penetrate bodies and spread, from childhood on. In the university environment, they establish regimes of truth, define what is true and false, and what should or should not be taught. They also disseminate generified discourses, which contribute to the creation and maintenance of "feminine" and "masculine" spaces in the professions.

The library profession has been notably marked by gender relations over time and has become feminized over the years. When it was mostly occupied by men, it was considered an erudite profession and the curricula of the first courses carried with them the idea that the librarian should be a cultured person, who understood the arts, had knowledge of literature, wide general culture, etc. After the 1930s, there is a new direction in the curricula for a more technical and less erudite education. Coincidentally (or not), during this period, the profession became associated with notions of zeal and care, to be occupied by women, inserting itself in the logic of the sexual division of labor.

The more technical curricula start to spread - with their over dimensioning of technical subjects - the discourses that Librarianship (and librarians) no longer need to have erudite

knowledge, but to "know how to do", to apply only the techniques of Librarianship, with little room for questioning. After the 1980's, with the approximation with other areas such as Business Administration and Computing, there is an increase in the number of men in the courses and a quest to change society's view of the professional librarian, who should be seen as an information manager, with no direct connection to the library.

Thus, it is understood and sought to highlight in this paper, how the curriculum was used as a device for the dissemination of certain discourses regarding the library profession and how it contributed to the feminization of the library profession. When the curriculums of schools seek a more technical training, focused more on "knowing how to do", when it is occupied by women, they are aligned with generified discourses and directly linked to the sexual division of labor, where feminized professions are "worth" less and require less intellectual effort to be performed. At the same time, when there is a change (even if discrete) in the number of men and women within the profession, these curricula also start to adopt new discourses and seek to create a new image of the profession, pretentiously modern and where the librarian should be seen not only as the professional who works in libraries, but as a modern subject, a true manager of information.

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