



“Meu mestre é Deus nas alturas”: Tião Carreiro & Pardinho’s songs and the education of a Christian family sensibility during the second half of the 20th century¹

“Meu mestre é Deus nas alturas”: canções de Tião Carreiro & Pardinho e a educação de uma sensibilidade familiar cristã durante a segunda metade do século XX

“Meu mestre é Deus nas alturas”: canciones de Tião Carreiro & Pardinho y la educación de una sensibilidad familiar Cristiana durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX

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Abstract

The cultural productions are marks of a society, which gives them great importance. In the case of “caipira” culture, music receives a especial attention, and with that in mind, this article aims to analyze how songs produced by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho had a formative role in educating family sensibilities. By conveying values and representations, the country music duo made an educational process possible in a context of changing social paradigms. In this movement, they demonstrated their audience's view of the transformations and shocks resulting from the exodus and the problems that arose during the second half of the 20th century.

Keywords: Education of Sensibilities; Sertanejo Music of Caipira Origin; Tião Carreiro & Pardinho; Family Sensibilities; Religion.

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Resumo

As produções culturais são marcas de uma sociedade, o que lhes confere uma grande importância. No caso da cultura caipira, a música recebe maior atenção, e pensando justamente a partir disso, o presente artigo pretende analisar como canções produzidas por Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho desempenharam um papel formativo e de educação de uma sensibilidade familiar. A partir da veiculação de valores e representações, a dupla sertaneja de matriz caipira possibilitou um processo educativo num contexto de mudanças de paradigmas sociais. Nesse movimento, eles demonstravam a visão de seu público sobre as transformações e choques decorrentes do êxodo migratório e dos problemas que surgiam durante a segunda metade do século XX.

Palavras-chave: Educação das Sensibilidades; Música Sertaneja de Matriz Caipira; Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho; Sensibilidades Familiares; Religião.

Resumen

Las producciones culturales son señas de identidad de una sociedad, lo que les otorga gran importancia. En el caso de la cultura “caipira”, la música recibe mayor atención, y pensando precisamente desde ese punto de vista, este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar cómo las canciones producidas por Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho desempeñaron un papel formativo y educativo de las sensibilidades familiares. Al transmitir valores y representaciones el dúo de música caipira hizo posible un proceso educativo en un contexto de cambio de paradigmas sociales. En este movimiento, demostraron a su público la visión de las transformaciones y conmociones derivadas del éxodo y los problemas surgidos durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX.

Palabras clave: Educación de la Sensibilidad; Música Sertaneja de Matriz Caipira; Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho; Sensibilidades familiares; Religión.

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Introduction

In the field of History of Education, there are a number of studies that address Family History and the theme of family education. The studies by Orlando & Henriques (2017), which deal with the *Escola de Pais* in Brazil and Portugal, an institution created for parental education and family guidance, the one by Louro (1986) which discusses the education of girls in Rio Grande do Sul, as well as the one by Magaldi (2007) and the work supervised by Professor Evelyn Orlando and researchers Henllyger David (2019) and Joana Skrusinski (2018) which discusses the role of the Catholic Church and lay Catholic intellectuals in the education of families are examples of research on this subject in the field.

However, the studies have already produced do not exhaust the possibilities for research, and it is therefore necessary to indicate new perspectives to think about how other forms of family education occur. In this sense, this article aims to analyze how songs that make up the work of Tião Carreiro & Pardinho, two artists of sertaneja music with a caipira origin, proposed the education of family sensibilities during their production period by conveying values and an idealized representation of family.

The duo in question is identified as one of the representatives of caipira music, a musical genre that symbolizes a traditional Brazilian culture. That said, more than representing an artistic style, Tião Carreiro & Pardinho can be identified as representatives of the social group that makes up the audience of this genre, hence the relevance of them and their work that is taken as a source of analysis in this work. The relation between the duo and the audience of sertaneja music with a caipira origin will not be analyzed, since works such as that of Oliveira (2009), which analyzes the construction of the field of this musical genre and identifies these artists as icons of caipira music, and that of Claras & Orlando (2021), which analyzes the duo as intellectual cultural mediators, have already established such a relation and presented the artistic relevance of the singers for this musical genre. Regarding the social group that makes up the audience for country music, it is necessary to make a distinction in order to establish cultural marks that bring forms of identification to it, without, however, intending to homogenize it, and to indicate the characteristics of the organization of what could be called the “*família caipira*”. Based on the establishment of identity marks, it is possible to understand the forms of education developed within this group, which are different from the educational practices existing in other social groups, especially urban ones, since, for example, the parental education developed by institutions such as the *Escola de Pais do Brasil* did not reach the inhabitants of the remote corners of the central-south region where country culture developed, but this does not mean that there are no forms of education and transmission of values in these locations. In view of this, it is essential that a distinction be made to delimit, even in general terms, the sociocultural group in question.

As for the theme of educating sensitivities, a conceptualization and problematization of the theme are also necessary. There has been a greater incidence of research on the subject in recent years, with emphasis on the work developed by Taborda de Oliveira (2012, 2018, 2019), who is a reference in the field of History of Education when it comes to the education of the senses and sensitivities. However, there are still few works that use music as sources for the development of research. Therefore, with the focus on the social group of the public that consumed the work of Tião Carreiro & Pardinho, and the conceptualization and delimitation of the theme of the education of sensibilities, the analysis is made of songs produced by the duo that enabled means of educating the sensitive, whether through the transmission of values related to the family or through the reproduction of social roles.

“A vaca foi ‘pro’ brejo”: the *caipira* family and the changes in family arrangements in the second half of the 20th century

The considerations about *caipira* culture that will be outlined help to establish the general lines of its formation, however, the context in which Tião Carreiro & Pardini's songs were produced - the second half of the 20th century - was also a period of change both for this social group that experienced the intensification of the migratory exodus, and for Brazilian society as a whole. As a result, the duo's audience was not only made up of country people who lived in rural areas, but also of migrants who occupied spaces in the cities and faced cultural shocks that did not go unnoticed by the productions of these artists.

The *caipira* music has its origins in the culture that emerged in the Center-South region of Brazil with influences from indigenous culture, the work of Jesuit priests, Portuguese settlers, and *bandeirantes*. According to Ribeiro (2015, p. 283), a characteristic of this population is that the *caipiras* did not understand work as a way of the accumulation of capital, but as a basic need for their subsistence. This population lived in conditions based on what they could cultivate on their properties, or hunt in the still preserved forests. This living condition is called by Candido (2010) “*mínimo vital*”, that is, the minimum conditions required for them to have sufficient food and satisfactory leisure practices.

Also according to the author, one of the basic characteristics of the *caipira* culture was neighborhood solidarity, which was characterized by the donation of food, especially meat, by collective efforts during the harvests and by cronyism. The main cultural characteristics of *caipiras* are “1. isolation; 2. land ownership; 3. domestic work; 4. neighborhood assistance; 5. availability of land; 6. margin for leisure” (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 97). This population had its sociability practices evidenced in religious festivals or end-of-harvest festivals. Due to the influence of Catholicism in its formation, faith in God, Mary and the saints was common (CANDIDO, 2010). At the communities' church festivals, the presence of the viola to liven up the people was common, and these local events were where a specific form of musicality developed, which “is not characterized by a rhythmic structure or by any discrete element. It practically describes a separate genre, the religious festivities that mark the Catholic calendar in rural areas of Brazil” (OLIVEIRA, 2009, p. 66).

The Catholicism was so widespread in the region where the *caipira* culture developed that its presence also influenced the emergence of villages that grew around a chapel. The *caipira* Christian-Catholic religiosity was not the same as that determined by the catechism of the Catholic Church, since the manifestations of faith of this population were commonly accompanied by festivities with syncretic elements. These manifestations occurred “mainly through religious services, processions, promises and festive celebrations, in which devotion is combined with playfulness, resulting in a mix of the sacred and the profane” (PAULA, 2012, p. 66).

The *caipira*'s religiosity was more practical and less formal, but even so, principles of the Catholic Church also influenced its organization and structure, being decisive in the formation of the country folk family. According to the Catholic Catechism, the family, which is idealized in the representation of the “Holy Family”, is understood as the “original cell of social life” (VATICANO, 1992, n.p., emphasis in the original). And while Catholicism preaches a family organization that educates and forms children correctly based on religious morality, in the *caipira* culture the family also had an important social and economic function. Candido (2010) indicates that on small properties, work was distributed among family members according to age criteria, and from an early age children accompanied their parents in their daily activities, “[...] informally familiarizing themselves with their parents' experience: agricultural and artisanal techniques, animal care, empirical knowledge of various species, traditions, stories, moral code” (CANDIDO, 2010, p.287). Being educated for the trades by their own family, Campos (2011) states that children and adolescents did not need specific methodologies

and formal teaching spaces to learn, “on the contrary, they, in their games and in their work, needed free contact with their families and with the residents of the neighborhood where they lived” (CAMPOS, 2011, p. 503) and points out that “[...] three elements were (or are) fundamental to the informal educational process of the *caipiras*: work, religiosity and, intertwined with the first two, group solidarity” (CAMPOS, 2011, p. 496). From the age of eight, children already participated in family activities, with the girls accompanying their mother and sisters, and the boys the men of the house, and then the younger ones reproduced the activities carried out by their older relatives. The practice of production configured the form of education through work developed by the *caipiras*. Regarding the influence of religion on the education of the *caipira*, Campos (2011, p. 499) states:

I was also convinced that another fundamental instrument in the education of the *caipiras* was religion. Or rather, the expression of a certain form of religiosity. Children began to learn the first notions of religion from their father and mother. But practically the entire community in the neighborhood transmitted their religiosity to the children in their daily lives. Then they went to catechism in the chapel. The catechists or chaplains taught them, in addition to the liturgical prayers, their traditional prayers as well (CAMPOS, 2011, p. 499).

The initiation of children into religion strengthened moral principles, from the elements of Catholicism itself to the relations typical of the *caipira* culture, in this case, community solidarity. In a broader context, Durhan’s (1978) research which established in a homogenizing manner the organizational bases of families in the interior of Brazil in the second half of the 20th century, and highlighted the hierarchical traits common to the different regions of the country, which were characterized by the subordination of women and of the youngest to the oldest:

This subordination is expressed in attitudes of “respect” of children towards their parents, and of women towards their husbands. The fundamental characteristic of the conjugal group is, therefore, paternal dominance. The father is responsible not only for decisions that affect the group as a whole, but also those that refer to each of its members, individually (DURHAN, 1978, p. 64).

Based on his observations in the interior of São Paulo between the 1940s and 1950s, Candido (2010) states that respect for the elders from the youngest was something valued, but that it was changing as a result of the process of modernization in the countryside, which also affected family relations. Another factor that contributed to the destabilization of the family was migration, seen by the author as a factor that prevented families that moved frequently from establishing ties with their surroundings. Therefore, “although it remains cohesive as a group, it increasingly changes as a traditional structure, by accepting the patterns transmitted by the urban influence that is disconnecting from the original placenta of its rustic culture” (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 291). As the *caipira* saw his culture clash with the habits of an urbanized culture, he also saw his family, which was previously organized around itself, being impacted by the organizational changes in society.

Among the transformations in the organization of the family, Priore (2019) states that the role and image of the child changed between the 1930s and 1970s. For the author, these changes resulted from a greater search by parents for scientific information about how to better educate them. While in the 1930s parents understood that educating “was following religion,

fighting the devil, setting a good example and watching over the child. [...] In the 1970s and 1980s, education meant taking extreme care of the child, because future problems originate in childhood” (PRIORE, 2019, p. 336). The change in the concerns of urban middle-class parents who left religious issues aside and began to follow scientific guidelines for raising their children is evident. There were many changes and incentives within society between the 1930s and 1970s and, based on the vision of Catholic educators who dealt with family education, “the 1960s brought with them the need for a project that would contribute to solving three major problems: sex, drugs and divorce” (ORLANDO; HENRIQUES, 2017, p. 59).

Among other changes that occurred during this period and that impacted family organization in Brazil as a whole, the gradual entry of middle-class women into the world of work stands out, something that was already a reality for lower-class women in Brazil (PRIORE, 2017), especially for those who were migrants (DURHAN, 1978). Female independence meant the freedom to choose marriage and motherhood. From the 1980s onwards, there was a decline in birth and marriage rates, an “increase in informal unions and the formalization of separations” (PRIORE, 2019, p. 377). As a Catholic sacrament, the decrease in the number of marriages is indicative of the lack of concern for religious and family traditions on the part of the new generations, but for the older generations who followed traditions, this was a problem.

During this period, generational changes also occurred. Young Brazilians, especially those from the middle class, went through significant changes between the 1960s and especially the 1970s, a period in which “the desire to live freely, to escape traditional or conservative customs and behaviors, the use of drugs and the appreciation of sensory experiences became common among young people dissatisfied with the current system” (PRIORE, 2019, p. 348). Their children then began to be educated with more freedom than their parents.

As a result of the exodus, *caipiras* migrants had to understand the importance of formal education for their children, because unlike in the countryside, in the city this was a necessity for family integration and for the professional training of the youngest. When they entered school, the children of migrants began to circulate in other social spaces beyond the family nucleus, which was basically the limit of social interaction when they lived in the countryside, because even when the young person became independent in the countryside, they remained under the orders of their father for a time, while in the urban space:

Working outside the home, like attending school, creates conditions for the formation of youth-specific social groups, unrelated to family ties, within which they court young people of the opposite sex, participate in mass entertainment and play sports. The constant references made by young people to “friends” and “work colleagues” highlight the importance of these groups. Since they are not organized as “groups of migrants” but as groups of young people from diverse backgrounds, they provide young people with opportunities to learn urban standards and values that do not exist for older people. It is therefore the young who acquire more easily and more quickly the standards and values necessary for orientation in the urban world. Their experience becomes richer and, above all, more appropriate than that of older people. (DURHAN, 1978, p. 202-203).

Despite the challenges for migrants to integrate into the culture found in cities, for younger people this movement was easier due to interactions with other young people in schools and informal spaces. Thus, the children of migrants played the role of translators for their parents. As a result of this contact between different groups, the problems of youth were not restricted to one social class. Among the problems experienced by young people were drug use and teenage pregnancy, which made the education of these young people seen as a challenge.

These issues were sung by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho, who spoke about the roles that should be played by women, as well as the issue of raising children and the problems experienced by younger people. In this sense, the representations conveyed in the duo's productions allow us to think about the issue of educating sensibilities by indicating the principles and values that were current in the country culture at the time, but which faced cultural shock as a result of generational changes and the migratory exodus.

Education of sensitivities: brief considerations about the topic

According to Taborda de Oliveira (2019), the history of education of the senses and sensibilities has its origins in studies on the history of the body that investigated how certain groups reacted to social changes, identifying the sensitivities that were awakened by such events, and how they impacted social reality. In this sense, research about the topic aims to understand how the senses and sensibilities are educated in subjects, exerting a decisive influence on their actions on the environment.

In order to understand how sensitivities are awakened, it is necessary to understand the triggers that provoke them. For the French anthropologist, David Le Breton (2016, p. 29), who researches the perceptions of the senses in different cultures and societies, things in themselves do not have a meaning, but meanings are attributed to them based on individual subjectivity. It is essential to identify the sociocultural aspects in which the individual was formed in order to understand how his/her understanding of reality is constructed. It is precisely in the combination of nature, aesthetics, science and culture as a synthesis of economics, politics and society that the education of the senses and sensibilities can be investigated (TABORDA DE OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 8).

For a more adequate definition of the term, we mobilize the proposition made by Pesavento (2005, n. p.) about what sensitivities would be:

Sensitivities would correspond to this primary nucleus of perception and translation of human experience that is at the heart of the construction of a social imaginary. Sensitive knowledge operates as a form of recognition and translation of reality that arises not from the rational or from the most elaborate mental constructions, but from the senses, which come from the depths of each individual.

With this definition, it can be stated, therefore, that sensitivities attribute meanings to experiences and phenomena experienced in a dialogic process with reality, which makes each man and woman understand the same phenomenon in different ways, even though they may be similar. Thus, even though sensitivities are individual at first, in an environment in which the agents involved have been educated and formed in the same cultural background, it is also possible for sensitivities to be shared, even if not equal (MORENO; SEGATINI, 2012, p. 33).

Regarding the relation between subject and society, individual and shared sensitivities, Taborda de Oliveira (2018, p. 125) states that

Sensitivity is not a passive reaction of subjects – individual or collective – to the influences of the external environment. Rather, it is an active faculty. It is for no other reason that we seek in the plurality of historical experiences aspects that can elucidate their flows of permanence, but also their moments of transformation, when a particular type of experience gives way to other ways of seeing, knowing and feeling the world, and acting upon it.

In each social group, representations are created to facilitate communication between individuals, and in this process, cultural productions also act as a means of expressing them. It is within the scope of sensibilities that “the ways in which individuals and groups perceive themselves are produced, appearing as a stronghold of representation of reality through emotions and senses” (PESAVENTO, 2005, n.p.), and it is therefore in this dimension that meanings are attributed to reality. Thus, by paying attention to sensibilities, it is possible to understand the production of new representations and identify how different social groups perceive and react to the world.

It is also worth noting that sensitivities are culturally constructed, but they are not static. Their formation process is continuous, varying with the social contexts in which they find themselves and the references they have. For Le Breton (2019), in the different periods that exist throughout life, subjectivity is transformed, since a child and an elderly person do not see or interpret the world in the same way. To understand sensitivities, such as religious ones, they need to be placed in relation to the social world and from there reconstruct the different layers of social life. As Taborda de Oliveira (2018, p. 127) states:

It is precisely the estrangement in relation to the ways in which individuals of the past reacted, created, lived, felt, that leads historians to seek those hidden – and little valued – meanings in time, expressed in the different forms of sensibility – aesthetic, political, ethical, moral – and in the transformation of their individual and collective lives. To do this, it is not enough to “know or describe the context”, or to have sources. First, it is necessary to reconstruct all the ways of conceiving life in a given environment, not only the prevalent ones, but also the ordinary and subterranean ones, in order to try to capture why people reacted in a certain way to certain stimuli, sometimes in a very similar way to other people, sometimes in open opposition to their contemporaries.

More than just analyzing the historical context, in order to understand the sensitivities awakened by the clash between the individual and society, one must also seek to understand the subjective dimension of the subject, which, although it escapes the materiality of the historical record, does not lose its historicity. Thus, although it is difficult to grasp, the sensitive dimension can be identified based on other evidence, such as cultural productions that are loaded with the cultural principles and values of the social group that produced it.

Therefore, in order to analyze the education of sensitivities, one must analyze precisely how the individual is educated in the world. Here, in this case, the aim is to identify how music makes this type of education possible, presenting a perspective that is still uncommon in research in the field, but with great potential.

“Singing Now I Speak”: The Education of a Christian Family Sensitivity

By proposing the term “family sensitivities,” the intention is to encompass the sensitivities that concern both the value of the family and the roles of father, mother and children that constitute a certain social order, an ideal type of family to be followed. In this sense, the analysis was made based on songs by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho that conveyed representations about the family and materialized principles and values current in country culture through the exposition of moral messages in some lyrics.

Regarding the education of children, two songs produced in the 1970s addressed the topic and condemned the behavior of young people at the time. The first of these, released in 1972, was *Filhinho de Papai* (SANTOS; SANTOS; CARREIRO, 1972), which criticized children who did not recognize the work and effort of their parents. The first verse already shows the revolt against that situation:

*Gasta, mocidade, gasta
dinheiro que não é seu
Pra ganhar esse dinheiro,
o seu pai foi quem gemeu
Trabalhando dia e noite,
da própria vida esqueceu
A luta não foi brinquedo,
mas o velho não correu
Pro filho comer a carne,
o seu pai osso roeu
O que o pai ganhou lutando,
brincando o filho perdeu
(SANTOS; SANTOS; CARREIRO, 1972).*

This critical tone towards children who did not recognize the value of their parents continues throughout the song, and it is said that everything that the parents achieved with hard work was spent, without conscience, by the young people. This criticism of the youth in general is in line with what was said by Candido (2010) when the author states that the younger ones had less and less respect for the older ones. In the same vein, the song *A vaca já foi pro brejo* (CARREIRO; SANTOS; MACHADO, 1977), which was one of the duo's greatest hits and was re-released on two other albums organized by the label in 1979 and on at least five posthumous albums, also contains a critique that clearly demonstrates Tião Carreiro & Pardinho's view of the family at the time:

*Mundo velho está perdido, já não endireita mais
Os filhos de hoje em dia já não obedecem os pais
É o começo do fim, já estou vendo sinais
Metade da mocidade estão virando marginais
É um bando de serpente
Os mocinhos vão na frente e as mocinhas vão atrás
(CARREIRO; SANTOS; MACHADO, 1977).*

The family crisis and, once again, the children's lack of respect for their parents are criticized and identified as a sign of the end of times, clearly a moralistic perception of the problem and an analogy to a religious metaphor. With appealing passages, one of them tells the story of a father who, after his daughter graduated, abandons him, causing the man to die of grief. In another passage, it is stated that the children seemed like kings, being the authorities of the house, while the parents only obeyed, indicating the reversal of roles within the family. In the last verse of the song, its religious motivation is revealed in a more specific way, but the very valorization of obedience and respect for hierarchy is already an indication of this religious basis that supports this representation:

*Meu mestre é Deus nas alturas
O mundo é meu colégio*

Eu sei criticar cantando
 Deus me deu o privilégio
 Mato a cobra e mostro o pau
 Eu mato e não apedrejo
 Dragão de sete cabeças
 também mato e não aleijo
 Estamos no fim do respeito
 Mundo velho não tem jeito
 A vaca já foi pro brejo
 (CARREIRO; SANTOS; MACHADO, 1977).

Tião Carreiro & Pardinho claim that it was God who granted the artists their critical capacity (and they say this in the first person), attesting to the almost indisputable legitimacy of the criticism they are making. Criticism based on moral principles is based on Catholicism, since the act of honoring one's father and mother is one of the Christian commandments expressed in the book of Exodus, chapter 20, verse 12 (HOLY BIBLE, 2011, p. 76). Thus, based on Catholicism, criticism of children and young people in general who did not honor their parents was legitimized by religion. Songs like these also guided practices and behaviors that should be avoided based on moral condemnations based on an idealized family order. Through her research, which collected testimonies from hundreds of migrants in Brazil, Durhan (1978) states that many parents interviewed said that some of their children, especially the younger ones, fought because they considered the family home to be too simple, or picked on them because of their country and *caipira* habits. For the author, this occurred because the young people incorporated urban cultural codes and clashed with their parents' habits. The songs by Tião Carreiro and Pardinho analyzed, in addition to highlighting generational clashes, also present the critical view of the generation of migrants who observed the new customs of their descendants who adopted behavior different from that expected by them.

In contrast to these criticized behaviors, in *Boiadeiro mão de aço* (CARREIRO; VIEIRA, 1975), which is sung from the perspective of a son, it is portrayed how his father educated him and trained him as a cattle herder. When he turned 20 and left home, the young man received a lasso as a gift from his father and continued in the trade he had learned. When he returned to his homeland years later, he arrived at dusk and heard a cowboy shouting for help with his herd of cattle. Getting closer, he saw that the cowboy was drowning in the river and saved him with the lasso he had received when he had left. When the man came out of the water, the protagonist recognized his father. This song highlights the already portrayed education through work, made from the example and reproduction of parents' habits, and, more than that, while the first two songs analyzed criticized the behavior of young people, this song values the example of a son who followed in his father's footsteps and honored him when he saved him, thus following the Christian commandment:

*A correnteza era forte tirei o cipó da chinha do macho
 E pelo escuro ainda consegui laçar o peão por um dos seus braços
 Ao trazer ele na praia meu coração se fez em pedaço
 Por um milagre que Deus mandou salvei meu pai com seu próprio laço*
 (CARREIRO, VIEIRA, 1975).

These songs defend parental authority, reproducing the representation the idea of a family organized hierarchically by the elders, which is common in *caipira* culture. By indicating this order, Tião Carreiro and Pardinho propose a family behavior and structure imagined based on religious principles prevalent in different cultures, such as *caipira* and

sertaneja, which gradually became incorporated into urban culture. The messages conveyed through these songs allowed them to play a formative role based on their audience's appropriation. Through the propositions of idealized behaviors based on religious principles that aimed at improving family functioning, the songs of Tião Carreiro & Pardinho played a formative role by proposing family behaviors and values. By defending the valorization of fathers, these artists took a stand in the face of the new social reality that, from their perspective, was one of role reversal.

Still following the molds of the patriarchal order in which the country family was constituted, the duo also produced songs that reinforced the behavior of women and wives idealized in the traditional molds of this organization. Two of the songs produced on this theme were *Minha esposa vale ouro* (CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1969) and *Rainha do lar* (CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1983), which indicated the expected behaviors of wives, and both are sung in the first person from the husband's point of view. The first song presents the submissive profile of his wife who suffered in silence:

*Minha esposa vale ouro, ela sofre e não reclama
Eu não sou um bom marido, mesmo assim ela me ama
Coitadinha pula cedo, e me traz café na cama
Eu devo à minha esposa minha glória e minha fama
(CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1969).*

The value of a wife lies in two very clear characteristics: the first is that she didn't complain about problems, and the second is that she accepted her husband's imperfections and did everything for him. This representation of a passive and submissive woman is the idealization of a “wife who is worth her weight in gold.” There is also the reproduction of the patriarchal family order, with a husband who provides for the home, a wife who waits for him to serve him, and children who obey their father.

In *Rainha do lar*, a message is conveyed to husbands so that they recognize the value of their wives and do not get involved with other women:

*Está na hora do homem criar vergonha
Pôr a mão na consciência e pensar mais no seu lar
A sua esposa vale um milhão de banquete
Mulher da rua não vale nem um jantar*

*A esposa é uma verdadeira santa
Mulher da rua não passa de uma piranha
Sua esposa lhe ajudou ganhar a vida
Mulher da rua só quer o que você ganha
Mulher da rua é o doce mais amargo*

*Quem experimenta sua vida só atrasa
A esposa é uma santa mulher divina
Que faz do amargo da vida
A doçura da nossa casa
(CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1983).*

While in *Minha esposa vale ouro* the woman is presented as submissive, in this second song she is portrayed as the sweetness of the home who is the counterpoint to the unfaithful husband. However, it is worth noting that the song criticizes the behavior of the so-called “*mulheres de rua*”

who are identified in the second verse as “*piranhas*” and a delay in the lives of these men, but there is no criticism of the men who commit adultery. This binomial characterized in this song that contrasts the “wife x the street woman” reinforces a stigmatized representation polarized in religious antagonistic pairs such as “Mary x Eve” or the “saint x sinner”.

In contrast to the positive representation of a submissive and docile wife presented in these two songs, in *Meu protesto* (CARREIRO; NUNES, 1986) a husband complains to his wife who does not fulfill his wishes. Although the couple was previously very happy, at that moment they were going through a marital crisis. The man recognized that he did not behave well, even giving his wife reason to think he was wrong, but he stated that he did all that due to the lack of love at home: I know it is very late, but I ask you Don't condemn me for arriving now the lack of love here at home it is what forces me to look for love outside.

*Eu sei que é muito tarde, mas lhe peço
Não me condene por estar chegando agora
A falta de amor aqui em casa
É que me obriga procurar amor lá fora* (CARREIRO; NUNES, 1986).

This excerpt shows that the blame for the husband's bad behavior fell on the wife. As in the previous song, once again the man is not clearly criticized or given derogatory terms, and the responsibility once again falls on the woman. Thus, if in *Minha esposa vale ouro* there is the exaltation of the woman who suffers in silence and obeys her husband, here the wife who, from the man's point of view, does not satisfy her spouse's needs is condemned.

The period in which these songs were produced was also marked by the social conquests of women, who gradually gained more space and greater freedom. It is possible to propose an interpretation that in *Minha esposa vale ouro* and *Rainha do lar* there is recognition of the value of wives and that they advised their husbands to realize the importance of their partners, but it is undeniable that the transmission of a representation of an ideal type of woman-wife and family that clashed with the new habits of women at the time, who were increasingly conquering their space outside the domestic sphere and the new roles resulting from this new social dynamic.

Despite reprimanding certain behaviors, it is possible to question how these songs were appropriated and received by women who consumed *sertanejo* music, since, as Chartier (1988, 1992) states, there is no passive audience. For the young women who were part of the generations of daughters of migrant *caipira*, and who were influenced by feminist achievements, the representation of women who were not submissive to their husbands may have been identified in another way and appropriated as examples of women who defended their will. Although there is no way to understand how these songs were appropriated, it is undeniable that they were subject to various interpretations.

In any case, these songs reproduced an ideal representation of a wife and defended female submission to men, while men should recognize the value of their partners and perceive her importance, knowing that men's extramarital affairs were the responsibility of their wives, often justified by the fact that their partners did not do what he wanted. As for the male role in the family as husband and father, it was up to him to be the guardian of the family and its provider. In *Chumbo grosso* (CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1975), for example, the story of a father who idealized what his son-in-law should be like is sung, and here the father figure is placed as the protector of his daughter. This same representation is presented in *O pulo do gato* (CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1974), which portrays the action of a father who, upon seeing his teenage daughter pregnant by a man who abandoned her, went after him to clear the family's honor.

While the father is represented with protective authority, the mother is seen as a fragile figure who was only concerned with matters of motherhood. When analyzing the maternal

representation in the song *Mãe amorosa* by the duo Vadico and Vidoco released in 1969, Contieri (2015) states that the song portrays the vision of a passive mother, who dedicated herself exclusively to her children, and that everything revolved around being a mother. The author also identified this passivity of the maternal figure in *Fogão a lenha*, from the 1980s, great success of Chitãozinho & Xororó. In the same vein, Tião Carreiro and Pardinho gave voice to a song that presents a similar representation of the maternal figure. In *O filho que não volta* (SETTANI; MACHADO, 1977) the story of a mother who became depressed after the death of her son is sung. This representation evokes maternal sensitivity and proposes a conduct of the woman who lives for her children, because her happiness consists in being a mother.

*Aquela mulher, naquela janela
 Todo dia nesta mesma hora
 Fica ali esperando e chora
 Que alguém traga uma notícia a ela
 [...]
 Até hoje ela não se conforma
 Todo dia nesta mesma hora
 Por seu filho que nunca mais volta
 Fica ali esperando e chora
 (SETTANI; MACHADO, 1977).*

In all these songs, the representation of the mother's role focuses on motherhood, in a model of woman-mother that followed the imagination of part of the population, especially men. It is important to highlight that these representations were the idealization constructed and conveyed by men – the composers and singers – about the social role of women in the family and society, which was gradually being deconstructed.

Regarding the marital bond, two songs by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho present characters who speak of the happiness of marriage and devotion to God. In *Feliz casamento* (CARREIRO; CASTRO, 1969), sung in the first person from the male perspective, the moment in which the character and his fiancée get married at the church altar is portrayed. Without a big party, the character highlights the simplicity of his wedding and praises his simple marriage with much love. Happiness was in marrying the one he loved at the church altar, an expression of his religiosity, which understood the need to have God's blessing. In turn, in *Na paz de Deus* (CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1975a), the story of a couple who, even without getting married in church, lived “*na paz de Deus*” is sung:

*Felicidade não é casar, felicidade é viver bem
 Felicidade é a paz de Deus, e a paz de Deus minha casa tem
 Felicidade é a paz de Deus, e a paz de Deus minha casa tem
 Meu casamento sem cartório e sem igreja
 Mas muito amor, tenho pra dar e vender
 Minha amada se entregou de corpo e alma
 Trazendo amor muito amor para vencer
 (CARREIRO; SANTOS, 1975a).*

As it has already seen, the family is identified as the basic nucleus of society and a primordial institution both for the Christian religion in general and for the *caipira*, and it should begin based on faith in God and conjugal love, which together should be the basis for marriage. The second song shows a manifestation of *caipira* religiosity based on the relaxation of Catholic values and norms, since the characters did not receive the sacrament of marriage, but even so there is the presence of devotion. With faith, love between spouses, a submissive wife who was

also a mother who lived for motherhood, a father who protected family honor and a husband who recognized the value of his wife (even though he could have extramarital affairs, which was justified by his wife's faults), as well as children who respected and honored their parents, this was the construction of a family conveyed in the duo's song representations.

Reproducing notions rooted in common sense, Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho gave voice to notions and representations that defended and/or condemned behaviors and values. Condemning attitudes and actions by proposing idealized behaviors made this action play a formative role in the group that made up the *sertanejo* music audience based on moral perceptions. The discourse conveyed was legitimized by the faith and Christian culture of the very group that consumed *sertanejo* music. Thinking according to Chartier (1988, 1992) and Ginzburg (2006) with cultural circularity, which understands that the representations and notions present in a culture are not restricted to social strata, but cross different layers of society, we can see that family issues were concerns of different social groups and Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho, based on their cultural references, played a role of guidance and proposing behaviors, thus exercising a form of education of sensitivities.

In different ways, the *caipiras* saw their values, customs and traditions clash with social transformations, and if this reality did not exist within the social group to which these productions were directed, there would be no reason to produce them. In other words, if there was a repudiation of certain behaviors of women and idealized feminine behaviors were proposed, this is an indication that in that social group there could also be cases in which wives sought their own autonomy and did not accept the imposed order. Furthermore, as women were from lower classes of the population, it was common for them to need to work outside the home, so they also had a role in the household's financial life. However, what they could not do, according to the songs, was not follow the family's hierarchical structure.

The young people of that time seemed to not accept their parents' authority, and given the sensitivity that supported the family organization considered morally correct and based on religious principles, this behavior was wrong. However, changes had happened and the *sertanejo* music audience had to adapt, recognizing that the education of children in the cities was different from that they had in the countryside, but they still understood that the younger ones should maintain the inherited customs. The generational conflicts evidenced in the first songs analyzed were due to these different cultural backgrounds and, in this sense, the songs of Tião Carreiro and Pardiniho help to understand the vision and representation that were common among the audience of traditional *sertanejo* music.

Taborda de Oliveira and Oscar (2014, p. 175) warn that researchers who intend to focus on the education of the senses and sensitivities must deal with the difficulty of understanding the sensitive issues of a temporality distinct from their own, which in itself is loaded with specific sensitivities. This makes it necessary to reconstruct the entire historical climate by analyzing the social, cultural and historical reality of the time, and how these dimensions influenced the formation of the individual, even if the identification is made based on inference and evidence.

By conveying the representation of social roles of each family member, Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho expressed latent concerns of the *sertanejo* music audience, which paid special attention to the family. Based on the work of Le Breton (2019), it is understood that the songs analyzed expressed sensitivities present in the social group to which Tião Carreiro and Pardiniho belonged. In this way, these artists, in addition to singing for their listeners, also expressed perceptions common to after all, just as representations are produced by a specific group to attribute meaning to an event, sensibilities are better understood in a social group that has the same references.

Final considerations

In addition to formal and school education, diffuse educational practices are also taken as objects in research in the History of Education, and in the case of the education of the senses and sensitivities, these forms of education should receive greater attention. Observing the importance of cultural products in the formative and educational process of society has become increasingly latent, given the impact and diffusion of these productions in our society. In the case of the context of the second half of the 20th century, specifically in relation to the audience of traditional *sertanejo* music, for whom the diffusion of reading practices was not always significant, music was a cultural production that received great attention, and precisely for this reason it should be analyzed with special attention.

The education of sensibilities through the songs of Tião Carreiro & Pardinho analyzed here occurred precisely through the proposition of idealized behaviors, the transmission of values and the defense of a family order. Even if an educational project is not identified in the production of songs that dealt with the value and importance of the family and its members, the work of these artists performed an educational action having as a reference an idealization of family that was based on Christian principles and the country family itself. The representations conveyed clashed with others that were emerging and being disseminated in the context in question, which caused the period to be characterized by generational clashes and changes in social paradigms. As Chartier (1988) states, representations are constructed in processes of disputes among different social groups and, in the case of the *sertanejo* music audience, it was the artists of the genre who gave voice to the representations created in this environment and conveyed the sensibilities current in the group.

With this work, we can also think of new sources of research to think about educational practices and the theme of the education of the senses and sensitivities. Different cultural productions have a role that is still little explored in the formation of individuals and thinking about the educational potential of these products is a promising research path that deserves the attention of other researchers in the field of History of Education.

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