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CONSTRUCTION AND LEGITIMATION OF A KNOWLEDGE FIELD: FASHION DESIGN IN BRAZIL

Construção e legitimação de um campo do saber:
o Design de Moda no Brasil

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Abstract

This article reflects the process of building and legitimating a field of academic knowledge, particularly the field of Fashion Design, which emerged in Brazil in 2004, when the Ministry of Education instituted that all fashion courses in the country should be in the field of Design, guided by their respective curricular guidelines. It also shows how this process occurred in Brazil, in oils and resistances. We used bibliographical, documentary and interview research as the main source of the data that guided our reflections on the theme. The results pointed to a field still under construction, with the clear power struggle between the dominant - designers and the dominated - stylists.

Palavras-Chave: Field. Resistance. Power.

Resumo

Este artigo busca refletir o processo de construção e legitimação de um campo do saber acadêmico, particularmente o campo do Design de Moda, que surge no Brasil a partir de 2004, quando o Ministério da Educação instituiu que todos os cursos de moda do país deveriam se enquadrar ao campo do Design, orientando-se por suas respectivas diretrizes curriculares. Apresenta também como esse processo ocorreu no Brasil, em aceites e resistências. Utilizamos a pesquisa bibliográfica, documental e a entrevista como principal fonte dos dados que nortearam as nossas reflexões acerca do tema. Os resultados apontaram um campo ainda em construção, com a clara disputa de poder entre os dominantes – designers e os dominados – estilistas.

Palavras-Chave: Campo. Resistência. Poder.

1 INTRODUCTION

The field of Fashion Design in Brazil has its recent constitution and seeks legitimation, given a scenario of practices and agents that differ regarding the migration of Fashion as a formation area, to the field of Design. In this context, we sought the theory of social fields, in Bourdieu (1983), for a better understanding of how the existence of a field implies the existence of a struggle for the monopoly of legitimate authority, and how we perceive this struggle between stylists and designers in Brazil.

For Bourdieu (1983), a field is a structured social space of positions, where agents are in competition for specific benefits, according to the equally specific rules inherent in it. So, it is made up of multifaceted social relations between agents of common interest. It is a social space involved in power relations, with the remarkable presence of dominator / dominated. Holders of greater power or accumulation of capital, whether economic, cultural, social or symbolic, can interfere in the field by defining their rules, limits, benefits and thus maintaining their position. The competing agents, however, although they share common interests, do not have the same resources and competences.

In the current context of the constitution of the academic field of Fashion, for example, the dominated / framing resistance group do not access the Ministry of Education (MEC) as easily as the dominators, at the time, accessed, argued, proposed the debate to higher schools in Brazil, which culminated in the establishment of Fashion in the field of Design.

For Bourdieu (1983), those who monopolize the specific capital of their field tend to conservation strategies. In this logic, we understand the reasons why the Design courses did not change their curriculum structures, nor did they insert Fashion subjects as compulsory in their curricula, while the Fashion courses had, by the Ministry's guidance, to modify pedagogical projects entirely - conceptions, training, objectives, student profile and curriculum structure.

Once the field of fashion design is established, the relationship of strength between its agents and institutions remains, and the object of common struggle becomes the recognition (or denial) of fashion as a field of knowledge. The dominant, those who participated in the process of framing Fashion to Design, or those who were silent but accepted the change, maintain the conservation position of Design. They accept the situation as posed, do not question the MEC, adapt their curricula to the new field and follow. The dominated, who had presented and present arguments against the framework, resist this change, organize themselves in discussion forums, expose arguments in scientific colloquia, and fight for the acceptance of Fashion as a field with the Ministry of Education. This article aims to present these reflections, from bibliographical research and the investigation of how this process happened in the field of Fashion Design in Brazil.

2 DISTINCTIONS [APPROACHES] BETWEEN THE OFFICE AND NATURE OF THE STYLIST AND DESIGNER

The field of fashion was, in its origin, based on the presence of the stylist as an agent of domination. He was / is both the professional responsible for the authoring of haute couture creation, as well as the producer who binds the brands and develops ready-to-wear products in various segments, reaching from the luxury to the popular market,

with projection of garments in large quantities offered. These different segments present their own agents and places of distribution and diffusion, which oppose each other in search of distinction. They are also responsible for choosing the values and criteria, which affect the formal characteristics of the products they generate (CHRISTO, 2013). Regardless of the category in which he works, the designer based his activity on empirical practice, supported by the fact that he was consecrated and legitimized in the field, which allowed him to risk error or success.

This craft that founds the notion of the Stylist is losing importance, as the formative instances cease to legitimize it and begin to empower another producer of the field, the designer. In this movement, we seek the conservation or subversion of the specific capital distribution structure, according to Bourdieu (1983). Thus, by placing all Fashion courses in the Design area at the beginning of the 21st century, the Ministry of Education would be inaugurating a new field that we commonly call Fashion Design, or Design-Fashion, according to the established nomenclature limitations by the MEC.

For Christo and Cipiniuk (2013), the roles performed by Fashion designers or stylists are similar. Both need to master the shape and creative processes, to know the users of their products, their materials and manufacturing methods, and the factors that affect their production costs.

Even with regard to the time of obsolescence of objects, which seems to be smaller for clothing, due to the influence of fashion and its movements of distinction and differentiation, the fields still approach:

[...] even though the time established for the obsolescence of an object traditionally understood as belonging to the field of Design is greater than that of an object of clothing, we can still understand that the products developed by any designer cannot be totally exempt from the phenomenon of fashion (CHRISTO, 2013, p. 65).

For Christo and Cipiniuk, this approximation and similarity between the modes and processes of planning, creation and production of objects “traditionally understood as Design and clothing objects” has always existed, despite the resistances, natural movement of the structure of the fields. It is noted that in both ways of resisting there is a designer ‘s unworthiness to the stylist’ s look, and vice versa, which is not restricted to diminishing the other ‘s performance, but also in not adapting to the notions associated with each of the activities, as complemented by Christo and Cipiniuk (2013):

Similarly, some designers seem to have difficulty understanding the link between their activity and notions normally attributed to the Fashion phenomenon, such as the appreciation of authorship, the relationship between the producer and the constitution of the symbolic value of the developed object, the appreciation of the notion. again, the establishment of a style that can be identified as a formal expression of a given producer; how clothing object producers seem to have difficulty understanding the relationships of their activity with notions normally associated with Design, such as the relation to the requirements imposed by market demands and the development of objects aimed at users rather than creators, even for apparently authoritative, free and autonomous clothing objects (CHRISTO; CIPINIUK, 2013, p. 2-3).

These are definitions and notions previously postulated, due to the historical-process of each of the fields, which ultimately contribute to the construction of these distances, opposite reactions and conflicts. In this context, the specific capital accumulated in previous struggles guides the strategies that follow them. (BOURDIEU, 1983).

Design is a project activity linked to the needs of its users. Therefore, it is rational, objective and practical, in addition to maintaining a commitment to market and producer demands. On the other hand, one of the arguments that we commonly find among those who defend the maintenance of Fashion as an area in MEC, is that the work of the stylist is creative, innovative and free, bringing him closer to the concept of artist, genius, giving it the most important role of the epicenter of fashion. The product it generates follows, therefore, the logic of an individual and autonomous expression, which presents difficulties to be measured, controlled or predicted.

In Brazil, Design was quickly brought closer to science and technique and removed from the field of art, which reinforced its devaluation by distancing it from the notion of authorial and autonomous creator. On the other hand, the discourse of the need for Design to be configured as a technical area was reinforced by its modernist tradition. This opposition between the free and autonomous professional and those who are bound by the dictates of the market becomes the object of dispute necessary for the operation of the new field. (CHRISTO in PIRES, 2008)

So, the same capacity that qualifies the designer for its design competence, as it ensures him a unique condition in the field, also diminishes him, because he designs him as a limited professional and bound to the demands of the market. Have a position in the midst of this and other ambiguities of the new field will depend on the different positions and power relations of its agents.

There is no way we can defend an autonomous production completely detached from the values of the market, just as we do not argue that it is produced solely for it. The designer does not develop exclusively to meet the demands of the market, because in some cases he can dedicate himself to the production of objects directed to his own field, according to his criteria. In this sense, they are recognized, consecrated and legitimized as learned producers.

Similarly, the producer of clothing objects also assumes the position of free and possessing a unique individual talent, with his signature of high economic and symbolic value, while at the same time being able to link himself to the industry of the market, distancing himself from its authorial capacity.

3 THE NEW FIELD AND ITS REVERBERATIONS IN ACADEMY AND THE LABOR MARKET

In order to make distinctions, there is an exaggeration in the strategies of both producers, stylists and designers. In this sense, there is an overvaluation of its design capacity, in order to legitimize its position as the dominant suitor in the field. The designers, in turn, refuse to exaggerate and, in the same way, enhance their authorial and free capacity. (CHRISTO, 2013).

We believe that the stylist occupies the dominant status in the field of creation / acting (in the job market). However, as we take the academic field of the production of objects of clothing, which is constituted from social relations and the productions and discussions that reverberate in the colleges and universities of which researchers and teachers are part and exert influence, the relationship is opposite. The dominated, by the force of the highest instance of education in Brazil, were the stylist, because all the

fashion courses in the country were forced to migrate to the area of Design.

We believe that this relationship was built in this way, because the Design education came about a few years before the Fashion education and, therefore, has a longer time of specific capital accumulation, although in its own field.

Besides the design ability of project, used to legitimize the position of this new producer category, according to Christo (2013), there is another strategic possibility in favor of the designer, which adds to the socio-historical context in which we live, marked by the complexity of human life: interdisciplinarity, which becomes possible in Design, precisely because of its non-authoritarian / singularity in the process.

Add to these aspects the fact that training for the conception of clothing products started late in Brazil, especially when compared to Design. It took 25 years after the creation of the first course of Industrial Design, for the graduation in Fashion to appear. For Pires (2002), the lack of professionals prepared for the role of fashion designer made it possible for lay people and self-taught to assume the role, based on the knowledge acquired through the exercise of the profession.

Apparently, the activity could be performed by anyone with a certain artistic talent, who traveled outside Brazil in search of materials, bibliographies, references, methods, technique and technology.

This lack of professionals trained in Fashion is a factor of approach with Design, which also suffered this shortage. The faculty of both areas consisted of professionals and academics from related fields and, in Design training, students graduated from the Ulm School. Thus, both the teaching of Design and the teaching of Fashion “was being empirically constructed. without a clear professional profile”(PIRES, 2012, p. 3).

However, the Design courses, with students from the Ulm School, Design and Industrial Design Teaching and Research Center of German origin, may have had a strengthening of their field, unlike the Fashion courses which, without a specific professional, were empirically constituted.

So, in the construction of the new field, it is important to understand that it is a social space where different agents and producers recognize, legitimize and consecrate themselves, establishing who will or will not belong to the field and in which hierarchical positions. There are always conflicts between those who belong to the field and those who wish to belong, between the dominant and the dominated. The notions and practices that represent these positions and disputes will shape the structure and operation of the constantly moving field.

[...] when different agents of the garment object production field in Brazil come together to validate [...] the objects developed by the ‘fashion designers’, they [...] end up contributing to the formation of a favorable market to him. But, on the other hand, if other agents of the same field come together to validate the objects developed by other producers of the field, [...] the ‘stylists’, through discourses of celebration about their authorial capacity, also contribute to the formation from another favorable market, but this time, directed to the ‘stylist’ [...] (CHRISTO, 2013, p. 127).

Therefore, when there was the framing of the Fashion courses in the field of Design, new relationships, positions, agents and values began to constitute this field (CHRISTO, 2013). In this process, we understand the feeling, on the part of many researchers, that there was a reduction of the field with the framing, because they were used to thinking about clothing in the dimension of the sociocultural phenomenon of Fashion. We agree

that it is much broader, which does not imply that we accept the reductionist discourse. What we do in most of our academic courses is to think of clothing as a design object, that is, we design it under the eyes of fashion. This was certainly the guiding principle of the framing decision proposed by the Ministry.

Thus, designers are not newcomers to the field of fashion. It is the Stylists, agents of this field, who are entering the field of Design, more specifically in the field of production of clothing objects. Therefore, there are several possibilities to perceive the current moment, depending on the validation of the agents of the new field.

It is believed, although without any claim of proof now, that in the field of creation / performance there are no oppositions of this order. That is, the designer is not legitimized by the stylist or vice versa.

In fact, these oppositions are not perceived, and the stylist is the term of greater circulation in companies and media, agents of diffusion of the field. In it, disputes are equally concerned with the legitimation of hierarchically consecrated agents, the status and prestige they enjoy, and the instruments that give them proof of value and power. The relationship between dominant and dominated, however, is not built on the relationship between designers and stylists, but on the consecration of those belonging to the environment, and no legitimation of those outside it.

Of course, if this domination of fashion designers is not perceived today outside the academic field, in the near future, after the transition, they will be the dominant producers of the field, because the courses will only form this agent, whereas the lack of Stylist courses will also make non-existent the profession of stylist.

4 FROM STYLISM TO DESIGN IN BRAZIL

In 1997, the Ministry of Education (MEC) held a public consultation through the Education Secretary, Edital no. 4/97, referring to the framing of all Fashion courses in the Design area. In response, the coordinators of the Fashion course at Santa Marcelina College and the Fashion Business College at Anhembi Morumbi University, the two pioneers in fashion education in Brazil, both located in São Paulo, submitted the document entitled “ Proposed Curriculum Guidelines for the College of Fashion ”, on May 6, 1998, in which schools advocated the creation of the Fashion area at MEC, based on a decade of experience in the field, research conducted and forwarded on the subject, contact with businessmen and professional associations, and recognized professional experience in the area.

At the time, the main argument of the document was that Fashion could not be restricted to a qualification of Design:

The complexity and relevance of fashion as a business, coupled with its importance as a social and behavioral phenomenon, requires that fashion courses have their own universe of study. Professionals, regardless of their area of expertise, must have a broad understanding of the fashion process, from creation to marketing. Fashion can not only be treated as a modality or qualification of a course with other focuses, as well as the level of the course must be bachelor, otherwise there is a risk of not providing adequate training to the demands of an extremely competitive market (SANTA MARCELINA, 1989, p. 1).

A generalist formation was defended, as the stylist should understand the main activities of the Fashion business and, at the same time, an expert, which would facilitate his insertion in the labor market:

As in other areas, the training of fashion professionals should involve a comprehensive profile that meets three levels: a) global, relative to generic skills, arising from the needs of contemporary globalized fashion; b) national, regarding the challenges that Brazil faces in its insertion in the world consumer market and in solving its socioeconomic problems; relating to the realities of the public that IES serves and which are closely related to the effective placement of the trainee on the market. [...] Generalist formation is based mainly in the areas of cultural, humanistic and technological formation; However, specialist training should seek to develop individual potentialities within the context of the regional market (SANTA MARCELINA, 1989, p. 2).

This group that has articulated itself in the past proposing the document has kept a regular agenda of meetings, which is why it was possible to access their ideas when we started attending their on-site and virtual forums.

However, despite the contrary manifestation of two important fashion schools in Brazil and possibly other schools, in 2003 the Ministry of Education (MEC) published the CNE / CES Edital no. 67, with the National Curriculum Guidelines for undergraduate courses in Law, Economics, Administration, Accounting, Tourism, Hospitality, Executive Secretariat, Music, Dance, Theater and Design. In this document, the MEC already signaled for the framing of Fashion courses to the Design area, in the definition of the skills to be developed by the professional egress:

Knowledge of the productive sector of its specialization, revealing solid sectoral vision, related to the market, materials, production processes and technologies covering furniture, clothing, shoes, jewelry, ceramics, packaging, artifacts of any nature, cultural features of society, software and other manifestations. (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, 2003, p. 27, emphasis added).

In 2004, the Ministry approved the National Curriculum Guidelines of the Undergraduate Design course, through Resolution CNE / CES no. 5 of 8 March 2004, based on CNE / CES Edital no. 67 and no. 195/2003 of August 5, 2003. Two years later, in 2006, the catalogs of the higher technology courses were published. From these publications, the bachelors in Fashion, which until then had a multitude of different nomenclatures, came to belong to the Design area, while the technological ones used the term Fashion Design.

Regardless of the acceptance of the fashion schools in this context, and the appropriate curricular adaptations, which were not restricted to the mere change of nomenclature, the MEC started to consider them courses of Design and, therefore, to submit them to Design tests in the National Performance Exam - ENADE in subsequent years: 2006, 2009, 2012, 2015 and 2018.

This passage from the formative conception in Fashion, from Stylism to Design, opens a potential space for debate in at least three dimensions: the discussion about the power of symbolic goods and the disputes between agents in the field of Fashion, because it justifies this relationship between dominant / dominated in the framing process; the relationships between the meanings of this passage and the crisis of the scientific paradigm, thus favoring the process; and the power relations that underlie the discourses and practices of resistance.

4.1 Process

Despite the resistances, initially identified in São Paulo and today already per-

ceived in other parts of the country, the number of schools that accepted the fashion framework was significant, many of them, we believe, in processes without much discussion, by a symbolic power that is exerted by the Ministry of Education, which authorizes, legitimates and disallows education in Brazil.

In this context, as most of the country's Fashion courses are in private institutions, most susceptible to overly judicious evaluations, we understand this peaceful acceptance as part of the game in dominant / dominated relations. For Bourdieu (1983), symbolic power is this invisible power that can only be exercised with the complicity of those who are subject to this power or even those who exercise it.

Therefore, there is a consensus that institutions owe obedience to the Ministry of Education, under penalty of severe punishments, ranging from authorization to work to access to research funding policies. In this sense, Bourdieu (1983) states that symbolic power is a reality-building power, which tends to establish a meaning of the world that supposes a logical conformism, a homogeneous, consensual conception, which enables agreement between the intelligences. Thus, if the MEC established the framework from 2004 onwards, it seemed natural that many schools should simply adapt to this new orientation and the debate, at the time, was reduced.

However, it is known that the MEC is formed by university professors linked to higher education institutions and, therefore, bring their own ideological positions to this instance of power. Thus, it can be said that this framing process took place due to the symbolic power exercised by the Ministry, but also by the disputes of the field.

To better understand these disputes from their agents, we interviewed four teachers in the 8th. Fashion Colloquium - Rio de Janeiro, in September 2012, three of which had somehow participated in this process with MEC, and the other, despite being a teacher of different Fashion courses in the Rio de Janeiro capital, had her career formative and investigative all oriented towards Design. As a strategy for preserving their identities, we chose to use the name of flowers: Acacia, Lavender, White Carmelia and Gardenia.

The results of these conversations with the teachers added to the numerical data obtained from 2008 to 2019, in a specific bibliography and on the Ministry's website, so that we could get an idea of the scenario of undergraduate education in Fashion in Brazil, in terms of quantities and modalities.

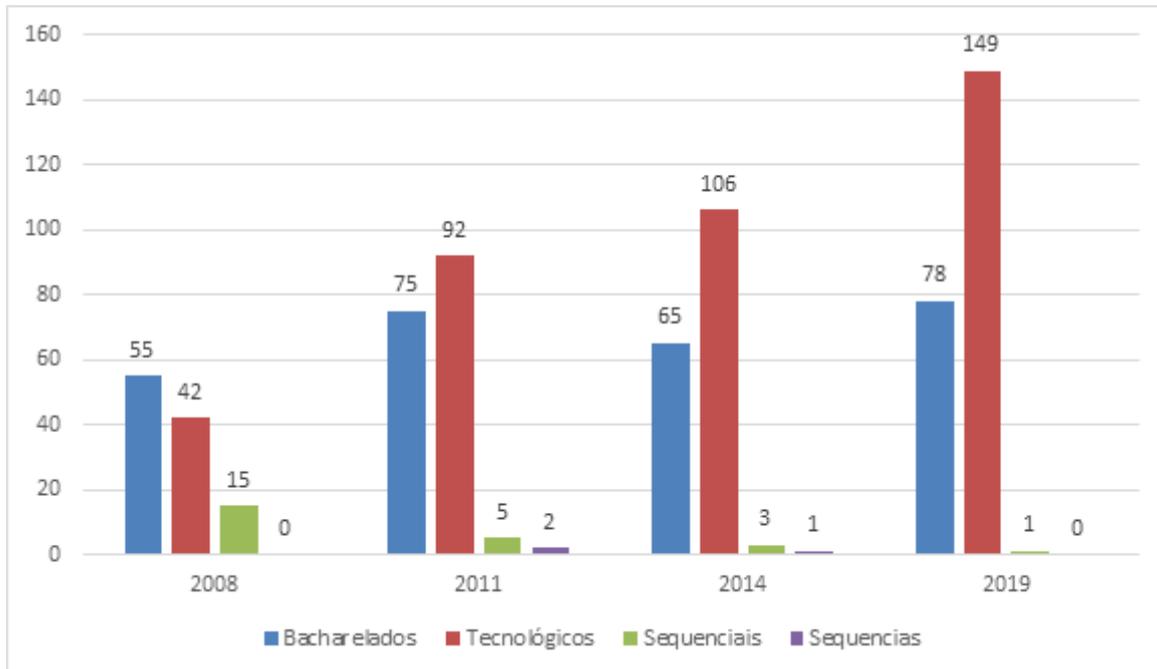
In 2008, the Fashion Design courses in Brazil reached 112 undergraduate and 24 specializations and MBA degrees. Of the graduations, 55 were bachelors, 42 technological and 15 sequential (PIRES, 2008). Three years later, in 2011, according to data published on the E-mec website, the top Fashion graduations reached 174, representing a significant growth of 55%. Of these, 75 Bachelors, 2 Bachelors, 92 Technological, 5 Sequential. The emergence of undergraduate degrees indicates a positive but still very timid concern in training professionals to act in this scenario of expanding fashion education.

When seeking MEC accredited Fashion courses, in February 2014, we noticed a stagnation in this amount, as 175 courses are registered, only one more than those identified in 2011. However, there is a tendency to prefer courses representing a growth of 15.2%, while decreasing the number of bachelors in Fashion by 13.3%.

In 2019, this trend remains, the bachelor's courses increase by 20% with the offer of 78, while technological courses add up to 149, a growth of over 40%. Therefore, we verify that the offer of Fashion courses in Brazil continues to grow, as we can see in Gra-

ph 1.

Graph 1 - Modalities of Fashion Degrees in Brazil



Source: www.emec.gov.br / accessed February 21, 2014 and <http://emec.mec.gov.br/> on March 10, 2019

This reversal of the predominance of technological courses from 2011 onwards, to the detriment of baccalaureate degrees, can be understood as a response to a supposed increase in market demand for this more technical professional, but in some cases as an escape from ENADE exams. which, since 2006, bring questions predominantly from the field of Design (which does not occur with technological courses).

In many speeches and documentary productions of resistance to migration from Fashion to Design, we will notice the concern with the results obtained in ENADE, since it presents itself with a more generalist focus, without dwelling on the proper issues of Fashion. This orientation is in line with the inter and multidisciplinary vision that seems to have influenced the process of framing Fashion to Design by MEC.

Of course, the strength of an undergraduate degree is not measured by a single exam, including the MEC itself considering various indicators for concept assignment. At the same time, ENADE's results may be masked by student omissions, commonly called "boycotts".

In the interviews, the possibility of a school failing to offer a baccalaureate to dedicate itself to the management of a less demanding technology course was considered in one of the speeches. This implicitly presupposes a concern with ENADE, even by those involved in the framing process. However, at the same time, the interviewed teacher realizes that there is a negative connotation attributed to this possibility of change, because this transition seems to mean a setback for the institution. Such prejudice may explain why some schools have chosen to open more than one Fashion course, in different modalities. That is, even wanting a technological course in Fashion Design, she chooses to open it, instead of seeing transformed / reduced a bachelor's degree.

I think that in this change you can see that there is a great resistance from schools to want to change, they think that coming to a technologist is demerit, they think that they lose quality because it will be a higher technology course. But higher technology courses are undergraduate courses like any other, unlike a high school technologist, who is today the existing nomenclature [...] (Gardenia, 2012).

Most of the current 228 courses (149 technology, 78 bachelors and 1 sequential) initially had a bias towards Stylistic, but today none maintains the term in their nomenclatures, announcing their bankruptcy and the dominance of Design as an area.

There are still many courses that keep only the term Fashion in their nomenclatures, which shows that this process is not taking place in a passive and consensual way. Those who resist do not accept the approach of the two fields, and do not perform ENADE. On March 14, 2012 was published in the Federal Official Gazette the Normative Ordinance No.6, which indicated the courses to be evaluated by the exam, among them the Design, exempting from the procedure the courses that were only called Fashion. This is a small victory for the resistance movement, but it also underscores a provisional situation, in which these courses are neither assumed as Design nor accepted by MEC regarding the request to make Moda a field of knowledge.

This process of framing Fashion into Design required the adequacy of curricula in a process that seemed to be arbitrary but represented the vision and training of those in power. When asked who interested in this change, the interviewees, all from courses that underwent this transition, deny the arbitrariness of the process. Importantly, the sample was unintentionally constituted by professionals who performed some activity for the Ministry of Education, and it is coherent to legitimize the transition. These are, therefore, favorable views to the framing of Fashion to Design.

[...] I saw a very serious work being done, which was actually from Professor Wollinger, who was with his team at the SESU (Secretariat of Higher Education), which is the regulation sector, and the goal was exactly, within a hundred [...] number of nomenclatures he has detected exist in the country, unify. To give you an idea, we had a course in Stylistic and Cosmetology, which is a women's course, had a course in Design and Cosmetics, Cosmeatrics. So, we saw, INEP itself was identifying [...] I think it was very good because he made a study in order to make the nomenclatures more linear. [...] in fact, what was behind all this was a herculean effort to typify a course, an area that has not yet found much place to this day (Gardenia, 2012. Our emphasis).

For Gardenia, the reason that would have led the MEC in this context was mainly the desire to unify the nomenclatures. Although the teacher does not indicate, a priori, any dispute of power at stake, her speech gradually reveals Design as a more consistent field than Fashion, and therefore its formation is more mature. These aspects reveal, in the first instance, the previous argument that we defend that the field of Design in Brazil would have, by its antiquity, accumulated greater specific capital than the field of Fashion. More than that, the teacher also reflects a gender position, which is perceived in the association of Fashion as a woman's course, as opposed to Design, implicitly a more masculine and therefore more consistent area.

There is evidence of this thinking in the interview, both when it comes to different nomenclatures, and when it exposes its belief that Fashion has not yet found its place as a field and, finally, when reproducing Wollinger's talk about the small number of professionals in the country:

I personally, at a meeting of school principals, maintainers, and I was representing my maintainer, talked to Wollinger in person, and he said to me: '[...] the only thing I think is that you are very few as Fashion in Brazil, maybe if we had a date we could discuss how this would happen. 'And really, we did, but it was Dilma's election year, it didn't work out, and now he's not doing it anymore. at the Ministry of Education, so we lose track of how it will look. But I don't see any background intent behind it. I think the intention was very good (Gardenia, 2012. Our emphasis).

This field, having considered fashion and clothing as synonyms, was constituted from different perspectives, from other fields, such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, etc., highlighting a sociocultural phenomenon that presents with fluctuating significance. This would have contributed to making the field complex and at the same time weakening it. Thus, Fashion is built in a multidisciplinary way, different fields take it as an object, but this supposed dialogue does not represent an effective interrelation. For this reason, it seems that it has not yet found its place, and the researchers involved in the field do not seem to have the necessary strength to defend it, as observed in Gardenia's text.

For White Carmelia, this distinction between Design and Fashion, or rather, between the role of stylists and designers, does not exist in practice, because when describing the process of designing new projects following a design methodology of Design, we identify the way the stylist works. "I don't think we're talking about something so different":

A committee of four expert professors working on Fashion courses was created to think about quality standards in Fashion, and I was on this team. It was noticed that in the job market, it was not known how to equate someone who has a degree in decoration or stylism. So the procedure was as follows, in each item, we were wondering if you could put decoration, would you put fashion? And then we were assembling all the Design items from those basic dimensions and it was concluded that we were not far away, that, in fact, those design practices existed in Fashion, they were not named or recognized (White Carmelia, 2012).

In discourse, however, we know that there is a relationship of dispute between the two producers, responsible for enhancing the differences between them.

[...] Effectively a document was elaborated, where Fashion was adopted as an emphasis of Design. This document arrived from the category. Until then, it was virtually impossible. There are still some Design heads with some kind of prejudice, but to a lesser extent. We did a nomination survey at this time and had over one hundred denominations for fashion. You lose a mark. [...] So it was a very painful process, very difficult, but beautiful. Things are beginning to become very clear to the student (Acacia, 2012. Our emphasis).

In the dispute, Acacia's recognition, regarding the prejudices of Design agents, reveals that none of the Design courses in Brazil offer compulsory Fashion subjects, and reinforces the thesis we defend that they are themselves in the position of dominated and thus maintain the defense of orthodoxy.

In this sense, except for one - whose training is not also in Fashion, the interviewees present, in their formative path, some orientation for Design, either at the undergraduate or graduate level, so that the framing It did not require them to have a different formation from the one they already had, which will also justify their easy acceptance, as they are in the dominant position.

All interviewees believe that there was no arbitrariness in the process, because in the MEC committee there were representatives of the field, but they were not elected by their peers, we pointed out, and also because, of course, they dedicated themselves responsibly to the process and gave their best itself in the desire to elevate the concept

of fashion in Brazil.

Building a clothing object is within the scope of what a Design project is. In 2004, the Resolution defined. In my opinion, this definition did not come from the top down, because some people involved with it were people from inside the field (Lavender, 2012. Our emphasis).

Nevertheless, it is recognized that, not without reason, the idea of a top-down imposition among the intellectuals of the field is circulated. This belief stems from the fact that this committee, although made up of representatives of the field, was not elected from among its peers and therefore they did not feel represented by it. There was not, at the time, a collective discussion, in which forums would strengthen the position, and would elect names of people to take the questions to the Ministry. There was discussion in the schools, which have particular realities and interests, but the debate was reduced and the feeling of having been “left out” of the process continues today.

Moreover, the short time provided by the Ministry for institutions to adapt their realities to the new framework reinforced the idea of arbitrariness. In 2004 the ordinance was launched and, two years later, MEC was already evaluating the courses via ENADE, based on issues that presupposed a formation in Design. Obviously, there would be no baccalaureate course, whose minimum time for training is four years, with students who have a strong design competency.

Despite the involvement with the cause, either statement presented distortions in the perceptions of the field of Fashion or Design, which concerns us, since it leads us to believe that other teachers in Brazil, without approximations with Design, may be disoriented as to teaching you should pass on to your students. Acacia, likewise, demonstrates this same kind of concern in his speech:

People are presenting a line that actually translating, she discovered Design. She thinks she is bringing something new, but she does not know that what she is bringing are the basic principles of Design, presented in the first classes of Design. It would have to change the faculty, or work hard, or empower. I have teachers who are undergraduates but not designers. Who is teaching them what Design is? This is taking the guidelines of CBT. I really believe in collectives. [...] We educators do not wake up designers. Colleagues talk about Design, and I keep quiet. They do not know the story and think that Design is for everyone, but it has a 50-year history (Acacia, 2012).

White Carmelia defends the process of conception of new products, using as argument the exaggeration in the notion of design methodology applied to the design and the assumption of the author’s authority:

Stylism was a lot like that, oh, do some street research and this research was like this: I sit on the stool and see what people are wearing, had no commitment to scientific research, to the theoretical foundation, was very focused on do, in inspiration, wanting to draw a creative-artistic line, an artistic aspect that does not commit to anything. I don’t have to give an explanation; I had an inspiration. In Design you must form a theoretical framework, develop a design methodology of Design. It was necessary to bring people with titles. We are halfway there. Ideal would be Fashion as a field of knowledge, I agree, (emphasis added) but today we do not have this luggage. A field of knowledge independent of Design will have to incorporate all areas. Do teachers have this notion? (White Carmelia, 2012. Our emphasis).

Even in defense of the framing, stating that clothing is a product of Design, and that, therefore, there is no need to create the guidelines for Fashion, the teachers also recognize some internal difficulties of acceptance, mainly related to teachers whose gra-

duation is not in Design, which led many schools to change their frames. Such issues would need to be considered before framing, as it would put public institutions in a cast and cause often unfair dismissals in private institutions.

So, in fact, when our course started, he had this very strong Stylism thing [...]. When we had to change the focus, it was a 'God help us' because he couldn't understand. [...]. The teacher who was a stylist, many of them we had to stop him from working, because the professional stylist was the one who had worked in the industry for many years. So, what he wants is the designer's vision, which is the fashion designer's vision. These were many of the best and oldest we had. [...] So some very special workmanship was also lost, but, on the other hand, a professionalization (Gardenia, 2012. Our emphasis).

There are so many vectors that I identify, but none of them embraced Fashion in terms of structuring in the Ministry of Education. Everybody talks bad about Design, which Design drowned out, but Design saved Fashion, because it was in a limbo that was nothing, got it? Ah, demanded, demanded! That all schools had a deadline to restructure and restructure the faculty, structure the curriculum, and it bothered a lot of people, and it bothers us even today (White Carmelia, 2012, emphasis added).

The interviewees were also asked about the acceptance of fashion courses in Brazil to the frame. Unanimously, like Gardenia, they all show knowledge of the existence of a resistance movement, although none has a profound knowledge of it.

[...] I think people don't want to be a designer because they can't separate design from fashion. They cannot have this vision, do not break with the craft, they think that fashion is still in that craft characteristic, still has a pretty vision, the artistic making. What changes, theoretically, is just the focus, as knowledge I think the area only has to profit from. There is a discussion, which I am not part of, to what extent Fashion is Design (Gardenia, 2012. Our emphasis).

In the reports, these contradictions are reinforced, between those who think Design as a more technical area and those who can perceive it in a much broader, Inter and multidisciplinary way. This thinking that reduces it guides the discourse of the movement of schools of São Paulo that also presents its relevance, because it was built on the power struggles of the new field, with the purpose of widening the differences between stylists and designers, strengthening one or another producer, depending on the discursive agent.

The conviction that change is positive seems to be as absorbed by the teachers interviewed as to justify professional losses as necessary. In these power relations, the designer excels at the expense of an unemployed class of designers. It is a symbolic power, invisible, exercised with the complicity of those who are subject to this power or even those who exercise it.

In this sense, Design culture has become superior, contributing to the integration of the dominant intellectual class, and thus ensuring an integration and communication between designers, members of this class and at the same time distinguishing them from the other class, the designers.

5 CONCLUSION

We believe that the formation in Design, by antiquity, by gender issues (which we do not explore in this article) and by the very context of the exaltation of the creative economy presents greater accumulation of specific capital, and, therefore, would have assumed the dominant role of the new defending orthodoxy, while stylists would be more inclined to break, so that while higher design courses did not alter their curriculum struc-

tures, those of fashion completely modified their pedagogical projects.

In this sense, we argue that designers are not newcomers in the field of fashion. It is the stylists, agents of this field, who are entering the field of Design, who are, by imposition, becoming designers, and therefore, naturally presenting difficulties in understanding the peculiarities of this new field.

All these disputes and polarizations, in our view, are happening only in the field of academic formation, because these oppositions between stylists and designers in the companies and in the communication vehicles, agents of diffusion of the field are not perceived. However, we draw attention to the fact that although this dominance of designers is not perceived today in fashion shows, media outlets and companies, in the near future, after the transition, the designer of clothing objects will be the dominant producer of the field, mainly because most courses of this nature today have adapted their curricula to the curriculum guidelines of Design.

In the process of framing Fashion to Design, even with these consultations made to schools, a sense of exclusion has been generated that continues to this day in the minds of many professionals in the field. The belief stems from the fact that the committee that was with the MEC was not made up of representatives elected by their peers.

Although there are courses that resist change, maintain the nomenclature Fashion and follow specific guidelines, there is a greater number of bachelors who fall into the field of Design, contributing to its dominant status.

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