Clothing and professional identity in the training of nurses in the city of Juiz de Fora

Vestuário e identidade profissional na formação de enfermeiros em Juiz de Fora

Vestuario e identidad profesional en la formación de enfermeros en Juiz de Fora

Regina Lucia Muniz de Almeida, Angela Aparecida Peters Rodrigues, Gisele Fernandes Tarma, Mariângela Aparecida Gonçalves de Figueiredo, Antônio José de Almeida Filho, Tânia Cristina Franco Santos, Maria Angélica de Almeida Peres

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Escola de Enfermagem Anna Nery. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
II Faculdade de Ciências Médicas e da Saúde. Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais, Brazil.

ABSTRACT

Objective: To understand the meaning of the transformations that occurred in the clothing of EEHB students and their role in the construction of a professional identity of nurses in Juiz de Fora. Method: Historical and social qualitative study from 1965 to 1978. Oral and written sources were used. Oral sources were produced with the Thematic Oral History technique, with 10 collaborators. The theoretical frameworks used were the concepts of identity of Claude Dubar, and concepts of clothing and their symbolic meanings of Roland Barthes. Results: The EEHB nursing students’ uniform represented a brand, an essential symbol in the construction and consolidation of the nurse’s identity in the city of Juiz de Fora. Conclusion: The uniform was recognized as an object of identification of nurses in the city, giving them a social image of credibility for their training.

Descriptors: History of Nursing; Schools, Nursing; Clothing; Identity; Social Identification.

RESUMO


Descritores: História da Enfermagem; Escolas de Enfermagem; Vestuário; Identidade; Identificação Social.

RESUMEN

Objetivo: Comprender el significado de las transformaciones ocurridas en el vestuario de los alumnos de la Escuela de Enfermería Hermantina Beraldo (EEHB) con el fin de construir una identidad profesional de los enfermeros en Juiz de Fora. Método: Se trata de un estudio histórico-social, cualitativo, cuyo recorte temporal comprende el período entre 1965 y 1978. Se utilizaron fuentes orales y escritas. Las fuentes orales se produjeron mediante la técnica de la Historia Oral Temática, con 10 colaboradores. Como referencial teórico, se utilizaron los conceptos de identidad de Claude Dubar, y del vestuario y sus significados simbólicos, de Roland Barthes. Resultados: El uniforme de las alumnas de enfermería de la EEHB se consolidó como una marca, un símbolo esencial en el movimiento de construcción y consolidación de la identidad de la enfermera en la
INTRODUCTION

The Hermantina Beraldo Nursing School (EEHB), inaugurated on March 8, 1947, in Juiz de Fora, was the third nursing teaching institution in the state of Minas Gerais. It aimed at training nurses to meet a new professional demand that required knowledge and new approaches to health care, with a focus on hospital assistance. From 1968, financially and operationally supported by the Hermantina Beraldo Foundation (FHB), created by Decree Law 11,503/68 for this purpose. In 1976, according to Decree No. 18,275, of December 21, 1976, the EEHB was renamed Faculdade Hermantina Beraldo (FHB).

In 1978, the EEHB was terminated by Resolution No. 1919, which approved an agreement between the State of Minas Gerais, the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF) and the FHB. Thus, 1978 was the last year in which the institution functioned as FHB, supported by the State. There was a transition phase in which the community of the former EEHB transferred to the new course inaugurated in the UFJF, with no prejudice to the students, who were able to continue their formation in the university. In 1979, all these students were enrolled in the Nursing and Obstetrics Course of the UFJF.

This brief overview of the first nursing course of Juiz de Fora outlines the context of the object of study of this article. Throughout its operation and until its extinction in 1978, the EEHB built an identity of students and nurses with professional recognition in society. One of the elements of this identity was the uniform, type of clothing used to identify a group, which represented a nursing standard implemented in Juiz de Fora.

The EEHB had uniforms since its creation. In the basic cycle, the students wore ordinary clothing, within the limits of conservative clothing for women of that time. Uniforms were used in practical activities. As for the hospital uniform, the first one used by the students of EEHB during practical activities, in the year 1947, was a white dress, complemented by a cap of the same color, a hairnet and white socks and shoes. The public health uniform was a white dress, complemented by a cap of the same color, a hairnet and white socks and shoes. The public health uniform was a white dress, complemented by a cap of the same color, a hairnet and white socks and shoes.

This article addresses the second hospital uniform, implemented in the EEHB in 1965 and the third, implemented in 1968, for use in all fields of practice when the Hermantina Beraldo Foundation was in charge of the school.

The uniform works as a disciplinary element that requires a behavior consistent with the group and the institution it represents. This strategy was and is still used in nursing schools and health institutions to promote respect, professionalism, status and identity, as well as infection control and occupational safety.

In 1947, the first year of operation of the EEHB, a Students’ Union (SU) was created to stimulate the students to organize themselves as a group, which was also a strategy to create their identity. In the SU, topics related to academic life were discussed and among them were the uniforms.

The EEHB implemented the use of the uniform since its inauguration in 1947. The use of uniform was maintained in the Nursing and Obstetrics Course of the UFJF, even after the extinction of the school in 1978. In 1965, the hospital uniform of the students of the EEHB underwent changes in the model and color, reflecting the cultural, social and political transformations that occurred worldwide at the time. The third and final change in the uniform occurred in 1968, one year after the admission of men, reflecting the relationship between the school and the evolution of the society in Juiz de Fora and in the world, which became more open to the modernization of customs.

The clothing is a symbol for the profession and it contributes to the construction of its institutional, social and professional identity. Given the above, the object of this study is the students’ uniforms in the EEHB and their influence on the construction of the nursing image in the city of Juiz de Fora, during the period of 1965 to 1978.

This study is justified by the fact that the relationship between the uniform used by nursing students or nurses and the social and historical context was understood in other studies as one of the main strategies for constructing the image and identity of the profession in different times of the history of nursing in Brazil and in the world.

OBJECTIVE

To understand the meaning of the transformations that occurred in the clothing of EEHB students and their role in the construction of a professional identity of nurses in Juiz de Fora.

METHOD

Ethical aspects

This article is part of a master’s dissertation at the Anna Nery School of Nursing/Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (EEAN/UFRJ). The project was approved after submission to the Research Ethics Committee (Protocol 168.815/2012).

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework was based on the concepts of identity of Claude Dubar, and the concepts on clothing and their meanings of Roland Barthes, as well as on studies on this theme. Thus, it is possible to say that the uniform is a type of clothing composed of symbolic elements that express the identity of a group and reflect prestige and recognition.

Study type

This is a social and historical study with qualitative approach. Its time frame is the period from 1965 to 1978. The initial year corresponds to the second change in the uniform model and the final year corresponds to the extinction of the school.
**Study scenario**

The facts studied occurred at the Hermantina Beraldo Nursing School, the first nursing teaching institution in the city of Juiz de Fora/Minas Gerais.

**Data sources**

Oral and written documents were used as data sources. Ten interviews were conducted using the Thematic Oral History technique (11), with 10 collaborators who lived during the study period: 06 students (04 women and 02 men), 03 professors and 1 EEHB employee. The interviews were conducted in the second half of 2013 and had an average duration of thirty minutes. The collaborators are identified in the text by the letter C followed by the ordinal number referring to the order of the interview (e.g. C1 - first collaborator). The written documents consulted were: the registry books and graduation records of the first EEHB class located at the UFJF Documentation and Academic Registration Center; the EEHB documents located at the Personnel Department of the Regional Health Management of Juiz de Fora (GRS-JF); the Legislation and journalistic reports related to the EEHB published in Juiz de Fora in the Jornal Diário Mercantil; and the Reports of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Juiz de Fora (SCM-JF).

**Data collection and organization**

For this study, 01 photograph and 02 drawings were selected to illustrate the uniforms used in the EEHB. The photograph, from the personal collection of a collaborator, was scanned and then returned. The drawings were done by a professional based on the oral description and on photos of the uniforms found in newspapers of the time and in the collections of collaborators. These elements, for Barthes (11), correspond to written-clothing and image-clothing, respectively.

**Data analysis**

The inductive method was used for the analysis. This method starts from a critical position on the documents, establishing the relationships with the historical and social context in which they were inserted. The analysis and discussion of the results were based on the theoretical framework chosen for the research.

**RESULTS**

Uniforms and their meanings for the construction of the professional image of nurses in Juiz de Fora

In the period preceding the time frame defined for the present study, the EEHB student’s uniform was used in practical hospital activities and consisted of a white dress, low-heel shoes, white socks, a hairnet, a cap, and a white apron (2, 9).

For practical public health activities, the students’ uniform consisted of navy blue skirt and blazer, a white blouse, a pair of skin-colored socks and black shoes. It was modified in 1968 after the entry of men in the EEHB. The school maintained the characteristics of these uniforms, including the use of the cap in the hospital environment, until 1965. So, there were no alterations in a period of 18 years (1947-1965), which is understood as a factor of consolidation of the identity of the nurse in that institution (4, 9).

In 1965, the second uniform worn by the EEHB students was implemented. It consisted of a one-piece knee-length dress in pink with sewn-on buttons and sports collar. This uniform did not have the emblem of the school and did not require the use of the cap. As accessories, the white shoes, the pair of thin socks (skin color) and the hair net were kept (4, 9), as described by a student:

*Then we began to wear a pink knee-length uniform, without the cap.* (C9)

Following the transformations that occurred in education, politics, culture and fashion, the first change of the EEHB uniform was in the model of the dress, which changed to a shirt dress, and the traditional white that changed to a synthetic fabric, called tergal, in pink color.

For the students of the EEHB, the pink uniform incorporated inherent characteristics of the profession, such as delicacy, love your neighbor and altruism. In this regard, the following statement stand out:

*We accepted it and found the pink color cheerful. [...] Maybe because we were very young, we thought it was good. The uniform was less traditional, didn’t resemble so much a sister of charity. We felt freer. We could be more noticed, I don’t know.* (C9)

*We wore this uniform with pleasure. Because we felt really good. I think the uniform characterized a nurse.* [...] Everyone
was very neat. The uniform was very clean, lined, so it did not mark the body. We were very happy at the time. This color could be even “tacky” these days, but at that time this was not questioned. (C12)

The removal of the cap met the requests of students of previous years, who demanded the abolishment of this part of the uniform:

I remember we didn’t like the cap! We’d rather work without it. But it was mandatory. (C6)

However, after removing the cap, the hair remained tied back in a hair net, hiding an important element of the femininity of the female nurse:

Instead of the cap we started to use the hair net. Simply. The hair was always tied back. Those who had bigger hair were not allowed to use it loose. Always with a hair net. (C8)

Changes in the uniform changed the way nurses dressed for work, generating repercussions in the hospital environment, as highlighted in the employee’s statement on the pink uniform:

In the hospital, the doctors put up some resistance. They were divided: some found it cool, good, some did not. [...] more radical and traditional doctors did not like change or were afraid of change. They said we were employees of Lojas Americanas. [...] This period was difficult. After we were already with the uniform, for experience, we tested the reactions in the city. We saw several stores with very similar clothes, snack bars and Lojas Americanas, which adopted a uniform exactly like ours! Stores in general presented similar models. (C9)

The librarian who was in contact with EEHB students for many years described her perception regarding the pink uniforms, an external view that represents society:

I don’t know! But it may have been intuitive. [...] Pink represents love. And nursing is love; it is dedication to the patient in pain. So I thought pink was a very proper color for the uniform. (C28)

There was a transition period between the first and second uniforms. The two uniforms were then allowed: white for the students who were already in the final phase of the course, and pink for freshmen who were starting the practice in hospital settings. This is how the collaborators of the 1965 class stated:

We arrived and already received the white uniform. We had two uniforms at the same time. So, there were students with two kinds of uniform back then. The new students used pink uniform and the previous students used the standard white uniform. (C9)

The students who were already finishing the course did not need to make the new uniform and could remain in the old one; but the newcomers and those in the middle of the course had to arrange the new uniform. This way, the traditional white uniform was gradually replaced in the EEHB. (C8)

The first male student to study at the EEHB was admitted in 1967, a period in which discussions on educational policies in Brazil caused effective transformations in the area, culminating in the Higher Education Reform. After the entry of men in the EEHB, another uniform was provided for students.

This third uniform, implemented in 1968 for practical activities in both the hospital and public health areas, was a three-piece set for women: a pair of pants or a plain skirt in gray; a white short-sleeve blouse with sports collar, open in the front and closed by buttons; a collarless sleeveless vest with four buttons on the front, also in gray. As accessories, white, closed white shoes and skin-colored socks were stipulated. No headwear was required, but the hair had to be kept in line. Girls with long hair had to keep it tied up during practical activities.

For the practical activities and the internship, which was a unique discipline, we wore a gray uniform. Like a suit. Long pants and a gray vest in a fabric similar to tergal [...] which did not wrinkle. We had to use our hair tied up, especially those with long hair. We did not wear any headgear. Short earrings could be used in the ear, very discreet, delicate. No jewelry, no ring, no necklace. Only a watch with minutes and seconds hands. This was a requirement. (C21)
there was a discussion in the council, which was passed on to us and we had a choice. The main concern of the class was democracy [...]. And we, at that time, noticed advances in the school. It was a democratic process. They gave us some options, I cannot remember what they were, and then the winning option was the gray pants or the gray skirt. For us a lab coat. It was a nice uniform. (C10)

When questioned about the uniforms wore in public health activities, the EEHB alumni reported that they wore the same gray uniform in the activities carried out at the Eduardo de Menezes Dispensary, a tuberculosis control and detection institution that operated in the same building as the EEHB and where the students had practices of control of communicable diseases, vaccinations and blood collection:

In public health practices and hospital practices we wore the same hospital uniform. I had public health practices in some public health units [formerly health posts] and in the former health palace. (C22)

The following are excerpts from the interviews of two students who graduated in 1978 and reported there were constant demands for the change of uniform since the middle of that decade:

We wanted to wear the white uniform and she [the EEHB Director] did not accept it. [...] She counter-argued. She convinced us that nursing was different. She said: Do you want to be a nurse or a doctor? (C21)

We didn’t want the gray uniform. There was a student’s movement and we made demands. The school’s major justification for maintaining the gray uniform was to identify nursing students. Because the surveillance was rigorous. So we did not mix with the other academics. And everybody knew who Hermantina Beraldo was inside the Hospital, the HU. Then the university took over Hermantina and abolished the gray uniform automatically. It was with this transition that it ended. (C18)

DISCUSSION

EEHB, like other Brazilian schools, used different uniforms throughout its operation, maintaining an identity of the students and updating the clothing in line with the social movements that influenced fashion, changing color, cut and length of the clothes. The symbolic meaning of the white color was constructed and reconstructed throughout history. In ancient civilizations, the white color was related to divinity and wisdom. Thereafter, other meanings were added to this color, such as: hygiene, clarity, energy exchange and solar energy retention. It could also be seen as negative, making environments monotonous, lifeless, and leading to dispersion[13-14].
Nursing clothing during the religious phase tended to dark colors, which lasted for a long historical period. The advancement of studies on color and of hospital architecture demonstrated that the colors in this environment were modified in a perspective of contributing to the recovery of patients and to quality of life: "Therefore, color must be seen as an element that participates in this change, and can be used to provide well-being and tranquility"[14].

The transformations that occurred in the uniforms of EEHB students since 1960 reverberated in the places they worked. Some students considered the introduction of the pink color in the uniform as positive, believing that it made them more cheerful and jovial. They felt closer to a professional nurse and more distant from the religious model due to the removal of the cap, which was seen as an inheritance of the nun's veil. This is because wearing the cap or veil attenuated the seductive effects of women's hair, making them look more "decent"[15]. In addition, when saying that she felt more noticeable in the pink uniform, one of the collaborators manifested her sensuality as a professional who was also a woman who studied to have a dignified profession[16].

Studies on colors and their meaning have existed for a long time. It is believed that colors can be linked to feelings, be a part of daily work and leisure, and influence the way people relate to each other and to the environment around them[17,18]. The pink color has different meanings related to sensitivity and relaxation. It also has a cultural association with the female universe, representing characteristics such as fragility and delicacy[13,17-18].

In the 1960s, the transformations that began in previous centuries culminated in the insertion of women in the labor market in specific professions, such as nursing, social services and nutrition, evidencing a succession of events and modifications that led to professionalization based on gender. These changes have altered the way women dress for work and leisure[19].

It appears that, at first, the students were enthusiastic about the new model and color of the uniform, which was seen as an innovation in the health area, which followed fashion trends of the time, such as the shirt dress. However, when they saw other professional categories (in commerce, for example) adopting similar uniforms, they began to accept it with reserve, since they looked similar to a group without formal preparation and were also mocked by the doctors during their activities.

The EEHB was bold in the change of uniform. These students contributed to the reconstruction of the image of the nurse in the city of Juiz de Fora, because, when using their new pink uniforms in hospital environments, they were subject to acceptance or refusals, but still ensured, above all, quality in the provision of care. This process contributed to personal maturity in the search for professional identity.

Following the fashion transformations in Brazil and in the world, the city of Juiz de Fora incorporated the changes in clothing and in consumption that influenced society of that time. These changes were related, on the one hand, to the economic and industrial growth of the period and the increase in the male contingent in production areas and, on the other hand, to the participation of women in consumption activities[11,20].

At that time, hospital environments underwent alterations that were consequence of social transformations and of the emergence of new technologies for health services, which stimulated nurses who worked in these environments to develop technical mastery. This fact led to changes in clothing, to better fit the context and the work environment. For Barthes[11], a change in the uniform can be accompanied by a change in the world or vice versa.

The insertion of women in the labor market, part of the process of female emancipation, was significant. It represented the movement to overcome the limits imposed by society at that time, which restricted women to housework, motherhood and services that required manual skills, underestimating their ability to carry out activities and professions that demanded greater scientific knowledge, intellectual and decision-making[21].

The EEHB, as a training institution for professionals and citizens, encouraged the students to organize themselves as a class. Thus, their first Students' Union (SU) was created in 1947, the first year of operation of the school. It was only in the year 1960 that this Union was named after Celina Viegas, the first director and also a professor at EEHB. The SU had its own statute, and its leaderships were students of the Nursing Course, duly elected. During the study period, topics related to the academic, cultural and political life of society were discussed in the SU, which was a space for sharing ideas, thoughts and discussions, where it was possible to approach democracy in the midst of dictatorship[20].

The entry of men in the EEHB in 1967, in a school that was strongly influenced by the precepts of Modern Nursing, implemented by the founder Anna Nery, and also before the 1968 higher education reform, represented a rupture with institutionalized standards. This fact put the school in a vanguard position in relation to paradigm shifts of the nurse profession, which followed hitherto a predominantly feminine model[22]. However, it should be noted that other schools that followed the modern model of nursing already accepted men in this period, in a quantity significantly lower than women[20].

In this sense, there are two paths that represent the construction of the identity of the nurse in the city. The first concerns the gender issue, considering that since the beginning of the history of Modern Nursing the profession has been predominantly carried out by women. The second concerns the director’s vision when accepting the challenge of receiving a male student in the EEHB, making the school one of the pioneers created under the “Anna Nery” model to carry out such a feat, despite the interference, in this specific case, of an influential doctor from the city of Juiz de Fora. Even after the normal acceptance of men in the EEHB, post-1968 classes remained with fewer men than women. Even so, the admission of men in EEHB was a differential for nursing in the city.

Since 1968, EEHB has established a single uniform for students' practical activities, whether in the hospital or in public health area. This uniform, in gray color, was used until December 1978, the last year of operation of the school, which was already called Faculty of Nursing Hermantina Beraldo (FEHB).

Even though the school followed the precepts required for a nursing school of that time, it did not refrain from the changes required by the social and cultural conjuncture of the time, Rev Bras Enferm [Internet]. 2018;71(suppl 4):1548-55.
allowing the students to express their opinion about the new uniform. However, this opinion was limited, that is, the students did not participate in the choice of the details of the uniform, such as whether it should be skirt or pants, whether it should have pockets, caps, socks, which would be the color of the shoes, among other important aspects in the composition of a garment.

The gray uniform adopted by the EEHB, in the opinion of some students, demonstrated an attitude of control and vigilance on the part of the school, since this color was associated with discipline and solemnity, and was also used by the military. For others, it served to identify the professionals as part of the EEHB and transmit an image of rectitude of character, ethical and professional posture, commitment, zeal and love for the profession.

The data show that the students were uneasy about the gray uniform, since they worked with other professionals in the teaching-hospital and other health care facilities where the predominant color of the health-care staff was white. Because of this fact, the aforementioned questions were raised. In this sense, the students were seeking closer approximation and professional comparison with other colleagues in the health area. However, the school management decided to keep the uniform in gray, as a strong symbol of identification and identity, until the entire community of the FEHB was fully transferred to the UFJF.

**Study limitations**

In the course of this research, there was a scarcity of written documents regarding the EEHB, since they were in the former headquarters of the school (current Regional Health Management of Juiz de Fora) and were transferred to other collections during the renovation of the building. During this process, almost all of the documents were lost, which is a limiting aspect in the collection of information.

Despite the large contingent of professionals graduated in nursing by the EEHB in the years in which it remained in operation, many nurses resisted to participate in the study. In order for this aspect not to compromise data collection, the researcher explained to the collaborators the importance of their patience and commitment to provide information about the study object in a comfortable and productive manner. It is important to highlight that these limitations did not impair the results of the research, but exposed gaps that still have to be overcome by other studies.

**Contributions to the area of nursing, health or public policy**

This study is expected to contribute to preserve the profession’s memory and understanding regarding the meaning of nursing clothing over the years, which is part of the professional identity of the category. The study also contributes as a historical source on the EEHB. Thus, the results of this research provided a critical-reflective material that can contribute to the dissemination of knowledge, provoke reflections on the theme, point out paths for future research and enrich the scientific production on nursing clothing, which is rich in international literature and still incipient in our country.

**FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

This research brought the understanding of the transformations occurred in the clothing of EEHB students and their role in the construction of a professional identity of nurses in Juiz de Fora. The first change in the uniform of the EEHB students, in 1965, which established the second uniform of the school, altered the garment by removing the cap, an accessory with great symbolic repercussion for the nursing profession, and changing the color of the dress from white to pink. The third EEHB uniform was implemented in 1968, after the admission of a male student to the school in 1967. This change occurred in a more democratic way; the students, organized through the SU, were able to give their opinion on the modifications proposed and to choose a color of their preference, more neutral, so that both men and women could use the uniform. This long-pants uniform was used in hospital and public health activities and had gender-related fashion differences.

In the time frame studied, the fashion trends were incorporated in the uniform composed of a shirt dress and in the uniform with a bell-bottom pants, models that were common in the society of the time.

The uniform, the focus of this research, is an identity mark of the school regarding the development of nursing. It was a disciplinary object, a brand, an essential symbol in the movement of construction and consolidation of the nurse’s identity in the city of Juiz de Fora. It was recognized as an object of identification of nurses in the city for thirty-one years, until the extinction of the school with the creation of the Nursing and Obstetrics Course in the Federal University of Juiz de Fora.

**REFERENCES**


