
BRAZILIAN PROFESSIONAL SECONDARY EDUCATION (1909-1953)

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RESUMO

Este texto contextualiza acontecimentos que antecederam a fundação das escolas técnicas federais brasileiras. Expõe percursos da história do ensino secundário profissionalizante brasileiro. A partir da perspectiva histórica apresenta a escolarização que tem o trabalho como princípio educativo. Encontrou fundamentos no advento da modernidade, enquanto tempo e movimento histórico para o avanço civilizatório e para o desenvolvimento. Objetivou ponderar a escolarização secundária e investigar práticas educativas preconizadas como expressão de historicidade e dos processos de continuidade no seu processo evolutivo. Levantou-se como questionamento quais os rumos que a formação profissionalizante seguiu no Brasil, ponderando fontes escritas documentais e algumas legislações. Ao se mapear a trajetória da educação profissional, no período descrito, o que se procurou foi contribuir para o registro da memória das instituições escolares. O surgimento das escolas profissionalizantes federais ocorreu sob o domínio do capital agrário-exportador. Sua consolidação se deu em processos associados à monopolização de saberes elementares pelo Estado e como continuidade do processo de civilização. Os rumos da educação profissionalizante brasileira se firmaram na tradição sendo alimentados pela cultura industrial e por uma ideologia do progresso pelo trabalho.

Palavras-chave: *Revista História da Educação Latino-americana, estabelecimento de ensino, escola profissional, Artes e Ofícios.*

EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA PROFESIONAL BRASILEÑA (1909-1953)

RESUMEN

Este trabajo pretende contextualizar los acontecimientos que precedieron a la fundación de las escuelas técnicas federales brasileñas. Expone recorridos de la historia de la enseñanza secundaria profesional brasileña. Desde la perspectiva histórica que explora la escolarización que tiene el trabajo como principio educativo. Encuentra fundamentos en el advenimiento de la modernidad, mientras tiempo y movimiento histórico para el avance de la civilización y el desarrollo. Objetiva ponderar la escolarización secundaria e investigar prácticas educativas defendida como expresión de historicidad y de los procesos de continuidad en el proceso evolutivo. Se plantea como cuestionamiento cuáles las direcciones que la formación profesional siguió en Brasil. La investigación hace uso de escritas documentales. Al mapearse la trayectoria de la educación profesional en el período descrito, lo que se busca es contribuir a la memoria de registro de las instituciones educativas. Se observa que la aparición de la escuela de formación profesional federal fue bajo la dominación del capital agrario exportador. Su consolidación se llevó a cabo en los procesos asociados a la monopolización de conocimientos elementales por el Estado y como continuidad del

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proceso de la civilización. Las direcciones de la educación profesional se arraigó en la tradición brasileña siendo alimentados por la cultura industrial y por una ideología del progreso por el trabajo.

Palabras - Clave: *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana, establecimientos de enseñanza, Escuela profesional, artes y oficios.*

SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN BRAZIL (1909 -1953)

ABSTRACT

This text contextualizes the events that preceded the founding of the Brazilian federal technical schools. It exposes history paths from the Brazilian professionalizing secondary teaching. From the historical perspective that explores the schooling which has the work as an educational principle. It finds foundations on the advent of modernity, while time and historical movement for the civilizatory advancement and development. Objective to consider the secondary schooling and investigate preconized educational practices as an expression of historicity and of the continuity processes in its evolutionary process. It rises as a questioning what are the directions followed by professionalizing training in Brazil. The research avails of documental written sources. By mapping the professional education trajectory, in the described period, what is sought is to contribute to the memory register of educational institutions. It is observed that the rise of federal professionalizing schools occurred under the dominance of the agrarian-exporter capital. Its consolidation took place in processes associated to monopolization of elementary knowledge by the State and as continuity of the civilization process. The directions of the Brazilian professionalizing education took root in the tradition being fed by the industrial culture and by an ideology of progress by the work.

Key words: *Journal of Latin American Education History, educational establishment, vocational school, magazine history of the Latin American education.*

INTRODUCTION

Professional formation in Brazil has developed, since its origins, associated to the industrialization process, in an attempt to adapt school to productive world. Its configuration was marked by pedagogical discourse with the interventions of the State in the instruction of the work force and acting as the main pedagogical agent responsible for changes in both social and educational fields in Brazilian society. This discourse emerged cosubstanted with a learning process which meant to “discipline the unprivileged”².

The historical aspect here depicted was funded in the belief that the ways Brazilian professional education were based in the tradition of modernity, fed by the industrial culture and the progress ideology that have per passed liberal and socialists syllabuses with Marxism’s influence. In this progressive discourse, the educational idea of those who were ahead the government were closely associated to the event of the modern capitalist Brazilian society in defense of the maintenance of the state sense of a public educational system, laic and free³. For modern ones, there was a whole new world to be created and discovered. “The questioning of past model defied

2 Celso Suckow Fonseca, *História do Ensino Industrial no Brasil*. Vol. 1. (Rio de Janeiro: Escola Técnica, 1961), 195.

3 Simon Schwartzman, *Pobreza, exclusão social e modernidade: uma introdução ao mundo contemporâneo* (São Paulo: Augurium, 2004), 11.

notions of tradition and authority and implied a belief in the constant progress and development of mankind”⁴.

In the multiple forms of professional and technological education in Brazil through the years there were many different configurations, with their own distinctive specifications. This way, the constitution of Brazilian public school was very active, sometimes conflicting, with singularities in this constitutional process, which has formed “a dynamic and contradictory totality, with the aim of developing a systematic investigation which progressively allows the re-constitution of this object: the Brazilian public school”⁵.

Thus, the possibilities of studies became accessible, as presented by Gatti Júnior and Pessanha “the international context of research in History and, particularly, in the History of Education, influences themes and routes of the investigation of the educational phenomenon”⁶.

1. Historical foregrounds

Brazilian professional education in its origins and course has been linked to social, economic and political changes which characterized different historical events in the country. Professional education was affected by the developmental character of Brazilian society in the complex relation school-work, sometimes, indicating that social distinction and not work was the educational principle. High school education emerged as a process connected to the monopolization of elementary knowledge by the State in a “school made as an institution capable of not only instructing and educating infants and young people, but also able of yielding an orderly, progressive and civilized country”⁷. In the beginning of the 19th century school was considered as a civilizing factor, a tool for order and progress of the society “capable of guaranteeing, through the extension of moral education and elementary instruction to the free population, conditions for being governed. [...] making it necessary the constitution strategies for social order to which education would be an effective tool”⁸.

Education was seen as a discipline tool for order, social reconstruction and political stability. There was a belief that through mass education the country would reach the long-dreamed progress, and to it was reserved one of the most important task in the social reconstruction process: homogeneity. As education was considered a necessary element to the constitution of modern society, it should be a democratic process. In this context the ideological superstructure was anachronic and spanned the expansion of productive forces”⁹. The context of Brazilian secondary education in terms of time and historic movement was marked by the developmental

4 Saviani, “O legado educacional do século XIX”, 15.

5 Saviani, “O legado educacional do século XIX”, 15.

6 Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho, *Dos pardieiros aos palácios: cultura escolar e urbana em Belo Horizonte na Primeira República* (Passo Fundo: UPF, 2002), 24.

7 Cintia Greive Veiga, *História da Educação* (São Paulo: Ática, 2008), 202.

8 Caio Prado Júnior, *História econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982), 209.

9 Justino Magalhães, “A história das Instituições Educacionais em perspectiva”, em *História da educação em perspectiva: ensino, pesquisa, produção e novas investigações*. Eds. Décio Gatti Júnior y Geraldo Inácio Filho (Campinas: Autores Associados, 2005), 79.

desire with its common sense among social, material and cultural structures in the reference state-nation. It was passed by “contradictory trends and guidelines and by some paradoxes, notably in the difficult and impossible conciliation between freedom and institutionalization, in their variants of formalization, regulation, normalization”¹⁰. Education through work would become the education principle as “the optics of craft teaching, towards craftwork, manufacture and industry, increasingly school-oriented, if not for fact, at least in project”¹¹. Thus, the project would be articulated with the regular educational process and the need for modernization.

The ideology, work and education, was the result of concrete social relations, born from a mandatory assignment of becoming a civilized Brazil much in accordance to European patterns. Identified with modernity, the new school model was funded in the economic law of division of tasks at work, realized by reformers and educators of public education at the time. The view then was of a “school produced as an institution able of not only instructing and educating infants and adolescents, but also of producing an orderly, progressive and civilized”¹².

This idea was consistent to the structure of a modern world that was organized, mainly, around civilization processes (with Elias), of rationalization (with Weber), of institutionalization (with Foucault) of the set of social life, within a lifestyle radically new, i.e., the State was “understood as exercised power by a center, according to a model of rational and productive efficiency, in open contrast with the exercise of other powers (ecclesiastic, aristocratic) and with the survival of disorders of the marginalized ones. (the poor, the criminals, etc.)”¹³.

This model of autocratic state with centralized exercise of power occurred in countries of Europe with elements which outlined the birth of a new type of State, the Modern State, with requirements of social control and producer of authoritative laws to community, remaining central protagonist in the historical itinerary to Modernity. It developed in Brazil especially through a large number of reforms in the Brazilian educational system.

2. Reforms in the Brazilian Educational System

In search of a laic and liberal education, in the Illuminist context, it didn't make sense, in Brazil, to connect education and religion to the interests of a social class, as the movement had as its main principle the education at the service of the state; the obligation and gratuity of elementary education; the nationalism as opposed to the Jesuitical universalism; the emphasis in mother tongue and practical guidance towards Science, techniques and labor, not privileging strictly humanistic studies”¹⁴.

10 Luís Antônio Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo* (São Paulo: Flacso, 2000), 9.

11 Faria. *Dos pardieiros aos palácios*, 24.

12 Maria Lúcia Aranha, *História da Educação e da Pedagogia, geral e do Brasil* (São Paulo: Moderna, 2008), 174.

13 Maria Lúcia Aranha, *História da Educação e da Pedagogia, geral e do Brasil* (São Paulo: Moderna, 2008), 174.

14 Demerval Saviani, et. al., *O legado educacional do século XX* (Campinas: Autores associados, 2004), 16.

With the banning of the Jesuits from Brazil, due to radical differences in objectives, as education in the schools of the Company of Jesus had the aim of serving the interests of faith and the reform preconized by Pombal which intended a laic and state controlled education, the Marquis of Pombal, the main representative and articulator of illuminists ideas, tried to organize school to serve the State's purposes. With the historical rupture of an already set and consolidated process of educational model, little was left of educational practices in Brazil, once the Jesuits took their pedagogical organization with them when they left. The Jesuitical education then settled was a "version of a religious public education [...] and could be considered public once it was supported by public money and its character of collective education"¹⁵.

In opposition to religious ideas, and based on laic ideas inspired in the Illuminist Philosophy, and with the Government taking over education, the Brazilian state emerged with responsibility limited to teachers' payrolls and to syllabuses of the discipline to be taught. The teacher's role was to provide material conditions related to place, generally their own homes, and his own infrastructure, as well as the pedagogical resources to be used in the development of his course¹⁶.

This situation has only suffered effective change when the Republic was proclaimed and the positivists' ideas approached the republican thought and "under the aegis of confederated states, public school, understood in its own sense, was present in the history of Brazilian education"¹⁷.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the liberal Project fed itself with nationalism present in the political and social universes, with the motto: "*It's necessary to educate the people!*". For the elite in command, education consisted of a tool for the formation of republican citizens. Education configurations in force in Brazil which derived from the liberal conception took over the educational politics of that time. Various educational practices became a tool for moralizing and civilizing people as "the victory of lights and reason over darkness and ignorance, the pillars of modern societies, guaranteeing peace, freedom, order and social progress; the country's regeneration"¹⁸.

The high percentage of illiterates in 1900, with the requirements of knowing how to read and write as a condition for promotion to political and administrative jobs, demanded a "reorganization" of the school model to provide the new requirements and necessities of the modern Brazilian industrial society based on free work force. Mass education took a central position in the proposals for reforms¹⁹. The process of general modernization of Brazilian society

15 Saviani, *O legado educacional do século XX*, 16-17.

16 Saviani, *O legado educacional do século XX*, 16.

17 Rosa Fátima de Souza, *Templos de Civilização: a implantação da escola primária graduada no Estado de São Paulo (1890/1910)* (São Paulo: EDUNESP, 1998), 26.

18 José Carlos Souza de Araújo, "Marcos filosóficos da modernidade em torno da educação da criança: antropologias da infância em disputa?" em *A infância na modernidade: entre a educação e o trabalho*, Eds. José Carlos Sousa de Araújo, Carlos Henrique de Carvalho y Esmeralda Blanco Bolsonaro de Moura. (Uberlândia: EDUFU, 2007), 182-183.

19 José Carlos Souza de Araújo, "Marcos filosóficos da modernidade em torno da educação da criança: antropologias da infância em disputa?" em *A infância na modernidade: entre a educação e o trabalho*, Eds. José Carlos Sousa de Araújo, Carlos Henrique de Carvalho y Esmeralda Blanco Bolsonaro de Moura. (Uberlândia: EDUFU, 2007), 182-183.

comprehended education professionals, who organized themselves in an autonomous professional career. The 1920's were marked by the confrontation of ideas between diverging trends, influenced by European movements and by the world economic crisis of 1929. From this time on, "the Brazilian pedagogy shares the ideas of the movement of European Modernization, unsteadily, but inserting in and participating of its development"²⁰.

Based on those movements, in 1930, the Ministry of Education and Public Health was created, and, in 1931, the temporary government sanctioned acts organizing high school and Brazilian universities. These acts were preconized by reforms led by minister Francisco Campos. In sequence, a series of government measures proliferated and education began to be recognized, in the institutional plan, a national issue²¹.

In this period, the Brazilian society based itself in economic terms in the development of the industrialization process which contributed to change groups in the Brazilian society. The capitalists ideas of modernization of the beginning of the 20th century were shaping up in the country, but remained linked to the idea of settlement, civilization²² and the country's improvement. Conservative ideology towards education regarded schools the role of preparing individuals according to their social status²³, in order to allow them to fulfill their duties as citizens, to develop their sense of morality and form a good character. Social values emerged and were added, as a result of the dynamics implanted by the new economic order and the new relations that were established in the social dynamics, considering the social conjunctures that appeared and, "at the of the bottom of the changes features the new value system of the urban-industrial civilization"²⁴.

The presence of Modernity revealed itself by means of appropriation, dissemination and the re-signification of these values. Education put itself with the assignment of restraining threats to social order, more notably, to people's ignorance. This discourse was evident on syllabuses, in methodologies, in educational reforms based on culture and patters which belonged to the dominant class. The view of education that prevailed was "[...] of a powerful weapon of mystification and conservation in the hands of the capitalist class. It tends to give young people an education that makes them loyal and subservient to the present system, and prevent them of finding out its internal inconsistencies"²⁵.

Thus, Brazilian education reinforced a dual character: an academic education, to thought for government élites and a professional education, destined to the large working mass, the workers.

20 Saviani, "O legado educacional do século XX", 19.

21 Jorge Nagle, *Educação e sociedade na primeira república* (São Paulo: EPU, 1976), 23.

22 Veiga, "História da Educação", 178.

23 Veiga, "História da Educação", 178.

24 Cynthia Greive Veiga, "Escola Nova: a invenção de tempos, espaços e sujeitos", em *Lições de Minas: 70 anos da Secretaria de Educação*, Eds. Faria Filho, Luciano Mendes de Peixoto, Ana Maria Casasanta (Belo Horizonte: Secretaria de Estado da Educação de Minas Gerais, 2003), 37.

25 Cynthia Greive Veiga, "Escola Nova: a invenção de tempos, espaços e sujeitos", em *Lições de Minas: 70 anos da Secretaria de Educação*, Eds. Faria Filho, Luciano Mendes de Peixoto, Ana Maria Casasanta (Belo Horizonte: Secretaria de Estado da Educação de Minas Gerais, 2003), 37.

Professional secondary education should provide young people a formation which got them used to social and professional life in accordance to the demands of civilization in the modern Brazilian society and coherent with reform proposals preconized by the State. Professional education was in charge of making them able of acting productively in society. School became responsible for teaching crafts necessary to social life in which the subjects were inserted, demonstrated as a device for social control, destined to discipline popular classes, imposing love for work, to civilization and customs²⁶.

Together with knowledge gap, social disparity perpetuated. The 40's and the 50's signaled this fact and Brazilian education was shaped with the aim of maintaining and reproducing these inequalities. In this context, Brazilian State highlighted the notion that there was need of institutionalizing a "developmental educational"²⁷. That is, a professional technical education with the objective of educating for work, which might not occur only on high school level, but even on elementary and graduate levels as well.

The great concern of those decades to the State and its educational reform was the professional education and education for work, due to the State was itself, under the influence of the market and the capital. The State inverted, therefore, the role of education and put the school under the direct demands of the market, as fabricator of the labor force. The reforms of that time kept, under the aegis of modernity, the conservation of domination, as the level of urban development started to be measured by the capability of "the city attending and at the same time guiding the fundamental human needs based on the expansion of industrial capitalism: housing, labor, transport, education"²⁸.

The reflexes of economy and the influence of capitalism and of liberal ideas pervaded educational conflicts. Connected with the interests of the State and to rules of the market, public school exercised an important part as regulator of class conflicts and social order²⁹. Through education pervaded the main goal of making effective the interests of dominant classes "with signs of controversies and agreements"³⁰. Therefore, education was maintained strictly connected with the State that was strong enough to keep the order of the things. These principles were imposed to individual's consciousness through education that represented an essential part on the persuasive and preventive action of the Brazilian State.

3. Professional Education

Brazilian professional formation was reserved to the "less privileged"³¹. Brazilian education

26 Gatti, "História da educação", 86.

27 Franco, Luiz Antônio Carvalho y Sidnei Sauerbronn, "Breve história da formação profissional no Brasil" (São Paulo, CENAFOR, 1984), 71.

28 Fonseca, *História do ensino industrial*, 16.

29 Fonseca, *História do ensino industrial*, 16.

30 Fonseca, *História do ensino industrial*, 16.

31 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 6.

established a clear distinction between those who held the knowledge – secondary, “normal” (teacher education for elementary grades) and graduate, and those who performed labor – professional education. The conception of labor associated to physical effort came from the idea and the experience of slavery that reinforced the distinction, leaving deep and prejudicial scars for those who worked with their own hands. Indians and slaves were the first apprentices of craftwork in Brazil. Those first moments produced a stigma of servitude the industrial education in our country.

“Since then, the people of our land became used to seeing that kind of education as destined only for those ones who belonged to the lower class social categories³². “For a long time the colonial heritage of slavery influenced pejoratively social relations in Brazil, as well as society’s view towards education and professional formation. Intellectual development was seen as unnecessary for the majority of the population. Low mass schooling of the work force was not considered a significant obstacle to economic expansion. Those factors not only deteriorated the general thought that crafts were destined to the “poor ones and the ones deprived of luck”, but also prevented, due to economic features which covered it, workers from aiming certain jobs which proceeded “the former times of our civilization the mentality of despising jobs which require handcraft”³³.

Mechanical arts and manufactures ended up not exercising any attraction to those who could choose. That is, to those who were free, to those who were not slaves, and, that even exploited when selling their work force, were not compelled to it by physical force, but by social devices of work force formation inside the capitalist way of production. Professional education was destined to “teaching crafts to infants and young people who did not have a choice.[...] to delinquents”³⁴. In this perspective the secondary professional education in Brazil was offered to those who could not oppose resistance to an education which prepared for jobs defined socially as of minor importance.

4. Schools for crafts’ apprentices

With the consolidation of the Republican regime, the intense circulation of progressive ideas, modernity and social order advanced. With the positivists’ principles prevailing discussions focusing education as essential device in social investments, in 1909 President Nilo Peçanha installed nineteen “Schools of crafts apprentices” destined to “the poor and humble”³⁵ distributed in various units of the Confederation by the act 7.566, of 23rd September, 1909.

“Art. 1º. In each of the capitals of the republican states of the Federal Government will keep, through the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, a school of

32 Brasil, Decreto Lei nº 7.566 de 23 de setembro de 1909.

33 Fonseca, *História do ensino industrial*, 16.

34 Brasil, Decreto Lei nº 7.566 de 23 de setembro de 1909.

35 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 6.

The justification for the creation of these set of Schools for Crafts Apprentices was the need of providing working class with means which could guarantee their survival. These schools were installed, one in each Brazilian confederate capital, apart from two which were not located in the capitals, Campos, in Rio de Janeiro, and Pelotas, in Rio Grande do Sul. Those schools should provide the “deprived” of “profitable work habits”, being the government’s duty to “form useful citizens”, expressions present in the act nº 7.566.

“Considering that: the constant growth of the population in cities demand that the working class should be favored with the means of overcoming the obstacles in their struggle for survival; and for that, it is necessary not only to qualify the children of the ones deprived from fortune with the indispensable technical and intellectual preparation, but also to make them acquire profitable working habits, which will deviate them of inactivity, school of vice and crime; this is one of the primary duties of the Government of the republic to form useful citizens to the Nation ”³⁷.

The creation of these schools, which possessed a terminal character which did not articulate with the other levels of education, formalized the structural duality between academic education and professional education which lasted until today. Reinforcing the educational duality³⁸, the Estado Novo brasileiro (Brazilian’s new state) built an educational architecture which highlighted the balance between social division of work and school structure. The secondary education emerged destined to the “conductive élites” and the branches of secondary education destined to the “less privileged class”. Even for the professional education the pupils should be selected and “poverty or unfavorable conditions might be a conjunction condition, but not enough for entering a professional course”³⁹. Schools became responsible for the organization of industrial professional education, as “demands of the productive process, both in industry and rail transportation, came to require qualified workers who would not derive from random processes”⁴⁰. The 20’s and the whole 30’s watched an important change in the addressees of the professional education. Congress promoted a series of debates on the expansion of professional education and proposed the expansion to everybody, poor and rich, and not only to “the misfortune ones”⁴¹.

The industrialization and the urbanization of the Brazilian society led education professionals to a discussion on modernizing national education as a whole. We highlight in this movement the names of Fernando de Azevedo, Anísio Teixeira e Lourenço Filho, who defended a progressive action, contrary to the education then in course in Brazil, considered elitist, Jesuitical and authoritarian. Those idealists believed that economic progress and did not trust that industrial capital could be “run over by the monopolist financial capital, producing serious socioeconomic

36 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 6.

37 Ester Buffa y Paolo Nosella, *Educação negada: introdução ao estudo da educação brasileira contemporânea* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1991), 65.

38 Ester Buffa y Paolo Nosella, *Educação negada: introdução ao estudo da educação brasileira contemporânea* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1991), 65.

39 Veiga, *História da educação*, 252.

40 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 21.

41 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 21.

unbalances, that is, beside the highly technological pole, causing huge misery pockets”⁴².

This group of Brazilian educators with innovative ideas regarding education made the discussion also considered the professional education, with the objective of attending better the demands of industry. As a consequence, at the end of the 20’s and the beginning of the 30’s “the professional education was present in the majority of the state laws, offering private and public course for commerce and industry and secondary professional schools”⁴³.

The creation of the National Board of Education happened in 1931. In the same year the educational reform was accomplished, known under the name of the Minister Francisco Campos, which prevailed until 1942⁴⁴. The major accomplishment of Francisco Campos reform were acts n° 19.890/31 e 21.241/32 that ruled the organization of secondary education; act n.º 20.158/31, which organized the commercial professional education and ruled on the accountancy profession. The importance of the latter is due to the fact that this is the first legal tool to structure a course, including the idea of itineraries for professionalization⁴⁵.

“Commercial education was reorganized (act 20.158 de 30th June [1931]), being instituted as a parallel system, having a post-elementary level, a technical level and a graduate one. For those who carry a certificate of conclusion of elementary studies there was, in the commercial education, the possibility of enrolling in a commerce assistant course or in the propaedeutic course (three years). This constituted condition, side by side to the secondary course, for enrolling technical courses (one to three years), encompassing the following ones: office assistant, book records, administrator-seller, actuary and expert- accountant”⁴⁶.

The Manifest of Pioneers of the New Education of 1932 brought the possibility of organizing a democratic school which provided the same opportunities to all. The education based on a general culture, in a flexible way, would enable specializations “to activity preferably intellectual (humanities and science) or mainly handcraft and mechanical (courses of technical character)”. The specifications were thus grouped: a) raw material extraction (agriculture, mine and fishing);b) elaboration of raw material(industry);c)distribution of elaborated products (transportation and commerce)⁴⁷. The issuing of the Constitution of 1937, however, much of what was discussed in terms of education, was abandoned. Nevertheless, for the first time, a Brazilian Constitution treated vocational schools and pre-vocational, as a duty of the state towards the less privileged classes expressed in the art. 129.

“Art. 129. The pre-vocational and professional education destined to less favored classes is, regarding to education, the first duty of the state. It is its duty to execute this duty, funding institutes of professional education and subsidizing the ones of t the

42 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 22.

43 Franco, *Breve história da formação*, 74.

44 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 28.

45 Simon Schwartzman, Bomeny, Helena Maria Bousquet, y Vanda Maria Ribeiro Costa, *Tempos de Capanema* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2000), 245.

46 Cunha, *O ensino profissional na irradiação do industrialismo*, 7.

47 Manfredi, *Educação profissional*, 62.

state's, the town's initiative and also the initiative of individuals' or private and professional associations".

This obligation of the state with the less privileged classes would be fulfilled with the “collaboration of industries and the economic syndicates”, the so called “productive classes”, which should “create, in its range of specialty, schools of apprentices, destined to workers’ children or their associates”⁴⁸. It constituted a demand of the industrialization process enacted in the 30’s that required more and crescent contingents of professionals specialized for the industry, commerce and services.

Capanema’s reform, from 1942 on, composed education with five years of primary course, four of high school and three of secondary, the latter could be offered in two modalities: classic or scientific. Secondary education lost its propaedeutic character, preparatory for the undergraduate education and started to worry with general formation. It was composed by the following acts: a) 1942 – Organic Law of Secondary Education (act n.º 4.244/42) and the Industrial Education (Act n.º 4.073/42); b) 1943 – Organic Law of Commercial Education (Act n.º 6.141/43); c) 1946 – Organic Law of Primary Education (Act n.º 8.529/46), of Normal Education (Act n.º 8.530/46) and of the Agricultural Education (act n.º 9.613/46). The priority given to the reform of secondary education was a favorable occasion for reassuring the most general principles of Capanema’s Ministry conception of education⁴⁹.

In the pack of Organic Laws of National Education, the objective of secondary and normal education was “to form the conductive élites of the country”. The aim professional education was to offer “appropriate background to workers’ children, to the ones deprived from luck or less privileged ones, to those that precociously need to join the work force”. The dual heritage endured and was explicit. The education politics of the New State “enhanced the harmony between social division of work and school structure, between secondary education, destined to the élites who lead and the professional branches of secondary education”⁵⁰. Each of these laws referred to the articulation of branches of education considered to undergraduate education and then it was not possible to the ones who concluded secondary courses to enroll in entrance examinations. Even after these laws the access to the access to undergraduate education was very restrict.

The Organic Law of Industrial Education established that secondary pupils could enroll themselves in courses which belonged to the last cycle of the education ruled by that act, but the contrary could not happen⁵¹, as the former pupils of the first industrial cycle were not allowed to enroll in scientific courses.

“In 1950, it was corrected, and the permission to those students for enrolling the second cycle of the secondary education, once they completed the study of the subjects that were

48 Cunha, *O ensino profissiona na irradiação do industrialismo*, 28.

49 Simon Schwartzman, Bomeny, Helena Maria Bousquet, y Vanda Maria Ribeiro Costa, *Tempos de Capanema* (São Paulo: Paz e terra, 2000), 245.

50 Cunha, *O ensino profissiona na irradiação do industrialismo*, 7.

51 Silvia Manfredi, *Educação profissiona no Brasil* (São Paulo: Cortez, 2002), 62,

different in each syllabus. [...] the Equivalence Act that was signed in 1953, enlarged even more the conquests because they articulated the industrial education as in any other undergraduate institution, instead of doing it only with the Engineering ones, as it was determined before”⁵².

It was only with the Federal Act n.º 1.821/53 that it was allowed the equivalence between academic and professional education, breaking the rigidity of the professional education, consolidated by the federal act n.º 1.076/50. The Federal Act n.º 1.821/53 disposed regulations for applying this equivalence regime between the various courses of secondary level and its regulations occurred with the act n.º 34.330/53, 1954 producing its effects only from 1954 on. Even after the promulgation of the Law of Directives and basis of National Education, in 1961, the structural duality persisted, even though there was a guarantee of passing from the professional education to the secondary education⁵³.

As the years passed, new technologies demanded even more qualified labor. Many families that lived in rural areas migrated to urban areas, once the economy, until that time was mainly agricultural, started to concentrate their activities in commerce and industry, emerging a new feature to industrial education. The role of education demanded, included not only the instruction of the youth destined to factories, teaching them a craft, but also offering them human formation and citizenship to shape them to society⁵⁴. Professional formation destined to young Brazilians Established close relations between education and routine tasks, typical of the relation between economy and work of the capitalist society of the time.

CONSIDERATIONS

A broad civilizing Project was idealized in Brazil and the education was considered a vital front of this project. Between 1909 and 1950, Brazilian education was characterized as dualist educational proposal, as it offered a differentiated school to apprentices in both propaedeutic and professional education. In the beginning, professional education’s aimed to produce tools to the population, teaching them to read and write, in a conception of education as a tool destined, in a broad civilizing process, to the unfortunate and deprived of luck. It also aimed to provide the working class with manual and mechanical occupations as ways of surviving, within the patterns of a civic-patriot education.

Industrialization, urbanization, technological advances and economic development reinforced the need for schooling Brazilians to fulfill certain interests from the State, to attend the market, improve knowledge, or for obtaining a diploma which certified certain schooling degree. It prevailed, in the Brazilian case, public politics originated from the State centralized in the duality between education for work, for the unfavorable ones, who need to face the job market when still

⁵² Fonseca, *História do ensino industrial*, 665.

⁵³ Manfredi, *Educação profissional*, 62.

⁵⁴ Wenceslau Gonçalves Neto, *Estado e agricultura no Brasil* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997), 35.

young, and other propaedeutic education which enables a higher level of studies, destined to the élite, to the well-born and successful ones. This situation began to be overcome in the 50's, influenced by interests of specific groups, and revealed in actions and in the positions taken by the country's intellectual élite. This élite elaborated an educational project who saw education as an element for cultural dissemination and changes in mentalities and whose desires of "modernity" constituted the central pillar for building a well-educated Brazilian society.

Following the guidelines set within national politics, however, professional education has entered contemporaneity reinforcing principles historically constituted in modernity, but not yet incorporating significant parcels of Brazilian population. Professional education was shaped according to reality and needs of the State-Nation. Within this view, education would comprehend the role of preparing for professional life, as work improvement represented one of the major supports for public prosperity.

The emerging of federal public schools happened under control of the capital of the agricultural-exportation segment and it was consolidated based on processes associated to the monopoly of the elementary knowledge by the State, as a sequence to the civilizing process. The routes Brazilian professional secondary education were based on tradition and fed by industrial culture and an in the ideology of progress through work.

Constitutional guarantees for education as a civilization asset, indispensable to citizenship has not made completely real and some of the obstacles still remain. Professional secondary education has become a tool which favors civilization with the aim of preparing pupils for performing practical crafts which in fact intended to prepare for jobs related to production. This guideline largely influenced the course of professional education in Brazil.

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