TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN BRAZIL IN 1926: Fernando de Azevedo's educational inquiry

O ensino técnico e profissional do Brasil de 1926: o inquérito educacional de Fernando de Azevedo

La educación técnica y profesional en Brasil, 1926: la investigación educativa de Fernando de Azevedo

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Abstract: This article concerns the history of technical and vocational education in Brazil, particularly the history of discourses produced by intellectuals who, starting in the 1920s, advocated for the inclusion of industrial and urban worker training in the national agenda. The object of analysis is the 1926 educational inquiry conducted by Fernando de Azevedo when he was a columnist for *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Estadão). The newspaper published the inquiry in 1926, and a complete version was released as a book in 1937. The article focuses on the themes adopted to bring technical and vocational education into the realm of journalism. The approach draws connections between the expressions used, the movements, and the ideas circulating in Brazil at the time. It seeks to understand the meanings Azevedo attributed to labour and technique in the modernization of the country.
Keywords: technical vocational training; History of Education; Brazilian educators; intellectuals.

Resumo: Artigo referente à história do ensino técnico e profissional no Brasil, em particular à história de discursos produzidos por intelectuais que atuaram a partir dos anos 1920 na inclusão da formação do trabalhador industrial e urbano na pauta nacional. O objeto é o inquérito educacional de 1926 que Fernando de Azevedo realizou quando era colunista do *Estadão*. O jornal publicou o inquérito em 1926, e a versão completa veio como livro em 1937. O foco do artigo são as pautas adotadas para fazer do ensino técnico e profissional um assunto jornalístico. A abordagem tece nexos entre expressões empregadas, movimentos e ideias que circulavam no Brasil à época. Busca perceber os sentidos que Azevedo atribuía ao trabalho e à técnica na modernização do país.
Palavras-chave: formação profissional técnica; História da Educação; educadores brasileiros; intelectuais.

Resumen: Este artículo examina la historia de la educación técnica y profesional en Brasil, centrándose en la encuesta educativa de 1926 realizada por Fernando de Azevedo cuando era columnista de *Estadão*. Mediante investigación documental que considera dicha encuesta como una representación sociocultural generadora de comportamientos (Chartier, 1990), analizamos su estructura y comparamos las estrategias organizativas que propone (Viñao Frago, 1995; De Certeau, 2004). Concluimos que, a finales de la década de 1920, las autoridades de Pernambuco emprendieron diversas iniciativas para fomentar la formación técnica y profesional, utilizando la encuesta como instrumento para moldear y supervisar la conducta de los trabajadores industriales y urbanos. Este estudio aporta a la historia de la educación al mostrar cómo la investigación periodística contribuyó a incluir la capacitación laboral en la agenda nacional.
Palabras clave: educación técnica profesional; Historia de la Educación; educadores brasileños; intelectuales.

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INTRODUCTION

In Brazil, the history of the schooling of labour and technique is separate from the educational history of cultural and scientific formation. This separation involves various components such as institutions, school cultures, students, and teachers, and results from several factors, one of which is rooted in the country's colonial and slave-holding legacy: the white elite's aversion to manual labour and technical skills. In Brazil's hierarchical society, manual and technical workers do not enjoy the same social prestige as white-collar workers, who carry out their activities in office environments. Centuries of the enslavement of Black labour left deep, long-lasting cultural legacies (Romanelli, 2005).

This aversion expresses a prejudice filled with stereotypes that serve to classify and separate social segments. From this hostility toward labour and technique comes the refusal to establish a national public education system that includes culture, science, technique, and labour in the basic education of all.

The history of vocational education in Brazil is the history of educational institutions that were conceived, designed, negotiated, established, and instituted. It is also the history of individuals. Vocational education in Brazil has its own subjects, that is, teachers or instructors and students or apprentices. Until the 1940s, apprentice artisans were poor children, unfortunate in their fate, orphans, in other words, potential delinquents and offenders. During the First Republic, training for work was a way to prevent a threat to the elites' peace and to prevent social problems. Terms such as employment, inclusion, or individual and social mobility were not part of the political discourse of the time (Manfredi, 2002; Brejon, 1962; Fonseca, 1961).

Due to this diversity of components, the history of the formation of labour and technique in Brazil is also a history of ideas and a history of intellectuals. Francisco Belmonte Montojos, a memorialist engineer of the formation of labour and technique in Brazil who worked at the Ministry of Education and Public Health from 1927 to 1949 and from 1955 to 1961, mentions nineteenth-century intellectuals who proposed the organization of vocational training (Pedrosa, 2020). In the twentieth century, as technical and vocational education[1] entered the federal government's agenda, it likewise gained prominence among national education intellectuals.

Among these intellectuals during the Old Republic, law graduates predominated. From the 1930s onward, these intellectuals came to be engineers trained at higher education institutions that served as hubs for the circulation of

[1] The current term, defined in Resolution CNE/CP No.1, dated January 5, 2021, is Vocational and Technological Education (Brazil, 2021). However, this nomenclature has undergone adaptations over the decades as a result of social, economic, and technological changes. In the 1920s, the expression "technical and vocational education" was commonly used among education intellectuals. This is also the expression used by Fernando de Azevedo in the 1926 inquiry and, for this reason, will be used throughout the article.

industrialist mentality and the rationalization of production and labor. Among these engineers involved in the formation of labour and technique were intellectuals in the strict sense defined by Sirinelli (1996): engaged in the circulation of ideas, active in movements and manifestos, part of networks and social circles, and identified with a specific generation. These intellectuals can be classified into two groups: intellectuals of vocational education and intellectuals in vocational education. The first group includes those directly involved in vocational education, either in government or educational institutions. This group includes João Luderitz, Roberto Mange, Rodolfo Fuchs, Celso Suckow da Fonseca, and Francisco Montojos. The second group consists of intellectuals concerned with education and schooling who, under specific circumstances, engaged in reflecting on vocational education. This group includes Carneiro Leão, Lourenço Filho, Anísio Teixeira, and Fernando de Azevedo.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the public school and the training of the national workforce gained prominence on the agendas of both state and federal governments. Initiatives related to public education and teacher training took place in the Federal District, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Bahia, Ceará, and Pernambuco. In nearly all of these regions, intellectuals from the new school movement were active; they published their first manifesto in 1932. These were intellectuals who viewed public education as a necessary condition for the country's modernization, individuals committed to the creation and institutionalization of a national public education system.

In particular, this article focuses on a journalistic-educational event in which Fernando de Azevedo played a central role: the 1926 educational inquiry conducted by Azevedo and published that same year in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*. Known as *Estadão*, as it was commonly referred to and will be called here. The newspaper was founded in 1875, held a liberal political stance, and was one of the most important newspapers in the country at the time. This journalistic-educational event consisted of a series of interviews conducted by Azevedo with educators from São Paulo involved in education at its various levels and types, from elementary to higher education. In 1937, the complete inquiry was published in the book "A educação pública em São Paulo: problemas e discussões" (Azevedo, 1937), which comprises 485 pages divided into three parts. The first part is dedicated to primary and teacher education (normal school) and covers 152 pages, including 21 pages of introduction and 18 pages of Azevedo's conclusions. The second part, focused on technical and vocational education, spans 108 pages, with seven pages of introduction and 15 pages of final remarks. The third part addresses secondary and higher education and takes up 180 pages, including 29 pages of introduction and 19 of final considerations. The 1937 publication also includes a new 10-page introduction written specifically for that edition, along with eight additional pages written in 1926 that introduce the inquiry.

The 1937 publication is the main source for this research, while information about Azevedo's social and intellectual circles (1961) was drawn from his

autobiography “Figuras do meu convívio”. The article identifies the repertoire of issues Azevedo uses to frame the discussion on technical and vocational education and explores the connections between this repertoire and currents such as positivism, pragmatism, industrialism, hygienism, eugenics, and the Escola Nova movement. It seeks to understand Azevedo’s perspective on the training of the national workforce and the meanings he attributed to labour and technique in the country’s modernization process.

Fernando de Azevedo, his generation, and his involvement with public education

The discussion begins with an overview of the involvement with public education of three intellectuals from a generation active from the 1920s onward: Fernando de Azevedo (1894-1974), Lourenço Filho (1897-1970), and Anísio Teixeira (1900-1971) (Fávero & Brito, 1999).

Among the three, Lourenço Filho was the one who became involved with public education at the earliest age, and throughout his life, there was no other subject that interested him more than public education. What gave meaning to Lourenço Filho’s interest in education was children. He was a scholar of childhood learning, and it was through this focus that he engaged in teacher training. Lourenço was the son of a Portuguese carpenter who migrated with his family to Brazil in the late 19th century to live and work in the countryside of São Paulo. Although he held a degree in Law Science, Lourenço Filho was involved in teaching from a young age. His educational path was shaped by Normal courses, where he was a student, teacher, and school principal. In 1912, at the age of 15, Lourenço Filho enrolled in Escola Normal Primária in Pirassununga-SP, and the following year, he began teaching. In 1915, he moved to São Paulo to study at Escola Normal da Praça da República, where he came into contact with the experienced educator Sampaio Dória.

On the other hand, the well-born Anísio Teixeira from Bahia received a Jesuit education in secondary school, and his academic excellence drew the interest of the Jesuits, who wished to recruit him into their ranks. It was then that his father, a physician and landowner, transferred him from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro in order to distance him from the priests’ influence in shaping his future. Colonel Deocleciano’s plan for his eldest son, Anísio Teixeira, involved the judiciary, with the intended starting point being the public prosecutor’s office of Caetité-BA, where the family’s land and relatives were located. It was the Bahia’s governor Góes Calmon, a progressive republican, who in 1924 brought Anísio Teixeira into the field of education by appointing him head of public instruction. At 24 years old, Anísio Teixeira had no experience in basic public education. He had not read educational texts, nor was he aware of John Dewey, whose work he would only discover three years

later at Columbia University, where he pursued a master's degree. Public education entered Anísio Teixeira's life unexpectedly, but it would become his lifelong commitment, driving him until his assassination by the repressive forces of the military dictatorship in 1971.

From Minas Gerais, Fernando de Azevedo also completed his basic education in Catholic confessional schools of European origin, which were intended for the education of children from wealthy families or the emerging middle class. It was at Companhia de Jesus in Nova Friburgo-RJ that Azevedo was introduced to philosophy and literature and had his first and occasional teaching experiences. The priesthood also figured among Azevedo's early aspirations, but at the age of 20, he dismissed that possibility and began studying Law. Still a student, Azevedo started working as a teacher, drawing on his classical Jesuit education to teach Latin and Psychology at Ginásio do Estado in Belo Horizonte. It was also during this period that he published his first work in 1916, *A poesia do corpo*, later revised and renamed *Da educação física* (Azevedo, 1960).

Common to these Brazilian public education intellectuals of the same generation is their Bachelor's degree in Legal Sciences. Also noteworthy is the fact that all three, while still young, acted as educational reformers in different states of the federation during the second half of the 1920s. They are also all signatories of the "Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova" , published in 1932.

In 1917, at the age of 21 and still studying Law, Fernando de Azevedo came into contact with the work of the French positivist Émile Durkheim. If physical education and literature were his first areas of interest, Durkheim's sociology came next. Azevedo completed his Law degree in São Paulo in 1918, after attending law schools in three different Brazilian capitals over his five-year course.

In 1920, Azevedo met Lourenço Filho (1897-1970), a pioneer in introducing the discoveries of experimental psychology on child learning in Brazil. It was alongside Lourenço Filho that Azevedo began his teaching career in the state of São Paulo. In *Figuras de meu convívio*, Azevedo (1960) recounts that the two met while they were both in teacher training. Lourenço Filho, at the age of 23, was beginning to teach Psychology at Escola Normal de Piracicaba, and Azevedo, at 26, was teaching Latin and Literature at Escola Normal de São Paulo. Azevedo's relationship with Anísio Teixeira began in 1928. He met Anísio Teixeira through an introduction by Monteiro Lobato, and from that encounter, he deepened his engagement with John Dewey's pragmatic pedagogy. Between 1927 and 1931, Lobato (1950) served as Brazil's commercial attaché in the United States, and it was also during this time (1927 and 1928-1929) that Teixeira visited the U.S. to learn about its school system (in 1927) and later to pursue a master's degree at Columbia University. The connection between Azevedo and Teixeira was established shortly after Teixeira's enthusiastic return from

the United States with his pedagogical discoveries. Azevedo reveals Teixeira's enthusiasm for the United States, its schools, and John Dewey's pragmatic pedagogy.

> That was (he wrote) "an extraordinarily meaningful period in my life, which began with the discovery of Dewey, the acquaintance with Lobato, and the encounter with you in Rio, between June 1928 and June 1929. I have the impression that it was during that year that I found myself"[2]. (Azevedo, 1960, p. 124)

Azevedo, like Lourenço Filho, did not have the social and economic resources Anísio Teixeira used to have. In the book *Figuras de meu convívio*, Azevedo (1960) describes the financial difficulties his family faced after losing their assets when his ill father had to step away from managing business.

Among the three intellectuals, Azevedo, the oldest, was the last to become involved in the management of public education, although, like Lourenço Filho, he had already been teaching since his youth. It was in 1926, at the age of 32, that Azevedo took charge of Public Instruction in Rio de Janeiro, the federal capital at that time.

Although Azevedo's involvement with public education occurred later compared to Lourenço Filho, this process was the result of his own individual initiative, which differs from the case of Anísio Teixeira. This individual decision to choose education as a field of work was also present in Lourenço Filho, though through different paths. Lourenço Filho began at the foundational level, earning a secondary-level teaching diploma. Azevedo, although he had been teaching since his youth, entered public education management from the top, and this occurred in 1926, when he conducted the educational inquiry in São Paulo. Until then, Azevedo was a *lato sensu* intellectual, in Sirinelli's (1996) definition. He wrote articles for *Estadão*, and it was in that position that he carried out the 1926 educational inquiry. The journalistic publication of the inquiry's results established his reputation as a public education intellectual. Unlike Anísio Teixeira, whose involvement in public education came unexpectedly and without personal intent, Azevedo actively sought political opportunities to work in public education management.

It was also from 1926 onward that Azevedo began to direct his studies toward education and started to emerge as a public education intellectual. The publication of "Máscaras e retratos" (Azevedo, 1962) includes, in its preface, Azevedo's justification for distancing himself from literary studies. He wrote that taking on the role of Director of Public Instruction in the Federal District compelled him to interrupt his literary activities.

[2] All the quotes were translated from the original in Portuguese.

> That period of nearly four years of struggles and reforms in the field of education, along with the invitation from Professor M. B. Lourenço Filho to teach the chair of Sociology in the Advanced Training Course at the Normal School of the capital—where I was teaching Latin language and literature—brought a definitive end to my literary activities at the major daily newspaper. (Azevedo, 1962, p. 11)

Azevedo also states that it was a difficult decision, but he ultimately directed his work toward public education grounded in sociology, in a country facing a lot of challenges and where his contributions could be more significant. In his farewell speech to literature published in *Estadão*, he refers to "the importance of science and technique in contemporary civilization" and mentions the urgency of "efforts in favor of the development of the social sciences and the solution of fundamental problems in education," in which "almost everything still had to be done, and the challenges were too pressing for us not to respond to them" (Azevedo, 1962, pp. 11-12).

The shift in focus from the body and literature to education and sociology marks, in a certain way, the beginning of Fernando de Azevedo's mature intellectual phase. This transition took place when, at the age of 32, he conducted the education inquiry in 1926. It was through journalism that Azevedo became engaged with the issues of Brazilian public education.

Fernando de Azevedo's ideas on technical and vocational education in the 1926 inquiry

In 1926, Fernando de Azevedo was 32 years old. He had already undergone classical education at a Jesuit school, held a law degree, and accumulated several years of teaching experience at Ginásio do Estado de Minas Gerais and Escola Normal da Praça da República in São Paulo. He had also published seven books, some literary or essayistic, others on the body and physical education, and one addressing themes of national education: *Velha e nova política: aspectos e figuras da educação nacional*, published in 1923. By 1926, Azevedo was also in contact with educators Sampaio Dória and Lourenço Filho, as well as the intellectual and politician Júlio de Mesquita Filho, all active in São Paulo.

In the 1920s, Brazil experienced a period of relative effervescence in public education, driven by reforms undertaken at the state level. These reforms addressed issues such as school infrastructure, teacher training, the standardization of teaching methods and materials, and other aspects of public education organization. In Minas Gerais, reforms were led by Francisco Campos; in Bahia, by Anísio Teixeira; and in Pernambuco, by Carneiro Leão. Sampaio Dória was a prominent figure in this movement and worked within the São Paulo government. Lourenço Filho, who lived in São Paulo, took part in reforms in the state of Ceará, while Azevedo undertook the

reform of public education in the Federal District starting in 1926, shortly after the publication of the inquiry in *Estadão*.

By 1926, Azevedo was already a reader of the positivist and industrialist sociology of Durkheim, particularly his ideas on organic solidarity and civic education. However, his first sociological publication would only come in 1935, with the book *Princípios de sociologia: pequena introdução ao estudo de sociologia geral* (Azevedo, 1956).

The period from 1924 to 1926 was an intense one in Azevedo's trajectory. While working at *Estadão*, he was building his social capital, expanding his cultural capital, and gaining legitimacy among influential individuals, to the point that he himself became influential. Sirinelli (1996) offers a useful framework to understand this process as the *lived world* of the intellectual, that subject of ideas who engages with the lived experience of others in order to influence society and become involved in events, movements, and manifestos. A noteworthy aspect of this phase in Azevedo's life is his close relationship with Júlio Mesquita Filho, a wealthy man with inherited social and political prestige, an intellectual educated in European schools and a graduate of the Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo, an elite institution and a space of power and sociability for the children of the upper classes, destined to occupy positions as jurists and statesmen, men who saw themselves as leading the country towards progress (Schwarcz, 2019). It was Mesquita Filho who encouraged Azevedo to deepen his studies of Durkheim. In *Figuras de meu convívio*, Azevedo (1961) dedicated a chapter to Mesquita Filho, highlighting his ability to attract intellectuals to *Estadão* and engage them in nationally relevant issues, making the newspaper a space of sociability. *Estadão* was a place of "... convergence of intellectual workers, (...) of men of thought and action (...) where, around Júlio de Mesquita Filho, cultural and scientific issues were discussed at a high level, and political campaigns were launched" (Azevedo, 1960, p. 87).

This journalistic-educational event, which took on the form of an inquiry into public education in São Paulo, was a product of those circumstances. It was announced as an initiative of *O Estado de S. Paulo*, commissioned by Júlio de Mesquita Filho and carried out by Fernando de Azevedo. The initiative to intervene in the educational debate led to concrete results and, in the same year, Azevedo was appointed to lead educational reforms in the Federal District. Later, in 1930, he took part in the creation of the Ministry of Education and Public Health and played a key role in organizing the movement and writing the "Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova" in 1932.

The 1926 inquiry highlights the interests, one of which was to make public education a journalistic agenda, placing the *Estadão*'s columnists as protagonists in the issues of a country that was taking its first steps toward modernization. The inquiry elevated education by turning it into a journalistic topic and likewise elevated the *Estadão*, which took on a vanguard role in bringing the educational agenda to the central issue.

Another aspect has to do with the list of individuals participating in the interview. Taking part in the inquiry gave visibility both to the interviewees and to the interviewer. Azevedo would engage, in *Estadão*, with men who occupied key positions in São Paulo's education system. Another point is the agenda of the debate, that is, the questions presented to the interviewees. In other words, Azevedo, in alignment with Mesquita Filho, defined the interlocutors and the agenda of the dialogue; he presented the problems, the different positions of the interviewees and, in the end, revealed his own considerations. In this way, the inquiry took the form of a debate in which Azevedo asked the questions, presented the answers, explored gaps and disagreements, and delivered the final word, outlining directions.

To discuss technical and vocational education, Azevedo invited Paulo Pestana (Secretary of Agriculture), Navarro de Andrade (from Companhia Paulista de Estradas de Ferro), José Mello Moraes (from Escola de Agronomia Luiz de Queiroz), Roberto Mange (from Politécnica de São Paulo and Escola Profissional de Mecânica de São Paulo), Teodoro Braga (from the state vocational education system), and Paim Vieira (painter and decorator). The interview script comprised 17 questions and addressed issues already being discussed within the government among entrepreneurs but which lacked visibility as a journalistic topic.

Right from the first round of questions[3] Azevedo addressed three problems that would become prominent in the disputes between the Federal Government and entrepreneurs over the following two decades (1930s and 1940s) concerning the recently created Confederação Nacional da Indústria (CNI). These problems relate to the objectives, organization, and scientific training of the teaching staff of technical and vocational education. Azevedo's questions suggest that technical and vocational education was disorganised, lacked direction, and did not have a teaching staff with appropriate training. In Azevedo's repertoire, the expression technical and vocational teaching is equivalent to the formation of labor and technique. The term teaching was commonly used to refer to the formation of labor and technique provided by institutions such as Escolas de Aprendizes Artífices, Instituto Parobé, and Escola Mecânica de São Paulo, while the term education was reserved for references to cultural and scientific formation carried out in schools.[4].

Azevedo draws a connection between work and technique. At the time, two issues were being raised by educators who advocated for the establishment of a

[3] Question 1: "What is your opinion about our technical and vocational education? In terms of its organization, objectives, and the scientific training of its teaching staff, as well as its limited development, does it not fall short of meeting our technical, industrial, agricultural, and social needs?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 188)

[4] Escolas de Aprendizes Artífices belonged to the federal government and were created in 1909 by the president at that time, Nilo Peçanha. Instituto Technico Profissional, also known as Instituto Parobé, was a pioneer in technical vocational and industrial education in Brazil, linked to Escola de Engenharia de Porto Alegre. Escola Mecânica de São Paulo was affiliated with Escola Politécnica de São Paulo and operated in vocational education.

national system of public education that would include, for everyone, the teaching of work and technique alongside culture and science. They also called for the equivalence of technical education with secondary education, thereby raising the educational status of technical training. In the 1926 inquiry, Azevedo addresses work and vocational teaching in its social dimension, not merely oriented toward the market or business interests. In one of the rounds of questions[5] he emphasizes the need for vocational education centers to align with the purpose of work in modern society, basing it on "the normal practice of cooperative work and socially-oriented tasks, according to the Dewey method"[6] (Azevedo, 1937, p. 189).

With this approach, Azevedo preserved the social meaning of technical and vocational education, but with a different connotation from that which had prevailed in government actions since the creation of Colégio das Fábricas in 1809, and later Escolas de Aprendizes Artífices in 1909. Until then, the social meaning of training for work was tied to preventing the social threat by segregating the poor. The moral component of this work-related training lay in acting against the stereotypes of the vagrant, the loafer, and the lazy person. Aligned with this discourse of social order was the idea of training for work as an act of benevolence. It was important to teach the poor how to work so that they could live with dignity, that is, through their own means. In other words: education aimed at subsistence in poverty. It was important to help the poor maintain their dignity *within* poverty (Cunha, 2005). In contrast, the social meaning of technical and vocational education emphasized by Azevedo in the 1926 inquiry bore the influence of French positivism and American pragmatism. Positivism emerged in the 19th century, with philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857) as one of its leading figures, emphasizing science and industry as foundations for human progress and social order. Later, David Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) brought Comte's positivism into sociology and advanced theories about industrial society. From these thinkers, positivism gained support and became an international movement. Pragmatism, on the other hand, is of American origin and counts William James (1842-1910) among its main theorists. One of its emphases is on the instrumentality of knowledge. John Dewey (1859-1952) is a philosopher that brought pragmatism into school education and proposed a pragmatic pedagogy oriented toward action-based learning. Like French positivism, American pragmatism also became an international movement.

[5] Question 4: "Is it not necessary, in order to give it a modern purpose aligned with the new social ideals, to renew the system of vocational education by basing it on the 'normal practice of cooperative work' and socially-oriented tasks, according to the Dewey method?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 189)

[6] The expression "Dewey method," cited by Fernando de Azevedo, refers to **John Dewey**, an American philosopher who lived from 1859 to 1952, known for his ideas on pragmatic pedagogy. John Dewey was one of the inspirations behind the international movement for school renewal that emerged at the end of the 19th century, driven by discoveries in psychology regarding learning. (Azevedo, 1937, p. 189).

The marks of positivism and pragmatism in the 1926 inquiry include removing work from the realm of charity and placing it within the realm of "organic solidarity." This means thinking of work as a means of social integration. In the positivist sociology of Durkheim, which Azevedo (1956) read and helped circulate in Brazil, "organic solidarity" is related to social integration made possible by the "division of social labor." From this perspective, Durkheim (1995) believed that the greatest importance of work was social integration, not economic development. The pragmatic meaning brought by Azevedo, on the other hand, associates work with *do it yourself*, a phrase characteristic of North American pragmatic culture that emerged in the early 20th century to legitimize the individual attitude of solving problems without relying on professionals. The connection between this expression and liberal democracy lies in solving problems without the need to resort to state institutions.

When Azevedo carried out the educational inquiry in 1926, there was already a movement within the federal government related to technical education, driven by demands arising from industrialization. This movement had been underway since 1921, when engineer João Luderitz was working in the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, heading Technical Education Reform Service (Fonseca, 1961). Luderitz worked at Escola de Engenharia de Porto Alegre and at Instituto Parobé, one of the earliest and most prominent industrial education institutions in Brazil at the time. Just over a decade after the creation of Escolas de Aprendizes Artífices (1909), it is significant that the Federal Government acknowledged the mismatch between public policies for the training of Brazilian workers and the expectations for the country's industrialization and modernization. The goal of the Reform Service was to implement efficient, rational, and modern vocational and technical education (Fonseca, 1961). What was already envisioned by the Reform Service, under Luderitz's coordination, was a type of training for work aimed at economic purposes and the industrial and urban development of the country. Science, technology, and labour were part of this outlook. Luderitz was an engineer who understood the trends of an era in which European countries and the United States were experiencing the Second Industrial Revolution. He was knowledgeable about the connections between modernity, industry, technology, and labour. Since 1896, Escola de Engenharia de Porto Alegre had been a place where industrialist ideals circulated, ideas rooted in the positivism of Comte and Durkheim, social thinkers who regarded industry as a novelty brought forth by scientific progress, a pillar of an organic society. In such a society, vocational and technical education is strategic and not limited to philanthropic purposes (Heinz, 2009).

In this context, what was at stake was the redefinition of the *telos* of technical and vocational education, aligning it with the paths of industrialization. This was a behind-the-scenes agenda of the Federal Government that Azevedo brings right at the beginning of his inquiry published in *Estadão.*

Another issue raised by Azevedo in the inquiry was the lack of direction and organization in technical and vocational education, which was evident in the dispersion and fragmentation of practices. Already in the initial question[7], Azevedo (1937, p. 188) mentions the "limited development" of technical and vocational education and its distance from "our technical, industrial, agricultural, and social needs." This reference to industry demonstrates alignment with industrialism, one of the movements taking place in Brazil, alongside hygienism, eugenics, modernism, and *escolanovismo*[8]. The hygienist movement originated in European medicine in the 19th century, in the context of industrial and urban growth, and was present in the first medical schools in Brazil. Gondra (2004) highlights the presence of this medical-pedagogical discourse in the plans and changes in Brazilian education in the early decades of the 20th century. Hygienism was a pillar of educational planning and gained momentum in Brazil during the vibrant 1920s. Eugenics[9] was another 19th-century European movement that circulated in Brazil in the early 20th century, with medical schools also serving as centers of dissemination. For intellectuals connected to the elites, eugenics was akin to "social hygiene." Hygiene and eugenics are intertwined ideologies. Both harbor antipathy toward miscegenation and tropical lifestyles and saw cleanliness and segregation as the path to forming a national identity. In these ideologies circulating in 1920s Brazil, there was no intention of overcoming poverty, but rather a willingness to isolate the poor and conceal it. Together, these movements aimed to "purify," "cleanse," and civilize the inhabitants of a racially mixed, predominantly rural, and underdeveloped country.

Industrialism is a movement that developed in Brazil from the late 19th century, growing stronger in the early decades of the 20th century. This movement was anchored in four major engineering schools in the country at the time: Politécnica de São Paulo, Politécnica do Rio de Janeiro, Escola de Engenharia de Porto Alegre, and Escola de Minas de Ouro Preto (Leme, 1978). By affirming the importance of technical and vocational education for industrial civilization, Azevedo shared the industrialist

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[7] First question: "1) What is your opinion on our technical and vocational education? In terms of its organization, its aims, and the scientific training of its teaching staff, as well as its limited development, is it not far from meeting our technical, industrial, agricultural, and social needs?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 188).

[8] The movement for school reform, also known as *escolanovismo*, was an "international movement – although primarily European and North American – that had a vast influence on everyday educational practices..." (Cambi, 1999, p. 513). This movement arrived in Brazil in the 1920s and 1930s, associated with a national project for public schooling advocated by educators who published, in 1932, *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Escola Nova*, written by Fernando de Azevedo and signed by 25 other educators.

[9] Renato Kehl (1889–1974) was the pioneer of eugenic ideology in Brazil. The inaugural act occurred with the creation of *Sociedade Eugênica de São Paulo* in 1918, of which Fernando de Azevedo was a general secretary. Following this initiative, other organizations were created, including *Liga Pró-Saneamento do Brasil* (LPSB) and *Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental* (LBHM). In 1929, the *First Brazilian Congress on Eugenics* was held in the city of Rio de Janeiro. "Among the goals of Brazilian eugenicists, the most ambitious was to provide the foundation for the project of 'building a people' that reflected elite parameters, based on the ideology of whitening the nation" (Góes, 2023, p. 02).

horizon of expectations. To be an industrialist in Brazil during this period meant pointing toward a path different from that defined by the landowning elites focused on export-oriented crops.

Another issue raised by Azevedo refers to the need to "equip the national element for technical activities and to carry out social and economic action"[10] (Azevedo, 1937, p. 188). The expressions he uses point to the need for public policies aimed at training the national workforce, something that, until then, had been nonexistent. While in the first question the expression "limited development" is used to criticize the state of technical and vocational education in São Paulo, in the second, the phrase "equip the national element" signals a proposed direction. In this issue, Azevedo affirms technology, industry, agriculture, and society as key references. Until then, in Brazilian vocational education, the formation of a moral attitude toward work had been more valued than the technical training of poor and orphaned children. Azevedo places economic aims (industry and agriculture) on the same level as the social aims of technical and vocational education. This is a positivist indication in Azevedo's repertoire. The Durkheimian notion of organic solidarity is linked to the division of social labor. In this sense, the training for work and technique serves social purposes, not merely commercial ones. Durkheim (1995) did not perceive a conflict between industrial capital and society. All of this seems to be reflected in the set of questions posed by Azevedo regarding technical and vocational education.

Still in the first round of questions, Azevedo raises the issue of the "scientific training of teaching staff," placing the human factor on the same level as changes in the purpose and organization of technical and vocational education. In doing so, Azevedo demonstrates his understanding of the profound changes required to equip the country's labour force. Like Lourenço Filho, Anísio Teixeira, and other educational intellectuals of the time, Azevedo recognized the scientific status of teaching in its various contexts, including vocational education. The issue of the "scientific training of teaching staff" had already appeared on the agenda of Instituto Parobé, chaired by engineer Luderitz, at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1908 and 1909, Luderitz led a commission that travelled to European countries and the United States to hire professionals who would work in Brazil as teachers in technical and vocational education (Fonseca, 1961). The expectation was that this foreign presence would lead to a learning process within Brazilian institutions. However, this experience did not meet the expectations, with the language barrier being one of the obstacles identified in the Brazilian appropriation of this teaching knowledge of technical culture.

[10] Question 2: "What have our vocational schools done, and what can they do, to fulfill their role of equipping the national element for technical activities and carrying out social and economic action, encouraging and protecting agricultural labor and local industries?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 188).

The specificities of teaching in vocational education were already part of Azevedo's agenda in the 1926 inquiry. In the 1920s, job training in Brazil was still associated with philanthropy; its target audience was underprivileged children, its purpose was to contain the threat posed by chronic poverty, and its scope was artisanal and local. Furthermore, job training was disconnected from any national project of industrial and urban growth or the formation of a mass society, objectives that would only emerge in federal government policies from the 1940s onward. In a context where technical and vocational education was not considered strategic for the country and remained small in scale, the lack of pedagogical training for professionals working as instructors was not seen as a problem requiring government intervention (Pedrosa et al., 2021).

Another important fact is that, from the 1920s onward, ideas began to circulate in Brazil regarding both a psychology and a pedagogy of manual work. This pedagogy, grounded in psychology, drew on diverse sources, including John Dewey's pragmatic pedagogy and the ideas of the Belgian educator Ômer Buyse. Buyse, who was closely connected to technical and vocational education, was familiar with Dewey's thought. It was the engineer-educator João Luderitz who first met Buyse during an educational trip to European countries and the United States in 1909. Following this encounter, Buyse visited Brazil in the 1920s at Luderitz's invitation, when Luderitz was heading the Federal Government's Service for the Remodeling of Technical Education. Through Buyse's influence, Brazilian intellectuals involved in technical and vocational education proposed the creation of a University of Labour. This proposal, however, was rejected by both the government and industrial entrepreneurs, who chose instead to establish Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem dos Industriários (Senai)[11], in 1942 (Fonseca, 1961).

This dissemination of the pedagogy of manual work also occurred through the publications of educators such as Corinto da Fonseca, Manoel Penna, Lourenço Filho, and Francisco Montojos[12]. However, this pedagogy that brought manual work into the school context was related to changes in teaching practices, not to teacher training for vocational education. In the same period, the engineer-educator Roberto Mange was already implementing methodical sequences for vocational education in São Paulo's railway education system. Mange worked at Escola Profissional Mecânica do Liceu de

[11] On November 7 of that same year, Decree-Law No. 4,936 changed its name to Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial.

[12] *Corinto da Fonseca was a teacher and school principal who published, in 1929, with a foreword by Lourenço Filho, the book* "A escola ativa e os trabalhos manuais". *As early as 1916, he had already published* "O ensino profissional no Brasil". *Lourenço Filho, a normal school graduate, helped spread the findings of learning psychology in Brazil. In 1952, he published* "Psicologia dos trabalhos manuais"*, an article based on a lecture delivered at SENAI's Technical School for students in the Applied Arts course. Manoel Penna worked in public schools in Minas Gerais and published the books Trabalho Manual Escolar: Alinhavos (1915) and O Ensino technico na escola primária (1928). Francisco Montojos worked at the Ministry of Education and Public Health from the 1920s to the 1950s, especially in the Directorate of Industrial Education. In 1949, Montojos published the book titled* Ensino Industrial.

Artes e Ofícios, in the Teaching and Professional Selection Service of Sorocabana Railway, and at Centro de Ensino e Seleção Profissional (CFESP). In these institutions, he was already applying psychotechnics and methodical teaching sequences, two key tools for the massification of industrial education through SENAI. The methodical sequences implemented by Mange were didactic sequences for vocational education and, therefore, references for the schooling of work (Pedrosa, 2014).

All of this makes Azevedo's attention to technical and vocational education, particularly to teaching, pioneering, already evident in the 1926 inquiry. This emphasis on teaching may be a result of what he had already learned about the act of teaching in schools, gained through his own experience as a teacher in public education.

These discussions about the specific status of teaching in technical and vocational education would gain greater prominence from 1942 onwards, with the creation of SENAI and the technical schools. The establishment of these professional and technical training institutions, particularly SENAI and, from 1946, Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial (SENAC), brought to the forefront the issue of training teachers with technical expertise, quoting the expression used by the engineer Francisco Montojos (1949). The difference was that, from that period on, this became an urgent and practical matter, given the large scale of course offerings and the failure of employing professionals with purely practical work experience in teaching roles. The response to this demand came in 1946, when an agreement between the governments and institutions of Brazil and the United States created Comissão Brasileiro-Americana de Educação Industrial (CBAI), which operated until 1963, working on the transformation of instructors into teachers, and teachers into educators (Pedrosa & Bião, 2020).

Technology is not a term that appears in Azevedo's lexicon, unlike the words science and technique. Azevedo, a reader of Durkheim, recognized that technique and industry were the result of scientific advancement and constituted key factors in the formation of an industrial society. Clearly, factors of such magnitude would have an impact on educational institutions and their practices. Hence the status of teaching: to teach technique and science with technique and science. This is what Azevedo had already acknowledged in 1926 when he emphasized the 'scientific training of teaching staff' (Azevedo, 1937, p. 238).

Azevedo described teacher training in the state of São Paulo as lacking, particularly regarding the knowledge required for teaching technical subjects.

> As for teachers and professors, they are either graduates of teacher training schools, with pedagogical orientation and, at best, a secondary-level education, but lacking any knowledge of industrial arts; or they are specialists in a work or industrial art, but without the necessary pedagogical knowledge to deliver instruction. (Azevedo, 1937, p. 207).

The lack of specific training among those teaching in vocational schools was identified by Azevedo as one of the main bottlenecks in vocational education: on one hand, teacher-training graduates lacked the knowledge they were expected to teach; on the other, skilled workers lacked the pedagogical knowledge needed to teach. Some had no pedagogical training and had not learned how to teach the technical knowledge they possessed; others had pedagogical training but did not master the technical content to be taught. Azevedo also argues that, although there were timid and scattered efforts, the lack of cohesion and of a comprehensive plan for vocational education revealed the embryonic and confused state in which this educational branch found itself.

> Everything there, from the library to the workshop, from the museum to the laboratory, is rudimentary, outdated, and fragmented, and when not useless, regrettably lacking. None of these schools has yet launched an initiative with a modern spirit, whether in the scientific organization of teaching or in the experimental study and application of data from psychology and hygiene to the selection of professions and works. It was not from any of our public vocational schools, but rather from a subsidised private school — Escola Profissional Mecânica, annexed to Liceu de Artes e Ofícios — that the first movement in favour of the use of psychotechnical tests for vocational selection emerged. (Azevedo, 1937, p. 209).

Azevedo demonstrates in the 1926 inquiry an awareness of the issues raised in different places and contexts. In 1926, school education in Brazil was not yet a top-level government priority, as the Ministry of Education and Public Health was only created in 1930. In the 1920s, matters related to technical and vocational education fell under the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. All of this indicates how technical and vocational schools and education were treated as secondary matters (Cunha, 2005).

On the business side, there was also a lack of structure. Institutions such as Instituto de Organização Racional do Trabalho (IDORT) and the business confederations were not yet active. IDORT was created in 1931, becoming the main hub for business discussions about an industrial project for the country, while Confederação Nacional da Indústria (CNI) was established in 1938 (Leme, 1978).

Other issues were on the agenda of education intellectuals and their movements and manifestos in favour of public schooling. These movements were taking place in Europe and the United States and had repercussions in Brazil, mobilizing intellectuals involved with schooling and with technical and vocational education. Here, the agenda was pedagogical in nature and incorporated questions and debates around active schooling, the schooling of labour, technique, and manual work as a method. Demonstrating knowledge of these questions related to labour and

technical education, Azevedo makes references, in the 1926 inquiry, to manual work and drawing as basic elements of vocational education, and to the requirement of elementary technical education. He also refers to the "*slojd* sueco" (woodwork with its variations and derivatives), the *Liberty Tadd* system, practised at the Public Art School, an industrial art school for children aged six to eighteen in Philadelphia, and to *Della Voss* and his ideas on manual learning[13] (Azevedo, 1937, p. 189).

Another issue raised by Azevedo in the inquiry was referred by educator-engineers as the industrialization of vocational schools. This issue was part of the proposals of the Re-modelling Service, which associated the industrialization of schools with two functions: enabling the practice of the work techniques learned and serving as a source of income for poor students, in order to reduce school dropout rates. Engineers involved in vocational and technical education at the time did not always understand the pedagogical component of this school industrialization, and for that reason, the issue was often addressed only partially. This may be one of the reasons why Azevedo included the topic in the 1926 inquiry.

This is an issue that is also related to the funding of vocational schools and to the "adaptation to the agricultural or industrial work needs of the regions where they were established" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 189). In the inquiry, Azevedo addresses the principle of self-supporting, or industrial production by the schools. Azevedo (1937, p. 188) was a critic of schools that lived "parasitically off public funds," but he was also a teacher and well aware of the purposes of education. In this role, he understood the differences between the pace of industrial production and the rhythms of teaching and learning within educational institutions.

Among the interviewees in Azevedo's inquiry, José de Mello Moraes approached the idea of self-supporting with a utilitarian perspective, highlighting two strategies for vocational education: one related to the adaptation of work schools to regional needs, and the other to obtaining resources so that

> ...vocational schools may multiply and flourish in great numbers, for otherwise there will always be an increase in the number of various suction pumps that drain the public treasury. These schools, according to him, are the most likely to thrive without a trace of parasitism. (Azevedo, 1937, p. 241).

Paulo Pestana disagreed with this possibility, stating that vocational schools should be maintained by the government or by civil associations. Pestana was guided by a principle: "education that degenerates into business does not bear good fruit. (...)

[13] This is addressed in Question 5: "In the importation of educational systems, such as the *slojd* sueco, a type of woodwork with its variations and derivatives, and of technical and artistic systems such as *Tadd*, *Della Voss*, with its derivative Eddy, has there been an effort, in our vocational schools, to adapt them, with original modifications, to the particular conditions of the environment into which they were introduced?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 189).

taken to the extreme, it turns schools into workshops, where the work of mere apprentices can never compete with that of trained adult workers" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 198). Theodoro Braga, also guided by principle, declared himself "against the exploitation of child labor." Braga questioned the pedagogical effectiveness of the industrialization of vocational education schools, which he claimed "...it is nothing more than poorly delivered teaching, turning the child, who is supposed to learn, into a mere unconscious instrument of the teacher who constructs empirically" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 242). The engineer-educator Roberto Mange, who at the time of the inquiry was introducing methodical series in railway education, did not disregard the importance of the industrial function of the school, but his main argument was pedagogical: "Let us not forget, however, that teaching must be as fast and methodical as possible to reach its full efficiency, and therefore it cannot be stifled in its development by the industrial function" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 227). Mange saw in the self-supporting model an invasion of the school by the "struggle for survival," which "would hinder the development of skills and capacities; it would shackle the principle of the methodical succession of tasks" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 231).

The very act of addressing the industrialization of technical and vocational schools was already a way for Azevedo to intervene in the debate. The issue involved multiple aspects that had to be considered, and the pedagogical factor could not be relegated to a secondary position or equated with school funding, the expansion of vocational education, or the financial gains of apprentices as a means to reduce dropout rates.

Some elements were consistent in Azevedo's discourse about technical and vocational education in the 1926 inquiry, one of which is rationalization based on science, seen as a guiding principle for progress. In one of the questions[14] Azevedo (1937, p. 191) mentions the Brazilian rural world and advocates the "scientific orientation of agriculture." Azevedo makes specific reference to traditional agriculture and its low productivity.

Azevedo presents a discourse aligned with industrialist principles but goes further in defining what would be necessary for the scientific rationalization of processes. The direction he pointed to in the 1926 inquiry was the creation of schools tailored to the specific needs of each region. This proposal already contained a latent idea that would only be implemented in 1942 with the creation of SENAI and the technical schools. It refers to a shift in the target audience of technical and vocational

[14] Question 12: "Do you not recognize that for the scientific defense and guidance of agriculture and the transformation of agricultural industry, we must: a) address the problem of educating the rural population through 'special schools' (practical schools, making them real schools); b) establish 'regional schools,' secondary level, aimed at the specific needs of each region; c) encourage private initiative in agricultural education, as already exists in commercial education; d) create and organize 'systems' of agronomic stations and agricultural research laboratories; e) create agricultural schools for technical education; f) reorganize, to emphasize its role as a higher institute, Escola Agrícola Luiz de Queiroz" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 191).

education. At the time, the prevailing model was a moralistic training for work aimed at poor and underprivileged children. The audience envisioned for the "regional schools" consisted of young people and adults who were already capable of learning work techniques and immediately entering the labor market.

In Azevedo's discourse, the main guidelines were accompanied by strategies. For the rationalization and industrialization of Brazilian agriculture, Azevedo proposed the creation of "regional schools," and to make such schools viable, two measures were necessary. One was the training of teaching staff for technical schools or for teaching technical subjects. In order to train industrially rational workers and technicians, the regional schools needed to rely on a qualified technical and scientific staff capable of fulfilling this task. The other measure concerned the target audience of these "regional schools." Azevedo aligned himself with a trend that emerged from the discoveries of experimental psychology in the late 19th century, particularly those of North American origin. This trend referred to psycho-technical tests aimed at identifying individuals' work-related aptitudes and directing their placement within the technical division of labor. In practice, psycho-technical tests were tools used to assess, measure, and classify groups of individuals. In Brazil at the time of the 1926 inquiry, psychotechnics were already being used in São Paulo's railway system, and one of the individuals responsible for introducing this practice was the Swiss engineer Robert Mange, who later became a naturalized Brazilian (Zanata, 1991).

The direction indicated by Azevedo in the 1926 inquiry was to adopt "psycho-technical tests"[15] in vocational schools. In other words, to bring the principles and practices of industry into the school environment and to organize the distribution of knowledge and the teaching of technical skills into compartments tailored to the types of individuals entering the workforce. To disseminate this technique of selection and classification, Azevedo proposed the creation of an Institute of Psychotechnics and Vocational Guidance.

Azevedo expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of prestige given to technique, or what he referred to as "applied art", in Brazilian culture, which was expected from an intellectual aligned with positivism and pragmatism. Technique holds a strategic place in industrial society and serves as a reference point for the social integration of the individual. Azevedo was educated in the classical schools of Companhia de Jesus and had several years of experience as a teacher. He was well aware of the bachelor-oriented nature of elite Brazilian schools, their emphasis on classical cultural education, their limited focus on science, and their complete disregard for technique and manual skills. These issues appear in the 1926 inquiry when Azevedo (1937, p. 192) highlights the need to "establish in São Paulo a major guiding and radiating

[15] This refers to question 14: "Has anyone among us ever considered adopting 'psycho-technical tests' in vocational schools and organizing, as necessary, an 'Institute of Psychotechnics and Vocational Guidance' to help solve the problem of vocational guidance and selection?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 192).

center for the expansion of applied art, served by a technology laboratory and a museum for the documentation of industrial art"[1]. The recognition of the poor status of technique in Brazilian cultural education is evident in the words used to describe this guideline: the creation of a mechanism for the dissemination and expansion of technical rationality. The idea of a "museum for the documentation of industrial art,"[16] complementary to a "technology laboratory," aimed at building a memory of technique, of useful inventions and the innovations they enable.

The Brazilian elites of the 1920s, lacking a clear identity and shaped by a "mazombo"[17] mentality, as defined by Moog (2000), assimilated the views that wealthy, white European intellectuals held about Brazil and Brazilians. In that period and the following decades, ideas circulated in Brazil that opposed miscegenation and favoured the hygienisation of life in the tropics. These ideologies coexisted in Azevedo's thinking, alongside positivism, pragmatism, industrialism, and the principles of the Escola Nova movement.

In the 1926 inquiry, there are traces of these ideologies, particularly related to a form of school or pedagogical segregation that contrasts with the contemporary notion of "inclusive education" and the idea of a school striving to accommodate atypical learners without segregating them. In one of the inquiry topics[18], Azevedo mentions the "compulsory elementary technical education" for those who "do not receive higher education", the children of the poor. In this question, Azevedo not only assigns technical education to those excluded from higher education, but also segregates men and women, reproducing the social division of labour. For men not attending higher education: "technical and vocational education"; for women: "domestic education" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 190). All of this would take place in "continuation schools," public and free of charge, but separate from the regular school system.

In other words, vocational education should differ for men and women according to the traditional roles of the patriarchal society that Azevedo reproduced: for men, technical and professional training that would prepare them to take on roles in various

[16] This refers to question 15. "How can a major guiding and radiating center for the expansion of applied art be established in São Paulo, served by a technology laboratory and a museum for the documentation of industrial art?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 192)

[17] According to Vianna Moog (2000), the *mazombo* was a figure present in Brazil from the beginning of colonization until the 19th century, leaving lasting cultural marks. Brazilian *mazombismo* "consisted precisely in this: in the lack of determination and satisfaction in being Brazilian, in the lack of interest in any form of organic activity, in the absence of initiative and inventiveness, in the disbelief in the moral improvement of man, in the disregard for anything that did not bring quick wealth and, above all, in the lack of a collective ideal, in the near total absence of a sense of belonging to the place and the community in which one lived. Deep down, the *mazombo*, without realizing it, was still a lost European in Brazilian lands" (Moog, 2000, p. 124)

[18] This refers to question 9: "Don't you think that elementary technical education should be made compulsory and that a compulsory post-school technical education should be imposed on those who do not receive higher education: vocational for men (ages 14 to 18) and domestic education for women (ages 13 to 16) in free continuation schools (following the English model)?" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 190).

economic activities; and for women, training for domestic tasks, including caring for and preparing children for their future roles in society. Azevedo emphasizes women's education through domestic instruction aimed at future “mothers of families”.

> ... all girls' schools—whether agricultural, industrial arts, or commercial—must not neglect the role they play in the basic preparation of housewives and mothers of families. Domestic education must be incorporated not only into vocational institutes for women but also into all educational establishments reserved for them, unless the State finds it more useful to prepare women for a profession rather than for the home. [...] The training of the mother of a family, based on home economics, hygiene, food chemistry, and childcare, is a task of such significant social and economic impact that it needs no demonstration of its usefulness, particularly in rural prophylactic efforts, in combating infant mortality, and in instilling hygienic habits across all social environments" (Azevedo, 1937, p. 282, our emphasis).

FINAL REMARKS

The purpose of this article was to examine how technical and vocational education was addressed in the 1926 educational inquiry conducted by Fernando de Azevedo, which was initially published that same year in the form of journalistic articles in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo,* referred to here as *Estadão,* where Azevedo was a columnist. In 1937, the full text was published in book format by Companhia Editora Nacional. Noteworthy in the textual composition is the significant space Azevedo dedicated to introductions and conclusions, which reveals his intent to use the inquiry as a platform to influence the debate and gain visibility as an expert on educational matters. Two other aspects of the text’s structure also stand out. The first is the relatively small number of pages devoted to technical and vocational education, indicating its lower status compared to other levels of education. The second is the lack of connection between technical and vocational education and secondary education, which, in the inquiry, appears instead to be linked directly to higher education.

The article seeks to identify the set of issues that Azevedo used to frame technical and vocational education, as well as the connections with international ideas and movements circulating in Brazil at the time. It aimed to understand Azevedo’s perspective on the formation of the national worker and the role he attributed to technical education in the modernization of the country.

Azevedo was a pioneer in covering technical and vocational education in a major newspaper, *Estadão*. He turned public education into a journalistic issue and, in

doing so, brought forward pioneering questions, among them, the need to define a clear direction for technical and vocational training linked to a broader horizon of industrialization.

Azevedo valued technical knowledge in the formation of Brazilian national culture. He was a scholarly man, educated in traditional and academic schools, yet in the 1926 inquiry he emphasized the lack of technical culture in Brazil, the importance of technique in modernization processes, and the need to expand technical and vocational schools.

This emphasis on the importance of science and technique is interpreted in the article as the result of influences from French positivism and American pragmatism. In 1926, at *Estadão*, Azevedo was working alongside Júlio Mesquita Filho, who had recently returned from Europe, where he became acquainted with Émile Durkheim's positivist sociology. It was Mesquita Filho who introduced Azevedo to positivism. Azevedo would later pay closer attention to American pragmatism, particularly after 1928, following his contact with Anísio Teixeira, who had just returned from studying at Columbia University in the United States. Nevertheless, even in the 1926 inquiry, there are already references to the pragmatic pedagogy of John Dewey.

In early 20th-century São Paulo, there were movements advocating for the rationalization of the economy and politics, as well as the modernization of national culture. In the 1926 inquiry, Azevedo demonstrated alignment with these movements and regarded science and technique as key components of the rationalization process. For this purpose, it was essential to establish technical and vocational education based on scientific foundations.

Another issue addressed in the inquiry and directly related to this rationalization process was the need for the scientific training of teachers. In the 1920s, teacher education programs were already part of educational reforms taking place in several Brazilian states. However, in vocational education, this was not yet a recurring theme, mainly due to its limited scale. By highlighting in the inquiry the precariousness of teacher training in technical culture, Azevedo was anticipating an agenda that would gain prominence from the 1940s onwards with the expansion of industrial education.

In the 1926 inquiry, Azevedo criticizes the disorganization and lack of direction in technical and vocational education, which was incapable of providing the training of workers and technicians aligned with the horizon of an industrial and urban society. The guidance indicated by Azevedo emphasized the need for the formulation and implementation of public policies aimed at equipping the national workforce, which also reflected dissatisfaction with the attraction of foreign workers and technicians.

Azevedo also addresses in the inquiry an issue that at the time was defined as the industrialization of technical and vocational schools. This issue referred to the incorporation of production and commercialization practices aimed at obtaining

resources that could be used to maintain educational institutions and provide income for apprentices, thereby mitigating the problem of school dropout. Azevedo introduces this topic, considers the different viewpoints of the interviewees, and expresses his position as an educator, emphasizing the need to differentiate the teaching processes and learning rhythms from industrial processes and timing.

At the time the inquiry was conducted, vocational education was characterized by a philanthropic nature, aimed at poor and orphaned children, and seen as a form of social control to contain the risks of social marginalization. Azevedo's approach points to the need to redefine the purposes of technical and vocational education, placing it within a perspective of national modernization and the formation of an industrial and urban society.

In the 1926 inquiry, Azevedo does not make references to the institutional linkage of technical and vocational education. He does not mention, for example, whether the "regional schools" he suggested would be managed by businessmen or by the government. What is clear in the inquiry is that Azevedo envisioned a fundamental school that included technical training for all children among its purposes. However, this compulsory teaching of technique in the early school years had nothing to do with professional training, but rather aimed at fostering a technical mindset, an appreciation for manual work, and an ability to solve practical problems.

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