

EDUCATE YOUR CHILDREN: THE HISTORY OF RACIALIZATION IN TECHNOLOGICAL PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION” (1930/1950) IN PELOTAS/RS

EDUCAI VOSSOS FILHOS: A HISTÓRIA DA RACIALIZAÇÃO NA EDUCAÇÃO PROFISSIONAL TECNOLÓGICA (1930/1950) EM PELOTAS/RS

EDUCA A SUS HIJOS: LA HISTORIA DE LA RACIALIZACIÓN EN LA EDUCACIÓN PROFESIONAL TECNOLÓGICA” (1930/1950) EN PELOTAS/RS



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ABSTRACT: Interest in the discussion of racial relations between white and black subjects has been gaining ground in several areas in Brazilian society since the late 1990s. In the field of the history of education, there has been a lot of research on the racial diversity of school groups, the discussion of affirmative action in higher education, debates on whether to rethink the school as a producer or reproducer of mechanisms of social and racial inequalities. It is concluded, through the research carried out, by the images of the graduation boards, we understand that access to professional school was the element of cohesion and power maintenance of the local and national white elite. That is, even if in the investigated period, blacks had the right to have access to a professional education, their presence, which is minimal, indicates that it was prohibited through discrimination or mechanisms that made it difficult for them to remain in this school and professionalizing space.

KEYWORDS: Education. Racism. Whiteness.

RESUMO: *O interesse pela discussão sobre as relações raciais entre sujeitos brancos e negros têm ganhado espaço em diversas áreas, na sociedade brasileira, desde o final dos anos noventa. No campo da história da educação muitas pesquisas têm versado sobre a diversidade racial dos grupos escolares, a discussão de ações afirmativas no ensino superior e debates sobre o repensar a escola como produtora ou reprodutora de mecanismos de desigualdades sociais e raciais. Através da pesquisa realizada, pelas imagens dos quadros de formatura, entendemos que o acesso à escola profissional era o elemento de coesão e de manutenção de poder da elite branca local e nacional. Isto é, mesmo que no período investigado os negros tivessem o direito de ter acesso a uma educação profissional, sua presença, ínfima, indica que era vedado através de discriminação ou de mecanismos que dificultassem a sua permanência nesse espaço escolar e profissionalizante.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Educação. Racismo. Branquitude.

RESUMEN: *El interés por la discusión de las relaciones raciales entre sujetos blancos y negros ha ganado terreno en varias áreas de la sociedad brasileña desde finales de la década de 1990. En el campo de la historia de la educación han sido muchas las investigaciones sobre la diversidad racial de los grupos escolares, la discusión de la acción afirmativa en la educación superior, los debates sobre si repensar la escuela como productora o reproductora de mecanismos de desigualdades raciales. Se concluye, a través de la investigación realizada, por las imágenes de las juntas de graduación, entendemos que el acceso a la escuela profesional fue el elemento de cohesión y mantenimiento del poder de la élite blanca local y nacional. Es decir, si bien en el período investigado los negros tenían derecho a acceder a una educación profesional, su presencia, que es mínima, indica que estaba prohibida a través de mecanismos de discriminación o mecanismos que dificultaban su permanencia en esta. escuela y espacio profesionalizador.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: Educación. Racismo. Blanquitud.

Introduction

After the end of Brazilian slavery, black people remained on the margins of society and their experiences remained for a time associated only with the world of work and not as agents of writing their own history and building the country's citizenship (DOMINGUES, 2004). They were considered second-class citizens, marginalized by racial prejudice in the service of the political, economic and social domination of the white race. Although racism has already been the subject of several researches in the field of history, we consider it pertinent to address this issue in the field of education in Brazil, through the lens of the Afro-Brazilian, highlighting a history built on the “ground floor” (REVEL, 1998), of the subaltern and non-ethnocentric, in which black people are not represented in a stereotypical way (ALBUQUERQUE, 2009).

The research analysis scenario is the republican society of Pelotas. The municipality is known nationally, in the empire, for having production units that were dedicated to the production and export of salted meat, known as *charque*, throughout the country. The main workers in these establishments were black slaves. The fight for freedom was not activated and defended by black people only in the post-abolition period, but in the period of slavery, in which they fought to gain the role of freedom for themselves and their families (PINTO, 2018).

In the post-abolition period, the struggle of black people was for recognition of citizenship and guarantees of the right to education. In the city of Pelotas, in the immediate post-abolition period, black people worked in various branches of industry, such as hat factories, breweries, soap, candles and many other establishments (LONER, 2016). Pelotas society, according to research by Loner (2016), in the oligarchic Republic, had a significant black working class, with black worker and trade union associations, as well as social associations, such as carnival clubs, a football association and the black press. Associations guided by the solidarity of “men of color”, in a racialized society, despite the fight against racism, were constant in the municipality of Pelotas.

In Pelotas, in the post-abolition period, in other newspapers (outside the black press) that circulated in the city, black people were represented in a pejorative and prejudiced way, and they were constantly associated with the world of disorder, crime and drunkenness (LONER, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2017). The desires of the local black community were not the central point of these periodicals. On the other hand, there was a collective movement of literate men of color in the society investigated, through the publication of the newspaper *A Alvorada* which, above all, was a vehicle for cultural communication, articulation of ideas, claim of a segment without voice or visibility and which also possessed the ideology of a specific group

(SANTOS, 2011). One of the agenda of the periodical was the banner of education, in the construction of a discourse that would encourage the black community to participate in the formal schooling process.

This proposed investigation addressed the relationship between professional school education and the presence of black students at the Escola Técnica de Pelotas, in the period from 1930 to 1950, at a historical moment in which the discussion of offering an education in the Brazilian Republic for all was brought to the citizens and, at the same time, there was a concern to shape the future national worker by offering professional courses throughout the country. In this process, school and professional education was seen as a path to improving the social and economic conditions of the lower classes (CALDEIRA, 2020), with a wide dissemination of technical-professional schools being built in the Brazilian scenario. We delimited the period analyzed by the following circumstances: the fact that the Escola Técnica de Pelotas was federalized in this process of school education and because it presented a variety of documents to be analyzed, such as: student report cards, photos of students, teachers and technicians from the institution and the graduation tables of the Industrial Technician course.

The proposed investigation is linked to the project, *The Institutional Collection as a Space for the Preservation of the Memory of Professional and Technological Education*, which aims to analyze and protect institutional memory, presenting a catalog identifying the documents that make up the institutional collection, as well as socialize the analysis developed in research at academic events in the area of Education. This collection is extremely important for the construction of the proposed research, even though it is not possible to map the social and racial profile in the collected documentation. Therefore, we highlight the importance of the project to learn a little more about the history of education in Professional and Technological Education and who was part of it. Furthermore, the project intends to contribute to the construction of a more democratic society in the struggle for plural, emancipatory and anti-racist education (PINTO, 2020).

The main source used to construct our work are the graduation tables of the Industrial Technical course, since, through the photos on the table, it was possible to identify the phenotype of the graduating students and visualize the names and place of origin of the students. In the other sources consulted, it was not possible to identify the color of the students, therefore, we started our analysis from the graduation tables. We understand the production of these graduation tables as the materialization of academic and professional knowledge among a small portion of the segment of students who attended the Escola Técnica Profissional. It is the

crystallization of those who managed to succeed in their studies. In this context, we intend to understand how the relationship between school and professional education of the city's black population was inserted or not within the investigated institution.

Interest in discussing racial relations between white and black subjects has been gaining ground in several areas in Brazilian society since the end of the nineties. In the field of the history of education, there has been a lot of research on the racial diversity of school groups, on the discussion of affirmative actions in higher education and on debates about rethinking the school as a producer or reproducer of mechanisms of social and racial inequalities. The inclusion of the reflections exposed in this work comes from accounting for this area of knowledge that has been gaining importance within society and working groups on the History of Education. It is a movement to try to map the presence of black students in an institution that was created with the purpose of offering professional education to poor students in the city of Pelotas.

Initially, we examined the history of education and the black population, reflecting on the emergence of studies that include Afro-Brazilians as subjects of school education in this field of investigation. Below, we present the methodology used to carry out the work and discuss other studies on the topic. Furthermore, we present the data from the research developed and the context of the school institution investigated in the past. Finally, by way of conclusion, we will revisit these results and discuss how they can contribute to the field of the history of professional education.

The history of education and approaches to the history of the black population

The fight for education has always been an agenda for black people since the time of captivity (FONSECA, 2004), and in the Republic this action was “understood as a means of social affirmation and access to citizenship”. The experience of freedom inaugurated with the advent of the Republic brought a stir to people of African descent, as it would be a freedom guided by the bias of scientific racism (SCHWARCZ, 1993), marked by social differentiation. In this sense, education was a racialized space, in which a minority had access to literacy and literacy and a majority of individuals marked by phenotype and skin color were excluded from the education process. It would be up to the Brazilian State to offer quality public education to all citizens; however, in the Brazilian oligarchic Republic, freedom was black, but citizenship was white (ANDREWS, 2014). So, if the State did not fulfill its constitutional role, it would

then be up to black associations to engage in the fight for education. As Gonçalves and Silva (2000) point out, it was at the threshold of the 20th century that black social movements (black press, for example) began to demand political and social spaces of right:

The movement created its own organizations, known as black entities or societies, whose objective was to increase its capacity for action in society to combat racial discrimination and create mechanisms for valuing race. Among the fighting flags, the right to education stands out. This has always been on the agenda of these movements, although conceived with different meanings: sometimes seen as a strategy capable of equating blacks with whites, giving them equal opportunities in the job market, sometimes as a vehicle for social advancement and, therefore, integration, sometimes as an instrument of awareness through which black people would learn the history of their ancestors, the values and culture of their people, and from them they could claim social and political rights, the right to difference and human respect (GONÇALVES; SILVA, 2000, p. 139, our translation).

The more traditional educational historiography, when it approached black people in their processes of acquiring knowledge, was stigmatized and pejorative. These interpretations denied all the mechanisms of resistance created by them throughout history, including issues that affected the educational scope. Thus, the history of black education was an unconsolidated field, forgotten both among Education researchers and among those who were willing to understand the process that involved social relations in the country. The schooling of the black community was relegated to a secondary level, which reflected the history of Brazilian education as a space of privilege for the white class, constituting a space of whiteness (CARDOSO, 2014).

Regarding the subject, Pinto (1987), in his text "*The education of the Negro – a bibliographic review*", published in *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, from the Carlos Chagas Foundation, in 1987, managed to identify only a few signs and interpretations almost exclusively restricted to delimitation of authors who worked on the sociological issues of Brazilian slavery. It was also possible to uncover the possibility of studies involving new investigative aspects, expanding perspectives that, almost always, were being veiled in discussions and clashes surrounding black people and their insertion in the field of the history of Brazilian education.

We emphasize that in the early 2000s there was a turnaround in the historiography of the history of Afro-Brazilian education, especially because black people themselves began to call for a more plural and non-ethnocentric history, and a movement of historiographical production carried out by black researchers began, and by academics also interested in the theme and the construction of a non-unique story. In his text *History of education: an approach to the schooling of Afro-Brazilians*, published in ANPED (National Association of Postgraduate

Studies in Education), Santos (2000) highlights that the first research carried out on the education of Afro-Brazilians was carried out by black people themselves, who, tired of being socially discriminated against, decided to go to fight.

An example of this historiographical renewal is the work of Marcus Vinicius Fonseca (2004) in his article “*Schools for black children: an analysis based on the agricultural congress of Rio de Janeiro and the agricultural congress of Recife, in 1878*”, published in the Anais do III Brazilian Congress on the History of Education in 2004, in which he noted a link between education and agricultural work in the proposals of landowners and parliamentarians who participated in the events and worked in favor of the construction of the Free Womb Law of 1871. Once the law was sanctioned, it was necessary to discuss the fate of children born free of enslaved mothers. Regarding the educational proposal for these children, the Recife congressmen concluded that agricultural schools should be created that would transform naive people into useful workers and where they could be educated together with orphans. Furthermore, they demanded that the government assume responsibility for the education of the naive and the compensation of landowners, creating schools aimed at providing an education useful to an order based on agricultural activities.

In line with this perspective, Surya Aaronovich Pompo de Barros (2005) verifies that the existence of night schools, clubs and differentiated educational spaces to instruct black people were not left aside by this growing bibliographical production. Despite this, it is possible to highlight that unlike the other dimensions of Brazilian historiography, “which went through an intense process of review regarding their ways of understanding and treating the black population, the history of education continues to produce interpretations that reaffirm the traditional view of this group in history” (FONSECA, 2004, p. 10, our translation). From this perspective, it is the role of the researcher to make efforts to give visibility to black individuals, especially black children who, for a long time, were obscured in traditional historical research. In short, the research aims to anchor itself in the debates surrounding the issue of black education in the country, more specifically in the field of education and professional technological teaching, to reflect on the profile of students in the institution investigated, as well as analyze issues relating to the schooling and education of Afro-Brazilians, from the point of view of post-abolition social history and the Brazilian history of professional education.

Methodological procedures

As already stated, the objective of the work is to investigate the theme of the History of black people in Professional Education in Pelotas in a qualitative way in a broader movement to renew the field of history of education. Methodologically, documentary analysis is used. The central object of interest is the production of different documents about education and students at the professional and technological school (minute books, photographs, enrollment books, student records, diaries, newspapers), as well as the problematization of the historical context itself that the sources allowed in the construction of the research.

The investigation of the documentation held by the institution is taken by these education historians as a document/monument (LE GOFF, 2003), in which the history left in the documentary remains is not analyzed from the perspective of passivity, but rather from a "problem-history" (BLOCH, 2001), in which the historian problematizes his source by questioning the reality he aims to study. It is clear that such an analysis must come with a critical stance to investigate the document, given that the "document does not speak unless we know how to interrogate it" and, furthermore, "it is the question we ask that conditions the analysis and, in the end, limit, elevates or diminishes the importance of a text taken from a distant moment" (BLOCH, 2001, p. 8, our translation).

In this context, the document/monument is understood in this research by the focus of the document's criticism and how this production of memory crystallized in the documentation was produced and preserved by the investigated institution. That is, what the groups that produced this source actually aimed to constitute and what image they wanted to leave recorded over time. Starting from the conception that the knowledge produced in or about the past is conditioned by the questions we ask to the collected sources. We believe that by borrowing the concept of document/monument, we are able to investigate the reality of those who had access to professional and technological education, that is, the social and racial profile of individuals. The intervention we carry out at the source is not naive or uncritical. Regarding this, Le Goff (2003) points out that:

The intention of the historian who chooses the document, extracting it from the set of data from the past, preferring it to others, attributing to it a value of testimony that, at least in part, depends on his own position in the society of the time and on his mental organization is inserted in an initial situation that is even less "neutral" than his intervention. The document is harmless. It is, first of all, the result of a montage, conscious or unconscious, of the history, the era, the society that produced him, but also of the successive eras during which he continued to live, perhaps forgotten, during which he continued to

be manipulated, even through silence (LE GOFF, 2003, p. 537-538, our translation).

It is necessary to disassemble the document to create a memory field of what is being investigated, as there is no object document in itself. It is up to the historian to scrutinize it with questions, as the document is not the happy instrument of a history that is, in itself and with full rights, *memory*. In this sense, by unveiling the graduation pictures as a document/monument loaded with symbolic memories, it was possible to verify the marks, that is, the phenotypic characteristics of the graduates' color. The latent mark that comes to light in the tables observed was the racial inequality of the graduates in question, given the supremacy of male and white students exposed in the table to the detriment of a minority of black students who managed to graduate from the Industrial Technician course at the Technical School from Pelotas. In total, four graduation tables were observed during the period of our analysis. We chose to work with just one of the frames due to the quality of the images to identify the subjects being investigated.

The institution and its students

The trendy institution analyzed appears in the Republic with the aim of offering professional education to the city's less advantaged students. There is a concern among Brazilian political elites to educate the national worker, especially in a situation of transition from enslaved labor to free workers. For Pandini (2006), the need to mold this Brazilian worker for professional education is due to:

Qualifying work and training future workers made it essential to design spaces in which professional education could be offered compatible with the desires for the formation of the Homeland, based on civilization, order and progress (PANDINI, 2006, p. 33, our translation).

The Escola Arte e Ofícios, investigated, which through several decrees after its construction and installation became known as Escola Técnica Federal de Pelotas, was born with this discourse of progress, of educating the new worker, in addition to highlighting morality, the national ideal of the new worker. The discourse of these establishments was to professionally educate poor young people in society, removing them from marginalization and addictions. It should be noted that educational authorities and Brazilian elites wanted the popular classes to occupy a certain place in the world of work, that is, a dualist education in which poor workers performed professions of a more technical nature (without questioning the system), and children of the wealthy classes were given more intellectualized professions with

greater social prestige, after all, it was up to them to think about the country's political and social project while maintaining the status quo preserved. In this context, according to Manfredi (2002), Art and Craft schools emerge with:

The educational purpose of the apprentice schools was the training of workers and foremen, through practical teaching and technical knowledge transmitted to minors in manual and mechanical work workshops that were more convenient and necessary to the State and Federation in which the School operated, consulting, when possible, the specialties of local industries. As an integral part of each school for apprentices and artisans, compulsory evening courses were created, a primary course (for illiterates) and another in drawing (MANFREDI, 2002, p. 83-84, our translation).

With municipal decree number 1,795, in March 1930, the School of Arts and Crafts in the city of Pelotas was renamed the Professional Technical School. According to Meireles (2007), the school should offer free education to the poor who “fulfill the established conditions” to have access to teaching and professional technical education. It is notable that only boys could attend school (MEIRELES, 2007), who, after the training acquired, could find work in the world of work and “be useful to society” (MEIRELES, 2007, p. 30). Furthermore, the author emphasizes that:

The school operated as a day school and only male students were admitted. Entry initially took place on an adaptation course, lasting two years. Afterwards, the student began the technical-professional course, choosing the area, called section, that suited him, depending on his skills. In the last year, I was specializing in the area. As a result, the total duration of the course was six years (MEIRELES, 2007, p. 30, our translation).

Roschild (2021), in *The School of Arts and Crafts of Pelotas and Professional Technical Education (1917-1930)*, The presence of some black students is indelibly highlighted by the analysis of images of students at the beginning of school. Following Adriana Roschild's (2021) analysis, when locating a tiny number of students in the photographs, she points out that the School of Arts and Crafts was constituted as a racialized and white space, which was aimed at the poor underprivileged people with a white complexion.

In the desire to reveal more about the history and students of the Professional Technical School of Pelotas, we continue the search for evidence of the presence of black students in this teaching space. However, we warn that, although it was a journey with many expectations, we were not able to achieve all of them. In the books consulted regarding student grades, the color was never informed by the teacher responsible for the technical or propaedeutic discipline. But the attention of researchers at the Escola Técnica Profissional (currently Instituto Federal Sul-

rio-grandense) caught the attention of the existence of many graduation tables from different establishment courses in the corridors and spaces still maintained today, in the 21st century. They are marks of the past; they are symbols of those who built stories and achievements. Silently and almost unnoticed, they indicate presences and absences over time. It is clear to the eye that the vast majority who studied during the period investigated at the Escola Profissional Tecnológica de Pelotas were white students, appearing in a large presence on the graduation tables. Students identified with the black phenotype appear, but in a less expressive way. We can see this observation in the image of one of the graduation pictures below:

Figure 1 – Graduation Table of the Industrial Technical Course 1948



Source: IFSUL - Basic Industrial Course Technical School of Pelotas (1948)

There is a massive presence of male and white students. The board is very rich in details and course symbols for trainees. Each painting is unique, interacting with its specific historical context of production. It should be noted that the painting is somewhat difficult to photograph due to its size. You can see from the image that it is a wooden painting with the Brazilian flag in the center and around the graduates all dressed in suits. Elegant for posing and achieving a professional career in the city of Pelotas or elsewhere. For Werle (2005), completing a course is an event experienced by a community. We can problematize that this festivity was based on elements of white people, the vast majority of them, represented on the walls of the institution analyzed. In order to better capture the image being investigated, we photographed some parts, contemplating the students who were identified as having a black complexion in the table illustrated above. Let's see below:

Figure 2 – Student Osvaldo Lourival Franco



Source: IFSUL - Basic Industrial Course Technical School of Pelotas (1948)

Figure 3 – Student Braz Vargas



Source: IFSUL - Basic Industrial Course Technical School of Pelotas (1948)

Figure 4 – Student Rui Alves



Source: IFSUL - Basic Industrial Course Technical School of Pelotas (1948)

By analyzing these images of the graduation table of the Basic Course of the Technical School of Pelotas, we can infer that the graduation tables mark a pedagogical act of ethnic-racial relations within this space of education. It is clear that professional education at this time and in this context was idealized for the poor population, but not for any male student, as the element of color weighed heavily and stood out within this educational institution.

Graduation frames are the document/monument that we discussed in the previous lines of work. As Le Goff (2003) highlighted, the “monument” attests to the society of the time, to the new generations and to those who remain in school (or will enter), the success of education for some, not for all, at least, together with the different groups of students exposed in the observed table. At least for Rui Alves, Braz Vargas, Osvaldo Lourival Franco, it must not have been easy to represent their black community in this educational and racialized space. A majority of white students who were able to access the Professional Technical School did not share the same identity as Braz, Osvaldo and Rui.

How should they be treated within this school? We don't know what actually happened. As the article in the local black press newspaper, *A Alvorada*, “**Educai Vossos Filhos**” clearly explained, alerting the local black community about the importance of their children occupying school benches, however, it seems, the schools in the municipality and the Escola Técnica de Pelotas continued to reproduce structural racism within educational spaces, as the majority who had the right to education were white students.

Final remarks

This is research in the History of Education (originally), which focuses on the presence of black students in the schooling process within the scope of technical professionalization at the Technical School in the municipality of Pelotas, between 1930-1950, a period that included the influence of the enthusiasm on the part of the Brazilian State to “shape” the national worker. Based on the contributions drawn from historiography and the analysis of the graduation tables, the possible conclusion was reached that the education and professionalization space at the Escola Técnica de Pelotas was guided by whiteness. However, we emphasize that despite the space investigated having a predominance of white students, the presence of black students was verified, based on the photographic records of the graduation tables.

It is possible to state that access to school as an education focused on technical and professional education occurred differently and unequally between this group of students and

the white student segment. Several pictures from the same course were examined and the same diagnosis came to light: the expressiveness of white students completing the professional course. However, the resistance present among the students who graduated from the Industrial Course class in 1948 shows the action of subjects like Braz, Osvaldo and Rui, which consists of the action and search for this ethnic-racial segment of schooling and professionalization in the society of Pelotas.

So, these “*unusual*” students, such as Osvaldo, Rui and Braz, black people who reached levels of professional education within the literate culture, should not be perceived as exceptional cases, but who were part of the broader movements of their social group, which, in addition to schooling, he was looking for a profession to achieve a better future for himself and his loved ones. Through the research carried out, we understood that access to professional school was the element of cohesion and maintenance of power for the local and national white elite. That is, even if in the period investigated black people had the right to access professional education, their minimal presence indicates that it was prohibited through mechanisms of discrimination or mechanisms that made it difficult for them to remain in this educational and professional space. Access to professional education would be an element of differentiation between whites and blacks inside and outside the investigated institution.

We believe that some hypotheses may be linked to this issue, such as possible discrimination or differentiation between white and black students. However, even without being able to actually prove them, many difficulties created in the access of black students are based on the structural racism present in Brazilian society. The white population is structurally constituted as deserving of privileges, including education, given that the slave past is still present in the issue of belonging and rights in Brazil as a society.

Although the black population today has greater expressiveness, freedom and possibilities to express themselves, the hegemonic standard continues to be the white, rich, blue-eyed, straight-haired, thin, heterosexual man, and those outside this standard face discrimination and prejudice, or at most are tolerated. From the moment one intends to make a story that has meaning, use or political commitment, it can only be done correctly under the condition that it is linked, in one way or another, to the combats taking place in the proposed domain. More than developing this research on the racial identity of students in professional and technological education and their educational process, engaging in this investigation will allow us to guide the construction of an anti-racist and democratic education, precepts that are so unique for the institution analyzed.

By way of conclusion, even highlighting the white domination over the black population in terms of access to professional education, we also seek to demonstrate that even with all the setbacks of structural racism, from the perspective of the history of education, the resistance present in the acclaimed names of Oswaldo, Braz and Rui emphasize the agency of these historical characters who managed to access school and professional education, somewhat overturning the rates of inferiority and inequality within Brazilian racist society. They were and are resistance to other students who access (and will access) this education in the municipality. The exhibition of photos of black students and naming them within the research is intended to pluralize stories, as Adichie (2019) highlights:

Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to fleece and slander, but they can also be used to empower and humanize. They can shatter the dignity of a people, but they can also repair this shattered dignity (ADICHIE, 2019, p. 32, our translation).

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