

THE CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM OF TEACHING IN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

*A CAMPANHA PELA LIBERDADE DE ENSINO NO BRASIL E EM PORTUGAL NA
SEGUNDA METADE DO SÉCULO XX*

*LA CAMPAÑA POR LA LIBERTAD DE ENSEÑANZA EN BRASIL Y
PORTUGAL EN LA SEGUNDA MITAD DEL SIGLO XX*



Eduardo Norcia SCARFONI¹
e-mail: eduardoscarfoni@hotmail.com



Luiz Carlos BARREIRA²
e-mail: luizcarlosbarreira@gmail.com



Mauro Castilho GONÇALVES³
e-mail: mauro_castilho@uol.com.br

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¹Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Carries out a post-doctoral internship in the Postgraduate Program in Education: History, Politics, Society.

²State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Campinas – SP – Brazil. He worked as a teacher in different Stricto Sensu Postgraduate programs in Education, and is currently retired.

³Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Lecturer in the Postgraduate Program in Education: History, Politics, Society. Full Professor of History of Education at the University of Taubaté, SP.

ABSTRACT: The article analyzes the debate promoted by directors of private educational institutions, during the second half of the twentieth century, in Brazil and Portugal, about private education and freedom of education. Such groups, imbued with class interests and opposed to state intervention in their businesses, make use of the theme of free enterprise in education, as a way of consolidating advantages and intervening in the public space. In both countries, privatist leaderships formalized exchanges with sectors of the Catholic Church, equally interested in not weakening its historical intervention in teaching. The research examined minutes of congresses, legislation, and newspapers, available in Brazilian and Portuguese collections, to verify possible links between the two countries, with a view to understanding changing processes of exchange and circulation of projects and actions. To carry out the analysis, the work was based on the contributions of Antonio Gramsci and Jean-François Sirinelli.

KEYWORDS: Freedom of teaching. Private tuition. Brazil. Portugal. New State.

RESUMO: O artigo analisa o debate promovido por dirigentes de instituições de ensino particulares, no transcorrer da segunda metade do século XX, no Brasil e em Portugal, acerca do ensino privado e da liberdade de ensino. Tais grupos, imbuidos por interesses de classe e contrários à intervenção estatal em seus negócios, valeram-se do tema da livre iniciativa no ensino, como forma de consolidar vantagens e intervir no espaço público. Em ambos os países, lideranças privatistas formalizaram intercâmbio com setores da Igreja Católica, igualmente interessada em não enfraquecer sua histórica intervenção no ensino. A pesquisa examinou atas de congressos, legislação e jornais, disponíveis em acervos brasileiros e portugueses, para verificar vínculos possíveis entre os dois países, com vistas a compreender processos cambiantes de troca e circulação de projetos e ações. Para realizar a análise, o trabalho fundamentou-se nas contribuições de Antonio Gramsci e Jean-François Sirinelli.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Liberdade de ensino. Ensino particular. Brasil. Portugal. Estado Novo.

RESUMEN: El artículo analiza el debate promovido por los directores de instituciones educativas privadas, durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, en Brasil y Portugal, sobre la educación privada y la libertad de enseñanza. Tales grupos, imbuidos de intereses de clase y opuestos a la intervención del Estado en sus negocios, utilizan el tema de la libre empresa en la educación, como una forma de consolidar ventajas e intervenir en el espacio público. En ambos países, liderazgos privatistas formalizó intercambios con sectores de la Iglesia Católica, igualmente interesados en no debilitar su intervención histórica en la enseñanza. La investigación examinó actas de congresos, legislación y periódicos, disponibles en colecciones brasileñas y portuguesas, para verificar posibles vínculos entre los dos países, con el objetivo de comprender los procesos cambiantes de intercambio y circulación de proyectos y acciones. Para llevar a cabo el análisis, el trabajo se basó en las contribuciones de Antonio Gramsci y Jean-François Sirinelli.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Libertad de enseñanza. Educación privada. Brasil, Portugal. Nuevo Estado.

Introduction

This article aims to contribute to the debate on the history of private education in Brazil and Portugal, highlighting the positions of its leaders regarding national education and its social disputes. To do this, we will focus on the notion of teaching freedom that was debated in both nations. This theme, initiated and sponsored by these subjects, had been discussed since Empire Brazil, always being in vogue at specific historical moments. In 1942, as we saw in the explanatory memorandum of the organic law on secondary education, Decree-Law No. 4,244, of April 9, authored by the then Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema, this issue was addressed again. At the time, this law referred specifically to freedom of teaching religion and not to freedom of teaching in a broader sense, as happened in later years, and we will see later.

In 1946, in Brazil, the second National Congress of Private Education Establishments (CONEPE) debated this issue in depth, analyzing the education systems of other countries. Freedom of education was also debated in Portugal, throughout a constituent process, in 1933, under the Estado Novo (Portuguese dictatorial regime), which culminated in the promulgation of a new political constitution for the country.

This question led us to develop this work, characterizing the campaigns for freedom of education in Brazil and Portugal, in which private education leaders defended their class and sought to ensure that they were always present at the different levels of education. The contexts and specificities of each country where this campaign took place were considered, as the processes develop in different ways in each society, with the participation of different subjects, despite the themes and interests being common.

In Brazil, we highlight the VI Congress of the International Union for Freedom of Education, organized within the scope of the XXIV International Conference on Public Union of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which had, as its thesis, the “economic value of education”, authored by Paulo de Assis Ribeiro, being a central issue for the freedom of education intended by these leaders. With regard to Portugal, we use the book “Freedom of Education in Portugal”, written by Jose Carlos Belchior, director of the São João de Brito day school, in the city of Lisbon and active member of the Association of Representatives of Educational Establishments Private (AEEP). In his book, Belchior highlighted several aspects of teaching freedom and the role of the State in the management of education, in addition to presenting a historical overview of the performance of private education in Portugal, analyzing laws, minutes and circumstances.

When we analyze the various arguments, presented by intellectuals representing the

private sector, who worked in defense of freedom of education in Brazil and Portugal, we can say that there was a campaign for freedom of education, which reached several countries. This campaign would be, in general, and in accordance with this analytical logic, the right of people to be able to choose the education they would like to have, that is, the right to an education with different programs and not necessarily in line with the prescriptions emanated from the State, thus allowing the existence of private schools (denominational and non-denominational).

The notion of “sociality networks”, as conceived and worked on by Sirinelli (2003), as well as the concepts of civil society, political society, State and hegemony, present in the reflections of Gramsci (2007), helped us to understand the movement of the subjects, who participated in the process of historical construction problematized, analyzed, reconstructed and narrated here.

Sociability, according to Sirinelli (2003), can also be understood as a practice that aims at ideological cohesion. In the words of this French political scientist:

The “networks” [of sociability] actually secrete microclimates in the shadow of which the activity and behavior of the intellectuals involved often present specific traits. And, understood in this way, the word sociability therefore has a double meaning, at the same time “networks” that structure and “microclimate” that characterizes a particular intellectual microcosm (SIRINELLI, 2003, p. 252-253, our translation).

It is about a certain “private intellectual microcosm”, which brought together leaders of private confessional and non-denominational educational establishments, in Brazil and Portugal, at a moment in the political history of these two countries, within the scope of which the secular State imposed itself on the State-Church⁴, which this article discusses, with the aim of presenting another possibility of reading, understanding and interpreting the private sector in the field of school education.

⁴Antonio Gramsci's (2007) reflections on Benedetto Croce's formulations about the “perpetual conflict between Church and State”. In these formulations, according to Gramsci, the Church “is taken as the representative of civil society as a whole (although it is only an increasingly less important element) and the State as the representative of any attempt to permanently crystallize a certain stage of development, a certain situation. In this sense, the Church itself can become the State and the conflict can manifest itself between secular and secularizing civil society and the State-Church (when the Church becomes an integral part of the State, of the political society monopolized by a certain privileged group, which incorporates the Church to better defend its monopoly with the support of that area of civil society represented by the Church)” (Gramsci, 2007, p. 235).

Freedom of education in Portugal

The debate on teaching freedom in Portugal intensified in the 1930s; It is worth mentioning that the country became a Republic in 1910, and according to Belchior (s/d, our translation), “the State's monopoly on education became more pronounced”. During this period, confessional education was prohibited and only official and non-denominational schools “competed” for the provision of education. In 1933, in the Estado Novo, with the promulgation of the Political Constitution, freedom of education was in fact recognized in Portugal, highlighting the importance of the family and the possibility of private education being made official and subsidized. According to Cotovio (2011), this period it was “an important milestone in this historical journey, as it defines the position of the Estado Novo in relation to education and also in relation to private education” (Cotovio, 2011, p. 117, our translation).

Belchior highlighted what these directors of private educational establishments understood by this freedom when he said:

[...] freedom of education, together with freedom of association, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press and others, are part of the set of guarantees that protect the concrete freedom of people in relation to public authorities and others powerful groups within society. Freedom of teaching will therefore be the safeguard of the right of people to teach and to be taught within the convictions they accept.

This right that people have is based and explained in the fact that each of us is free and independent. It is not indifferent to the development of a child's personality, whose parents want them to be educated, for example within Christian principles, that they find educators at school who transmit to them, in a systematic way, criteria, values, attitudes and vision of life of a kind materialist (BELCHIOR, s/d, p. 5, our translation).

Freedom of education consisted of the freedom of choice for families to educate their children the way they wanted; with the principles they chose. With this option made by the State, it should allow people to create schools independent of the State itself, in order to meet the plurality of ideas. In addition to allowing its creation, freedom of access should be encouraged, not forcing a family that does not have resources to go against its principles, guaranteeing a school closer to its ideals. Freedom of direction and pedagogical freedom should also be respected, not rigidly forcing these educational establishments to follow the State's curricula and programs, as they should have autonomy to create their own programs.

Following this perspective, freedom of education was not complete in Portugal, they understood that there was interference from the Ministry of Education, as the curricula were rigid and there was no State subsidy for students interested in accessing private schools.

Having raised this issue, the discussion about the role of the State became central for these actors, as it should be responsible for education. To highlight this issue, Belchior (s/d, p. 8), presented the duties that the State should have in relation to education and private teaching, and they are:

- Ensure the right of all citizens to education;
- Encourage, protect and regulate the creation of private education establishments;
- Complement, through official schools, the insufficiencies in the country's coverage;
- Promote the set of educational action and define the structure and global education system;
- Mark the levels of knowledge to be achieved by students at different levels of education;
- Define the minimum conditions necessary for the educational functioning of private schools to be carried out competently;
- Control compliance with these conditions in a pedagogically competent manner;
- Directly or indirectly subsidize private education establishments so that parents and students can choose them regardless of their financial possibilities;
- Recognize that private schools, in order to fulfill their purposes, must have a certain freedom regarding programs and curricula;
- Respect management and, consequently, not meddle in the internal organization, activities and methods of private schools, so that they can achieve their educational purposes;
- Ensure that teachers and other workers in private education establishments, in terms of remuneration and social benefits, are equivalent to those in official education (Belchior, s/d, p. 8, our translation)

Following this leader's vision, democratic pluralism in education could only exist if all these duties were fulfilled by the State. Therefore, there would not be an opposition between private education and state education. Both should seek to achieve the purposes attributed to education. The change would be in education methods and programs, in line with the pluralism provided for in the Portuguese Constitution. The State would bear the costs of its schools and those of students who, perhaps, decided to study in private establishments, even without having the resources to do so.

At the beginning of the 70s, the situation of private educational establishments was deteriorating, they were losing enrollments to official schools, in most of the different grades and levels of education. Belchior argued that this situation was due to the fact that the State was creating schools in places where there were already private establishments, thus causing unfair competition, forcing these establishments to close their activities due to the lack of students. This scenario would be moving towards “the State monopoly in education”. This is how

Belchior assessed the treatment that the Portuguese State would be giving to students of one and two other type of school:

And, at least until now and for the most part, private school students have always been seen as second-class citizens. Those who attend state schools pay nothing or a small amount, while those who wish to attend a private school must pay the entire cost of their education. However, both pay the same taxes and should therefore be treated on an equal footing. Why does the State collect money from direct and indirect taxes from the entire population and distribute this money, when it comes to education, only to those who attend its schools? It forces parents, without economic possibilities, whether they want it or not, to choose only their schools for their children. In practice, this is called the State monopoly in matters of education (Belchior, *s/d*, p. 12, our translation).

This would have been the way for the State to be present where private schools had already been operating for decades. However, Belchior recognized that this policy, contrary to the interests of private schools, had ceased in 1973⁵, as the State, from then on, would have started to subsidize some students in private schools, in regions where there were no official establishments at the time, around 80 private schools would have started receiving this subsidy.

In 1979, with the end of the Estado Novo and the new Portuguese Constitution promulgated, the Assembly of the Republic approved the Basic Law for Private and Cooperative Education, implementing freedom of education, as understood and demanded by the owners of establishments of teaching. Before that, private schools were guided by Law No. 2033, published in June 1949, which they considered unfair, as it did not take into account the arguments presented by Belchior. The 1979 law began to guarantee, recognize, grant and determine the following rights and obligations:

It guarantees citizens the right to access education and culture and to exercise the freedom to learn and teach;
Recognizes parents' right to be primarily responsible for choosing the educational process for their children;
Determines that it is the State's obligation to create conditions that allow parents, under equal circumstances, to choose the type of school they want;
It gives private schools the possibility of not having to pay stamp duty, inheritance and donation tax and tax, customs taxes on material essential for their purposes and not produced in the country and legal costs;
Establishes the State's responsibilities, which range from granting grants for the creation of schools to granting subsidies and concluding contracts with private schools;
Establishes priorities in the conclusion of these contracts;
Defines parallelism as the verification of achievement and the evaluation process of students to be carried out by private schools on an equal footing with official schools;

⁵Year of approval of the education reform in Portugal, made by the Minister of Education José Veiga Simão.

Grants students in private schools the same social benefits provided for students in official schools;

It determines that within 180 days after the publication of the Law, the government must publish the Statute of Private and Cooperative Education, in accordance with this law and after consulting the representatives of private establishments and teachers' unions (Belchior, s/d, p. 14, our translation).

Although this law contemplates the interests of the private sector in school education, these leaders questioned the way in which these contracts with private educational establishments would be signed, and whether they would, in fact, cover the various private schools. Another question was whether the Law would be effectively applied by the State. And, finally, not another question, but a doubt: would the State comply with this law?

One of the strategies used by leaders and directors of private education in Portugal was to encourage the engagement and participation of parents of students in the fight for freedom of education, as this segment of Portuguese society conceived it. Organized within civil society, leaders and parents of students enrolled in private educational establishments could supervise the State's actions and pressure it to comply with the law. To this end, the leaders of this social movement sponsored the creation of parents' associations. At that time, there were around 100 student parents' associations in Portugal, 33 of which were in private educational establishments. These associations outlined clear objectives to fight for freedom of teaching and the material interests of private schools. Private school leaders saw such mobilization as so important that Belchior outlined the five steps to creating a parents' association, which are:

Summoning the parents of a school to a meeting, in which a group of parents will be chosen who will be in charge of preparing a draft of the association's statutes;

Once the draft statutes have been prepared, a new general meeting of parents must be held to approve the statutes;

The association's constitution must then be signed at a notary, with at least five parents signing it;

The announcement of the execution of the deed must be sent for publication in the republic's gazette; it is not necessary to publish the association's statutes in the newspapers;

Finally, a copy of the statutes must be delivered to the general secretariat of the ministry of education (Belchior, s/d, p. 17, our translation).

They counted on this social pressure for their positions to be considered by the State, a right that they considered legitimate and mandatory in a democratic society. These associations, once created, had to register with the National Secretariat of Parents' Associations (SNAP), which brought together private and official associations. SNAP, until that moment, 1979, had

held four educational meetings, namely: in 1976, in the city of Leiria; in 1977, in the City of Porto; in 1978, in the city of Lisbon; and, in 1979, in the city of Coimbra.

In addition to families, these leaders were also interested in teachers taking on the defense of teaching freedom, since, in their view, teachers would lose their autonomy if this freedom ceased to exist. To develop an effective pedagogical project of interest to private schools, teachers should also be engaged. For teachers to become interested in this project, their working conditions would also have to be modified, as teachers in private education did not have the same benefits as those in official education establishments. The Law approved in 1979 changed the working conditions of these teachers, as it determined that:

Remuneration is exempt from professional tax;
Their work is recognized as a function of public interest, which is why it is recommended that this be taken into account in labor conventions and other legislation;
That there be harmonization between teaching careers in private education and official education;
Teachers can move from public to private schools and vice versa;
Private education teachers who transition to official education are guaranteed time served;
The teaching work of private education teachers was now classified according to the standards in force for public education;
They can do internships in private schools (Belchior, s/d, p. 20, our translation).

In the opinion of the directors of private educational establishments, the situation of teachers in private schools would improve, especially in terms of their careers, if the law in question was strictly followed. Thus, they would be, if not as prestigious as the teachers who worked in official education, something very close to that.

The entire mobilization guided by these leaders was heir to a previous moment, which dates back to the National Guild of Owners of Private Education Establishments. In 1974, the Association of Representatives of Private Education Establishments (AEEP) was created in Portugal, as they understood that Grêmio no longer represented the interests of the establishments. This new association allowed the participation of a representative from each school owner affiliated with it and a second person who represented the pedagogical direction. When it was created, this entity was joined by 320 private educational establishments (Belchior, s/d).

The idea was to create an increasingly strong and active social force in society; Therefore, whenever possible, they tried to mobilize other private schools to join AEEP. The document of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, “Pastoral Guidelines on the Catholic School

nº14”, presented by Belchior, contained the following recommendation: “It is also desirable that the Catholic school be associated with other non-state schools, to cooperate in all matters that is common to them” (Belchior, s/d, p. 22, our translation). Building consensus in the private educational sector was necessary to advance the influence and interests of the private sector in Portuguese education. In our opinion, the understanding that the Church (mainly the Catholic Church) began to attribute to the expression “freedom of teaching” would be due to this need to build consensus, among those who defended the interests of the private sector, in the field of school education. Without the loss of identity of the collective subjects involved in this “war of position”, and against a common enemy, we can see a movement towards bringing these leaders together with a view to achieving an objective: asserting their class interests, contemplated in the AEEP.

AEEP had the following objectives:

- Represent private schools in the drafting of collective work agreements;
- Fight for freedom of education in general and in particular for the elimination of pedagogical and financial discrimination that affects students, teachers and private education establishments in relation to official education;
- Collaborate with other entities that may be interested in initiatives that increase the value of private education;
- Promote pedagogical updating in private schools;
- Seek to be a valid interlocutor for the Ministry of Education, in order to assert the views of private education (Belchior, s/d, p. 22, our translation).

The intention was for all private educational establishments to focus on this association to fight for the interests of private education in Portugal. This strategy did not require the creation of other associations representing the interests of the private sector in school education, since, if divided, the mobilization of the owners of educational establishments would weaken their political action, especially with regard to obtaining sympathy and support from some parties of Portuguese society in favor of its cause.

The succinct report on the actions of some representatives of private sector interests in Portugal, in the field of school education, presented in the first part of this article, sought to highlight the commitment of these representatives within Portuguese civil society, so that, at least part of it (schools, teachers and parents' associations), mobilized in favor of the defense of private education in the country, enforcing the letter of the law that was then approved in the Portuguese Parliament, the Basic Law of Private and Cooperative Education.

With this movement, the notion of “teaching freedom” gains a new meaning by encompassing other sectors of private education, with the aim of making this educational field stronger and more active.

In Brazil, this change of meaning also occurs. In the 1940s, the then Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema, shared with Catholic leaders the same understanding of the expression “freedom of teaching”. As we will see in the next session, this understanding will change.

Freedom of teaching in Brazil

The Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil establishes the secular state. With it, the Catholic Church loses privileges, consolidated over the years of validity of the Padroado⁶, regime, and model of Church, in which sacred power is articulated with civil power. In the words of a well-known theologian and professor of ethics and philosophy in Brazil:

According to this model, the Church is present in the world through a pact with the State, which provides for all the Church's needs and guarantees its functioning. It is about the relationship between hierarchies, the civil and the religious. Church in this sense is simply synonymous with Hierarchy. With the fall of the Padroado regime and the emergence of several republican states, the model was readjusted and gained a new version. The Church approaches the dominant classes that control the State and organizes its works within or based on the interests of the dominant classes: such as schools, universities, Christian parties, etc. Evidently this is a vision of sacred power articulated with civil power (BOFF, 1994, p. 22-23, our translation).

Observing the strategies used by Catholics after the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, without losing sight of Boff's words about the adjustments made to the Padroado model, which gained a new version since then, is one of the main goals of this section of the article. To this end, it was essential to be attentive to the alliances that Catholics signed with other political forces, with a view to defending their material interests.

⁶Although the Padroado regime was part of the political and religious history of Portugal and its colonies since the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th, with the political independence of Brazil in 1822, this regime would cease to exist in the newly created Brazilian Empire. However, shortly after independence, representatives of the Brazilian State went to Rome with the aim of negotiating the maintenance of this regime in Brazil. Some years passed, as the recognition of Brazil's political independence by the foreign powers of the time, including Portugal, was not immediate. Only on May 15, 1827, the Holy See would grant the Right of Patronage to the Emperor of Brazil, publishing the Bull *Praeclara Portuacalliae*. At the time, Leo XII was the Pope and Dom Pedro I, the Emperor of Brazil. There was internal resistance, but, for better or worse, Padroado's regime continued to prevail in Brazil. Regarding the Padroado, consult Boff (1994), Bosi (2005) and Santini (1974), among other sources.

Freedom of education had been (and still is) being guided in Brazil for a long time. It is not uncommon for it to appear as a battle flag for the most diverse political forces. However, some events marked the trajectory of the actors, whose practices are being analyzed and narrated here. These guys are the protagonists of this story. They were, therefore, mainly responsible for circumscribing the attention and actions (choices) of their narrators. Let us, therefore, turn to the events.

In 1942, one of these events took place: the publication of Decree-Law n^o. 4,244 on April 9th.⁷ Authored by the then Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema, this decree provides an explanation of the reasons for the organic law on secondary education. In it, freedom of teaching refers specifically to the freedom to teach religion and not to the freedom of teaching in a broad sense.

Leaders of other private schools (non-denominational, or of other denominations) began to participate in this same discussion. This expansion, from what we could observe, took place on broader fronts, in congresses and associations, such as the Congresses of Private Education Establishments (CONEPEs), which in its second edition, in 1946, featured a specific discussion on this theme⁸. In this discussion, leaders of confessional and secular schools debated topics about forms of teaching freedom in other countries, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and France.

In Portugal, as we could see, there seemed to be a certain distance between confessional schools and lay schools, with some receiving greater aid than others. In Brazil, this distance apparently does not occur and the actions of directors of private schools, both confessional and secular, seem to have been more harmonious at different times in our history, especially after the 1950s.

The hypothesis we raised, with a view to understanding the change in understanding of private school leaders in Brazil, regarding the expression “teaching freedom”, is supported by evidence that will be presented below. These analyzes take us back to discussions about the economic value of education, carried out by these leaders at events promoted by their class associations, whose main purpose would be to articulate and defend the material interests (political, economic, social and cultural) of their members.

⁷It is worth remembering that Catholics began to organize themselves and act politically well before 1942. The creation of the Brazilian Education Association in 1924, the Brazilian Catholic Confederation of Education in 1933, Catholic Action in 1935, in addition to so many other actions, such as the Catholic press, are concrete examples of Catholic mobilization within civil society. On this subject, see Carvalho (1994; 2003) and Sgarbi (1997).

⁸Regarding this discussion, see Scarfoni (2018).

Some theses about the economic value of education began to circulate in the 1960s, financed by the Ford Foundation⁹, and published by Columbia University, in the United States of America. And among its theorists are Theodore W. Schultz and Edward Denison. The VI Congress of the International Union for Freedom of Education, which was part of the program of UNESCO's XXIV International Conference on Public Union, presented, as one of its central theses, the "Economic Value of Education". This thesis was presented and defended by Paulo de Assis Ribeiro, who had the collaboration of his brother, Carlos José de Assis Ribeiro. Among other collaborators and supporters were: Dom Candido Padim, at the time vice-president of the Catholic Education Association (AEC); Laercio de Moura¹⁰, then vice-rector of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-RJ); Thomaz Pompeu Accioly Borges, director of the Institute of Social Sciences; Isaac Kerstenetzky, representative of Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV); the deputy Sandra Cavalcanti¹¹, Maria Amalia Arozo¹² and Celina Junqueira¹³.

This "network" of collaborators (Sirinelli, 2003) can be taken as an indication of the articulation of different groups around the defense of freedom of teaching and, mainly, the material interests of private educational establishments. In 1961, Paulo de Assis Ribeiro was already interacting with businesspeople from different sectors, national and international, at the Institute for Research and Social Studies (IPES)¹⁴. It is worth remembering that this group was one of the financiers of the 1964 civil-military coup in Brazil.

In the Congress mentioned above, Ribeiro (1961), to explain his thoughts on the economic value of education, began by presenting the first topic of his thesis: natural resources and their exploitation by man. For him, this exploration should be done in a planned manner, as natural resources, if misused, would quickly become extinct and, therefore, would not contribute to the country's development. Only accurate, scientific knowledge of such resources would enable their exploitation in a rational and planned manner. To do so, it would be necessary to invest in education. Only an "educational action", materialized in investments in

⁹The foundation financed several researches on the subject, not limited to one subject.

¹⁰For more information about Moura access his repository. Available at: <http://nucleodememoria.vrac.puc-rio.br/70anos/perfis/galeria-dos-reitores/padre-laercio-dias-moura-sj-1962-1970-1982-1995>. Accessed on: 11 Mar. 2024

¹¹Guanabara state deputy in 1960 for the UDN. In 1961, she was appointed by President Jânio Quadros (1961) to head the Brazilian delegation to the Primary Education Congress, held in Geneva, Switzerland, where she presented the thesis on distance education. Available at: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/sandra-martins-cavalcanti-de-albuquerque>. Accessed on: 11 Mar. 2024.

¹²He was president of the Brazilian Association of Schools of Social Service.

¹³She was a professor and director of the philosophy department at PUC-RJ.

¹⁴About IPÊS and the actions of this and other subjects, see Dreifuss (1981).

research and techniques, could “transform natural resources into wealth” (Ribeiro, 1961, p. 5, our translation).

Agriculture was the basis of the country's economy, but the way it was conceived and practiced did not contribute to overcoming Brazil's economic underdevelopment. It would be necessary, according to Ribeiro (1961), to act with the purpose of achieving greater efficiency in agricultural production, as it should supply the industrialization centers that would develop in the country. Guided by this rationality, Ribeiro brings together and classifies natural resources into three broad categories, namely: 1) the basic or nuclear resources of the economy; 2) raw materials of agricultural origin; 3) subsistence products.

In the first category he distinguishes 5 groups, organized hierarchically:

[...] in the first group, as we stated above, is the sum of knowledge in the fields of philosophy, arts, technology and science - available for the perfect and effective use of all other resources, and will depend, thus, in each nation, of the existing education system;

in the second group, they are located in addition to energy reserves, in a potential or current state, due to the occurrence of fuels of mineral and vegetable origin (including atomic minerals) and waterfalls, as well as the basic ores for industrial mechanization, including iron;

In the third group, we classify secondary ores for industrial mechanization, highlighting copper, aluminum, lead, zinc, tin, nickel, chromium, and others necessary for the manufacture of ferroalloys;

in the fourth group appear the precious metals that constitute the basis of the circulating monetary system and, therefore, act as a facilitating agent for exchanges, highlighting, in this group, gold and silver ores;

in the fifth group, finally, basic equipment is included, comprising the steel, energy, civil construction, machinery and machine tool manufacturing, electrical equipment, communications and transport industries, and, in addition, equipment secondary, comprising the transformation industries which, associated with the previous ones, essentially produce consumer goods, and, subsidiarily, things essential to basic industry (Ribeiro, 1961, p. 7, our translation).

Ribeiro's procedure, which is to gather, classify and hierarchize natural resources, serves as the basis for asserting that one of the main duties of education systems is the population's access to this knowledge. With this knowledge, and guided by it, the population could explore all natural resources, and in doing so, produce wealth for the country. Universities would, according to him, have a central role in leading the process of training and raising awareness among men about the rational possibilities of relationships with nature.

The accumulation of this sum of knowledge is the primary task of education systems, and within them, the main role undoubtedly falls to Universities, through their research, education and training centers; the first, surveying social needs and investigating methods and processes for appropriate solutions; the second, preparing, with the indispensable theoretical basis, professionals in the various fields of arts, technology, science; and the latter, simultaneously training students and former students in various professions, whether in laboratories, where cases are presented in reduced models of reality, or in the very places where production tasks are carried out in all sectors of life artistic, administrative, political, social and economic of the country (Ribeiro, 1961, p. 9, our translation).

Knowledge would be directly linked to the practical life of the country, as it would lead to the training of professionals who would bring greater effectiveness and productivity in different fields of knowledge.

However, technique and innovation could not be separated from morality. For Ribeiro, this morality was linked to Christian humanism, which should be incorporated into this technique, one benefiting from the other. When arguing, he recalls the words of Friar Constantino Koser, who highlighted precisely this connection: "technique in today's world is of great importance for Christian humanism".

As can be seen, Ribeiro makes use of this humanism, as he was a collaborator of the Catholic Church, having a strong connection with the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB). This body of the Catholic Church often asked him for opinions, in order to know his opinions on them ¹⁵.

Technique, combined with man, should perfect the human personality so that he could exercise his "free will" and choose the best path to follow. It was contrary, therefore, to both the extreme individualist vision, which he calls the anthropological vision, and the sociological vision. Education should "guide" man, so that he can develop his personality in a broad sense, so that he can make the best choices for his life.

The technique, to which Ribeiro refers, is directly linked to the subject's educational background. It should have a prominent role in curricula and in the subject training process. This technological "phenomenon", presented and defended by the author, will be analyzed by Themistocles Cavalcanti ¹⁶, for whom education should:

¹⁵We reached these conclusions because in his personal file, located at the National Archives in the city of Rio de Janeiro, we found letters exchanged between them.

¹⁶Graduated in Legal and Social Sciences, he was a member of the Brazilian Society of International Law, the Ibero-American Institute of International Law, the International Law Association; Advisor to the Clóvis Bevilacqua Institute and member of the Law Academy, the Pen Clube do Brasil and the Graça Aranha Foundation. He was elected Deputy to the Constituent Assembly of the former State of Guanabara and President of its

- a) give less emphasis to the discipline of surpassed usefulness;
- b) create new disciplines that meet the needs of studying and analyzing new facts and modern technological achievements;
- c) prepare new types of teachers and allow the improvement and adjustment of current ones, giving them new opportunities;
- d) facilitate the organization of seminars, symposiums and courses for the improvement of so-called technical and related disciplines, which are impacted by technological progress, especially the social sciences (Ribeiro, 1961, p. 13, our translation)

According to Ribeiro's maxim, the development of technique and technology would have made it possible to increase the economic value of man. For this reason, he advocates that both should also be applied in the educational field, in order to effectively contribute to the development of the economy and the country itself.

Conclusion

In this article about ideas related to teaching freedom in Portugal and Brazil, we highlight that the development of these ideas was in line with a whole discussion – already underway at the University of Chicago and problematized in events promoted and sponsored by the OECD and UNESCO, such as demonstrated in the thesis defended by Ribeiro, which associated the economic development of a nation with its educational development. From this perspective, and in the historical context in question, education comes to be conceived as a market issue, that is, as a driving force for the economic (technical and scientific) development of a given society. The logic of the market, of capital, should therefore regulate educational practices, especially the school practices of this same society. The economic value of education would reside, then, in this dialectical relationship between knowledge of reality and the concrete, effective possibility of transforming that same reality. The development of technical and scientific knowledge would therefore be a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for the transformation of reality. Not sufficient, because this transformation would ultimately depend on the action of subjects who know the logic of the reality to be transformed.

Facing this issue, in Brazil and Portugal, also highlights a strong connection between churches, mainly sectors of the Catholic Church, working together to defend individual freedoms, and going further, to defend market freedom, whether in education, as well as in the development and formation of both societies. This would explain the strong connection between

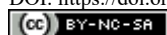
Constitutional Commission in 1960. In 1967 he was appointed Minister of the Federal Supreme Court. Available at: <http://www.stf.jus.br/portal/Ministro/verMinistro.asp?periodo=stf&id=105>. Accessed on: March 11, 2024.

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these sectors of the Catholic Church, which already had schools of different levels, with directors of private schools, not directly linked to any religious congregation. Both defended common interests, in a society in which free choice prevailed, both in education and in its form of organization. Thus, we have another *update* of the ancient Catholic Church. The logic of the contradictory development of capital imposed itself, shackling minds and hearts.

By way of conclusion, we use here a maxim by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1999), according to which, “everything that is solid melts into air”. Today, when the so-called “industry 4.0” or “fourth modernity of capital” or “digital revolution” is in full swing, transforming practices hitherto trivialized as natural, it is strong evidence of the vigor and relevance of Karl’s philosophical thought. Marx. Unfortunately, we are still living in “the beginning of the end of history”. The leap in quality is yet to come. Overcoming the contradictions that continue to weave the current social fabric is still a utopia. But it is this utopia, among others, that sets us in motion.

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