

**O DESENVOLVIMENTO DAS CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E A MODERNIZAÇÃO
BRASILEIRA**

**EL DESARROLLO DE LAS CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y LA MODERNIZACIÓN
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND BRAZILIAN MODERNIZATION

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RESUMO: A intelectualidade vivencia uma ruptura com os padrões de consagração vigentes na Primeira República. A partir da tomada do poder por Getúlio Vargas e a Revolução de 1930, tem-se início um novo cenário político. Devido à queda do preço do café, o modelo agroexportador encontrava-se em processo de decadência, pois já não era mais possível manter artificialmente o valor deste produto. Somam-se a este fator as restrições provocadas pela crise financeira de 1929, o que implicou na queda da demanda externa e no surgimento de novos competidores. Neste contexto, os intelectuais estão subordinados de um modo mais intenso à conjuntura política do que propriamente às questões culturais. A função e atuação dos intelectuais ultrapassam, desta maneira, o campo estritamente intelectual e adentram o do político. Assim, o presente trabalho tem como objetivo demonstrar a relação entre a modernização brasileira e o desenvolvimento institucional e intelectual das Ciências Sociais no Brasil.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Modernização. Ciências sociais. Intelectuais. Institucionalização.

RESUMEN: *La intelectualidad experimenta una ruptura con los estándares de consagración vigentes en la Primera República. A partir de la toma del poder por Getúlio Vargas y la Revolución de 1930, comenzó un nuevo escenario político. Debido a la caída en el precio del café, el modelo de agroexportación estaba en proceso de descomposición, ya que no era posible mantener artificialmente el valor de este producto. A este factor se suman las restricciones causadas por la crisis financiera de 1929, que implicó una caída de la demanda externa y la aparición de nuevos competidores. En este contexto, los intelectuales están más fuertemente subordinados a la situación política que a los asuntos culturales. La función y el desempeño de los intelectuales, de esta manera, van más allá del campo estrictamente intelectual y entran en el de lo político. Así, el presente trabajo tiene como objetivo demostrar la relación entre la modernización brasileña y el desarrollo institucional e intelectual de las Ciencias Sociales en Brasil.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Modernización. Ciencias sociales. Intelectuales Institucionalización.*

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ABSTRACT: *Intellectuality experiences a rupture with the standards of consecration in force in the First Republic. From the seizure of power by Getúlio Vargas and the 1930 Revolution, a new political scenario began. Due to the drop in the price of coffee, the agro-export model was in a process of decay, as it was no longer possible to artificially maintain the value of this product. Added to this factor are the restrictions caused by the financial crisis of 1929, which implied a drop in external demand and the emergence of new competitors. In this context, intellectuals are more intensely subordinated to the political situation than to cultural issues. The function and performance of intellectuals, in this way, go beyond the strictly intellectual field and enter that of the political. Thus, the present work aims to demonstrate the relationship between Brazilian modernization and the institutional and intellectual development of Social Sciences in Brazil.*

KEYWORDS: *Modernization. Social sciences. Intellectuals. Institutionalization.*

Introduction

The 1920s are inscribed in a context of profound changes, which are also symbolic in Brazilian political and cultural history, for inaugurating the genesis of Modern Brazil, with the introduction of procedures, habits, angles of view and diagnoses that guided and mobilized several generations (LAHUERTA, 1997). A new political scenario began, from the seizure of power by Getúlio Vargas and the Revolution of 1930. The agro-export model was in a process of decline, due to the fall in the price of coffee, as it was no longer possible to maintain artificially value this product. Added to this factor are the restrictions caused by the financial crisis of 1929, which implied a drop in external demand and the emergence of new competitors. On the other hand, industrialization is in force due to the devaluation of the currency and the increase in imports.

In this scenario, the State was a fundamental driver for the promotion of capitalism in Brazil, becoming essential for national development, guaranteeing the elementary conditions that would boost and shape the industrialization process. With the emergence of state-owned companies, the State started to promote conditions for industrialization, in addition to being the main investor.

The Government created the necessary infrastructure for the development of industrialization in the country, obtaining funds for the installation of National Steel Company the Volta Redonda Plant; in addition to the construction of structures for sea, air and land transport, which facilitated the traffic of inputs and goods. It also instituted the National Petroleum Council, in order to monopolize the refinement and distribution of the fuel necessary for the development of transportation.

The genesis of the republican experience is a movement led by the military, with its initial impulse distanced from the people, who were assisting this “bestialized” movement, as well as Brazil's modernization process. From the beginning, in order to institutionalize itself, the republican regime had the mission of finding formulas that would allow compatibility between the new elites whose intention was to institute public and private power in the country, based on the great rural potentate, which reigned absolutely in almost throughout the national territory. In this way, the rural elite, through their capital, organizes politics in the early years of the Republic, but always pressing on their private interests and excluding the mass of this scenario (LAHUERTA, 1997).

In the period of the Old Republic (1889-1930), São Paulo started to play a particularly relevant role, due to the preponderance of the coffee economy, generating an accelerated process of urbanization, industrialization and economic modernization. The search for political hegemony undertaken by the São Paulo elites made its capital an influential center and represented the increase in its literary, cultural and artistic creation. The myth of the bandeirante and the image of São Paulo as the locomotive of the country would gradually configure and legitimize the São Paulo domain.

The project of industrialization and modernization of the Brazilian economy, carried out by the Estado Novo, required, in addition to investments in the infrastructure necessary for the performance of an industrial production, that a comprehensive reform be made in the administrative structure of the State to adjust it to the standards of development required by the new economic environment.

The Estado Novo adopted the so-called State of Commitment, based on control mechanisms and political negotiation paths responsible for the emergence of a broad front to support the government. This was made possible through new bodies created by the State, Government, the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP) that controlled the media and made a positive propaganda of the government and the Administrative Department of the Public Service (DASP) that was the organ central part of the Brazilian administrative reform from 1938, remodeling the structure of the civil service, eliminating nepotist practices and other perks. This sector was in charge of modernizing the bureaucracy, instituting the merit system, with the introduction of competitions and qualification tests. In addition to these functions, bodies such as DASP, DIP, DEIPs (State Department of Press and Propaganda) also welcomed intellectuals, showing them a safe way to organize their cultural productions and, at the same time, the fusion of modernity and national project (LAHUERTA , 1997). Thus, there was a

restructuring of the State's administrative standards as a result of the modernization process, triggering a broad administrative reform initiated with the creation of these bodies.

Thus, intellectuals are subordinated in a more intense way to the political situation than to cultural issues. Cultural activity becomes, for the intellectual elite, a means of intervening in politics, which does not have an end in itself. The function and performance of intellectuals, in this way, go beyond the strictly intellectual field and enter that of the political. They are, therefore, the fruits of an objective, concrete need - that of creating images of Brazil that allow the dissemination of national consciousness and of rationalizing the performance and formation of the national State, seeking, in the last instance, the creation of the Brazilian nation.

Based on the above, the present work aims to demonstrate the relationship between Brazilian modernization and the institutional and intellectual development of Social Sciences in Brazil, with particularities that will be exposed throughout the text. To achieve this goal, the bibliographic review is used as a methodology, based on the theoretical contribution of the authors worked on throughout the text.

Brazilian modernization in the 20s and 30s

For Milton Lahuerta (1997), the political and social conjuncture of the 1920s instigates a crisis of social identity, culminating in the radical questioning process launched by Brazilian intellectuals about their own condition as intellectual men, inspired by diffuse modernist ideals. Thus, the 1930s are permeated by the development of images that focus on intelligentsia, through the perspective of defining their social identity, attributing a certain missionary and non-commercial character.

In this sense, the year 1922 is a symbolic landmark that breaks with the current bacharelic cultural standard. It is also this year that the Modern Art Week takes place, from which Modernism becomes a point of view in the history of national culture. However, the emergence of the idea of modern meaning rupture cannot be fully understood if we fail to consider that the turn of the first post-war period was international, opening gaps in all cultural systems with signs of saturation.

Modernism inaugurates a new moment in the dialectic of the universal and the particular, inscribing itself with force and even arrogance. The established literary current continues to flow, but in a less intense way, that is, it is overlaid by the new values. However, it returns to certain themes that this and Symbolist Spiritualism had left in the air. Among these,

lyrical research both in terms of themes and formal means; the question about the destiny of man and, above all, of Brazilian man; the search for a strong conviction.

The idea of mission present in the intellectuals arises from the first years of the First Republic, explaining the reasons why there was a problematization of order from a modernist perspective, installing a force that brings the national and the popular to the central arena of intellectuality. Thus, these questions will be present in the 1930 Revolution and in the Estado Novo, through the implementation of a more politicized pattern of cultural production, as never before in Brazilian history. In parallel, it brings an intellectual identity that is defined by the attempt to build, as if they were interchangeable terms, the nation, the people and the modern, making the State the recipient of its concerns arising from intellectuals (LAHUERTA, 1997).

According to Lahuerta (1997), the tendency to subordinate the dynamics of society and its conflicts to the abstract principle of organization will be constant in these years. In this context, the pedagogical excitement of the 1930s aims to reform society through education, through the extension of technical courses and the development of São Paulo universities to instruct emerging elites.

Martins (1987) states that the isolation of creative intellectuals is also not comparable with the social vacuum in which the Russian intelligentsia lived. In a way opposite to this, in Brazil there was not even a project of society, nor the theory of a society that would be produced by a historical subject in formation. Thus, national intellectuals will subsequently be assigned, as intellectuals, the role of demiurges and civilizing heroes of the nation - not necessarily of a new society. The feeling of isolation that intellectuals lived - expressing themselves more through the complaint than through the revolt - is also related to two other factors:

- Country of Illiterates, without an audience and a market, at a time when capitalist values were beginning to penetrate the urban world strongly;
- Cultural field still dominated by ornamental culture - there was little space, either for abstract thinking or for instrumental knowledge.

The discussion about cultural enlargement and, at the same time, exclusion of the mass as a cultural deprivation, after the Revolution of 30, had great repercussion in the society of this time due to the role that the elites played in this process, from their high degree of conscience, as holders of culture and knowledge, with the function of **delegates of the collectivity**. With this, the elites maintain high positions, with the consequent subjection of the dominated layers and maintenance of their privileges and particular interests.

1930 Revolution: Continuity or change?

For Lahuerta (1997), the crowning of the “30 passive revolution” corresponded to a demand from the State, also expressing the process of cultural unification, which translated into a *sui-generis* project - at the same time modernizing and restoring the pillars nationality. And all in the name of the common good and nation building. In such a way that a strong government was implicitly expected and, when materialized, it was well accepted by wide sectors. It is through the mediation of the State that a political culture is consolidated whose structuring axis is an excessively jurisdicted capitalist development and covered by the rule of law that seeks its legitimacy in the realization of social ends: “[...] capitalism advances fulfilling the path of a passive revolution, in which the nation does not have its own identity, is a creature of the State, being organized as a port of officials in the service of the ideal of expanding accumulation”³ (LAHUERTA, 1997, p. 101).

Therefore, if the revolution deepens the demand for renewal, the Corporate State, which wants to be New, recognizes the need for change and modernization, but seeks to domesticate this transformative impulse. In the name of order and even tradition, and always pleading the primacy of the public over the private, it is that the Estado Novo realizes diffuse expectations of civil society, based on the ideals of the 1920s. Thus, the movement of the 1930s and its denomination as a revolution, it represents only ideological assumptions of destroying the memory of the vanquished.

In fact, there was a consensus on the character of rupture present in the 1930 revolution, but there was also an image of a historical landmark in the process of constituting both the national state and the culture itself, generating a movement of cultural unification. This dichotomous relationship of rupture/continuity - revolution and restoration - is inscribed in the movement of 30. That is, a process of passive revolution, unlike a popular revolution, explaining the idea of restoration - possibility of transformation from the bottom up - and of renewal - of the new demands that are assimilated and put into practice by the old dominant layers.

In the same movement in which they build coercive and centralized structures of power, molecular changes are carried out which they incorporate, recognizing these as legitimate and meeting certain demands of civil society, including the subordinate strata. This phenomenon - typical of situations in which transformism gives the meaning of historical development - is

³ “[...] o capitalismo avança cumprindo o percurso de uma revolução passiva, na qual a nação não tem identidade própria, é criatura do Estado, sendo organizada como um porto de funcionários a serviço do ideal de expansão da acumulação”

clearly explained during the Estado Novo (DIP), at the end of 1939, aiming not only to censor, but also to organize cultural production, giving it a modern and nationalist meaning, and labor legislation, among other initiatives. After the 1930s, it reveals the construction of the State in the name of the nation's unification (LAHUERTA, 1997, p. 101).

In this way, the modernization project of the 1930s does not result from the dynamism and enterprise of civil society, but from the State, which had the modernity project associated with the ideal of nation building. This through the perspective of carrying out a work of civilization and nation-building, which posed themselves as state works and, at the same time, questioning everything that was not inserted in this restricted concept of civilization and limited idea of nation.

In this sense, the Estado Novo had a repressive character and, at the same time, offered intellectuals perspectives that satisfied their demands, seeking to make sense of their activity and engaging them in the construction of an ethical and modernizing State. In short, there was the prospect of creating national culture, making the State the instrument for this, assigning a “mission” to the intellectual - a philosophy that offered adherents an intellectual dignity, which unfolded in an original educational and pedagogical principle. In addition, school activity, at all levels, was extremely important, including economic, for intellectuals. In these years, the scarcity of possibilities for social ascension open to the initiative of small entrepreneurs is notorious; the effective absence of parties; restricted industrialization - the limitations of the cultural market; control over the press, among others.

Thus, from the discussion above, it is understood that the expansion of the state apparatus influences the educational area, providing a privileged space for the formation of consensus and for the development of a “*estadonovista*” project.

Social Sciences and the Brazilian modernization process

Between 1930 and 1964, the institutional and intellectual development of Social Sciences in Brazil was closely associated, on the one hand, with the impulse achieved by the university organization and, on the other, with the granting of government resources for the creation of centers for debate and research.

Research and academic production in Social Sciences were related to the performance of teaching duties amid a broader professionalization policy that was reflected in secondary teachers. In this context, any institutional initiative related to the field of Social Sciences was

linked to the political system or business groups that operated in the education and cultural production markets.

There is a complete dissociation between social scientists and the interests of the popular sectors. In this regard, Micelli points out that:

The consequences of this had repercussions both on doctrinal orientations (methodological, theoretical, political-party), the profile of the objects selected for investigation, the substantive contents of academic production, as well as with regard to the intellectual and professional careers of social scientists, although some of these pioneers can resist and even refuse or minimize these determinations through imaginary representations about the relationship they believe to have with the popular classes (MICELLI, 1987).⁴

Thus, the importance of this discussion occurs as it raises the problem of relations between social scientists and Brazilian society through a qualification of the place of the new “specialists” of the intellectual layer within this social formation. In the mid-1930s, the first signs of an articulation of interests between the new categories of intellectual producers - the social scientists - were manifested through the opening of scientific societies, academic journals and mandates of representation in collegiate groups inside and outside the university (MICELLI, 1987).

Formation of teachers for secondary education - thus those responsible for Social Sciences courses consolidated their institutional continuity. This was a safe professional field, sought after by a significant number of law students whose aim was to supplement their income or finance their own studies.

There is, however, a differentiation in relation to the practice of Social Sciences in São Paulo - social scientists become increasingly academic professionals; and in Rio de Janeiro - they are mostly members of the political and cultural elites. Regarding this difference between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, it should be noted that:

[...] it are at the root of different definitions of the meaning of social science, prevailing in Rio de Janeiro a "interventionist", "militant" and "applied" conception, whose developmentally theories are intellectually finished, while in São Paulo it seems imposing a marked concern with methodological formation, reading the classics, individual and/or team fieldwork and a whole

⁴ As conseqüências disso repercutiram tanto sobre as orientações doutrinárias (metodológicas, teóricas, político-partidárias), o perfil dos objetos selecionados para investigação, os conteúdos substantivos da produção acadêmica, como no que concerne às carreiras intelectuais e profissionais dos cientistas sociais, embora alguns desses pioneiros possam resistir e até mesmo recusar ou minimizar essas determinações através de representações imaginárias acerca do relacionamento que acreditam manter com as classes populares (MICELLI, 1987).

academic-disciplinary socialization under the hegemony of the functionalist sociological paradigm (MICELLI, 1987, n/p).⁵

In other states such as Pernambuco, Bahia and Minas Gerais, the supply of practitioners of Social Sciences happened through traditional higher schools, or else, through the work of dissemination carried out by self-taught people. In these states, it was the already established institutions of higher education that sought to incorporate the new disciplines into their agendas of concerns and into their work program, starting with the space granted by the local media and by offering teaching positions in normal schools and official secondary schools.

São Paulo, however, was practically the only institutional space in which it constitutes something close to what could be qualified as an intellectual elite in fact. From a comparative intellectual history perspective, the elite of USP scientists are the most prominent. It is noteworthy that the first consequences on Brazilian intellectual life that emerged with the creation of the School of Sociology and Politics and the Faculty of Philosophy of São Paulo are felt only after twenty years. Between 1953 and 1964, the main members of Escola Paulista produced their theses and began to publish their first articles and books.

The unfolding of sociological studies at the corporate level

The economic and socio-cultural situation of the country has repercussions on several points that produce negative effects on institutions where teaching or research in the field of Sociology can be developed according to scientific standards. The financial resources available are insufficient to promote the organization of scientific work on an appropriate basis. If financial resources are insufficient, and there is no support for an efficient institutional organization of sociological research, Brazilian sociologists are forced to limit themselves to research projects that require less money and that can receive help from other researchers.

Brazil's experiences in this area were so recent and simple at the time, making that true scientific vocations could rarely be estimated as the product of regular and well-conducted preparation. The work situation of sociologists is aggravated by the fact that sociological research is insufficient in well-defined patterns of internal organization. Brazilian sociologists must associate their theoretical ambitions with the investigation of social phenomena that

⁵ [...] estão na raiz de definições diferentes do sentido da ciência social, prevalecendo no Rio de Janeiro uma concepção "intervencionista", "militante" e "aplicada", cuja expressão intelectualmente acabada são as teorias desenvolvimentistas, enquanto em São Paulo parece se impor uma preocupação marcante com o treinamento metodológico, as leituras dos clássicos, o trabalho de campo individual e/ou em equipe e toda uma socialização acadêmico-disciplinar sob hegemonia do paradigma sociológico funcionalista (MICELLI, 1987, s/p).

happen in society common to Brazil. Still, they must not forget, however, that when carrying out their work, they need to contribute both to Brazilian sociological knowledge and to the progress of Sociology as a science.

Regarding the reaction of society with regard to sociological studies, it can be said that the development of scientific investigations is related in an arduous way to the way in which lay people represent the importance of scientific knowledge.

Ultimately, decisions that affect the position of science in education, practical life and politics in a nation are made by laypeople. Sometimes, they are assisted by technicians and specialists; others have the capacity acquired through university formation. It is clear, however, that the ideal would be a different situation, which would guarantee scientists the opportunity to take charge of these decisions or to exert greater influence in the circumstances in which they are established (FERNANDES, 1976, p. 55).⁶

This interest on the part of scientists in the societal reaction to science and its products is due to the power of the lay initiative. As a result, scientists act as pressure groups, with the aim of trying to enlighten public opinion through the most accessible means of propaganda or through the support of influential personalities in administration or politics. And when Sociology enters this context, the interest in the societal reaction becomes even greater, since the discipline is still discredited.

In addition to these issues, it should be noted that there was a certain gap between the high level of academic formation brought by the French mission and the American professors and our socio-cultural needs (FERNANDES, 1976). For Florestan (1976), there was a kind of deficit in scientific activism among his intellectuals, since science and research should serve autonomous national development.

Thus, bringing an overview of Social Sciences in Brazil, Florestan (1976, p.116 *apud* LAHUERTA, 2005, p. 159) emphasizes:

No one can ignore that it is in the sector of scientific and technological thinking that the progress of developed nations is showing the fastest. If we want to reduce or overcome the distance that separates us from these nations, there is only one way - to achieve full mastery of modern social techniques, including scientific thinking and technology based on science.⁷

⁶ Em última análise, as decisões que afetam a posição da ciência na educação, na vida prática e na política de uma nação são tomadas por leigos. Algumas vezes, eles são assistidos por técnicos e especialistas; outras, contam com a capacidade adquirida mediante formação universitária. É claro, porém, que o ideal seria uma situação diferente, que garantisse aos cientistas a oportunidade de se encarregarem dessas decisões ou de exercerem maior influência nas circunstâncias em que elas estão estabelecidas (FERNANDES, 1976, p. 55).

⁷ Ninguém pode ignorar que é no setor do pensamento científico e tecnológico que o progresso das nações desenvolvidas se mostra mais rápido. Se quisermos atenuar ou superar a distância que nos separa dessas nações, o caminho é um só – conquistar pleno domínio das técnicas sociais modernas, entre as quais se incluem o pensamento científico e a tecnologia fundada na ciência.

Fernando de Azevedo: Institutionalization of Social Sciences and modernization of Brazil

Reflecting on the institutionalization of Sociology in Brazil, Fernando de Azevedo (1962) brings up the relationship between this and the modernization that occurred in the country between the 1930s and 1960s. Thus, it was in the context of institutional modernization in Brazil, triggered from the decade of 1930, that Fernando de Azevedo contributed, mainly for the institutionalization of Sociology.

Azevedo (1962) considered Sociology as a condition for the progress of Brazilian society by assigning it an essential role in diagnosing and solving national problems. The emergence of Social Sciences “[...] resulted from an effort to raise critical and scientific awareness of the problems that formed the Brazilian mosaic [...]”⁸ (PINTO; CARNEIRO, 1955, p. 15 *apud* NASCIMENTO, 2010, p. 167). For these authors, from the 1930 Revolution onwards, a political and social environment began in Brazil that contributed to create an atmosphere of receptivity and expectation around Sociology.

However, the consensus on the importance of the role of Sociology in the modernization of society and educational formation, as an instrument related to sociological intervention, has not minimized the dissent among the intellectuals about which social actors should be responsible for diagnosing and solving the problems of the Brazil. After 1930, the founding and development of different cultural, teaching and research institutions - influenced by “Catholic” intellectuals and “renovators” - started a fierce dispute in the symbolic goods market for intellectual, political and state recognition, on the definition of conducting agents and privileged projects for modernization and for the construction of nationality (LAHUERTA, 1997; PÉCAUT, 1990; MICELI, 1979).

The various groups of Brazilian intellectuals understood that the country's precarious educational conditions, at the beginning of the 20th century, created obstacles for the economic, political and cultural growth of society. Thus, the diffusion of education took place through a harmonious proposal to overcome such barriers as it would guarantee professional qualification and human formation, with the aim of ensuring social cohesion and civilizational progress and, simultaneously, providing the educated public with the consumption of production in the cultural field being constituted. In this context, education has become the instrument of various political and intellectual projects to intervene in the Brazilian reality and promote the country's development, establishing the rules of inclusion and exclusion in citizenship.

⁸ “[...] resultou de um esforço no sentido de tomar [...] consciência crítica e científica dos problemas que formavam o mosaico brasileiro [...]”

The educational campaign of the 20s and 30s was constituted through an intense civic mobilization. The concept of "education", linked to the conduct of the same by an elite, included the work of building and consolidating a cultural hegemony. Understood in this way, ABE's⁹ civic produces civisms - civism of the industrious and orderly people, aimed at the production of wealth and the conduction of what is identified as progress (CARVALHO, 1997).

Transforming inhabitants into people - this was the program of the Brazilian Education Association, which justified this initiative by stating that a century after Independence we had only inhabitants in Brazil, that is, individuals not molded for the experience of a Republic country. It was, therefore, the task of the elites to organize and constitute a nation - elites who were thought of as the brain that directs an organic movement. The term organization brings, among others, the following connotation: "It is about giving shape, producing structure and functional differentiation in a society perceived as amorphous, ameboid"¹⁰ (CARVALHO, 1997, p. 124).

The education announced by the Association's intellectuals should be capable of transforming each individual into a useful social factor, raising them morally and providing better elements of happiness and comfort than pure and simple instruction. This meant that the civic education they proposed, invented through rituals for the formation of healthy bodies and disciplined minds and hearts, constituted a resource to prevent education, assessed as a dangerous weapon, from becoming a factor of social destabilization.

Azevedo (1962) was an important representative of the pioneers of new education¹¹. This reform group, among other flags, highlighted the secularity and gratuity of the public school. The new education movement in Brazil was marked by a set of initiatives in the educational, cultural and political spheres with the objective of revitalizing education and society, through theoretical and methodological contributions provided by Sociology, Psychology, Statistics, among others. As a reformer and public administrator Azevedo (1962) developed a set of initiatives to create social actors capable of restructuring part of the State through its institutions, in order to hinder the emergence and defense of private interests in the public sphere.

⁹ Brazilian Education Association - ABE - is founded in 1924 by a group of intellectuals who, disillusioned with the Republic, bet on education as a solution to the country's problems.

¹⁰ "Trata-se de imprimir forma, de produzir estrutura e diferenciação funcional numa sociedade percebida como amorfa, amebóide"

¹¹ The "Pioneers of New Education Manifest" consolidated the vision of a segment of the intellectual elite that, although with different ideological positions, saw the possibility of interfering in the organization of Brazilian society from the point of view of education. Written by Fernando de Azevedo, the text was signed by 26 intellectuals, including Anísio Teixeira, Afrânio Peixoto, Lourenço Filho, Roquette Pinto, Delgado de Carvalho, Hermes Lima and Cecília Meireles.

Azevedo (1962) was sought by different governments to contribute to the construction of the nation through the State. Thus, it is relevant to observe his notes on the relationship between government and intellectuals. For the author, governments, especially dictatorial ones, were not favorable to intellectuals, supporting them only when they were not considered as threats to government stability. For Azevedo (1962), however, intellectuals were able to take a stand against political interests when working in public institutions.

In the work “*A Cultura Brasileira*”, Azevedo (1996) articulates the contributions of intellectuals from different political and theoretical backgrounds to the elaboration of a synthesis on the theme. Skillful political articulator, Azevedo (1996) carried out important organizational undertakings, between the 1920s and 1960s, with the contributions of intellectuals belonging to heterogeneous groups. Azevedo (1996) avoided positions of direct confrontation with the government, considering that this would create obstacles to the projects in which he believed and even disintegrate the efforts of his allies in institutional struggles.

In this way, Azevedo (1996) positioned himself as a representative of the intelligentsia of Social Sciences in Brazil, capable of leading numerous intellectuals, neglecting their differences and enhancing what could unite them. On the trajectory of Fernando de Azevedo as an intellectual and public man, nationwide, the author's name was linked, directly or indirectly, to the institutions (press, publishers, universities, research institutes) that caused changes in the mentality of Brazilian society through transformations in the country's cultural, educational and political organization, starting in 1920. As part of those who contributed to the modernization process from 1920 to 1960 (and with the collaboration of Azevedo), we have:

[...] newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* where he conducted two important scientific surveys, one on education and the other on architecture (CAPELATO; PRADO, 1980). The survey on education provided the basis for Azevedo's proposed reforms and, partially, carried out - either in Rio de Janeiro (1927) or in São Paulo (1933) - when taking public office in different political situations (governments Washington Luís and Getúlio Vargas); as well as for the construction of USP's institutional project (NASCIMENTO, 2010, p. 175).¹²

And in the editorial sphere, Azevedo's work (1996) took place inside the Companhia Editora Nacional - 1931 to 1946. This experience provided subsidies for the structuring process

¹² [...] jornal *O Estado de São Paulo* onde realizou dois importantes inquéritos científicos, um sobre educação e outro sobre arquitetura (CAPELATO; PRADO, 1980). O inquérito a respeito da educação forneceu as bases para as propostas de reformas elaboradas e, parcialmente, realizadas por Azevedo – seja no Rio de Janeiro (1927), seja em São Paulo (1933) – ao assumir cargos públicos em diferentes conjunturas políticas (governos de Washington Luís e de Getúlio Vargas); bem como para a construção do projeto institucional da USP (NASCIMENTO, 2010, p. 175).

of the Brazilian publishing field - by adding Azevedo's efforts to those of Octalles Marcondes Ferreira and Monteiro Lobato for the creation of the country's book industry and publishing market. He was also responsible for making Azevedo recognized as an author and editor, in several countries in America and Europe.

Final considerations

Thus, the text presented provides an overview of the development of Social Sciences in Brazil, highlighting the institutional character that the discipline had at the beginning, however, always linked to the intellectual character that we currently know in Social Sciences.

The formation of Social Sciences in Brazil takes place in a scenario marked by changes introduced by modernization. Therefore, the theme of **social change** emerges (LAHUERTA, 2005). Concerned with attributing to his reflection a sociological and scientific character, with the intensification of the political conjuncture, Lahuerta (2005) inserts the issue of citizenship as something not to be careless.

During the second half of the 1950s, there was a generalization that Brazil had unresolved contradictions and was outside the modernity axis, with a European formation that could not be completed (LAHUERTA, 2005). In this sense, the question that arises is that of integral modernization of the country, even if the strategies to achieve it were different from those carried out by other countries.

The institutionalization of Sociology in the country presents itself as a stage in the history of creation, development and legitimation of this science, which presents several periods, one of which is linked to the context of the 1930 Revolution - when Fernando de Azevedo occupied a unique position. In justification for the exaltation of this historic moment, we can emphasize that the Revolution of 1930, despite the representation of a great economic and political crisis, was responsible for the triggering of a vast modernization process, which made itself felt in the following decades, of which it made part of the institutionalization phase of Social Sciences.

There is a close relationship between the inclusive cultural protection system and the Social Sciences market, inside and outside the university circuit. Intellectual work takes shape in the university space in conflict with the demands coming from the large illustrated and cultural newspapers and magazines that arise during this period. During the 1930s and 1940s, the newspapers published on the Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo axis became a primary market for dissemination to intellectuals.

And the relevance to the theme attributed to Azevedo (1962) is due to the fact that he occupied a prominent place both for the institutionalization of Social Sciences and for the modernization process of the country. Azevedo (1962) defined Sociology as essential to the progress of Brazilian society, assigning it an essential role in diagnosing and solving national problems.

Thus, from the text presented, an overview of the institutionalization of Sociology and Brazilian modernization is presented, covering the paths that give the discipline its current character, as well as its role in the process of Brazilian modernization.

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