Jens R. Hentschke

## Reconstructing the Brazilian Nation

Public Schooling in the Vargas Era





Nomos

Jens R. Hentschke
Reconstructing the Brazilian Nation
Public Schooling in the Vargas Era
Nomos

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://www.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at http://www.d-nb.de.

ISBN 978-3-8329-3031-8

## 1. Auflage 2007

© Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden 2007. Printed in Germany. Alle Rechte, auch die des Nachdrucks von Auszügen, der fotomechanischen Wiedergabe und der Übersetzung, vorbehalten. Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically those of translation, reprinting, re-use of illustrations, broadcasting, reproduction by photocopying machine or similar means, and storage in data banks. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to »Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort«, Munich.

## **Preface**

Ten years ago, Robert M. Levine invited me to join an American-Brazilian research team. Historians, social scientists, and economists of both countries sought to analyze the Vargas era social legislation from a new perspective. Rather than emphasizing Vargas's programs, speeches and the legislation, they wanted to learn to what extent social policies were actually implemented at all levels of the political system.

This book is a spin-off from the collaborative project, Levine planned. For my own focus, I chose the education policy, which was largely absent from my published study on the genesis and consolidation of the Estado Novo. Following the central question of the team, I have analyzed what impact Vargas's reform policy actually had on public education in states and municipalities.

I knew that it would not be easy to carry out this project. There were enormous difficulties stemming from lapses in documentation. Only due to active support by numerous political authorities, academic institutions, colleagues, archivists, and librarians was I able to find and use the records necessary for my research. That is why the following acknowledgement needs to be unusually extensive (the positions accredited to individuals refer to the time when I worked in the respective institutions).

In the first place I have to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Community) for its generous Research Grant, which I used for field work in Germany, the U.K. (1996), Brazil (1997), and the U.S. (1998). Equally, the Arts and Humanities Research Board in the United Kingdom awarded me a generous Research Leave Grant in 2001-2002 to finish a first draft of my manuscript. The School of Modern Languages at Newcastle University allowed me to use my research fund for work in the archives of international organizations in France (1999) and Switzerland (2000) and supported the publication of this book. My thanks go to the three Heads of School during my years at Newcastle, Phil Powrie, Colin Riordan, and Elizabeth Andersen. Robert M. Levine, an inspiring colleague, was an inestimable interlocutor and read drafts of chapters 1-4 in 1997-8. I express my thanks to the Historical-Philosophical Faculty of the Ruprecht Karl University in Heidelberg and chancellor Siegfried Kraft for releasing me from my teaching obligations as *Privatdozent* (external senior lecturer) while doing my field work. This generosity allowed me to concentrate completely on the research project. I owe a debt of gratitude to Newcastle's former Faculty of Arts and current Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, to the university's Research Support Unit, and to the Newcastle Institute for Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences. Thanks, too, go to my colleagues of the Department of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies at Newcastle and computing officers David Lowe and Matin Lamont. I am grateful to the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz for allowing me to reproduce photographs from their extensive Bildarchiv free of charge.

More than twenty years of research and teaching on Brazil have made this country my second home. I would like to thank the Brazilian cultural attaché in Germany, Luiz A. Moniz Bandeira, for the invaluable reference he wrote for me in early 1997.

A simple word of thanks would hardly do justice to what I owe to the director-general of Brazil's National Archive, Jayme Antunes da Silva, his chief-of-cabinet Marilda Dias Alves, and his departmental chief Marilena Leite Pães. The letters of recommendation, contacts and information with which I was provided helped to overcome many

obstacles. For the same reason, my thanks go to the director-general of the State Archive of Rio de Janeiro, Eliane R. Furtado de Mendoça, and their departmental chiefs Jéssica Moura Dias and Lícia Carvalho Medeiros. They contributed decisively to the success of my research. Without their support this book would not have been finished.

I am deeply indebted to the Deputy Ministers of Education and Culture of the States of Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul, Ana Maria Galheigo and Maria Beatriz Gomes da Silva, respectively. I feel also obliged to the State Delegates for Education of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> school regions of Rio Grande, Carmen Renée Ritter and Nelsy Rosa Casara, respectively, and to the interim State Delegate of the 13<sup>th</sup> school region, Anita Silva Ribeiro, for their support. Cordial thanks go to the Secretaries for Education and Culture of my seven case study municipalities: Déa Teixeira da Cruz Leal (Vassouras), Hamilton José Werneck Mouta (Nova Friburgo), Leila Farah Teixeira (Cantagalo), Maria Auxiliadora Freitas de Souza (Campos de Goytacazes), Iara Timoteo da Costa (São Leopoldo), Helena Regina Susin (Caxias do Sul), and Zila Vargas Costa (Bagé). Also, I would like to thank Edilma Figueiredo, Anna Helena Pires Lucas de Oliveira, Marcus Pullig Ferreira Gomes, Wilson Burckhardt, Luiza de Fátima d'Oliveira e Fontão da Silva, Ana Lúcia Tavares, Gisela Erthal, Bernadette Reisewitz-Bauermann, Carmen Diva de Llano Lopes and Caetana Albano. They helped me to get access to many closed archives within their institutions and in schools. This support enabled me, for instance, to work in the Archive of Inactive Schools of the Ministry of Education of the State of Rio de Janeiro. I appreciate very much that I, as a foreigner, was granted a right that only few Brazilians had been able to make use of at that time.

My journeys into the interior of the States of Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul opened new horizons. I experienced an open-mindedness and interest in local history I would not have expected. Also, I discovered a new, so far unknown, Brazil. I owe a debt of gratitude to my interviewees who, in some cases, were at my disposal for two and three hours. These include, on the one hand, former teachers, school directors, secretaries, church representatives, and local politicians: Selme Santiago da Silva in Niterói; Noêmia Trouche Jordão, Lielza Lemos Machado and Sister Maria Adelaide de Resende in Vassouras; Ronaldo D. E. Laginestra, Heloiza Sauerbronn Brandão and Brigitte Schlupp in Nova Friburgo; Dilma Paula Coelho Castro and Ewandro do Vale Moreira in Cantagalo as well as former Cantagalo teachers Ilenir Moreira de Mello in Cordeiro and Maria Odete de Araújo Braz Jardim in Niterói; Elza Conceição Manhães de Andrade and José de Oliveira Andrade in Campos de Goytacazes; Willy Fuchs in São Leopoldo and Norma Zerwes in Campo Bom; Paulina Soldatelli Moretto and Maria Emília Pezzi Portela in Caxias do Sul; as well as Edi Viña Pereira, Eduardo Contreiras Rodrigues and Rosa Boaventura Mielle da Rosa in Bagé. Some were in their 80s. I was impressed by the interest they showed in my project and their extraordinary memory. Norma Zerwes, who was writing a book on education herself, provided me with otherwise unavailable documents from her private archive. All interviewees helped me to make new contacts.

On the other hand, I would like to thank those teachers, directors of museums, politicians and colleagues at the universities who preserve the memory of history and discussed the results of their own research with me: Maria Anita Werneck da Silva Dias, Isabel Christina Castro da Rocha Ferreira and Violeta Sônia Motta in Vassouras; Hamilton José Werneck Mouta in Nova Friburgo; Heloiza Cácia de Manhães Alves in Cam-

pos de Goytacazes; Lúcio Kreutz in São Leopoldo; and Loraine Slomp Giron and Liane Beatriz Moretto Ribeiro in Caxias do Sul.

Other colleagues and friends helped me to trace my interviewees and many hidden records: Maria das Graças Gonçalves da Silva, Lígia Costa Leite, Joël Rufino and Francisco José Vogt in Rio de Janeiro; Marilda Ciribelli, Vera Porto and Elisabete Soreno in Vassouras; Zêlia Maria Baêta Alves and Maria Déa Gerk V. Gomes in Cantagalo; Silvia Petrucci, Marluce Guimarães and Aristides Arthur Sofiatti Netto in Campos de Goytacazes; Rovílio Costa, Enno D. Liedke Filho, Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, Leandro Telles and Clarice Salete Traversini in Porto Alegre; Isabel Arendt, Martin Norberto Dreher, Telmo Lauro Müller and the presidents of the Associação dos Professores Aposentados and Associação dos Funcionários Municipais, Venina Carneiro and Brigitte Pinto, respectively, in São Leopoldo; Isidoro Zorzi in Caxias do Sul; and Cláudio Bouçinhas and Mário Geraldo S. Brião in Bagé.

My thanks go to the directors and deputy directors of all schools who opened their otherwise closed archives for me. I am grateful to the many teachers who cared for me during the study of documents, very often until the end of evening courses and on weekends, especially to Maria Madalena Guedes in Vassouras; Heloiza de Cácia Manhães Alves in Campos; Edy Holmer and Maria Reckziegel Heinemann in São Leopoldo; and Maria Liete Gomes and her team in Caxias.

I owe thanks to Maria de Lourdes A. de Fávero, the director of PROEDES at the Faculty of Education of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, for integrating me into her team and offering invaluable advice.

The director of the Public Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro, Alexander Nazareth, and the chief of the archival department of Brazil's National Library, Carmen Moreno, helped with contacts. Many public archives and libraries allowed me to work even beyond regular business hours and on weekends. I am especially indebted to the Archive of Inactive Schools of the State of Rio de Janeiro in Niterói, the Municipal Archive of Caxias do Sul, and the Archive of the Town Hall of Nova Friburgo/Pró-Memória whose employees, especially Aurora de Souza, Susanne Grigoletto, Sônia Storchi Fries, Zuleika Abbud Erthal, and José Carlos Pedro, have become good friends of mine. This special acknowledgement has to include the employees of the Casa de Cultura "Presidente Tancredo Neves" in Vassouras; the Administrative Department of the City Hall of Cantagalo; Carmen Helena Felippe de Jesús of the Municipal Archive of Cantagalo; Mr. Adamo of the press archive of the Correio do Sul in Bagé; the Head of the archival section of Brazil's House of Representatives, Gracinda Assucena de Vasconcelos, and her colleague Rosamaria Schertel Ferreira Mendes; and Paz Therezinha Ribeiro de Medeiros in Brasília's Ministry of Justice. Also, I will never forget the week-end in Cantagalo when my computer broke down and a librarian of the municipal library, whose name I have never known, opened her institution once more for me. It gave me great pleasure, to say the least, to return once again to work in the CPDOC of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation; in my opinion it is one of the best organized archives in the world, and I appreciated Maria Ignez A. Niedu's competent advice.

I want to express my thanks to the Rector, Vice Rector, and administrative staff of the University of Caxias do Sul for housing accommodation and research support. Thanks, primarily, to the indefatigable Isidoro Zorzi and to Luciana Stallivieri of the Public Relations Office.

What would a stay in a country that has become a second home be like without those friends who, though not directly involved in the project, contributed so much to its success? I do not even know some of their full names. Therefore, I can only thank my friend Jamilson who allowed me to leave my suitcases in his flat when traveling into the interior of the State of Rio and who, on my return, was the first person to discuss my experiences with me. Thanks go to my good Polish-Brazilian friend Maria Thereza who was such an excellent interlocutor during long evenings in Rio's National Library.

Outside Brazil, I have to thank Laurence Whitehead who was the discussant in my panel on the "cognitive capacity of the public administration in Latin America" at the 2007 Annual Conference of the Society for Latin American Studies and whose thought-provoking comments I have tried to take on board. In the United States, I am indebted to the Catholic University of America which, when kindly approached by Robert M. Levine, provided me with accomodation and gave support. I would like to thank Meaghan Brune and Jennifer Campbell of the Housing Office. I am grateful for the continuous help I received by the Oliveira Lima Library and its, then, acting curator Maria Angela Leal. On more than one occasion, I was supported by staff and students of the university's Computer Center. I would also like to thank the Technical Department of the German embassy in Washington, D.C., and technical support engineer Jason Hollenberg of Compaq Headquarters in Cypress, Texas. Jens Boel (UNESCO), Sylvia Roux (Bureau Internationale d'Education), Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert and Bernhardine Pejovic-Schrader (United Nations/League of Nations Archive) provided support when I was using the documentation centers of these international organizations in Paris and Geneva.

While working on this project I became, once again, aware of how fruitful cooperation between historians and archivists can be. It was impossible to always make a note of the names of all those in archives and libraries who shared their experience and competence with me. Therefore, I can only thank more generally, but very cordially, the employees of all research institutions I used for this project: Centro de Documentação e Informação da Câmara dos Deputados (Brasília); Arquivo Nacional; Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro; Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação em História Contemporánea (CPDOC) and Arquivo Central of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas; Arquivo Histórico do Museu da República in the Palácio Catete; Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Relações Exteriores in the Palácio Itamaratí; archive and library of PROEDES/Faculdade de Educação of the Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro; archive and library of the Instituto Histórico-Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB); Biblioteca Nacional; library and cartographical department of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE); library of the Universidade Santa Úrsula (all in Rio de Janeiro); Setor de Arquivo das Escolas Extintas da Secretaria de Educação do Estado do Rio de Janeiro and library of the Secretaria de Justiça do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (both in Niterói); Arquivo da Prefeitura Municipal; library and arquive of the Casa de Cultura "Presidente Tancredo Neves"; Departamento de Protocolo do Instituto de Educação "Tiago Costa"; Colégio Estadual "Ministro Raul Fernandes"; Escola Estadual "Centenário"; Ginásio de Vassouras; library of the Universidade "Severino Sombra" (all in Vassouras); Prefeitura Municipal/Centro de Documentação "Pró-Memória" and Biblioteca Municipal (both in Nova Friburgo); Arquivo da Prefeitura Municipal; Arquivo da Câmara Municipal; archive of the Escola "Cenecista"; Biblioteca Pública Municipal "Acácio Ferreira Dias" (all in Cantagalo); Arquivo Histórico do Liceu de

Humanidades; Biblioteca Municipal "Nilo Peçanha"; library of the Serviço Social do Comércio (all in Campos de Goytacazes); Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul; archive of the Museu de Comunicação Social "Hipólito José da Costa"; Arquivo Histórico da Cúria Metropolitana de Porto Alegre; library of the Solar das Câmaras; Biblioteca Estadual do Rio Grande do Sul (all in Porto Alegre); archive and library of the Museu Histórico "Visconde de São Leopoldo"; 11ª Escola Estadual do 1º Graú "Visconde de São Leopoldo"; Biblioteca Pública Municipal "Olavo Bilac" (all in São Leopoldo); Arquivo Histórico Municipal "João Spadari Adami"; Arquivo Morto da Escola Estadual do 1º e 2º Grau "Cristóvão Mendoza"; Secretaria Municipal de Educação/Setor de Informações de Históricos Escolares; Biblioteca Municipal; Biblioteca Central of the Universidade de Caxias do Sul (all in Caxias do Sul); Arquivo "Jorge Reis" in the Museu "Dom Diogo Costa" of the Fundação Áttila Taborda-Universidade da Região da Campanha; archive of the Editora Correio do Sul; Arquivo Passivo da Escola Estadual do 1º Grau "Silveira Martins"; library of the Fundação Áttila Taborda-Universidade da Região da Campanha; Biblioteca Municipal (all in Bagé); National Archives and Record Administration of the United States of America in Washington, D.C., and College Park, Maryland; Library of Congress; Columbus Memorial Library of the Organization of American States (OAS); library of the Department of State's U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID); library of the U.S. Department of Labor; Oliveira Lima Library, Mullen Library, and Department of Archives, Manuscripts and Museum Collections of the Catholic University of America; Lauinger Library of Georgetown University (all in Washington, D.C.); National Archives (Public Record Office) of the United Kingdom, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Robinson Library of Newcastle University; Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the Foreign Office), Bonn; German Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives), departments in Koblenz and Berlin; Evangelisches Zentralarchiv (Evangelical Central Archive), Berlin; archive and library of the Iberoamerikanisches Institut Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Ibero-American Institute Prussian Cultural Heritage); Staatsbibliothek (National Library, Germany), House I and II; Stadtbibliothek (City Library) (all in Berlin); library of the Institut für Brasilienkunde (Institute for Brazilian Studies) of the Franciscan Order, Mettingen/Westphalia; Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (Institute for Foreign Relations), Stuttgart; and Landeshauptarchiv von Rheinland-Pfalz (Central Archive of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate), Koblenz; Archiv der Republik im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv (Archive of the Republic in the Austrian State Archives); archive of UNESCO-Headquarters, Paris; Documentation Center of UNESCO's International Bureau of Education, and League of Nations Archive within the United Nations (both in

I am indebted to Antônio Dorneu Maciel, Director-General of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Grande do Sul; my colleagues Gunter Axt, then a public historian employed by the State Government of Rio Grande do Sul, and Sandra S. Burman, University of Cape Town; and Document Center in Hamburg for sending me books, articles, copies of documents, and bibliographies I used in my research. I would also like to thank all those institutions that made inquiries for me, even if the latter were not successful: Ministry of Justice in Brasília; Preußisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv (Prussian Secret Archives); archive of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Academy of Sciences of Berlin-Brandenburg); Völkerkundemuseum Dahlem (Museum

of Ethnology in Dahlem) (all in Berlin); and Institut für Länderkunde (Institute of Geography), Leipzig. The National Library of Education in the U.S. Department of Education was moving to a new building when I worked in Washington, D.C. Nonetheless, I was supported in using its invaluable search aids.

All translations from German, Portuguese, Spanish, French or Russian into English are my own. However, colleagues of the School of Modern Languages at Newcastle, especially Cátia Cruz, *leitora* of the Instituto Camões, Ian Mackenzie, and Frances Jones were always willing to answer my questions. Henrike Lähnemann and René E. Gertz helped with some questions regarding Catholic orders and the German Evangelical Church and their participation in the education sector. I would like to thank Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, especially Gerhard Kilian and Wolfgang Huck, for their excellent cooperation, my friend and colleague Michael Derham, Northumbria University, for polishing my English before submitting the script to the publisher, and Lisa Rivero for helping with the index. Needless to say, I myself have the ultimate responsibility for the final text.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables			
List of	Charts	19	
List of Photographs			
List of	List of Abbreviations		
Maps		26	
1			
1.	Introduction	29	
1.1.	Why a New Approach to Social Legislation in the Vargas Era?	29	
1.2.	Research Design	31	
1.3.	Historiographical and Methodological Remarks	36	
PART	I: THE POINT OF DEPARTURE: EDUCATION POLICY DURING		
	BRAZIL'S OLD REPUBLIC	53	
2.	Education Policy of the Central Government: The Liberal Oligarchies'		
	View of the State and Its Citizens	53	
2.1.	Transition from Monarchy to Republic: Impact on Education Policy	53	
2.2.	Primary and Normal Schooling in the Old Republic. The Case of Rio		
	de Janeiro State	60	
2.3.	Vocational and Reform Schools versus Secondary Schools in the Old		
	Republic: Education for the "Less Favored" and for the Elites	64	
2.4.	The Impact of World War I on Education Policy	68	
2			
<i>3</i> .	Education Policy in Rio Grande do Sul: The Positivist Oligarchy's	7	
2 1	View of the State and Its Citizens	75	
3.1.	Rio Grande do Sul: Brazil's Deviant Case. Origins	75	
3.2.	Impact of the Positivist Project on Rio Grande's Public Schooling	80	
	Project and Implementation: What Really Did Change in Education?	86	
3.4.	Private and Community Schools in the Zones of German and Italian	0.1	
2.5	Colonization	91	
3.5.	Rio Grande do Sul and Brazil's Reform Movement of the 1920s	97	
3.6.	Rio Grande do Sul's Legacy for the Vargas Era	98	
PART	II: TOWARDS A NEW EDUCATION POLICY	105	
<i>4</i> .	Normative Ideas: Conflict and Compromise in the Debates on Educa-	40-	
	tion Reform	105	
4.1.	Vargas's "National Reconstruction": Political Context of the Debates	105	
4.2.	The Struggle for Alternatives in Education Policy after 1930	113	
4.3.	The Estado Novo's Authoritarian Reform	122	
4.4.	Renewed Debate and Search for a Compromise in the Postwar Period	133	

<i>5</i> .	The Norm: Legislation and Institutionalization	147
5.1.	Reforma Campos and 1934 Constitution	147
5.2.	1937 Constitution and Reforma Capanema	153
5.3.	1946 Constitution and 1961 Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação	161
6.	Implementation: Challenges and Results from a National Perspective	169
6.1.	Increasing Cognitive Capacity of the State: The Search for Accurate	10)
0.1.	Statistics	169
6.2.	What the figures tell us: Progress in Education, 1930-1964	179
6.2.1.	O que os números dizem sobre o ensino primário no Brasil: Point of	
	Departure	179
6.2.2.	Resultados da Educação Nacional: An Intermediary Balance	184
	Demographic and School Censuses of the 1950s and Early 1960s:	
	Achievements of Vargas's Education Policy	193
6.3.	"To Populate, To Unite, To Educate": Projects for a National Conven-	
	tion on Education and colônias-escolas	205
PART	III: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW POLICY: CASE STUDIES	217
_		
<i>7</i> .	Public Schooling in the State of Rio de Janeiro: Perspective of the	
- 1	State Government	217
7.1.	1930: Break with the Past?	217
7.2.	"Ruralizing" Education and "Valorizing" the Population: Priorities of	222
7.2	the Ernâni do Amaral Peixoto Administration	222
7.3.	Decentralization and the Peixoto Governorship: Continuity in Change?	233
8.	Public Schooling in the State of Rio de Janeiro: Local Changes	249
8.1.	Selection of Four Case Study Zones and Municipalities	249
8.2.	A Traditional Community, its Benefactor, and the State: Vassouras	
	(Zone of Vassouras) and its Grupo Escolar "Tiago Costa"	255
8.3.	Struggling Backwater: Cantagalo (Zone of Cantagalo) and its Curso	
	Normal Rural	268
8.4.	Rival of the State Capital: Campos de Goytacazes (Zone of the Baixada	
	de Goytacazes) and its Liceu de Humanidades	284
8.5.	"European" Cultural Oasis: Nova Friburgo (Zone of the Alto da Serra)	
	and its Colégio Nova Friburgo	300
9.	Public Schooling in the State of Rio Grande do Sul: Perspective of the	
· ·	State Government	321
9.1.	1930: Continuity in Change?	321
9.2.	"Unity of Command" and "Plurality in Decision-Making": J. P. Coelho	<i>J</i> <u>2</u> 1
- · <b>-</b> ·	de Souza's Authoritarian-Nationalist Policies	329
9.3.	The Ambiguities of Decentralization: Break with the Past?	347
		~ . /

10.	Public Schooling in the State of Rio Grande do Sul: Local Changes	333
10.1.	Selection of Three Case Study Zones and Municipalities	355
10.2.	Frontier Modernization in the <i>gaúcho</i> Zone: Bagé (Campanha) and the Transition from the Colégio Elementar "XV de Novembro" to the Gru-	
	po Escolar "Silveira Martins"	363
10.3.	Confrontation and Resistance in the German Zone: São Leopoldo (Colônia Baixa) and its Grupo Escolar "Visconde de São Leopoldo"	380
10.4.	Assimilation and Accomodation in the Italian Zone: Caxias do Sul (Colônia Alta) and its Colégio Elementar "José Bonifácio" and Escola	
	Complementar "Duque de Caxias"	396
<i>11</i> .	Conclusions: Vargas's Education Policy Reexamined	421
11.1.	Concepts of Citizenship in the Old Republic and the Legacy of <i>castilhismo</i>	421
11.2. 11.3.	Options and Choices in the Shaping of a New Education Policy Actual Changes in States and Municipalities – A Comparative Ap-	429
11.5.	proach	440
11.4.	Final Remarks	454
Biblic	ography	459
Index		491