

Masculinization through teaching: school education for adolescents in the state of Paraná during the dictatorship (1977-1984)

ARTICLE

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Abstract

This work aims to analyze the reverberations of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education nº. 5,692, of August 11, 1971 (LDB nº. 5,692/1971) in the activities carried out by the Educational Guidance Service (SOE), at Escola Tiradentes, located in Curitiba, between the years 1977-1984). From LDB nº. 5.692/1971 training for work made technical education compulsory. The “aptitude survey” was the way found to supposedly guide students towards their professional choice, but it also served as a strong reinforcement of gender distinctions historically constructed along with a moral discourse in the training of students. Through intersectionality studies raised by Creshaw (2004) and moral panic studies developed by Giddens and Sitton (2016), I investigate the documents of the aforementioned institution. I believe that together with these observations, the teaching proposal of the time and the reflections in the history of education can be understood.

Keywords: Gênero. História da Educação. Orientação Educacional.

A masculinização pelo ensino: educação escolar para adolescentes no estado Paraná em meio a ditadura (1977-1984)

Resumo

Este trabalho tem como objetivo analisar as reverberações da Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação nº. 5.692, de 11 de agosto de 1971 (LDB nº. 5.692/1971) nas atividades desenvolvidas pelo Serviço de Orientação Educacional (SOE), na Escola Tiradentes, localizada em Curitiba, entre os anos de 1977-1984). A partir da LDB nº. 5.692/1971 a formação para o trabalho tornou o ensino técnico como compulsório. A “sondagem de aptidão” foi a forma encontrada para supostamente orientar os/as estudantes para a escolha profissional, mas também serviu com forte reforço das distinções de gênero construídas historicamente junto de um discurso moral na formação dos/as estudantes. Por meio dos estudos da interseccionalidade levantados por Creshaw (2004) e de pânico moral desenvolvidos por Giddens e Sitton (2016) investigo os documentos da referida instituição. Acredito que junto dessas observações podem ser compreendidas a proposta de ensino da época e os reflexos na história da educação.

Keywords: Gênero. História da Educação. Orientação Educacional.

1 Introduction

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Educating for labor relations is constantly on the agenda in congresses, educational reforms, the legislative sphere, among other spaces. In educational legislation throughout the 20th century, education for work was increasingly improved, given the different contexts experienced in the last century. Investigating the relationship between education and labor relations, and how education is designed to meet the needs of the market at a given time, allows us to expand our understanding of education and realize how educational proposals are surrounded by different debates that encompass methodologies, content, pedagogical practices, among other elements that will shape an educational model at a given time.

In the 1960s, with the establishment of the military coup in 1964, school education was on the government's agenda. The history and historiography of education allows us to understand some of the reasons that drove the debates, including the search for education to be allied to the interests of the new government in maintaining the political order. Mainly as an attempt to contain social changes perceived as communist threats, such as sexuality and social movements like the feminist movement, and the interest in blocking the debates and critical analyses developed since the 1940s. Since that decade, there had been an aim on the part of some groups to promote a democratic education that catered for the working classes, who were mostly excluded from education, a point at odds with the ideals of some of the supporters of the dictatorial government (COWAN, 2016; ROMANELLI, 1998).

The Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education No. 5,692, of August 11, 1971 (LDB No. 5,692/1971) materialized the discussions held in the previous decade. With the implementation of a new teaching model allied to the interests of the rulers of the time, this legislation contributed to structuring education throughout the country along with its main premise, education for work. Based on this legislation, school education was divided into primary education (grades 1 to 4 and 5 to 8), with the final years of primary education being the responsibility of each state, and the creation of three-year secondary education. In both stages, there was to be qualification for work. To this end, as early as elementary school,

there was to be an aptitude test, which was a way of guiding students towards possible professional activities. In addition, for those who continued their education, technical training was compulsory during high school.

In the state of Paraná, a Curriculum Team was set up to develop the Paraná teaching model and curriculum structure. The organization of the Educational Complex of the State College of Paraná, made up of eight educational institutions, with only the State College of Paraná (CEP) offering secondary education, which was the central unit, also included the following schools: Tiradentes School (unit 1); Dr. Xavier da Silva School (unit 2). Xavier da Silva School (unit 2); Professor Brandão School (unit 3); Conselheiro Zacarias School (unit 4); Dona Carola School (unit 5); Aline Picheth School (unit 6); Amâncio Moro School (unit 7), served to implement the pilot teaching project to comply with LDB no. 5,692/1971. Thus, from 1972 onwards, the teaching series were gradually incorporated to comply with this legislation. In the midst of pedagogical practices and curricular composition to meet training for work, each institution had an Educational Guidance Service (SOE), responsible for improving the "aptitude survey" that should be carried out in elementary school, as required by law.

Based on the understanding that investigating the actions developed at the Paraná State College Educational Complex allows us to understand part of the history of education and issues that cross the historical context of the time, this text aims to investigate the actions developed by the SOE at Tiradentes School between 1977-1984. The reason for establishing this time frame is that we believe that the documents available from this period allow us to understand part of the educational objectives and how the practices aimed at training for work were designed.

2 Methodology

This work is part of the research carried out as part of the thesis defended in the Postgraduate Program in History at the Santa Catarina State University (Udesc). The research used different historical sources produced in the educational sphere of Paraná,

mainly the productions of the Educational Complex of the State College of Paraná. For this work, the reports produced by the Educational Guidance Service of the Tiradentes School are used, as it is understood that from the actions developed in this institution, part of the activities developed in the other institutions that make up the complex can be observed.

The reports were produced by combining different activities carried out during the 1977-1984 school year. At the end of the year, they were bound in hardcover and archived. The analysis of these documents consisted of reading and analyzing the data based on the conceptual notions of intersectionality studies and the notion of moral panic.

Intersectionality is an analytical epistemology that consists of understanding how different social markers act in the process of inclusion or exclusion of groups in the configuration of the social fabric. For jurist Kimberle Crenshaw, it is important to understand that "we are not always dealing with distinct groups of people, but with overlapping groups" (CRENSHAW, 2004, p. 10). In this way, some people have greater privilege than others and this position both interferes in the drafting of laws, decrees, the guarantee or not of rights, the configuration of education, for example, as well as, for the most part, being thought of on the basis of these distinctions. For Crenshaw (2002), one of the best ways to understand how intersectionality works is to imagine an avenue. According to the author, "the traffic, the cars that pass through the intersection, represents active discrimination, the contemporary policies that exclude individuals on the basis of their race and gender" (CRENSHAW, 2004, p. 11). In this way, some social markers act more intensely on others. Reflections of this can be seen in salaries, positions, working hours, educational proposals, exclusions, among others.

Anthony Giddens and Philip Sutton (2016) describe moral panic as "an exaggerated 'societal' reaction to a particular group or type of behavior, which is understood as a symptom of a more general social and moral malaise" (GIDDENS; SUTTON, 2016, p. 234). In this sense, moral panic can be understood as a reaction to social transformations that a certain group does not accept.

Cowan (2016) refined his observations on moral panic and observed how groups within the dictatorial government reacted to contain cultural changes that reflected on

youth, especially sexuality. For the author, the youth of the time were seen as subversive because they showed a greater interest in smoking, drinking and sexuality, among other attitudes that conservative groups considered inappropriate. For Cowan, the reaction of these groups, together with the government, was to intervene in different areas in an attempt to inhibit these changes and punish those who manifested them, thus provoking a moral panic. For the author, school teaching was no exception to these impositions. Decrees and teaching materials, for example, had to meet the interests of the dictatorship. In this way, the conception of spaces of power and domination as restricted to men took on new proportions and were reflected in teaching, as a way of masculinizing the men of the future in order to contain new changes (COWAN, 2016).

In order to understand the work of the SOE at the Tiradentes School, the sources selected for this research were analyzed based on intersectionality studies with the observation of the social markers of gender, race, class, age, schooling, and studies on moral panic, as it is understood that

The documents provide pertinent information that helps to understand the teaching proposal developed, such as the distancing and rapprochement with the interests of the dictatorship's rulers and part of civil society that supported the maintenance of the political model.

The SOE team carried out various activities throughout the year. Surveys of parents, interviews with students, assessments, vocational aptitude tests, among other ways of "gauging aptitudes", were grouped together and bound in hardcover format after the end of the school year. The cover was marked: Educational Guidance Service (SOE) and the respective year.

The documents were consulted in the archives of Colégio Tiradentes, located in Curitiba. The institution closed its teaching activities in 2021, when the state government closed the institution. When the research was carried out, the documents were not in an appropriate place for storage. The archive was in a room where the space was divided up to store other equipment, such as sports equipment, desks, chalk, among others. The documents were collected between July 2018 and July 2019. They were photographed and

stored in the researcher's personal collection. This research prioritized the reports from 1977-1984, marking the date of the first report found and the final cut of the research. In 1983, compulsory work training was abolished, but was maintained the following year.

3 Results and Discussion

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According to Romanelli (1998), in Brazil, since the 1930s, when the country's first school education legislation was developed, education for work has helped to reconfigure existing social inequality. Even though school education went through a slow process of popularization, especially in the 1930s, there were still distinctions that contributed to reinforcing class inequality. This observation can be justified by analyzing technical schools for training the children of the working population, or educational institutions that offered boarding schools, mainly aimed at training "young workers", which was seen as an attempt to solve different social problems (ROMANELLI, 1998; BOEIRA, 2012).

Along with the social configurations based on social class, educational legislation, while accompanying the debates surrounding the understanding of childhood, also contributed to establishing new perspectives on a portion of the population. As Sílvia Maria Fávero Arend points out, "[...] people between the ages of 0 and 18 came to be considered 'beings in formation', both from a bodily and psychological point of view" (ARENDA, 2013, p. 70). Thus, as new teaching proposals were developed, childhood, while serving to delimit educational prescriptions and interests, was constituted on the introjection that this group was endowed with rights (ARENDA, 2015). In other words, both the history of education and the understanding of childhood are intertwined by a fine line that sometimes seems difficult to separate.

In Brazil, the educational model proposed through the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education No. 4.024, of December 20, 1961, set out a teaching project that would contribute to building greater opportunities both for and through education. Especially for girls, who, from this document onwards, began to receive, at least in the letter of the law, a school education without the intention of reinforcing gender distinctions and inequalities.

This was a break with the teaching models developed up to that point, in which the teaching of female students was aimed at reinforcing and maintaining unequal gender distinctions, especially in relation to marriage and childcare (ZALUSKI, 2018).

When LDB no. 5.692/1971 was instituted, its greatest repercussion was that it made technical education compulsory. Far from merely representing a break with the teaching proposals developed up to that point, this legislation expresses part of the political interests aimed at building a desired future through school education. In other words, the drafting of this law cannot be dissociated from the context in which it was produced and the different influences it received, both in the drafting of the legislation and the changes in school education and society that were triggered by it.

Among the changes introduced by the 1971 LDB, the compulsory technical education, geared towards the job market, for all students may have had the greatest impact. Since elementary school, from 5th to 8th grade, through the "aptitude test", and amplified in high school, where completion of the course was conditional on taking a three-year technical course, the condition of being a student would still place them as future professionals qualified to take on different jobs.

Along with this, the age of the students is another point that deserves attention. LDB No. 5.692/1971 established compulsory education from the age of seven, and if education had previously been offered up to the age of 12, with the new legislation it went up to the age of 14, at which point, if they were at the "school age" appropriate for their grade and age, the students would have completed elementary school. This extension of the educational path can be seen in conjunction with two closely related factors. The first is the realization that education is now understood as a right. The second is the expansion of the stages of life, when different discourses on adolescence gained greater visibility in different spaces, including education. In this sense, the passage through the stages of life, especially adolescence, should follow a path taken through education, it was not enough just to perfect oneself as a future worker, one had to walk in tandem with the ideals shared by the dictatorial government.

In the state of Paraná, with the intention of complying with the precepts of LDB no. 5.692/1971, a task force was organized to adapt a teaching model that would dialogue with national legislation, but that would be in line with the state's political and economic proposal, developed since the early 1960s.

Since the early 1960s, the state of Paraná has undergone constant educational reform. Part of this was linked to the government's political projects, in which school education was part of future projections aimed mainly at economic growth. The capital, Curitiba, is among the cities that have felt the impact of both industrial development and the reconfiguration of a new urban scenario, as well as the changes brought about by gradually intensifying labor relations and new demands for professional qualifications. Part of this can be seen in the social configuration of the city and its metropolitan region, along with population growth and the expansion of urban spaces (ZALUSKI, 2023).

When LDB no. 5.692/1971 was enacted, the State Department of Education and Culture (SEDUC) organized a "Curriculum Team", in which teachers were in charge of developing a curriculum model that would reconcile the objectives of national legislation and be in line with the state's political and administrative interests. The curriculum model was finalized and printed in the Currículo magazine in 1973, which was designed to inform teachers about different educational issues.

Thus, in view of the compulsory nature of technical education at national level, the "Curriculum Team" had to suggest subjects that covered the areas of: Agricultural Techniques, Industrial Techniques and Commercial Techniques. The model proposed for the state of Paraná gave greater attention to the last two. I believe that this closer look at the areas of commerce and industry was due to the projection attributed to Curitiba, at a time when the city was experiencing an increase in work in these areas. And, along with this political and economic model, the projections about masculinity contributed to addressing new ways of experiencing masculinity based on work relationships that were understood to be new at the time. In other words, the concept of teaching at the time was based on the definitions and delimitations imposed by social gender distinctions. In this new financial market, activities considered to be power, decision-making, management,

among others, fell to men. Thus, the teaching model to be developed would favor male students, as they were seen as being able (and entitled) to take on such professions in the future.

In order to accompany the implementation of the curriculum model required to comply with LDB no. 5,692/1971, and in view of the high demand for enrolments at the Paraná State College (CEP), located in the city center, the team from the state education department together with different school institutions, by means of Decree no. 1358, of 23 December 1975, organized and authorized the Paraná State Education Complex made up of eight institutions, as previously highlighted.

The Colégio Estadual do Paraná has a long history in school education in Paraná, especially in Curitiba. Built in 1846, before the political emancipation of the capital, it developed different educational proposals that both marked and interfered in the history of education. In the 1940s, due to local specificities, population growth, increased demand for enrollment and political relations, the school received a new building at a different address. In it, as an entrance to the state's administrative headquarters, as a place of power, it was for many years the largest school in Latin America. Its imposing architecture was allied both to the educational interests of the time and in line with international debates, including those motivated by the Second World War (CHAVES JUNIOR, 2004).

In the 1970s, when LDB no. 5.692/1971 was being implemented, the institution was sought out both for its physical structure and because of its long educational history, as a recognition of the quality of teaching offered and of the administrative and teaching staff. It is worth noting that the institution has an outstanding physical structure, especially in terms of sports, as it remained for years the only institution to have a sports court and an Olympic-sized swimming pool, for example, to cater for physical education activities. Thus, the organization as a Teaching Complex, with the State College as the central institution, served both as a way of containing the demand for the institution, and to project an educational model for the whole state based on a local experience.

The school complex was organized on the basis of gender and age distinctions. In the mornings, male students studied, while the afternoons were for female students. This

distribution also paid attention to grade/age, with the 5th, 6th and 7th grade classes studying at the "extension schools", such as the Tiradentes School, and the 8th grade attending the Paraná State College. One reason for this was that the sports activities in this grade required specific equipment, including courts and a swimming pool. In other words, the institutions in the Education Complex had to be in line with each other, especially in terms of following the proposed curriculum and organizing the timetable, so that everyone could make use of the spaces.

With regard to training for work, from grades 5 to 8, students should receive an education geared towards labor relations. As a way of expanding and improving the proposals for subjects such as "Industrial Techniques, Service Techniques", the Educational Guidance Service (SOE) was created in 1975, with the aim of "leading students to make 'conscious', 'intelligent' and 'responsible' choices in order to make their professional and social choices with certainty and conviction" (SILVA, 2012, p. 38).

The SOE, at national level, was developed in different contexts throughout the 20th century. During the civil-military dictatorship, the Guidance Service was intensified as an attempt both to help in the "supposed choice" of profession, but mainly as a way of controlling the actions of students in the interests of the dictatorial government established in the country, especially in relation to the maintenance of moral values linked to gender distinctions (and inequalities) with the supposed fight against subversion.

At the Tiradentes School, the activities of the Educational Guidance Service led to the creation of various documents used to monitor students. Since it was set up in 1975, the SOE has had a group of teachers whose aim was to provide specific assistance to students to help them choose a career. In this follow-up, forms were drawn up with age, height, family organization characteristics, economic conditions, leisure time and other activities, medical follow-up, professional interest questionnaires, among others. These materials, in addition to the pedagogical discourse, were developed in conjunction with studies linked to the fields of medicine and psychology.

The institution preserved some of the materials produced by the Educational Guidance Service. After the annual monitoring, from 1977 onwards, the documents were

collected and bound in paperback format. The division of boys into morning classes and girls into afternoon classes was maintained, and the organization drawn up by the institution's staff brought together important information to understand part of the school's daily routine, the activities of the SOE and the social configurations of that context.

According to the SOE report, when the students reached the 5th grade, they were moving from childhood to pre-adolescence. During this period, the students "differ markedly from one another in terms of their level of physical maturity, interest and needs" (Curitiba, 1980). The attempt to create the desirable adolescent was based on the understanding that the SOE team should act in two main areas:

Emotional area

- adult understanding, affection and patience (love, friendship, care, affection, attention, consideration);
- respect for their feelings and the certainty of safety and trust, seeking to remedy emotional immaturity, reaction and motor instability, impulsiveness, aggressiveness, shyness, inhibition, indiscipline and disobedience;
- individual and group care;
- opportunities for activities and acceptance in the peer group (feeling valued, a sense of "belonging");
- "status" and the responsibility they feel capable of.

Physical area

- health habits and care (food, hygiene, sleep, rest, posture, cleaning, knowledge of your body);
- taking part in safety campaigns (personal and collective);
- gymnastics, running, group and team games, dances, sports;
- guidance on narcotic stimuli;
- the need for physical space to practice sport and other activities (CURITIBA, 1980, s/p).

The need to incorporate healthy habits in terms of physical and mental health is linked to two issues. The first relates to preparing the body for disciplined work relationships. The second is related to moral issues, so that students avoid "narcotic stimuli", as the document puts it, such as the consumption of cigarettes and other substances considered toxic. This factor would, in a way, contribute to reinforcing the actions that sought to demarcate those considered subversive and those not, those fit and unfit for work, as preached by the moral panic. This training would only be guaranteed if both the SOE and the classes contributed to meeting what the document described as the "basic needs of the students". These, as well as building study habits to improve

performance at school, had been developed over the course of each year to ensure that the adolescents' education was based on an understanding of embracing relationships with each other, in their social formation, which, based on the document, was to "belong to a group, have a 'status' and be respected by the group", a factor that was involved in valuing gender distinctions with the understanding that, "guidance for adequate knowledge and understanding of sexual matters; healthy recreation, positive activities and outdoor life; heterosexual adjustment; social adjustment through attitudes of cooperation and competition" (CURITIBA, 1980, s/p). And, with this well-defined delimitation in the students' education, according to the document, the unequal maintenance of gender would be guaranteed based on the conception that the boys were masculinized and the girls feminized. Once this was done, according to the document, it would be followed up by, "the student's participation in specialized workshops, laboratories, the library, visits, excursions and lectures, where the student finds ways to develop their aptitudes and interests" (CURITIBA, 1980, s/p).

After interviewing the parents to map out the students' social status and the family configuration in which they lived, and reinforcing the moral issues surrounding the understanding of work and sexuality, another stage of the "aptitude survey" consisted of answering the vocational test. Based on the answers organized in a standard template, the number indicated by the student for each question was added up. They were asked to answer the test truthfully and accurately and to reflect on "why I like doing this so much". The students had to answer the following questionnaire:

According to the following ranking, write the number you like or dislike in front of each question:

- a)5 means "I like it a lot"
- b)4 means "I like it a little"
- c)3 means "I don't care", I neither like nor dislike it.
- d)2 means "I like it a little"
- e)1 means "I dislike it a lot"

Section A - How much do you like? 1. going on an excursion? / 2. belonging to an explorers' club? / 3. living outdoors, outside the city? / 4. sowing and planting on a farm during the vacations? / 6. being an agricultural technician in a suitable region? /

Section B - How much would you like to? 1. Arming or unfastening mechanical objects? / 2. Handling tools and machines? / 3. Building furniture or wooden objects? / 4. Repairing electrical installations in your home? / 5. Designing and

directing the construction of a well or water pump? / 6. Being an expert mechanic in a large workshop or factory?

Section C - How much would you like to? 1. solve numerical mechanisms? / 2. solve arithmetic problems? / 3. do the accounts for a school cooperative? / 4. explain to others how to solve arithmetic problems? / 5. take part in arithmetic competitions? / 6. be a calculator in a company? /

Section D - How much would you like to? 1. know and study the structure of plants and animals? / 2. carry out biology, physics or chemistry experiments? / 3. investigate the origins of people's customs? / 4. study and understand the causes of movement? / 5. read scientific magazines and books? / 6. be a researcher in a biology, physics or chemistry laboratory?

Section E - How much would you like to? 1. argue in class? / 2. be the head of a club or society? / 3. run a political campaign for a student candidate? / 4. advertise for a student newspaper? / 5. read biographies of eminent politicians? / 6. be a sales agent for a commercial company?

Section F - How much would you like to? 1. draw and paint in color? / 2. model in clay? / 3. decorate an exhibition? 4. idealize and design a club or society crest? / 5. design costumes for a play? / 6. be an expert designer in an industrial company?

Section G - How much would you like to? 1. write short stories, chronicles or articles? / 2. read literary works? / 3. write verses for a student newspaper? / 4. play a role in a play? / 5. take part in an oratory competition? / 6. be a newspaper editor?

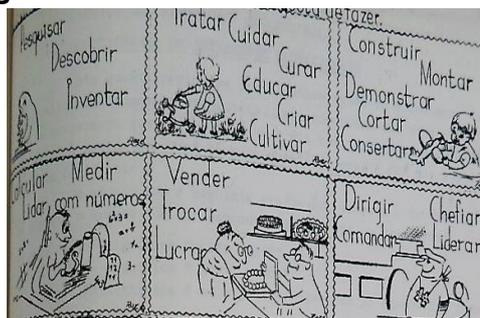
Section H - What do you like? 1. Singing in a student choir? / 2. Listening to classical music? / 3. Learning to play a musical instrument? / 4. Being a member of a musical association? / 5. Reading biographies of eminent musicians? / 6. Being a member of a symphony?

Section I - How much would you like to? / 1. Attend to the sick and take care of them? / 2. Protect the younger members of the group? / 3. Be a member of a welfare society? / 4. Teach illiterate people to read? / 5. Help your companions in their difficulties and worries? / 6. Be a missionary at the service of the humble classes?

Section J - How would you like to? 1. Put your books and notebooks in order? / 2. Sort and classify the books in the library? / 3. Learn to type on a typewriter? / 4. Help grade exams? / 5. Take charge of the archives and documents of a society? / 6. Being a workshop organizer? / (CURITIBA, 1980, s/p).

The test model used by the SOE team at Colégio Tiradentes was based on the propositions in a book published by Frenchman Pierre Gilles Weil. A researcher in professional orientation and work psychology, Weil migrated to Brazil in 1948. A decade later, he was "head of the Orientation and Training Department at Banco da Lavoura de Minas Gerais and a professor at the Federal University of Minas Gerais - UFMG" (Conselho Federal de Psicologia, 2005, p. 01). After counting the points on the questionnaire, the vocational counselor had to relate the information based on the illustrations corresponding to the areas of interest, as can be seen in the following image:

Image 01: "Professional interest survey"



Source: Educational Guidance Service, 1980.

As has been mentioned, during the 1960s there was a slow process of advancement for girls and women in education. Along with this gradual change, compared to previous times, girls' education was also supposed to offer greater opportunities for equality. Thus, at least in the letter of the law, the curriculum for girls became the same as for boys. When LDB no. 5.692/1971 was introduced, there were no explicit recommendations to reinforce gender inequalities. However, educational practices and other pedagogical instructions and even the organization of the institution were not exempt from maintaining or reinforcing gender inequalities.

The image above is part of a set of activities aimed at guiding students in different areas of professional activity. However, even with the slow process of girls achieving equal education, the proposal developed contributes to directing students based on conventional gender differences instituted over time.

Based on the recommendations and activities developed by the SOE at Tiradentes School, together with the theoretical understanding of moral panic, it can be seen that, based on the documents, the teaching structure was based on an ideal of reinforcing gender distinctions. With the association of sexuality considered appropriate for the training of students, the choice of profession based on interests related to their gender would be a way of regulating society and delimiting the actions of the subjects.

The vocational test, with its strong emphasis on valuing the plurality of professions to be chosen for boys, restricted activities for girls that reinforced the naturalization of gender distinctions. So we have the impact of the moral panic on the configuration of education. Based on the set of possible professions raised by the test, girls could only take on care activities. For male students, along with this delimitation, and with the emergence of new professions in the 1970s such as those in the field of administration, the teaching developed was backed by an interest in masculinizing education through the surveillance of heterosexuality and its extension to power and leadership.

4 Final considerations

"Treating; Caring; Healing; Educating; Creating; Cultivating" were the professional activities assigned to girls. Over time, the distribution of these activities was based on the distinction and naturalization of gender inequalities. For example, the care and upbringing of children was considered to be the sole responsibility of girls/women.

With regard to boys, without limiting it to just one example, the list of choices and alternatives destined for professional education for men, as well as having different possibilities, the images and adjectives attributed to each one are part of the gender inequalities constituted over time and reinforced by the Educational Guidance Service. Based on the questionnaire, which prompted a response, and reaffirmed through the images, professional activities that require calculation, strength, leadership and decision-making, for example, were seen as corresponding to boys. In other words, in a naturalized way, the distribution of professional tasks and recommendations was backed up by the maintenance of unequal activities, designed and directed on the basis of gender distinction. If you didn't deviate from this norm, there would be a moral reprisal for those who were considered subversive.

It's important to note that the changes brought about in labor relations also affected the teaching model developed in the state, especially in the capital, Curitiba. Among the changes, new sectors of work, mainly in the areas of administration, construction and commerce, became very visible. When both the curriculum model and the SOE's activities were configured, these professions received special attention, so that students could be professionally qualified to work in these areas. Thus, based on observation of the SOE's documentation, labor relations changed, especially with the emergence of new professions. However, these changes were not aimed at breaking down long-standing gender inequalities.

To this end, throughout the curricular modifications developed to meet different educational proposals, interference from the dictatorial government or even transformations in the professional scenario, both the proposal at state level and the action carried out at the Educational Complex, especially at the Tiradentes School, can be

interpreted as a reconfiguration of gender distinctions that sought to guide, qualify and build "a model" of masculinity suitable for adolescents, students and future workers.

The recent changes to the curricular model in the state of Paraná, in the light of historian Henry Rousso's observations of a "past that does not pass", also instigate us to reflect on how history is constantly changing, but that, faced with the hauntings of a past that still bothers us, it causes effects and insists on the present. As François Dosse points out, "the history of the present is at the intersection of the present and the long term. It poses the problem of knowing how the present is constructed in time" (DOSSE, 2012, p. 06).

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Contribuição de autoria: Parte da pesquisa desenvolvida para o doutoramento em história.

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Responsible publisher: Lia Fialho

Ad hoc expert: Geandra Santos e Giovana Falcão

How to cite this article (ABNT):

ZALUSKI, Jorge Luiz. A masculinização pelo ensino: educação escolar para adolescentes no estado Paraná em meio a ditadura (1977-1984). **Rev. Pemo**, Fortaleza, v. 5, e11416, 2023. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.47149/pemo.v5.e11416>

Received on July 1st, 2023.
Accepted on September 29, 2023.
Published on October 11, 2023.