

Iseb, a school of government: developmentalism and the qualification of technicians and managers

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This article looks at the Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies (*Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros — Iseb*) as a federal teaching and research institution based on the concept of developmentalism taken straight from the historical annals of Brazilian economic thinking. Developmentalism provides the motivation behind the historiographical investigation used in this research. Iseb functioned as a school of government that, through its Standard Course, helped qualify technicians and administrators at a post-graduate level, and produced research that was the basis of public policies. Technicians and administrators was how public managers were designated at that time. The ideas put forward by Iseb are part of the tradition of Brazilian critical social thinking and have influenced public administration, both in terms of qualifying professionals and in the decisions taken by administrators. The Iseb is, therefore part of the history of education in administration and reviving its activities as a school of government, which were autonomous and independent, may contribute to the present, and perennial debate over the role of the State and, in particular, that of the public administrator.

KEYWORDS: developmentalism; Iseb; the history of Brazilian economic thinking; technicians and administrators.

Iseb, uma escola de governo: desenvolvimentismo e a formação de técnicos e dirigentes

Este artigo investiga a atuação do Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (Iseb) como instituição federal de ensino e pesquisa com base no conceito de desenvolvimentismo da área de história do pensamento econômico brasileiro (HPEB). O desenvolvimentismo é o fio condutor para a investigação historiográfica utilizada nesta pesquisa. O Iseb atuou como uma escola de governo que, através do seu Curso Regular, formou técnicos e dirigentes em nível de pós-graduação, e produziu pesquisas que embasaram políticas públicas. Técnicos e dirigentes era a designação dada aos gestores públicos na época. As proposições do Iseb fazem parte da tradição do pensamento social crítico brasileiro e influenciaram a administração pública, tanto na formação de profissionais quanto nas decisões de dirigentes. Destarte, o Iseb está inserido na história da educação em administração e o resgate de sua atuação como uma escola de

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governo, que atuou de forma autônoma e independente, pode colaborar para a discussão atual — e perene — sobre o papel do Estado e, em particular, do administrador público.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: desenvolvimentismo; Iseb; história do pensamento econômico brasileiro; técnicos e dirigentes.

Iseb, una escuela de gobierno: desarrollismo y la formación de técnicos y líderes

Este artículo investiga el Instituto de Estudios Superiores Brasileños (Iseb) como una institución federal de educación e investigación con base en el concepto de desarrollismo del área de historia del pensamiento económico brasileño. Desarrollismo es el hilo conductor para la investigación historiográfica utilizada en esta investigación. Iseb actuó como una escuela de gobierno que, por medio del Curso Regular, formó técnicos y líderes en nivel de pos-graduación, y que produjo investigaciones que sirvieron de base a políticas públicas. Técnicos y líderes era como eran designados los administradores públicos de entonces. Las propuestas de Iseb son parte de la tradición del pensamiento social crítico brasileño e influenciaron la administración pública, sea en la formación de profesionales sea en la decisión de líderes públicos. Así, Iseb es parte de la historia de la educación en administración, y la recuperación de suya actuación como una escuela de gobierno, que actuó de forma independiente y autónoma, puede contribuir a la discusión actual — y perenne — sobre el papel del Estado y, en particular, del administrador público.

PALABRAS CLAVE: desarrollismo; Iseb; historia del pensamiento económico brasileño; técnicos y líderes.

1. Introduction

The history of education in administration has tended to favor the historiography of the first schools offering undergraduate programs, and that of some specific disciplines (Fischer, 1984; Coelho, 2006; Nicolini, 2007; Waiandt, 2009; Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012, 2014; Barros, 2013). A number of these authors have referred to the influence exerted by the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (Iseb — Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies)* on the understanding of management (Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012, 2014), while others have considered that this institution played an important role in the teaching and training of the first managers to graduate in Brazil (Bertero, 2006). Nevertheless, such works, in approaching the object of their research by focusing on the influences of Americanization and/or the context of the Cold War, have failed to analyze Iseb from the perspective of its role as a teaching and research institution.

The Iseb was conceived in 1955, in Rio de Janeiro, as a federal institution for graduate teaching, linked to the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). Although it was denominated as an Institute, it was conceived as a “permanent program” (Brasil, 1955a, 1955b), which characterized it as being “of an educational and pedagogical nature, based on a faculty practice (‘program’) that combines teaching and research” (Oliveira, 2006:22). Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze Iseb as a federal teaching and research institution on a graduate level, which, through its Regular Program, helped to educate and improve “groups of techni-

cians and directors” (Brasil, 1955a), primarily in the public sector but also in the private sector. In this way, it contributed to the history of education in administration. “Technicians and directors” were the terms used to describe public managers at that time (Wanderley, 2015).

The research proposal presented here is associated with the efforts made by Brazilian researchers to encourage critical reflection by establishing a link between administration and history based on the use of different approaches and documental sources, and by fostering interdisciplinarity (Pieranti, 2008; Vizeu, 2010a, 2010b; Costa, Barros and Martins, 2010; Fischer, Waiandt and Fonseca, 2011; Costa, 2014). Regarding the issue of interdisciplinarity, this article aims to introduce the concept of developmentalism, taken from the area of History of Brazilian Economic Thinking (HBET), as the theme of its research into the history of education in administration.

The concept of developmentalism contributes to bring the debate over State intervention to the fore. The ideology of developmentalism assumes the role of the State as one of planner and inducer of the private sector within the process of industrialization, based on the understanding that the market itself cannot spontaneously lead the country to overcome the problems of its underdevelopment (Bielschowsky, 1988; Fonseca, 2013).

This article is structured in four sections, including this short introduction. The next section will discuss the concept of developmentalism as taken from the HBET. The third section will present methodological approach and then the data analysis. This data analysis comprises three parts: the origins of Iseb and its primary objectives; the Regular Program; and Iseb’s direct influence on administration, which is followed by concluding remarks.

2. The concept of developmentalism as taken from the HBET: state-centrism for overcoming underdevelopment

The concept of developmentalism is mentioned in a number of works, but is generally referred to as a corollary of Americanization, and as having been influenced by the Cold War (Fischer, 1984; Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012, 2014; Barros, 2013). Therefore, the present research is based on the concept of developmentalism taken from the HBET (Bielschowsky, 1988; Fonseca, 2013), as a counterweight to Americanization and the Cold War. The idea is to develop an independent agenda of research that brings the debate over the role of the State to the fore.

There is no doubt that, as from the 1960s onwards, the Cold War and the influence of the United States (US) did indeed have an impact on the history of education in administration in Brazil. Nowhere was this more evident than in the signing of the PBA-1 agreement by the governments of Brazil and the US and later on the launch of President Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress. The purpose of PBA-1 was to support the creation and expansion of schools of administration in Brazil. These events were, to some extent, the result of changes in the US’ foreign policy towards Latin America, caused by the Cuban Revolution. However, much had already taken place in the history of Brazil’s education in administration prior to these events, and this should be further investigated if we are to set up an independent agenda of

research. The influence of themes such as Americanization and the Cold War — apparent from the Second World War onwards, which tend to dominate international research on the subject and appear to have provoked a certain mimicry within the domestic agenda — should be attenuated in the context of Latin America, especially for the period up to the early 1960s (Wanderley, 2015).

Even in the the period following the 1960s, one should stress that certain studies show that the process of Americanization of institutions teaching management did not occur without some degree of resistance (Barros, 2013) and hybridization (Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012, 2014). That is, it was not an unilateral process of creation of institutions similar to the Americans, along with “plurality, heterogeneity and complexity in this process” (Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012:297). Moreover, there was not, for example, a direct relationship between American interests and the creation of the *Faculdade de Administração e Ciências Econômicas* or *Face* (The Faculty of Administration and Economic Sciences) (Barros, 2013). Similar processes of hybridization also occurred in other countries exposed to Americanization (e.g., Kieser, 2004; Üsdiken, 2004). In other words, the process of Americanization cannot explain, by itself, the historiography of the first management teaching institutions, neither in Brazil nor in elsewhere.

With regard to the development theme, Brazilian research has suggested that the ideology of development was only determinant after the Second World War (Fischer, 1984; Coelho, 2006; Nicolini, 2007). Conversely, the HBET considers that, much before the Second World War, there had already been evidence of the emergence of what was referred to as the ideological cycle of developmentalism, which was a phenomenon that overlapped the socio-political reality of Latin America (Bielschowsky, 1988; Fonseca, 2013).

As a result, this article adopts the concept of developmentalism as proposed by the HBET (History of Brazilian Economic Thinking), which considers the beginning of the process to have occurred in 1930 and extends the scope of this phenomenon, to show that it occurred throughout Latin America and not just in Brazil. Most of the research in the field considers developmentalism to have onlu begun after the Second World War, which somewhat reinforces the logic of Americanization, instead of attenuating it (Fischer, 1984; Coelho, 2006; Nicolini, 2007). The HBET has several studies dealing with the period under investigation, which can contribute to the historiography of management (e.g., Martins, 1976; Diniz, 1978; Draibe, 1985; Bielschowsky, 1988; Loureiro, 2006; Fonseca, 2013).

The ideology of developmentalism assumed a logic where the State’s role is to plan the country’s industrialization process and to guide private organizations in terms of overcoming the problems of underdevelopment. This is based on the assumption that the market cannot spontaneously achieve this on its own. According to this logic, the State should also invest directly in areas where private organizations have no interest in doing so (Bielschowsky, 1988). It is under this developmentalism ideology that Iseb is created, as well as the first schools in management that offered undergraduate programs (Wanderley, 2015).

Developmentalism is a concept often used by HBET authors, both to designate “a set of practices of economic policy proposed and/or implemented by policymakers [...and to

designate] a set of ideas that one can use to express theories, concepts or views of the world” (Fonseca, 2013:2). Based on a survey that investigated how this concept is used by different HBET authors, Fonseca (2013:13) suggested that the main common core among these different authors comprises: a) a deliberate national project, not necessarily objecting foreign capital, but having “the nation at its epicenter and as project recipient; b) the conscious and determined intervention by the State through the project; c) and, industrialization as the path to accelerating economic growth”. Thus, we can see that this is a state-centric concept that is developed on the basis of Latin America, and which characterizes a specific period of the region’s history.

Therefore, the goal of this article is to characterize developmentalism within the HBET as a historical phenomenon that overlaps the context of Latin America, mainly from the 1930s on, and whose theoretical formulation had been conceived during the 1950s and 1960s by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Eclac) (Fonseca, 2013). However, perhaps the main contribution of HBET is to recognize the ideology of developmentalism as having a local origin and as being imbricated in the sociopolitical context of Latin America (Fonseca, 2013), rather than being a mere reproducer of knowledge that comes from abroad.

3. Methodological approach

This research is conducted on the understanding that the investigator is a part of the narrative and that we should not confuse history with the past. The idea here is not to see the past as a fixed construct that is there waiting for us to use its vestiges to faithfully reconstruct it as it was. We can only assemble a mosaic through a process of bricolage, based on the sources available to us and which maintain some degree of similarity to the past (Curado, 2001). In the analysis that follows, the investigator is present as someone who, influenced by the present moment, describes the past in his fashion. That is, he describes something that has already happened and which no longer can be described in all its minimum details (Barros, 2013).

The HBET form of developmentalism is, therefore, the guiding principle behind the analysis presented here. The collection of data on Iseb adopts the same historiographical methodology that has been widely used in the field of management (Fischer, 1984; Curado, 2001; Coelho, 2006; Nicolini, 2007; Waiandt, 2009; Barros, 2013; Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012, 2014). The present work analyzes documents produced by Iseb, and those produced by its predecessors as well as research done about the institutions.

With regard to literature on Iseb, the main sources used were two theses about the institution: Abreu (1975), defended in history; and Oliveira (2006), defended in education, specifically, in the history of education. The combination of these two theses led to a positioning within the sub-field of education history. In adopting the thesis by Oliveira (2006), the strategy for researching Iseb used here aligned itself with the idea suggested by Fischer,

Waiandt and Fonseca (2011), that was to look at the field of education history to help feed the sub-field of the history of teaching in management.

The main differential found in the thesis of Oliveira (2006) lies in the Iseb document (1960) entitled “Activities Report”, which was not mentioned in the thesis of Abreu (1975), or indeed in that of Toledo (1977) who did not present any interfaces with this investigation. This document was, until recently, largely unknown. It describes all the activities conducted by the institute between 1956 and 1960 and was reviewed at the National Library, as well as being reproduced to a large extent in the Oliveira thesis (2006).

The most important document dealing with the creation of Iseb, for the purposes of this research, was the *Exposição de Motivos n. 627* by the Minister of Education, Candido Mota Filho (Brasil, 1955a). This document, reviewed at the National Archives, provides information on the programs goals offered by Iseb that are more relevant than those listed in the official decree of its creation (Brasil, 1955b). Another important document about the Regular Program is the book *Discursos* (Kubitschek et al., 1957), which contains the graduation speeches made by the first class, in 1956. This book gives us an insight into the program’s structure, the teaching material used and the profile of the students.

The testimonials of some of those involved in Iseb were also an important database source, especially those of Hélio Jaguaribe (1979), mentor and the main figure behind its creation, Nelson Werneck Sodré (1978), who was responsible for the history department, and Candido Mendes (2005), a historical Isebian like Jaguaribe. In order to research the history of Iseb’s predecessor, the *Instituto Brasileiro de Economia, Sociologia e Política* (Ibesp — Brazilian Institute of Economics, Sociology and Politics), it was necessary to analyze the six issues of the *Cadernos do Nosso Tempo* (CNT — Journals of Our Times) published by this same institution. There are very few works available on the Ibesp, but all those that exist were duly reviewed (Schwartzman, 1981; Bariani, 2005; Hollanda, 2012). The *Boletim Capes* (Capes Bulletin), reviewed at the National Library, was also an important source of information about the programs offered by the Ibesp and by Iseb.

In terms of analyzing the interaction between Iseb and Ebap (Brazilian School of Public Administration), discussed in the third part of the data analysis section, an important source of research was the book celebrating the 50 years of Ebap. This book contains the testimonials of professors and students from the 1950s, and includes a list of all the disciplines offered and a list all the professors teaching at that time (Bonemy and Motta, 2002).

In choosing to investigate Iseb, it was clear that such research would remain within a realm favored by the area of research into formal teaching institutions. Thus, other institutions, practices and voices that also took part in the history of education in administration could not be investigated. In other words, the delimitation of the research presented here is represented by the sub-field of the history of education in administration, specifically in the historiography of teaching institutions.

Regarding the references of this sub-field, the present study explored those that investigated the history of teaching and the discipline of public administration, such as Machado (1966), Fischer (1984), Coelho (2006) e Nicolini (2007). It also analyzed studies that inves-

tigated the historiography of the first schools to offer undergraduate programs in management. These include: Taylor (1969) and Alcadipani & Bertero (2012, 2014), who investigated the historiography of Eaesp (FGV's School of Business Administration of São Paulo); Fischer (1984), who wrote about the history of Ebap (FGV's Brazilian School of Public Administration); and Barros (2013) and Barros and Carrieri (2013), who presented the historiography of the Faculdade de Administração e Ciências Econômicas (Face — Faculty of Administration and Economic Sciences) at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). Ebap, Eaesp and Face were, together with the Escola Superior de Administração e Negócios (Esan — The Higher School of Administration and Business), the only schools offering undergraduate programs in the 1950s.

It is important to note that the research on Iseb presented here sought to avoid the controversies surrounding the history of the institute. Among others, the number of phases that Iseb went through; whether Iseb was, in fact, a factory of ideologies; who was responsible for the split between the founders of the institution at the end of 1958; and the question of the participation of foreign capital in Brazil's development. These controversies ended up minimizing the important role played by this federal teaching and research institution, which this article seeks to highlight, and may partially explain why Iseb has only been mentioned in the literature as influencing management thought (see Alcadipani and Bertero, 2012).

4. Data analysis

Following the purpose to investigate Iseb as a federal institution of teaching and research, the documents were analyzed based on the concept of developmentalism. With this perspective in mind, it was decided to divide the data analysis into three sections, as follows: first, the origins of Iseb and its elaboration are discussed; second, it is analyzed the structure of Iseb's Regular Program, and third, it is analyzed Iseb's direct influence on the history of education in management.

4.1 From the Itatiaia Group to Ibesp and Iseb: the ideology of national-developmentalism

The Iseb was the successor to the *Instituto Brasileiro de Economia, Sociologia e Política* (Ibesp — Brazilian Institute of Economics, Sociology and Politics) created in 1953, in Rio de Janeiro, as a private institution and had its mentor and founder, Hélio Jaguaribe as its general office (Sodré, 1978; Jaguaribe, 1979). The creation of this institute was the result of an initiative conceived by members of the "Itatiaia Group" who had regular meetings, since the previous year, within the National Park of Itatiaia, and which included young middle class intellectuals from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Their discussions were based on an understanding of the problems of a general socio-cultural nature at that time and, especially, an understanding of

Brazil's reality in economic, social, political and cultural terms (Jaguaribe, 1979). According to Jaguaribe (1979:95), "From Rio we had Candido Mendes, Guerreiro Ramos, Oscar Lorenzo Fernandez, Israel Klabin, Ignacio Rangel, José Ribeiro Lira, Cleantho Paiva Leite, Cid Carvalho, Fabio Breves, Ottolmy Strauch, Heitor Lima Rocha [...]", as well as Roland Corbisier and others from São Paulo.

The IBESP published five volumes of the *Cadernos do Nosso Tempo* (CNT — The Journals of Our Time) between 1953 and 1956. The content of these journals represented the group's first attempt to theorize, many of whom would become professors at ISEB. These were the first drafts of a vision of Brazil that would permeate Iseb's Regular Program to educate "groups of technicians and directors" (Brasil, 1955a). The CNTs provided the first visions of Brazil that would help influence management thought in Brazil (Wanderley, 2015).

The Ibsp's intellectuals were primarily concerned with the different ways in which the nation could achieve development, understood as the qualitative transformation of society, whether through a greater political involvement by the masses, or through economic growth (Bariani, 2005). "The importance of the Ibsp and its Journals is that they contain, as origins, all the ideology of nationalism, which would gain strength in the subsequent years, and would serve as a starting point for the creation of the Iseb" (Schwartzman, 1981:3). In the construction of the Ibsp's national-developmental project, there was a clear concern with escaping the current dichotomy between capitalism and communism, and adopt a third alternative. The search for this alternative and independent path to development was carefully conducted, as to clarify the differences between this model and that of communism: "the intensification of the State's presence in politics and in the economy did not constitute a socialist threat, but rather a measure of opportunity" (Hollanda, 2012:635). According to Celso Furtado (1985:167), who was invited by Jaguaribe to give lectures at Ibsp, "Jaguaribe argued that Brazil was approaching certain crucial milestones and that it was essential to prepare a project that would serve as an alternative to the assaults of the right and the reveries of the left".

One should highlight that the 1950s were deeply marked by this dichotomy between capitalism and communism. This particular decade began with the Korean War and the persecution of the communists by McCarthyism in the US, and ended with the Cuban Revolution, which brought the Cold War into Latin America (Wanderley, 2015).

The creation of the Ibsp in Rio was marked by the defeat of the Sao Paulo members of the Itatiaia Group (except Roland Corbisier, who moved to the federal capital – Rio de Janeiro). Yet, the list of contributors of CNT was long, including Guerreiro Ramos, Candido Mendes, Carlos Luis Andrade, Ewaldo Correia Lima, Fabio Breves, Heitor Lima Rocha, Hélio Jaguaribe, Hermes Lima, Ignacio Rangel and João Paulo de Almeida Magalhães (Schwartzman, 1981). The recent publication of all the issues of the CNT in digital format (Revista de Estudos Políticos, 2012) will undoubtedly give a new impetus to the research on this important theoretical contribution to critical social thinking in Brazil. This is an "important and unexplored chapter of Rio de Janeiro's intellectual experience during the 1950s" (Hollanda, 2012:608). In other words, we are talking about the production of Latin American critical social thinking that has much to contribute in terms of the history of management, given that the theme of

rationalizing public administration is present in its formulation (Schwartzman, 1981). For example, the last issue of the CNT, published in 1956, contained a long study, unsigned, entitled “For a national policy of development”. It is deep reflection on the rationalization of public administration, containing a set of schedules that could be used for restructuring the state (CNT, 1956:47-188).

The Ibsp also functioned as a private teaching institution that offered programs to directors, at a graduate level, for both the public and the private sectors. In 1954, the Ibsp signed an agreement with Capes (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) to offer a program through 12 conferences (Capes, 1954). According to Abreu (1975:96), most of Ibsp public “had higher education level, being students, professors, independent professionals and military personnel”. Archives show that “more than 700 people enrolled in these programs” (CNT, 1954:186), taking part in the lectures that were held in the auditorium of the Capanema Palace, headquarters of the Ministry of Education (MEC). It seems very likely that those who attended these lectures were the same who would later become the targets of Iseb programs, that is, primarily technicians, most of them working in public administration.

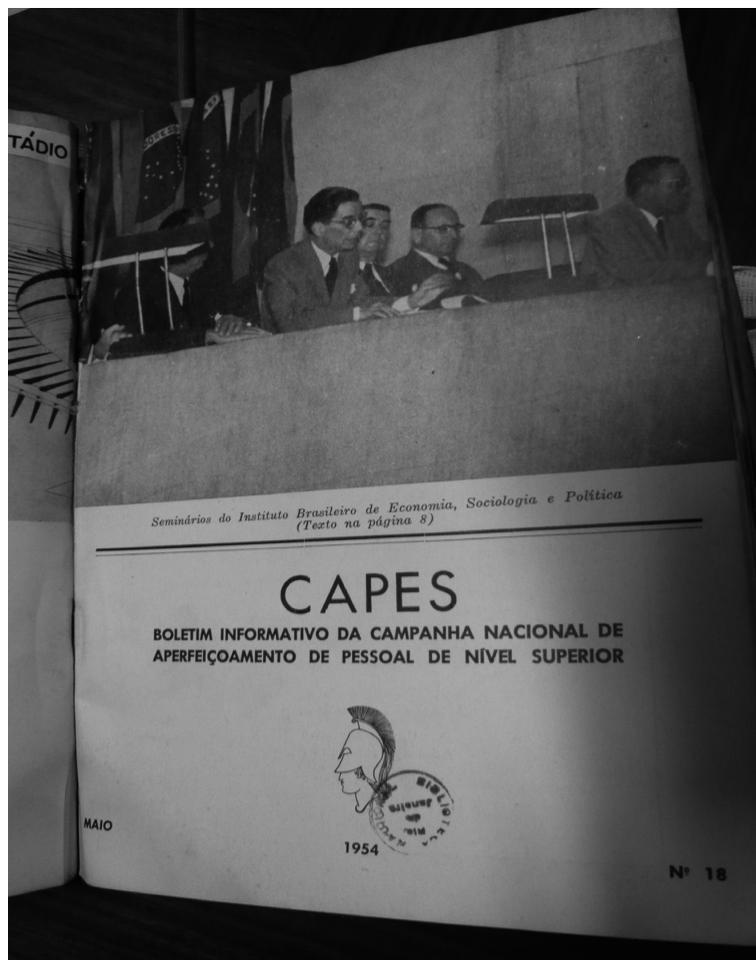
The Capanema Palace is in downtown of Rio de Janeiro, in what was, at that time, the Esplanade of Ministries of the Federal District of Guanabara. In the following year, Iseb offered its first “extraordinary programs” in the same place, which clearly shows a sense of continuity. Thus, this article suggest that the Ibsp program was indeed the first of its kind at graduate studies level in Brazil to be offered by a private institution, and to be taken by technicians and managers from both public and private sectors. This program was also an integral part of the program of “the functional integration of administrative activities into the process of the nation’s economic development” (Brasil, 1951:57), which would lead the Education Minister, Candido Mota Filho to recognize Ibsp’s contribution to the education and training of technicians and managers (then referred to as directors) (Brasil, 1955a).

The Ibsp seminars had “the nature of a university extension course and were generally denominated as an Introduction to the Study of Our Times in Brazil” (Capes, 1954:8). The opening ceremony was presided over by Anísio Teixeira, the secretary-general of Capes and Dean of the *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas* (Inep — National Institute of Studies and Research). Also present were Guerreiro Ramos, director of the seminars, who was also a professor at the *Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública* (Ebap — Brazilian School of Public Administration), and Hélio Jaguaribe, who gave the inaugural lecture (See image 1). The presence of Anísio Teixeira clearly showed the government’s commitment, through its education policy, to this program, while the presence of Guerreiro Ramos as a director showed the program shift towards the field of administration. One should remember that at that time Ebap was the only institution offering courses in administration in Rio (Machado, 1966).

The imprints left behind by the Ibsp on Brazil’s critical social thinking have been lasting. Examples of this can be seen in national-developmentalism, which offers a third alternative to capitalism/Americanization and communism and, above all, in “the very special and ambitious vision of the role of ideology and of intellectuals in conducting the political future of the nation” (Schwartzman, 1981:6).

Image 1

The “Palácio Capanema” Auditorium, in the old MEC building



Source: Capes (1954, cover).

Innauguration of the Ibsp program, May 18th, 1954 – Anísio Teixeira, director of Capes, speaking; the second to his left is Hélio Jaguaribe, and the last is Guerreiro Ramos, who was the director of the seminars.

4.2. The Iseb’s Regular Program and the education and training of technicians and directors (managers)

During the brief government of Café Filho (1954-55), Jaguaribe, through the contacts of Hélio Cabal with government officials, managed to convince the Education Minister to create a “Brazilian equivalent of the *Collège de France* or, in Latin American terms, of the *El Colegio de México*” (Jaguaribe, 1979:95). Jaguaribe had already been trying to institutionalize the activi-

ties of the Ibsp in the face of a lack of resources amongst its members. The Iseb is created as “a permanent program of higher political and social studies, at graduate level [...] endowed with administrative autonomy and total freedom in its research, its views and its professorship” (Brasil, 1955b).

The Explanatory Memorandum No. 627, in which the Minister of Education Candido Mota Filho justified the creation of Iseb, better clarified the goals of the institution and of its regular program. Specifically, the goal was to operate “[...] as an entity of study, teaching and dissemination, with graduate features [...] aimed at educating staff [...] for its own use [the government’s], of studies that one aims to undertake and of groups of technicians and directors [managers] who will be trained and developed through the programs offered by the center” (Brasil, 1955a). The explanation of the motives behind Minister Mota’s decision to create this institution made it clear that “the systematic study of Brazil’s problems has not yet encountered the appropriate conditions for its success”, and recognized the role being played by the Ibsp in this direction (Brasil, 1955a). Consequently, the decree that officially created Iseb highlighted the following objective:

Art.2. The Iseb has as its main purpose, the study, the teaching and the dissemination of the social sciences, notably the sociology of history, of economics and of politics, primarily to apply the categories and the data of these sciences to the analysis and the understanding of Brazilian reality, with the aim of elaborating theoretical tools that can encourage and promote national development.

Consequently, Iseb became known for its educational activities in which “the emphasis on studies, research and conferences was combined with other activities: an editorial policy; a policy to promote the education and training of human resources; and finally, a policy of dissemination” (Oliveira, 2006:23-24). That is, all the activities an institution of higher education needs to educate and develop “groups of technicians and directors [managers]” (Brasil, 1955a), as well as to influence managers responsible for making decisions in both the public and the private arenas (Abreu, 1975). These practices of teaching, research and dissemination were focused on promoting the national development project and the “planning of everything that relates to Brazilian reality; the search for and the accumulation of a historical understanding of the nation; and, the investment in a methodological approach aimed at the nation’s specificities” (Oliveira, 2006:204).

Therefore, Iseb emerges as a school of government whose basic mission was to “educate and train groups of technicians and directors [managers]” (Brasil, 1955a) and to produce research that might serve as the basis for the government “in its planning and elaboration of an administrative program”, as stated by President Kubistchek (JK, 1956-60) on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Iseb headquarters (Brasil, 1957).

Developmentalism implied that the State would have to assume new responsibilities and, to this end, it would have to educate and train a new type of technicians and managers. The idea here is not to claim that Iseb was created as a school whose purpose was to teach ma-

nagement, as in the case of some other schools that were set up during the 1950s. Yet, Iseb did represent a government initiative aimed at educating and training ‘technicians and directors [managers]’ to work mainly in the public administration, but also in business administration. From the developmentalism perspective and in terms of the conditions of time and space that existed at that time, it all made sense. The kind of school model and how it contributed to the history of education in management in Brazil is presented next.

The composition of those responsible for the school’s different departments makes it clear the continuity from the Itatiaia Group: philosophy — Álvaro Vieira Pinto; history — Candido Mendes; political science — Hélio Jaguaribe; sociology — Guerreiro Ramos; and economics — Ewaldo Corrêa Lima (Iseb, 1960). The Head of MEC (Ministry of Education), Candido Mota Filho, appointed the Board of Trustees, composed by the following eight members: A. Junqueira Ayres, Anísio Teixeira, Ernesto Luiz de Oliveira Junior, Hélio Jaguaribe, Hélio Cabal, Roberto Campos, Roland Corbisier and Themistocles Cavalcanti. (Iseb, 1960). This board appointed as the Dean of Iseb, Roland Corbisier, the philosopher who was the only remaining member from Sao Paulo of the Itatiaia Group (Abreu, 1975).

The First Extraordinary Program took place in the second semester of 1955, whose inaugural conference was presided by Guerreiro Ramos and entitled “The problem of the Brazilian reality” (CNT, 1955). Guerreiro Ramos highlighted the problem of “our administrative system, implemented without any critical reflection and shaped according to abstract and imported criteria” (Ramos et al., 1956:25), which reflected the direction that teaching at Iseb would take in terms of public administration.

The following year, when Juscelino Kubitschek (JK) became the president, he found Iseb fully operating as a legacy of Café Filho government. Although one might have had expected a certain indifference on the part of the new president in relation to the institution, both JK and his new minister of education, Clóvis Salgado, fully supported it. In fact, JK was the class patron and gave a speech at the ceremony of the first graduation class, “*Barão de Mauá*” (Kubitschek et al., 1957) and was present when the new Iseb headquarters in Rua das Palmeiras was inaugurated (Brasil, 1957). Salgado not only supported Iseb as a minister, but also presented himself in several lectures given by the institute, and was the class patron of the third class of graduates (Iseb, 1960).

The first Regular Program began during the first year of the JK Administration, in 1956, and took place at MEC’s auditorium in the Capanema Palace until the new headquarters in Rua das Palmeiras was not inaugurated. The administrative office of Iseb was located at the Minister’s cabinet (Iseb, 1960), evidencing that Iseb was an important tool of the government’s higher education teaching policy (Oliveira, 2006). The Iseb aimed at “attracting people who already had an active role in public administration and who could intervene in the decision-making process [...], educating and training the nation’s elite managers” (Abreu, 1975:115). Thus, during the JK Administration, Iseb’s formulations gained strength and influenced “many sectors of public opinion, mainly intellectuals, students, workers, technical sectors of administration and military personnel” (Abreu, 1975:117).

As a teaching institution, Iseb was very singular in establishing itself as a program at the graduate level. At that time, there were very few informal programs at this level, with the first officially registered program being that of the *Universidade do Brasil* in 1958 (Oliveira, 2006). The developmentalism promoted by Iseb, and sponsored by the JK Administration, appeared to favor “the training and education of groups of technicians and directors [managers]” (Brasil, 1955a) who already had an undergraduate degree and who could now receive a vision of Brazil based on the pedagogical method of the Regular Program. Differently, the process of Americanization that had been behind the development of the first schools teaching administration at undergraduate level, adopted another logic when it came to educating managers at undergraduate level (Machado, 1966). For example, the first formal program in management at graduate level was offered by FGV’s Eaesp in 1958: visiting professors from Michigan State University (MSU), who had participated ever since the school was first set up through the sponsorship of the Ponto IV program, funded by the US government, now offered a course that was given only in English and was aimed at achieving a similar level to that of the master’s degree in the US. Only seven students graduated at the end of this program, which would only be offered again in 1961 (Taylor, 1969).

Meanwhile, in the field of public administration, the first graduate program offered by Ebap only began in the early 1960s, already as part of the PBA-1 agreement (Machado, 1966). This program accepted students with a degree in any subject, mainly because in 1960, there were a total of only 240 undergraduates in administration (Machado, 1966). In other words, Iseb, which in five years qualified a total of 205 professionals, at a graduate level, almost reached this same total of 240 graduates (Machado, 1966).

The teaching practices adopted by Iseb in its regular program also represented a certain level of innovation, from the point of view of methodology (Oliveira, 2006). Students taking the regular program, which had a duration of one year, had to take the program on a full-time basis and with a minimum class attendance of 70%, as well as having a higher education diploma (Kubitschek et al., 1957:13; Iseb, 1960:29). There was a good deal of concern to avoid reproducing a recycled academicism that ignored Brazilian reality: “what characterizes the Institute is exactly its lack of academicism. The Iseb is not an academic entity, but rather a practical and pragmatic entity” (Kubitschek et al., 1957:10).

The regular program was structured as follows: “What we refer to as the Regular Program includes classes, seminars and group work, done in the afternoons by the interns who are available to the Institute on a full-time basis” (Kubitschek et al., 1957:13). This program was a novelty in that “based on a theoretical study of the social sciences, one sought to diagnose and interpret the problems of modern-day Brazilian society, suggesting solutions and paths to follow” (Abreu, 1975:183). The interns were also expected to work on research in the different departments as part of workgroups (Abreu, 1975). One of the most active of these groups at Iseb was led by Guerreiro Ramos, who hired students from Ebap to work as his interns (Abreu, 1975), once again confirming the close ties that existed between Iseb and the field of administration. The workload, combined with the requirement that students work in

groups on their research and the need for a thesis to complete the program, could be similarly compared to a MSc. Program nowadays.

The search for a new methodological approach that might help better understand Brazil's reality meant that "the introduction of existentialist thinking among Brazil's intellectuals occurred through Iseb" (Oliveira, 2006:209). One should also mention that "culturalism and existentialism were present in the formulation of Isebian ideology from the very beginning, and these became the fundamental pillars of the rationale on which nationalism-developmentalism based itself" (Paiva, 1980:53). The Iseb has been understudied by social sciences scholars (Oliveira, 2006), and further research would greatly contribute to the history of education in management.

When Jânio Quadros took office as president of Brazil, in 1961, Iseb found itself without funding and the regular program was suspended, reopening in 1962. However, from that moment on, the profile of the students changed, most of them being either university students or trade union representatives (Abreu, 1975). This change has clearly extended the institution's field of influence, but there is lack of information on this period, this study chose to limit its analysis to the period preceding the regular program of 1960.

Iseb's student body "necessarily required the presence of representatives from the three Powers of State at federal level, as well as limited numbers of participants from the state level" (Mendes, 2005:21). During the two years that followed the first class of students, Iseb received interns (as students taking the regular program were referred to) representing all the different entities of civil and military administration (Abreu, 1975). The report of Iseb's activities (Iseb, 1960), shown in table 1, presents the total number of students taking the Regular Program between 1956 and 1959, and only presents the number of applicants for 1960 (46 students). Another source did however list the number of students there were in 1960 (Bonilla, 1962:238).

Table 1
Total number of students taking the Regular Program from 1956 to 1960

YEAR	THESES DEFENDED
1956	65
1957	41
1958	31
1959	30
1960	38
TOTAL	205

Source: Iseb (1960).

This is a significant number if one considers that this was a pioneering graduate program that required that interns commit to full-time study for a whole year (Abreu, 1975; Oli-

veira, 2006). It was, therefore, to be expected that the majority of the students would come from the public sector and that their incomes would be maintained over the course of the program. The *Activities Report* (Iseb, 1960) lists all the organizations that provided the regular program with students (reproduced in Oliveira, 2006:221-222), and it's worth highlighting some of these here: a number of different ministries; the General Staff of the Armed Forces; The National Security Council; The Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico (BNDE — Brazilian development bank), Banco do Brasil (BB — retail bank), Banco do Nordeste do Brasil (BNB — bank), Petrobras (oil company), Fábrica Nacional de Motores (engine manufacturer), the National Trade Council and the National Council of Industries. Of the total of 64 institutions listed, “28 are directly or indirectly linked to public sector administration on three levels (municipal, state and federal) and 14 represent the State of the Union” (Oliveira, 2006:185). In other words, it is quite clear that the majority of students in the program were public administrators.

An analysis of the university background (degree) of those taking the Regular Program can be done by analyzing the list of theses that were defended at this graduate studies level (Iseb, 1960; Oliveira, 2006). Three caveats need to be made in relation to the total number of theses available for analysis: although 65 theses were defended in 1956 (Kubitschek et al., 1957), the Report only provides 57 of these; in the case of 1958, the Report talks about there being 31 theses, but only 30 are actually listed; even though the themes and names of the 46 theses proposed in 1960 are mentioned, there is no mention of the university education or degree of the students in question. Thus, one has a final list of 158 students in all, out of the 205 theses that were defended and where the university qualification was actually stated. These results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
University education (in terms of the field studied) of the students taking Iseb's regular program and graduating between 1956 and 1960

GRADUATION	graduated 1956-60	% of the total
Lawyers	35	22%
Military Personnel	30	19%
Professors	27	17%
Doctors and Dentists	13	8%
Economists	12	8%
Engineers	10	6%
Diplomats	5	3%
Journalists	5	3%
Politicians	4	2%
Agronomists	3	1%
Others < 3	14	11%
TOTAL	158	100%

Source: Oliveira (2006).

Based on these results, it becomes clear that “the focus of the teaching adopted by Iseb was aimed at students who had already taken an undergraduate program, in other words, those who had already graduated with a degree and already had a defined professional activity” (Oliveira, 2006:202), primarily as lawyers, military personnel and professors. These were the only professionals that could realistically dedicate themselves full-time to the program. By being defined as a graduate program, it was perfectly in line with the policy of Isebians to influence Brazilian society as a whole and to educate and train key decision makers (Oliveira, 2006).

In terms of the themes of the 205 theses reviewed for this work, it appears that Iseb did indeed achieve the objective for which it was created: “to analyze and understand Brazilian reality, in order to elaborate theoretical tools that could help encourage and promote national development” (Brasil, 1955b). The terms ‘development’ and ‘underdevelopment’ appear in a total of 94 of the themes reviewed, which represents almost half of the total. A similar percentage was observed in the case of the words ‘Brazil, Brazilian, national and nationalism’.

The analysis of this group of titles confirms the importance and centrality of the concept of development in Isebian thinking; in addition to Brazil’s crisis only being solvable through development, this development should be not only of a “national” nature, but should also have a role of potentializing the different productive dimensions of Brazilian reality. [Oliveira, 2006:192]

In other words, this was the national-developmentalism that was being expressed in the theses of those taking the Regular Program, who were and would become technicians and directors (managers) working mainly in public administration, but also in private sector.

In Chart 1, we have a selection of themes from the 205 theses defended in Iseb’s Regular Program, which might be directly associated with the field of management (for a full list, please see Iseb, 1960; Oliveira, 2006; Wanderley, 2015). Given that, at that time, administration was still a science in development and that none of the students had degrees in this field, the analysis here used the following criteria: direct reference to the names of companies or public policies; and themes that had the following words in their titles: business, administration, administrative, functional, technical, public or civil servants. Thus, a selection of 22 themes were chosen, or around 11% of the total, that would serve as a sample within the multidisciplinary universe that characterized teaching at Iseb.

Chart 1
Iseb theses: themes that refer to management

YEAR	STUDENT	PROFESSION	THEME
1956	Antonio Lisboa	Major	The armed forces in Brazil and nationalism
1956	Almir Vianna	Accountant	Banco do Brasil and its participation in the life of the nation
1956	Fernando V. Torres	Major	Technique as a factor of development
1956	Waldir C. da Silveira	Engineer	Reflections on Brazil’s functional architecture
1956	Ovídio Souza	Lawyer	Brazilian education policy

Continue

YEAR	STUDENT	PROFESSION	THEME
1956	Alexandre C. de Andrade	Surveyor	The municipality and Brazilian reality
1956	Alberto Raja Gabaglia	Professor	The spheres of influence of the public authorities and interadministrative cooperation in Brazil
1957	Eduardo R. Vieira	Lt. Colonel	The steel industry and national development
1957	Frederico Trotta	Councilman	Education, an obligation of the State
1957	Jonathan R. M. Porto	Cap. frigate	Brazil's manganese ore export policy
1957	José H. V. Marques	Doctor	The reorganization of medical services
1957	Samuel F. de Almeida	Work inspector	Civil public servants of the Union and Brazilian development
1958	Claudionor T. C. de Castro	Lawyer	Patronage and administrative corruption in Brazil
1958	Floracy P. Carbalho	Lawyer	The federative principle in the face of north/south economic inequality
1958	Hugo Regis dos Reis	Engineer	A Brazilian electric energy policy
1958	Jaime Barbosa	Major	Introduction to a new transport policy
1959	Aurélio Castelo Branco	Lawyer	The contribution of the Caixas Econômicas to national development
1959	José Leoni de Araújo	Economist	Public administration and development
1960	Pedro A. M. Mourão	–	Increasing business: a new perspective for national development
1960	Aloísio Pedreira Machado	–	Certain aspects of social security and development
1960	Dirmar Souza	–	Heveabrás, a solution for our rubber industry
1960	Claudia Cavendish	–	The social problems of the Northeast and their influence on the administration of Justice

Source: Oliveira (2006).

This selection of theses reveals the impact that Iseb, as a teaching institution at the graduate studies level, had on the education and training of professionals who were already working as technicians and directors or managers, or who would eventually assume positions at similar levels. It also shows the influence that Iseb had on the history of education in management. The Iseb's activities went far beyond its Regular Program. In addition to the extraordinary programs that were even offered outside Rio de Janeiro, the institution's editorial policy enabled the publication of a number of seminal books, including the *Redução sociológica* by Guerreiro Ramos (1958), as one example (Iseb, 1960; Abreu, 1975 for a complete list of publications). The Iseb also collaborated in another graduate program similarly aimed at educating technicians and directors (managers), mainly working in public administration, which was put together by Eclac and BNDE (Wanderley, 2015).

4.3 The direct influence of Iseb on education in administration

The Iseb's direct influence on institutions teaching management can be seen, for example, in the testimonials of the professors who took part in the creation of Eaespp, which, therefore, confirms its penetration into the field of management (Alcadipani and Bertero, 2014). One of the professors that took part in the setting up of Eaespp mentioned that the logic defended by Iseb/Eclac was definitely anti the Americans and the Europeans; another professor stated that he used what he had learnt at ISEB to transmit a certain vision of Brazil in his classes; and a third, said that he travelled to the US to do his master's degree with *Redução sociológica* (Ramos, 1958) in his luggage.

The fact is that, the vision of Brazil, as seen by Iseb, is one of the factors that contributed to the hybridization of Eaespp, to the extent that was set up with the support of the University of Michigan (Alcadipani and Bertero, 2014). The same occurred in the case of Face where, according to one professor from that time, those professors who came back from a period of study in the US, brought with them "something that was very different to what was taught at the time, at, for example" (Barros, 2013:147).

With regard to public administration, what might have been Iseb's direct influence on other teaching institutions? Ebap was inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro, in 1952, in the same year that the Itatiaia Group began to hold its meetings in the embryo that would later grow into Iseb (Abreu, 1975; Oliveira, 2006). Guerreiro Ramos and Cândido Mendes were members of both these entities. An interesting example of the proximity between Iseb and Ebap can be found in the testimonial of Professor Nelson de Mello e Sousa, who joined the school in 1954, specializing in the sociology of development. When asked if "there were close ties between Ebap and other institutions that also thought along the lines of Brazil" at the time he joined the school, Professor Mello e Sousa replied: "more than close ties, there was interpenetration [...] There was an institutional circuit linking Iseb, Ebap and UNE" (Bonemy and Motta, 2002:38).

Therefore, it is possible to notice that during the second half of the 1950s, a very close relationship developed between the professors and students at Ebap and Iseb. Given the institutional importance of Iseb as an entity linked to the MEC (Ministry of Education) in terms of educating an elite of directors (managers) (Abreu, 1975), and the fragility being experienced by Ebap at that time (Machado, 1966; Fischer, 1984), it was only natural that Ebap would end up seeking inspiration from Iseb, and not the other way around. Fischer (1984) suggested that the JK administration decided to cease its support for Ebap, which coincided with the moment in which the school stopped receiving funding from the UN: the number of students enrolled decreased by almost half between 1957 and 1960 (Machado, 1966:41). Thus, analyzing the situation on the basis of the concept of developmentalism, one can clearly see a certain proximity between Iseb and Ebap, at least during the 1950s, a key moment in the construction of the science of administration in Brazil. This proximity can be seen in the fact that in Ebap's first year of existence, in 1953, during which 16 disciplines were taught

(Bonemy and Motta, 2002), a total of four professors were also teaching at Ibesp at the same time (Iseb's predecessor).

Chart 2 shows the professors who were common to both Iseb and Ebap. Roland Corbier does not appear as working at Ebap, since he was not officially a member of the school's faculty, despite being mentioned by Professor Mello e Sousa as having worked there (Bonemy e Motta, 2002). This suggests that the interpenetration between these two schools during the 1950s was ever higher.

Chart 2
Professors common to both Iseb (and its predecessors) and Ebap

Professor	years at Iseb	years at Ebap and its predecessors
Candido Mendes	1952-58	1953-68
Guerreiro Ramos	1952-58	1953-66
Mário Magalhães	1957-58	1953
Themistocles Cavalcanti	1953-55	1952-54
Michel Debrun	1958-60	1958-60

Sources: Iseb (1960); Bonemy and Motta (2002).

The main factor linking Ebap and Iseb during the 1950s was the fact that the first two years of the Ebap undergraduate program were dedicated exclusively to the study of the social sciences (Bonemy and Motta, 2002), which was central for Iseb programs (Abreu, 1975; Oliveira, 2006). Hence, there was this interpenetration by the professors in this field between the schools. Based on the concept of developmentalism, over the course of the 1950s, the program in public administration that Ebap was seeking to put together was much more similar in terms of content to Iseb programs than was the program offered by Eaesp. Nevertheless, during the 1960s, with the speeding up of the Americanization process, especially after the signing of the PBA-1 Program with the US government, Iseb and Ebap followed different paths (Wanderley, 2015).

On the day following the military takeover in Brazil, Iseb was "invaded and depredated by a group of trouble-makers, organized by the police forces of Guanabara and recruited from among the city's poor", its installations were depredated and its books ripped to shreds (Sodr , 1978:67). On April 13, 1964, Decree No. 53,884 signed by the acting president, Ranieri Mazzilli, closed the institution down and a Military Police Enquiry (MPE) was opened to investigate the institution's activities, which were considered subversive. All professors, former professors and several students were enrolled to the process (Abreu, 1975). It was the end of the "total freedom of research, opinion and professorship" that had been conceded to the institute (Brasil, 1955b).

While Iseb had been closed and the MPE was investigating its activities, Ebap, at the end of 1964, received investment from the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and support from the Organization of American States (OAS) to set up the *Escola Interamericana de Administra o P blica* (Eiap — InterAmerican School of Public Administration). The IADB and

the OAS were tools of geopolitics of knowledge, manipulated by the US within the Alliance for Progress, with the purpose of intervening in Latin America (Wanderley, 2015).

5. Concluding remarks

This article aimed to better understand how Iseb influenced thinking in management in Brazil, based on the HBET concept of developmentalism. This institution, which operated as a school of government in teaching and research, offered a Regular Program at a graduate studies level which, between 1956 and 1960, graduated a total of 205 technicians and directors (managers) who mainly worked, or would work, in public administration. This program represented the government's decision to educate and train professionals to work for the State, as part of its goal to promote national development.

The Iseb's objective as a school of government was to educate and train the nation's elite managers, as well as to influence leading public sector decision-makers. The elite managers that Iseb was trying to educate and train should have a deep knowledge of Brazil's problems, and would be trained to face them. It was under the aegis of developmentalism that Iseb was created, as well as it contributed to the emergence of the first schools offering undergraduate programs in management in Brazil. Importantly, Iseb's formulations proved to have an important guiding role in terms of public policies, especially during the JK administration.

It was through its privileged position as a federal institution associated to the Ministry of Education (MEC) that Iseb was able to have an influence on undergraduate schools of management and administration during the 1950s, especially Ebap. The history of education in management, especially of public administration, might have been different if this approximation between Ebap and Iseb had strengthened, instead of weakening as a result of issues related to the geopolitics of knowledge that were mobilized by the Alliance for Progress, as from the 1960s onwards.

Furthermore, the knowledge produced by the Ibesp and Iseb could be revisited as an important source of critical Brazilian social thinking and one that was part of the history of education in management. Therefore, the activities of Iseb as a school of government, which acted in an autonomous and independent way, can contribute to the continuous debate over the role of the State and, especially, that of the public administrator.

In the developmentalism favored by Iseb, the State should act as the planner and inducer of the private sector in the process of industrialization, which should be, preferentially, national, but without rejection of foreign capital. Knowledge of the social sciences and their adaptation to the Brazilian reality was the tool used by Iseb to train public sector technicians and managers to transform this reality in such a way as to overcome underdevelopment. In other words, national-developmentalism was Iseb's preferred option to achieve this ultimate goal, and the work of these public sector technicians and managers was fundamental to this end.

The introduction of the concept of developmentalism from the HBET discussed in this article has made it clear that the importation of research themes, such as Americanization and the Cold War, is necessary, but not sufficient when analyzing the history of education in man-

agement in Brazil. One must construct an independent research agenda, which can encourage other researchers to explore other sources of practical teaching and learning in management. Nevertheless, this article restricted itself to the sub-field of the history of education in management and, especially, the history of teaching institutions.

In addition to the developmentalism discussed in this article, other important analytical keys for investigating the period explored here could include, for example, laborism, integralism and populism. Future research could use laborism as a way to give voice to workers. Integralism, very much present in Brazil during the 1930s, could be used to analyze, for example, the construction of federal government buildings in the capital at that time (Rio de Janeiro), as well as the impact of the creation of federal entities during the period of the *Estado Novo* (1937-45 — the New State). Populism could also be an important analytical key for researching the public policies that were implemented in this period.

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