

Nurses in the “good neighbourhood”: the Special Public Health Service (SESP) and the creation of the Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia (EEUFBA)*

Enfermeras de la «buena vecindad»: el Servicio Especial de Salud Pública (SESP) y la creación de la Escuela de Enfermería de la Universidade Federal da Bahia

Enfermeiras na “boa vizinhança”: o Serviço Especial de Saúde Pública (SESP) e a criação da Escola de Enfermagem da Universidade Federal da Bahia

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ABSTRACT:

This article analyzes the role of the Special Public Health Service (SESP), which operated between 1942 and 1960 as a bilateral Brazil/United States agency, in the creation of the School of Nursing at the Federal University of Bahia (EEUFBA). SESP reports, collected at Casa de Oswaldo Cruz (Fiocruz, RJ) Documentation Center, interviews, legislation and newspaper news are used as sources, analyzed as bearers of interests of the institutions and individuals who built them. It is understood that SESP offered technical and financial assistance for the creation of EEUFBA and that the proposal presented the hospital as a central element in nursing teaching activities. Although there were international guidelines to be followed, the project encountered complications in its implementation, especially due to the difficulty of maintaining a stable faculty and interference from local dynamics.

RESUMEN:

Este artículo analiza el papel del Servicio Especial de Salud Pública (SESP), que actuó entre 1942 y 1960 como una agencia bilateral Brasil/Estados Unidos, en la creación de la Escuela de Enfermería de la Universidade Federal da Bahia (EEUFBA). Se utiliza como fuente los informes de la SESP, recopilados en el Centro de Documentación de la Casa de Oswaldo Cruz (Fiocruz, RJ), las entrevistas, la legislación y las noticias de los periódicos, que se analizan como portadores de los intereses de las instituciones e individuos que los elaboraron. Se entiende que la SESP ofreció asistencia técnica y financiera para la creación de la EEUFBA y que la propuesta presentaba al hospital como un elemento central de las actividades de enseñanza de enfermería. Aunque hubiera directrices internacionales que seguir, el proyecto encontró complicaciones en su implementación, especialmente por la dificultad de mantener un cuerpo docente estable y por la interferencia de las dinámicas locales.

RESUMO:

Este artigo analisa o papel do Serviço Especial de Saúde Pública (SESP), que funcionou entre 1942 e 1960 como uma agência bilateral Brasil/Estados Unidos, na criação da Escola de Enfermagem da Universidade Federal da Bahia (EEUFBA). São utilizados como fontes relatórios do SESP, coletados no centro de Documentação da Casa de Oswaldo Cruz (Fiocruz, RJ), entrevistas, legislação e notícias de jornal, analisados como portadores de interesses das instituições e dos indivíduos que os construíram. Compreende-se que o SESP ofereceu auxílio técnico e financeiro para a criação da EEUFBA e que a proposta apresentou

o hospital como elemento central nas atividades de ensino em enfermagem. Embora houvesse diretrizes internacionais a serem seguidas, o projeto encontrou impasses na sua implementação especialmente pela dificuldade de manter um corpo docente estável e por interferências das dinâmicas locais.

1. Introduction

This article analyses the part played by the Special Public Health Service (SESP), a Brazil/United States bilateral agency created in July 1942, in the emergence of the Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia (EEUFBA)¹. It also reviews the postulates involved in the planning and functioning of the EEUFBA up to 1960. The following are documents used as research sources: SESP reports, interviews, laws, and newspaper articles. The analysis of these documents considers them to be productions of institutions and social players. For this reason, such productions disseminate these actors' interests, as Jacques Le Goff (1990) indicated in his analysis of documents/monuments.

The 1930s and 1940s strengthened relations between the United States and Latin American countries. In the context of the so-called "Politics of Good Neighbourhood", the idea of inter-American cooperation circulated recurrently in the United States political discourse (Campos, 2006, 2008; Andrade, 2019; Tota, 2020). Brazil was one of the countries that had established lasting relations with Americans, primarily through the work of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), created by Franklin Roosevelt and directed by Nelson Rockefeller in 1940, and initially referred to as the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the Americas. In 1941 the agency became known as OCIAA, and in 1944 it was entitled as the Office of Inter-American Affairs (Tota, 2020). More than this, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs (IIAA) proposed a health cooperation policy (Campos, 2008).

The SESP planned and executed the OCIAA's health and sanitation projects. The organisation of the agency followed the recommendations of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, held in Rio de Janeiro, in response to the attack on the United States Naval Base at Pearl Harbor. As a result of the meeting, it was recommended that the countries of the hemisphere would raise resources for the war, break off relations with Germany, and implement public health policies in bilateral agreements (Campos, 2008).

The agreement that created the SESP established the Amazonian sanitation plan and the training of health professionals as part of its functions, especially doctors, nurses, and engineers. The agency set up a network of health units and other equipment and built and managed nursing schools, hospitals, and health centres. Moreover, it assisted in the expansion of bureaucracy and public health, in line with the Brazilian public health agenda as determined by the Estado Novo², which lasted through the 1950s (Campos, 2006).

Although American standards had inspired the SESP health administration model, the health policies it put into practice were not unilateral. Conflicts, negotiations, and adaptations marked these policies (Campos, 2006). The guidelines for health reforms sponsored by the Minister of Education and Public Health (MESP) Gustavo Capanema indicated the nationalisation of public health in the process of bureaucratisation of the Brazilian State promoted by Getúlio Vargas (Campos, 2008). Therefore, the SESP Nursing Programme was also in line with the national health project.

Considering the relationship between the SESP and the Brazilian government as a result of interactions contributes to questioning interpretations of science developed in a specific centre, namely the Global North. Supposedly, this science met passive reception among the countries in which it was applied. The analysis observes how local contexts and the actions of specific individuals interfered with expectations about the implementation of the SESP Nursing Programme in Bahia, for instance. The thoughts of Kapil Raj (2007) have been central to a

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PALABRAS CLAVE
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PALAVRAS-CHAVE
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reflection on how specific national agents interpret, re-elaborate conceptions, and construct knowledge based on local assumptions of experience. By demonstrating how the creation of modern science has been historically attributed to Western Europe and has disregarded contributions from other people—such as the Chinese, the author highlights the role played by “intermediary” individuals who act in the circulation of knowledge in “contact zones”. Based on Raj’s reflections, authors such as Batista and Porto (2021) have also highlighted the importance of the concept of circulation for deconstructing centre-periphery binarism. This pair was at the centre of analyses focused on the emission and reception of actions, practices, and health knowledge in Brazil.

2. The SESP and nursing in Brazil

When the bilateral agreement between the IIAA and the SESP was signed, there was evidence that the lack of professional nurses impeded the “modernisation” of the health systems in Latin America. Thus, the unification of nursing standards in the Western Hemisphere was an aim to be ensured. The SESP Nursing Programme was officially initiated in August 1942, when the IIAA approved the project “Mais Enfermeiras para a Saúde Pública no Brasil” [More nurses for Public Health in Brazil]. The Catholic Hospital Association of the United States, the Kellogg Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation supported the project (Campos, 2008). The report conducted by nurse and Rockefeller Foundation’s³ International Council representative Elizabeth Tennant suggested that the Ministry of Education and Health supervise the nursing schools to be created throughout the country. In that regard, the SESP would be responsible for organising the establishment of the first four schools: “in Rio de Janeiro, *Salvador* [emphasis added], São Paulo, and Belém” (Campos, 2008).

The main objectives of the Nursing Programme were, firstly, the sending of nurses to Brazil by the IIAA to reorganize the schools already in existence. Secondly, the creation of schools to train professional nurses by the SESP, with support from the Rockefeller Foundation. Thirdly, the provision of Kellogg Foundation scholarships for Brazilian nurses to study in postgraduate programmes in the United States, as well as SESP scholarships for training in national nursing schools. And lastly, the creation of short courses for nurse practitioners and health visitors (Campos, 2008).

Fifteen years after the emergence of the school, nurse Ermengarda de Faria Alvim brought forward an organisation chart of the agency structure (Figure 1).

The chart pointed to a Nursing Division and a Nursing Section within the Technical Guidance Division. Respectively, the first division was responsible for orienting schools and nursing auxiliaries and collaborating with other organisations. Moreover, the second was responsible for guiding all SESP services in the hospital sector and public health (Alvim, 1958).

Domestic reasons for the Brazilian nursing field also influenced the creation of SESP-supported Schools in the country. The National Public Health Department School was created in 1923 in Rio de Janeiro. In 1926 it was named Anna Nery (EEAN). Furthermore, it emerged from the so-called Parsons Mission, a technical cooperation assignment through which the Rockefeller Foundation sent nurse Ethel Parsons to Brazil to establish a professional nursing standard. Thus, this model came to be followed by other Brazilian schools. Nonetheless, throughout the 1930s, the conflicts between the American nurses and the so-called “native nurses”—who had been trained at Anna Nery’s (Barreira, 1999)—contributed both to the withdrawal of the international philanthropic agency from the Rio de Janeiro centre and to the rapprochement of the project created by the Brazil/USA bilateral agency.

Regarding this incident, the first director of the EEAN nurse Claire Louise Kieninger, was designated as the interlocutor between the Brazilian nurses and the SESP. However, Kieninger’s mission was unsuccessful due to the resistance of the EEAN director Laís Netto dos Reys, who prevented the interference of the American nurse in her management. In 1943 Kieninger returned to the United States, replaced by Gertrude Hodgman, which caused the end of a period of academic confrontations for the power to lay down the new directions for

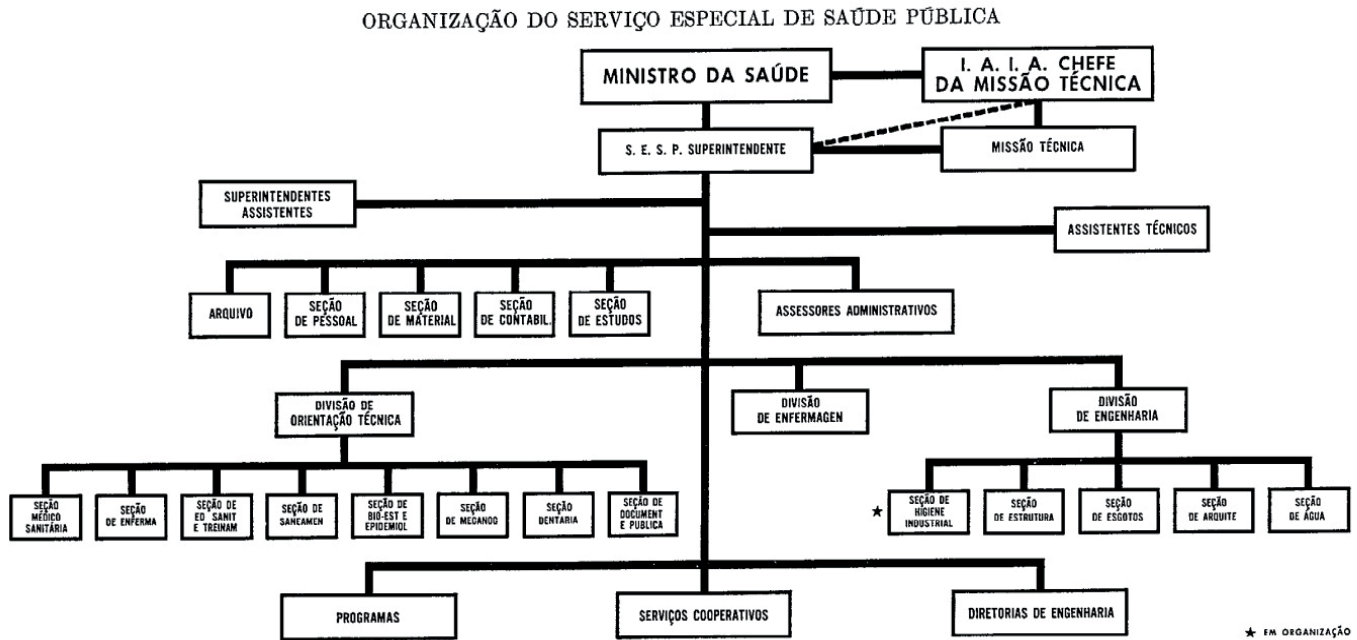


Figure 1. Special Public Health Service (SESP) organisation chart, 1958. Source: Alvim (1958).

Brazilian nursing. Resultantly, this situation established a spirit of antagonism between the EEAN and the SESP, generated by a small group of female instructors and the director herself (Renovato & Bagnato, 2008, p. 912).

Although the historiography of the first nursing school ever to be created with the support of the SESP in Brazil is extensive (Bonini, 2014; Campos & Oguisso, 2013; Campos, Carrijo & Campoi, 2020)—i.e., the School of Nursing of the University of São Paulo (EEUSP)—, little is known about how the bilateral agency worked on creating other nursing education institutions such as the EEUFBA. In addition to the Salvador and São Paulo schools, in 1948, the SESP aided the Rio de Janeiro State Nursing School, created in 1944; the Manaus Nursing School, created in 1946; the Recife Nursing School, created in 1949; and the Porto Alegre Nursing School, created in 1950 (Alvim, 1958, p. 434).

Furthermore, regarding the São Paulo and Salvador schools, it is worth mentioning that, on the one hand, the EEUSP received scholarship holders from different states of the federation to expand the number of nurses in the country. On the other hand, the EEUFBA had technical and financial support from the SESP and granted scholarships for students from Bahia to study in São Paulo.

3. The SESP and the Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia: hospital as the central axis of learning

Since 1943, when there was an intention to create a Nursing School in Bahia, the Medicine Faculty of Bahia director Edgard Santos went on to discuss plans with the SESP regarding the project implementation (Background..., 11 Feb. 1952). On 17 June 1944, Beatrice Lennington—born in Curitiba but a daughter of American parents—reported on the visit made to Dr. Hanley, a staff member of the bilateral agency. According to Lennington, Dr. Hanley showed great interest in the opening of the new school and seemed keen to use his best efforts to participate in its construction (Report..., 1944).

Hanley was acquainted with influential physicians from Bahia. Some of them had been on special assignments in the United States and regretted the situation of nursing in Brazil, a state of affairs that could facilitate international

cooperation. The establishment of relations between professionals from the Medicine Faculty of Bahia (FMB) and American physicians began in the 1920s when the Rockefeller Foundation granted scholarships to Octavio Torres, Eduardo Araújo, and Enoch Torres to study overseas (Batista, 2020). Later on, between 1928 and 1934, the yellow fever laboratory of the Rockefeller Foundation also operated in Bahia, promoting contact between American and Brazilian doctors. The Rockefeller Foundation turned to field and laboratory research responding to the defeat of the key focus theory. As per this theory, to eradicate yellow fever, reducing the larvae of *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes to the rate of 5% in large coastal cities would have sufficed. Consequently, doctors from different countries transited through that scientific production space based in Salvador (Batista, 2022). Therefore, it could be argued that the international relations between Brazilians and members of international health agencies such as the Rockefeller Foundation were consolidated in the 1940s.

Before the foundation of the new SESP school in Brazil, letters were sent to Bahia with the expected guidelines to develop in that institution. In a letter issued by the SESP staff in Rio de Janeiro on 20 September 1944, it was argued that "modern nursing can only be taught where it is practiced" (Experiência..., 20 Sep. 1944). It was not under consideration the possibility of training nurses who did not experience the environment in which they would work—i.e., the hospital. Consequently, there was advocacy for the existence of a hospital run by the Nursing School. In addition, there should be a reasonable number of certified nurses "with expertise and good credentials" always on duty in several hospital sectors (Experiência..., 20 Sep. 1944, p. 1). The service was to operate 24 hours a day, every day of the year. As there were not many graduate nurses available for hospital and school services, it was considered necessary that the Bahia Clinical Hospital ensured hiring the highest number of these professionals when its wards were inaugurated.

Another critical aspect of the foundation of the EEUFBA was the students' residence. It was advised that the facilities should have an attractive appearance as "a means of improving the reputation of the nursing profession in the public eye and of attracting young and educated women to the profession" (A residência..., 20 Sep. 1944). The emphasis was on establishing a quiet and private ambiance and, at the same time, enabling social gatherings as if the students were in their homes. Dormitories should be single or shared, with a maximum of three students. Each student should have a desk, a dressing table, and an individual locker. The students were not expected to live in their own homes for the first three months of the course as this would not allow the inspection of their hygiene.

The third recommendation concerning the practices adopted by the future EEUFBA referred to the organisation of the study space. It was argued that only one classroom would be sufficient to accommodate all the students during the first year, but later two classrooms would be needed. One classroom devoted to the "art of nursing" course and set up with nursing techniques demonstration materials should be equivalent to one ward unit with six beds. Also, a dietetic laboratory with 8 or 16 separate units would be needed for cooking practice, as well as chemistry and microbiology (anatomy and physiology) laboratories. If the FMB laboratories were used, their cost would be relatively low. However, by creating its laboratories, the EEUFBA would incur relatively large expenses (Salas de..., 20 Sep. 1944).

With evidence that a nursing school was to be created in Salvador, the local press started to report on this. For instance, the newspaper *Cidade do Salvador* of 19 May 1944 announced that the Pan-American clipper had arrived in the city with the American hospital technician Felix Lamela. Lamela came from Rio de Janeiro, where he had been working for the Office of the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs at the request of the Brazilian government (Uma escola..., 20 May 1944). Lamela was also the Inter-American Hospital Association director and consultant with the Pan-American Sanitary Office in Washington.

Invited by Public Service Administrative Department of Brazil (DASP) director Luís Simões Lopes, Felix Lamela had been in Brazil for two months. The DASP was a public body created by Decree-Law No. 579 of 30 June 1938. It was configured as an administrative department, linked to the Presidency of the Republic, and responsible for conducting a detailed study of public agencies (Oliveira, 2012). Lamela had guided the construction of a sizeable DASP hospital in Rio and, at the time, was in dialogue with Edgard Santos about the Bahia Clinical Hospital and the implementation of the Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia.

When the newspaper interviewed Lamela, he said that the Washington Pan-American Sanitary Office would directly or indirectly assist the school. One aim of the Office was to contribute to the solution of all public health problems in several countries across the Americas, especially in the hospital sector. The institution would also guide the construction of "ultramodern hospitals or even provide material help, wherever it was needed" (Uma escola..., 20 May 1944, p. 1).

As in the letters sent from Rio de Janeiro to Bahia, the technician reaffirmed that the hospital gained centrality in the activities to be carried out by the EEUFBA:

Our work consists of planning hospitals and guiding their construction, equipment, and installations. Likewise, our work guides how to organise the various hospital departments and their personnel, and establish all the regulations for its functioning in collaboration with the local technicians, not only by giving but also by receiving suggestions. All this is being carried out by the [Pan-American Sanitary] Office, which sends its representatives to all the Americas to organise studies of large Hospital Centres.

Although the Americans technically guided the hospital's construction, local technicians' suggestions were accepted. In order to continue and conclude the work on the Bahia Clinical Hospital, the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Health opened a special credit facility through Decree-Law No. 6.125 of 18 December 1943 (Brasil, 1943).

The influence of the SESP on the EEUFBA was not restricted to guidance on technical issues. Due to the centrality of the EEUSP at that time, Edgard Santos consulted with its director Edith Fraenkel about the best person to direct the EEUFBA. Fraenkel recommended that he contact nurse Haydée Guanais Dourado, an instructor at the EEUSP who had had her training in the United States focused on creating the São Paulo school (Memorandum, 1946)⁴. Guanais Dourado was from Bahia, born in Morro do Chapéu, and graduated in nursing from the EEAN. During her administration, she guaranteed important aspects recommended by the SESP in the EEUFBA, such as the number of nurses per room—which she managed to reduce to two—and the decision to use the FMB laboratories. In her international training, she frequented laboratories used by professionals from various areas (Guanais Dourado, 1993a).

Before the creation of the EEUFBA, still as a professor at the EEUSP, Haydée Guanais Dourado promoted the Nursing profession when she visited different Brazilian states. American nurse Gertrude Hodgman, who idealized the SESP Nursing Programme, accompanied her. In a passage through Bahia, she stated the following:

Miss Hodgman's interest in visiting Bahia is part of the SESP [Nursing] Programme's intention to contribute to the improvement of the population's health and, in particular, to the development of the project, which aims to extend the facilities for teaching modern nursing in the country.

On my behalf, (...) I come on a mission from the São Paulo Nursing School [EEUSP] to interview applicants for enrolment at that institution (Para o desenvolvimento..., s.d. p. 1).

Haydée also stated that the São Paulo [Nursing] School had recently been created and attached to the Medicine Faculty of São Paulo. Moreover, she said the young women interviewed in Salvador were candidates for four SESP-funded scholarships for the state of Bahia. These women were to undertake the regular nursing course, which was three years long and would start in March 1944. This measure of the SESP aimed to ensure the training of an initial cadre of professors when the EEUFBA was inaugurated (Figure 1).

In May 1946, then director of the Nursing Division Clara Curtis visited Salvador to learn about the health services in that city, especially the plans and prospects for the operation of the Nursing School and the Clinical Hospital. The SESP Nursing Division offered advisory services for the initial planning of the EEUFBA. Moreover, the division was several times called upon and helped the institution, mainly to ensure the formation of a team of nurses (Background..., 11 Feb. 1952, p. 2).

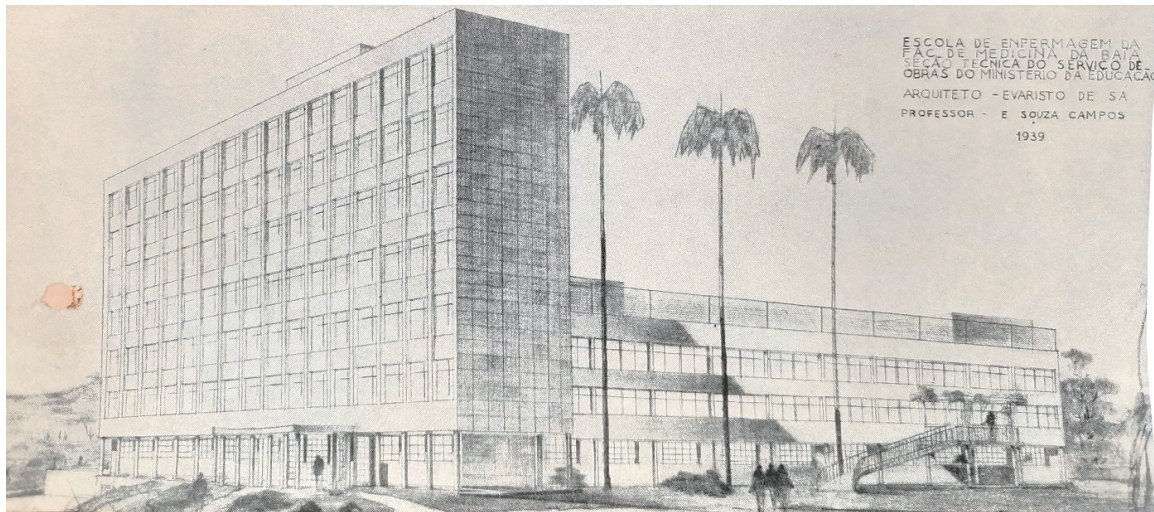


Image 1. Design of the Nursing School of the Federal University of Bahia (1939). Source: Memoranda (1939).

4. The EEUFBA begins its operations: faculty difficulties and local/national conflicts

The EEUFBA was created in Salvador on January 22, 1946, by Decree-Law No. 8.779 (Brasil, 1946). As previously stated, its creation marked a confluence of the interests of Rector Edgard Santos—who intended to form a body of nurses for the University’s Clinical Hospital, whose construction had already started in 1938—and the SESP Nursing Programme. The school emerged at a time that stimulated the creation of other Nursing Schools in Brazil in the post-World War II (1939–1945). It was a time of urbanisation and industrialisation in Brazil, in which the public power reported that society needed more nurses and more qualified professionals to work in hospitals, the public health sector, and the armed forces (Passos, 2012).

The arrival of nurse Haydée Guanais Dourado was influential in the organisation of the course since her professional and academic experiences served as a base for the political pedagogical project (PPP) designed for the school, especially on the PPP proposed by the SESP at that time. Her professional improvement was obtained mainly in the Anna Nery Nursing School, in Canada, the United States, and the EEUSP, and affected the model implemented in the EEUFBA. Haydée promoted the values of these institutions, adapting them to the cultural reality of Bahia (Oliveira *et al.*, 2016).

Guanais Dourado took recently-graduate nurses from the EEUSP to Bahia to implement the Nursing School, as Olga Verderese, born in Piracicaba, São Paulo, where she graduated in 1947. In addition to collaborating with the organisation of the first Nursing School in Bahia, where she stood out as a professor and held the position of vice-director, Verderese assumed the Nursing Directorate of the Clinical Hospital, which came to be a future field of internships for the new course students (Mancia, Salles, & Padilha, 2008). However, occupying this position did not come naturally. On the contrary, it resulted from previous negotiations between Haydée Guanais Dourado and Edgard Santos. The UFBA’s Rector had already in mind the name of a professional to occupy that position. Nonetheless, director Guanais Dourado (1993a, p. 3) reiterated that only a full professor at the school could supervise nursing in the hospital.

The difficulty in forming a staff team of permanent professors was one of the issues the EEUFBA had faced since the beginning of its operations. The SESP even contributed both technically and financially to guide the school’s operation, but that was not enough. In 1949, for example, two SESP nurses were put at the disposal of the school to serve as faculty members. They did so through a project named “BA-SAL-14”, an aid granted to the EEUFBA between March 1949 and December 1951. However, the EEUFBA received books on nursing and scholarships aimed at several students (Termo de..., 11 April 1960, pp. 1-2). Technical

and financial assistance continued in subsequent years, including hiring IIAA Public Health consultant Mabel Johnson, who trained the students on public health. On 31 December 1957, on the one hand, the BA-SAL-14 project expired, and, on the other hand, the EEUFBA received only technical assistance whenever it was requested (Termo de..., 11 April 1960, pp. 2-3).

As long as Haydée Guanais Dourado held the position of director of the EEUFBA, she used her social capital to get nurses for the school. She visited the EEUSP and the EEAN, talked to their respective directors, and asked them to transfer some experienced professionals to her team temporarily. Guanais Dourado (1993a, p. 11) told them that "one cannot open a new School with newly trained nurses only, so lend me an experience one to commission there for a couple of years". On the one hand, EEUSP director Edith Fraenkel did not fail to help her, but the nurse on loan Lúcia Jardim could not take the teaching post in Bahia because her mother fell ill. On the other hand, the EEUFBA director wished to receive from the EAAN her sister, also born in Bahia, nurse Radcliff Guanais Dourado. However, the EEAN director Laís Netto dos Reys insisted to the rector of her institution that Radcliff remained in Rio de Janeiro. Reys would have described Radcliff as "one of the professors I rely on the most in here; she belongs to my team" (Guanais Dourado, 1993a, p. 11).

Although Reys was linked to the Vargas government through the minister Gustavo Capanema (Barreira, 1999) and the end of the Vargas government in 1945 may have placed her in a delicate situation to obtain professors for the EEAN in the case of Radcliff's transfer, the use of the term "my team" in the interview given by Haydée Guanais Dourado reinforces the existence of a division in Brazilian nursing. As mentioned earlier, conflicts between EEAN projects, on the one hand, and those of the Rockefeller Foundation and the SESP, on the other, caused this division.

Apparently, Haydée Guanais Dourado used the advantages of running a school supported by the SESP to "lure" the EEAN rector and obtain the cession of her sister. In a letter sent to the institution, Guanais Dourado said she could send her sister from Bahia to a specialisation in another country. In considering the possibility of one of his professors having post-graduate training overseas, the rector was in favour of her transfer:

Laís, you cannot say no... Ah, I wish we had scholarships here for all the faculties of my university. Yes, I would send her. The education on their account, the travel, everything. You must let her go. She will be one more professor from Brazil to be well prepared. This is interesting for the School (Guanais Dourado, 1993a, p. 11).

Classes at the EEUFBA began on 12 March 1947, just over a year after the publication of the Decree-Law that created the nursing course. As the EEUFBA did not yet have its facilities, the classes of the first group of students took place at the FMB, in Terreiro de Jesus, in the historic centre of Salvador. The first curriculum of the EEUFBA, which lasted four years, was divided into core and professionalising disciplines (Chart 1).

Chart 1. Disciplines of the EEUFBA's first curriculum

CORE DISCIPLINES
Chemistry of nutrition, physiological chemistry; Biological sciences: Anatomy, Physiology, Biochemistry, Microbiology, Parasitology, Pathology and Pharmacology; Social Sciences Applied to Nursing, Psychology and Sociology, and Social Work.
CORE DISCIPLINES
Medical-Surgical Area
Medical-surgical nursing I and II, Otolaryngology, Ophthalmology, Neurology, Orthopaedics, Emergency Room, Operating Room
Intermediate Area
Ethics, History of Nursing
Public Health Area
Sanitation and Community Study, Public Health Nursing I and II, Nursing in Communicable Diseases

Source: Museu da EEUFBA Prof.^a Haydée Guanais Dourado, 1947.

The basic disciplines involved curricular components of Exact and Human Sciences. Recognised at the time as non-exclusive disciplines, they were taught by the FMB's full professors or assistants. Furthermore, they did so by using the faculty laboratory resources already in existence. The professionalising disciplines' axis was subdivided into Medico-Surgical, Intermediate, and Public Health.

A Nursing School Board selected professors to teach the first courses of the EEUFBA. Rector Edgard Santos created this body because the Nursing School neither participated in the University Board at the time nor had its Congregation, as it was an annex to the Medicine Faculty of Bahia. In addition to the Rector, the Medicine Faculty director, Professor José Olímpio da Silva, and the Nursing School director, Professor Haydée Guanais Dourado, were also part of the Nursing Board. Afterward, the EEUFBA vice-director, Professor Olga Verderese, joined the board (Fernandes, 2001).

In the first year of the EEUFBA, faculty physicians or professors with other training, i.e., distinctive from Nursing, taught the theoretical approaches of the disciplines. The few female nurse professors who worked at the school were in charge of demonstrative practical activities and patient care. Whenever possible, the nurse professors attended the classes of these other professors with a two-fold objective: to orient them regarding the school's philosophy and, at the same time, to broaden their own knowledge. The intention was to replace faculty physicians with nurses gradually. However, the initiatives to modify the programmes occurred only starting from the late 1950s when the nurses began to intervene in the teaching curriculum (Fernandes, 2001).

If, on the one hand, the presence of Haydée Guanais Dourado as a director coming from the EEUSP favoured the development of the SESP Nursing Project; on the other hand, the constant conflicts for autonomy with Edgard Santos made coexistence increasingly difficult. In many excerpts of her interviews, it is possible to notice the disputes between Haydée Guanais Dourado and the UFBA's Rector: "it could be that the rector himself thought I was a bit too ambitious" (Guanais Dourado, 1993b), or even "that I administrated without consulting him, and I did not realise that. It could also be my fault, but I did not realise it because I was quite imbued that I was the one who knew [how to run] my teaching staff that, at that time, was bigger" (Guanais Dourado, 1993c, p. 7). On one occasion, the rector complained that she "needled" him publicly (Guanais Dourado, 1993c, p. 7).

The conflicts between Haydée Guanais Dourado and Edgard Santos are an example of how doctors felt threatened by the arrival of qualified nurses with degrees in a "territory" that they considered theirs, which can also be observed in other nursing schools linked to Faculties of Medicine in the country. The troubled relationship between the rector and the director—as well as the conflicts arising from the hierarchy established between doctors and nurses—influenced the conduct of the EEUFBA and caused Guanais Dourado to resign in mid-1949. At that point, the nurse who started implementing the SESP Nursing Project in Bahia had to return to the EEUSP. From there, in 1950, she also followed the EEUFBA students who needed to do part of their courses in São Paulo (Guanais Dourado, 1993b, p. 8). Due to the difficulties in finding clinical practice settings in Salvador, the first two classes did their final year of nursing in São Paulo (1950 and 1951), taking advantage of a partnership between the Universities of Bahia and São Paulo prevailing at the time. In São Paulo, the students completed internships in Urban and Rural Public Health, Communicable Diseases, and Psychiatry, as well as in other hospital-based disciplines of their interest (Fernandes, 2001).

A graduate in Nursing from the EEUSP, Jandyra Alves Coelho took over the direction of the EEUFBA between 1950 and 1951. She was followed by vice-director and graduated from the EEUSP Anayde Correa de Carvalho, born in Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo, and went to Bahia in 1950 (Ramos, 2017). Concurrently with difficulty in finding a stable and well-qualified cadre of instructors, the SESP observed that the constant change of directors influenced the development of the school. Nevertheless, the agency stated that in just a few years of its existence, the EEUFBA had already gained recognition for maintaining good standards of nursing education and practice (Background..., 11 Feb. 1952, p. 1).

The school building was inaugurated in 1950 in the Canela neighbourhood of Salvador. Besides the administrative facilities and classrooms, the building served as a residence for teachers and students from the countryside

or other states. It could house about 80 students and 20 professors. The on-campus residence for nursing students came from an Anglo-American tradition. Following a regulation required by the specific legislation on nursing education, i.e., Law No. 775 (Brasil, 1949), the EEAN and the EEUSP absorbed such a tradition. The boarding school system lasted from the 1950s to the mid-1970s. It was propagated as a necessity for the training of nurses by facilitating the daily routine of practical and theoretical classes and internships.

The on-campus residence aroused the interest of course applicants, thus becoming one of the motivating elements of their choice for Nursing. The residence met the needs of students from lower socio-economic backgrounds and offered advantages to those from higher social backgrounds, which accommodated the desires of their families. "The distinctiveness of the building and the comfort that the school provided were a way of drawing them into a secluded life" (Passos, 2012, p. 98).

The SESP considered an asset of the EEUFBA its ability to attract an "exceptionally good group of students". Seven students in the first class were "young women from prominent families in Bahia, and this set a standard for future enrolments" (Background..., 11 Feb. 1952, p. 1). The graduates of the first and second classes attained positions at the EEUFBA, the Clinical Hospital, the Santa Terezinha anti-tuberculosis sanatorium, and the Public Health Secretariat. They were as follows (Chart 2).

Chart 2. Students from the first two *EEUFBA* classes

1950
Leônia Melro de Freitas, Maria Helena Resende Ribeiro, Maria Ivete Ribeiro de Oliveira, Maria José de Oliveira, Maria Juliêta Calmon Villas-Bôas, Nilza Marques Maurício Garcia e Stela Alves dos Santos
1951
Alba Gueudeville, Arlinda de Azevedo Barreto, Dulce Ferraro de Mello, Edla Dalva Moreira, Iracy Silva Costa, Iraides Teixeira de Carvalho, Joêta Guerra de Macêdo, Junia Nogueira Brandão, Lenisia Costa Santos, Maria Carmelita Hegoonet, Maria dos Reis Lopes, M ^a José de Carvalho Florence, Maria José Magalhães de Jesus, Maria Lisete de Oliveira Mendonça, Marizete Borja Lima, Nildes Corbiniana dos Anjos, Nilza Cardoso Barreto, Zilda Cotrim Fernandes e Zuleika de Sena Actis

Source: Fernandes (2001).

During the 1950s, the EEUFBA underwent several curricular changes, including introducing the teaching of Nursing Service Management related to the hospital environment and public health. Starting in 1952, during the directorship of nurse Nilza Garcia at the EEUFBA, the clinical practice settings were expanded. They had the collaboration of the institution's graduates, who started working in state and federal public hospitals. The University started operating extramurally, both in teaching and extension activities. In the public health field, the EEUFBA contributed to the organisation of Nursing Services at Health Centres, thus strengthening the relationship with the Bahia State Health Secretariat. This relationship favoured the insertion of the students from the third class onwards into urban and rural public health services. Such a partnership ended the internship that was carried out in São Paulo at the end of the course (Fernandes, 2001).

5. Concluding remarks

The development of the SESP Nursing Project positively contributed to expanding the number of nurses graduating from the schools it helped create in Brazil. The complex relationships at the Federal University of Bahia encountered obstacles in training nurses. These obstacles started with the conflicts between director Haydée Guanais Dourado and Rector Edgard Santos. However, they also extended to the maintenance of teaching staff and subsequent changes of directors.

This example shows the difficulties of implementing projects in the international health field, constantly pressured by local issues, professional disputes, and the personal characteristics of the individuals responsible for their operation. Nurse Haydée Guanais Dourado was the first director of the EEUFBA and, according to Kapil Raj (2007), can be analysed as a mediator of the contact zone between the science practised in the United States and Brazil. Trained at the EEAN, she incorporated elements of the SESP proposal when she graduated to work at the EEUSP. Subsequently, she was assigned to the EEUFBA. Although she enabled the interlocution between the different knowledge constructed and learned throughout her career, she did not lack professional aspirations. However, her professionalism was marked by the desire for autonomy in the nursing field.

The EEUFBA needed to find other ways to consolidate itself as an educational institution, which occurred with an expansion of mediating individuals. After graduating, the Rockefeller Foundation granted scholarships to students from the first classes who returned to teach at the Bahia School. This subject needs to be studied in depth because the context in question was no longer the same in which Haydée trained overseas. New national and international priorities were at issue in nursing in the 1960s, and they certainly influenced the paths these women took and their professional practice.

NOTES

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¹ The Nursing and Social Services School of Bahia was created by Decree-Law No. 8.779 of 22 January 1946 (Brasil, 1946), and it was annexed to the Medicine Faculty of Bahia. The Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) was only created by Decree-law No. 9.155 of 5 April 1946.

² Dictatorial regime established in a coup d'état by Getúlio Vargas.

³ The Rockefeller Foundation is an international philanthropic agency established in 1913. Since the beginning of its operations, the agency members have followed the philanthropic principles of John D. Rockefeller. Rockefeller was a North American millionaire who invested in the international agency with the money generated by exploiting, refining, and trading petroleum. He believed that philanthropy could not be mistaken for charity. He also advocated that philanthropy should be seen as an investment offered to government agencies, not individuals. Beyond that, it should be limited in duration so as not to become dependent. It should be destined for organizations committed to continuing their work when the aid eventually ends. On the one hand, the philanthropic agency worked with the idea of demonstration effect, which offered funding for a certain period to the institutions. On the other hand, the leaders of the recipient country should be subsequently responsible for maintaining their institutions. Confer Farley (2004).

⁴ Haydée Guanais Dourado graduated in nursing from the Anna Nery Nursing School in Rio de Janeiro in 1935. She became director of the EEUFBA on 26 June 1946 and left the position on 22 October 1949.

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