

## THE EXPANSION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BRAZIL POST-1930

### *A EXPANSÃO DO ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO NO BRASIL PÓS-1930*

### *LA EXPANSIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA EN BRASIL POST-1930*

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**ABSTRACT:** In this article, we recompose historical perspectives aimed at expanding secondary education in Brazil after 1930. Nunes (1999) informs that this expansion increased after the economic collapse of the institutions, motivated by the crash of the New York stock exchange; catastrophe of worldwide repercussion that, among other consequences, made visible the need to restructure the secondary education offered since it no longer supported formalistic education, aiming the formation of an elite that envisioned higher education. The theoretical and methodological basis addresses the works of Silva (1969), Abreu (1955), Palma Filho (2005) and Nunes (1999). We will have a close look at secondary education developed in Rio de Janeiro, where we found that this offer was not limited to public schools.

**KEYWORDS:** History of Education. Expansion of secondary education. Educational institutions.

**RESUMO:** *Recompomos neste artigo perspectivas históricas voltadas para a expansão do ensino secundário no Brasil pós 1930. Nunes (1999) informa que essa expansão se ampliou após o colapso econômico das instituições, motivado pela quebra da bolsa de valores de Nova York, catástrofe de repercussão mundial que, dentre outras consequências, tornou visível a necessidade de reestruturação da educação secundária até então oferecida, já que não comportava mais um ensino formalista, voltado para formação de uma elite que vislumbrava o ensino superior. A base teórica e metodológica aborda os trabalhos de Silva (1969), Abreu (1955), Palma Filho (2005) e Nunes (1999). Teremos olhar atento para o ensino secundário desenvolvido no Rio de Janeiro, onde detectamos que essa oferta não se limitou a estabelecimentos públicos de ensino.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *História da educação. Expansão do ensino secundário. Instituições educacionais.*

**RESUMEN:** *En este artículo recomponemos perspectivas históricas encaminadas a la expansión de la educación secundaria en Brasil después de 1930. Nunes (1999), informa que*

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*esta expansión se expandió luego del colapso económico de las instituciones, motivado por el colapso de la bolsa de valores de Nueva York; catástrofe de repercusión mundial que, visibilizó la necesidad de reestructurar la educación secundaria que hasta ese momento se ofrecía, ya que ya no incluía la educación formal, a formar una élite que contemplara la educación superior. La base teórica y metodológica aborda Silva (1969), Abreu (1955), Palma Filho (2005) y Nunes (1999). Veremos de cerca la educación secundaria, en Río de Janeiro, donde descubrimos que esta oferta no se limitaba a las escuelas públicas.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Historia de la Educación. Expansión de la enseñanza secundaria. Instituciones educativas.*

## Introduction

Maria Thétis Nunes (1999), in the work *Secondary School and Brazilian Society*, analyzes that, from 1930 onwards, traditional political institutions collapsed, beginning a new stage in Brazilian political life. This crisis was related to the advent of the crash of the New York Stock Exchange, with worldwide repercussions, which had a disastrous impact on our economy, causing consequences such as the drop in the price of coffee, the drop in the exchange rate and the drop in the volume of exports, among others. This context contributed to Brazilian social inequality, revealing the proletariat and the productive sectors of the middle class on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and the mercantile latifundium on the other, giving rise to the development of a new Brazil.

What is observed is that these changes made visible the fact that the secondary education offered until then was incompatible with the new reality of the country, which no longer supported a formalistic and archaic type of education, aiming at the formation of an elite for higher education (FIALHO; SÁ, 2018).

The foundation of the Brazilian Association of Education (ABE) in 1924, bringing together illustrious and cultured personalities, under the leadership of professor Heitor Lyra da Silva, and the subsequent growth of the movement, incorporating intellectuals in subsequent years, ended up influencing the drafting of laws which served as guidelines and bases for Brazilian education, as a result of the numerous educational conferences and congresses held, mainly in the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and in the Federal District itself, where educators analyzed the current educational policy.

Thus, several transformations took place after the 1930 Revolution, requiring a public educational system for that new Brazilian reality. Thus, there was a need to create new administrative agencies, including the Ministry of Education and Health, created by Decree-Law n. 19,402, 14 November 1930, whose first occupant was Minister Francisco Campos.

## The Francisco Campos reform and the expansion of secondary education

Regarding the educational reality of the 1930s and against the proposal of a single education system, articulated at different levels, the Minister of Education Francisco Campos, in 1931, presented a different proposal that was more strongly directed to post-primary education, such as secondary, commercial and higher.

The reform was imposed on the entirety of the national territory. According to Francisco Campos' ideas, the belief that it was possible to reform society with the improvement of schools and people's education, modernizing the elites, was founded. However, secondary education was reformed with a propaedeutic formation logic focused on higher education. Based on the professional technical courses, commercial education aimed at the labor market was organized, which did not guarantee the student to attend higher education, an exclusive privilege for students who had completed preparatory secondary education. During this period, the university system was established in Brazil and the organization of the University of Brazil (1937) in Rio de Janeiro. Thus, the Francisco Campos Reform established a project that pointed to two models of education: one focused on *thinking* and the other on *producing*<sup>3</sup>.

By proposing the reorganization of secondary and commercial education, the Francisco Campos Reform organized these two courses in a completely independent way, gaining organicity and adopting a serial curriculum. The duration of these courses became the fundamental, in five years, and the complementary, in two years.

The curricular organization presented, in a more integrated way, the humanities and scientific subjects; and the complementary cycle was structured as propaedeutic, subdivided into different categories for pre-legal, pre-medical and pre-polytechnic studies, with the aim of preparing the student for higher education.

The Francisco Campos Reform also organized commercial education into two cycles: the first was the three-year introductory course and the two-year auxiliary course in commerce. The second cycle had five modalities: accountant expert course (three years), secretarial technical course (one year), bookkeeper course (two years), sales manager course (two years) and actuary course (three years). Only the accountant and actuary expert courses

<sup>3</sup> Education for *thinking* was intended for those who should guide and define the great collective decisions and establish the political organization that would give meaning and direction to the national economy. Education to *produce* was aimed at the formation of those who should meet the needs of the market. That was the objective of the reform of commercial education, transforming it into several technical courses, but which did not give access to higher education. (MORAES, 2000).

provided access to higher education, but only to the higher finance course. In other words, the student who was attending professional secondary education was unable to access another course later.

For Demerval Saviani (2013), this proposal for secondary education revealed an elitist character, insofar as it combined an extremely rigid evaluation proposal with an encyclopedic curriculum, maintaining the traditional function of secondary education, whose objective was to prepare for higher education.

At that time, a new Constitution was being drafted, and the debates that took place in the Constituent Assembly in 1933 and 1934 were intended to establish a chapter on education for the entire country. Among the participants in these debates, liberal educators and Catholic intellectuals stood out.

Liberal educators<sup>4</sup>, since the 1920s, were influenced by the movement of pedagogical renewal called *Escolanovismo* and wanted to spread these new perspectives to the field of education. Among the points they defended were the institutionalization and expansion of public schools, in addition to the secular nature of teaching and the renewal of pedagogical methods. Catholic intellectuals, on the other hand, defended the interests of a confessional school that, for a long time, exercised the control of teaching, using traditional methods and religious education in public schools (FIALHO; SOUSA, 2021).

The educational issue between liberals and Catholics became so controversial that, in 1932, the leaders of the renovating movement launched the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education, signed by the most eminent national educators, making public the fundamental principles that the renovators defended, seeking to adapt education to the transformations taking place in the country.

The Manifesto proposed an articulated education system, abandoning the dualism that existed, where primary and vocational education were for the poor and secondary and higher education for the rich. According to Palma Filho (2005), this Manifesto is not just a document concerned with establishing a diagnosis of the Brazilian educational framework, because in it there is a proposal for the creation of an education system, even if it is a general outline in which an educational program will be inserted.

The Manifesto advocated that secondary education should be organized into two cycles, the first having a common basis, lasting three years, and the second, two sessions: one

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<sup>4</sup> Liberal educators became involved in a movement characterized by new pedagogical ideas that were on the agenda in the US and Europe, with a view to adapting teaching in the phase of industrial capitalist development. John Dewey was one of the forerunners of these ideas, which involved the expansion of school opportunities, as well as new pedagogical methods, as opposed to the traditional school.

that would develop the teaching of the humanities and the other, technical formation. Even proposing the unification of secondary education, there was a section in the Manifesto of an intellectual character (teaching of the humanities and sciences) and another of a manual character (technical formation) that would serve the workforce.

The constitutional text promulgated in 1934 attended to some of the demands of the so-called pioneers of education, stating that education is a right of all and a duty of the State, which is responsible for seeking to provide it, establishing the obligation of integral primary school and determining the free education to that level. The text also admits the need for a National Education Plan that could coordinate teaching activities at all levels.

However, Catholics managed to make religious education optional in official schools, an issue that had already been overcome by the 1931 Constitution of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

### **Educational reforms in the 1940s/50s**

Cunha (1983) analyzes that the State, in the Vargas dictatorship, when assuming an industrial development project for the country, reinforces its concern with qualifying the workforce. Thus, between the years 1942 and 1946 educational reforms were carried out for primary and secondary education, through the Organic Laws.

From 1942 onwards, the Minister of Education Gustavo Capanema started to publish several decree-laws. Four decrees are issued during the Estado Novo: a) Decree-Law 4,073, on 30 January 1942 (Organic Law of Industrial Education); b) Decree-Law 4,048, on 22 January 1942, creates the National Service for Industrial Learning (SENAI); c) Decree-Law 4,244, on 9 April 1942 (Organic Law for Secondary Education); and d) Decree-Law 6,141, on 28 December 1943 (Organic Law of Commercial Education). After the military coup that overthrew Vargas (1945), during the Provisional Government presided over by the President of the Supreme Federal Court (STF), four more decree-laws were published: a) Decree-law 8,529, on 2 January 1946 (Organic Law of Primary Education); b) Decree-Law 8,530, on 2 January 1946 (Organic Law for Normal Education); c) Decree-law 8,621 and 8,622, on 10 January 1946, create the National Service for Commercial Learning (SENAC) and d) Decree-law 9,613, on 20 August 1946, Organic Law of Agricultural Education (PALMA FILHO, 2005, p. 11, our translation).

In this context, Minister Capanema, who succeeded Francisco Campos, proposed that part of secondary education be organized as preparation for work. Thus, industrial, commercial or agricultural secondary education would focus exclusively on formation of young workers.

The first Organic Law on Industrial Education, enacted in 1942, organized this teaching into two cycles: the first composed by three to four-year technical courses and a one-year pedagogical course; and the second, a four-year basic industrial course plus a two-year master's course. In addition to these courses, the law also provided for craft courses, of reduced duration, which taught crafts.

Decree-Law n. 6,141, of 28 December 1943, defined commercial education throughout the country and was called the Organic Law of Commercial Education, proposing that courses be structured in two cycles, extending their duration and incorporating six technical courses: secretariat, commerce, administration, advertising, accounting and statistics.

Parallel to this modality of professional technical education, Decree-Law n. 9,613, of 20 August 1946, also structured in two cycles: the first lasting four years, plus the two-year master's course; and the second with three-year technical courses, plus two years of teaching, in addition to the one-year agricultural education course.

In addition to the reforms for technical-professional education, the Capanema Reform defined a reorganization of secondary education, determining that the purpose of secondary school was to form the leading individuals in the country. As already foreseen by the Francisco Campos Reform, the new law also established a first cycle, called gymnasium, of four years; and a second cycle, divided into two three-year courses: the classic and the scientific. The classic course placed greater emphasis on the humanities, and the scientific course on the natural sciences, which reaffirmed the general cultural and humanist character of the curricula.

Nunes (1980) clarifies that the reorganization of secondary education in the 1940s, through Organic Laws, was not adequate and sufficient to meet the requirements of the prevailing industrial capitalism, resulting in a parallel school system, resulting in the creation of the National Industry Service (SENAI), National Commerce Service (SENAC) and Federal Technical Schools.

These courses were born from the need and urgency of industries to promote minimum professional qualification for workers, as the regular education system established by the Organic Laws did not offer the necessary conditions for adapting education to economic transformations and, consequently, did not meet the demand for skilled labor required by the new labor market (NASCIMENTO; MACHADO; ALMEIDA, 2020). SENAI and SENAC, each with its own specificity, became responsible for offering short-term technical courses, while the official system began to offer mainly full formation courses.

From the 1937 Constitution and the enactment of the Organic Laws on Education, the Brazilian State was marked by a duality in the organization of education, revealing social differences. On the one hand, secondary and higher education was aimed at the elite, while, on the other hand, primary and professional education, at the popular classes, thus defining an elite propaedeutic secondary education for the former, and the professional as a terminal course for workers' children, in line with the interests of the market.

In the context of 1948, liberal educators presented a draft Law of Guidelines and Bases for National Education, sent by Minister Clemente Mariani to the Chamber of Deputies, proposing the mandatory and free nature of primary education and the progressive expansion of free education for other levels of education.

The bill presented in 1948 did not determine the end of duality in Brazilian secondary education but provided for changes that would enhance professional courses. The first change concerned the inclusion of four subjects from secondary gymnasium in the first cycle and five subjects of a cultural nature in the second cycle. In turn, the second change made it possible to create a link between secondary and professional education, whose objective was to close the gap between these two courses.

In the second half of the 1940s, the educational offer still served, in a restricted way, society. Less than half of the school population had access to elementary school, and for a minority that reached post-primary education, only the possibility of attending one of the modalities of vocational education was open. Secondary education, which would promote higher education, was still denied to the majority of the Brazilian people.

For Cunha (1991), this difficulty in accessing secondary school was due to its elitist character, in addition to the reduced number of public schools that offered it. Thus, the separation of post-primary education between the secondary and professional branches was perpetuated. Furthermore, there were few public gymnasiums, which favored the predominance of private secondary schools which, according to Silva (1969), in the early 1940s, accounted for 73.3% of enrollments related to secondary education in the country.

In this regard, Beisiegel (1986) emphasizes that, while some administrators and educators considered that the secondary school was the school referral of the future elites of the country, large segments of the population reacted in search of an increase in the number of places available and fought for their children also had access to secondary school.

## **Post-1930 Secondary Education in Rio de Janeiro**

In Rio de Janeiro, until the First Republic<sup>5</sup>, the private school predominated, offering elementary and secondary education to a clientele from the rural aristocracy from the Empire, but which continued, for a long time, in political control during the republican period. The state government, in that period, was practically limited to the installation of a few public schools that operated in rented buildings, for the most part.

This scenario began to change in the decades following the end of the Old Republic, as Abreu (1955, p. 211, our translation) points out:

Elementary school as a popular school, a school for all, for the children of the people, begins to appear and expand throughout Rio de Janeiro, only in the past three or four decades [1930, 1940, 1950], when a greater effort from public power is perceived in providing it to the population of school age. For this reason, initially, there was greater emphasis on paid school, maintained by private individuals and which provided elementary and secondary education to a clientele privileged by the economic power.

The crisis in the Rio de Janeiro agrarian sector became acute in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, eventually leading to the emptying of rural areas, accelerating the rural exodus and consequently the urbanization process, which had repercussions on the transformations that took place in the public educational system of Rio de Janeiro. This process of rural migration, linked to the natural growth of the population, advanced the urbanization process observed in the municipalities of Baixada Fluminense. Brandão (1992) reports that in 1950 there was already some balance between the rural population (52.5%) and the urban population in the suburbs (47.5%). However, in 1960, the urban population reached 61%, while the rural population dropped to 39%.

In this context of social changes that took place in more urbanized regions in the state of Rio de Janeiro, school education started to be demanded by increasingly large portions of Rio de Janeiro society, no longer being directed only to the wealthier classes. Abreu (1955) analyzes that the people began to feel, more and more, the need for this school, recognizing its value and importance and demanding greater and more onerous State obligations, such as the legally organized political power.

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<sup>5</sup> The First Brazilian Republic, commonly called the Old Republic, was the period in Brazil's history that stretched from the proclamation of the Republic, on 15 November 1889, to the 1930 Revolution, and which deposed President Washington Luís. Brazil was named the United States of Brazil, the same name used in the Constitution of 1891. The Old Republic is divided by historians into two periods. The first period, called Republic of the Sword, as the Republic of the sectors mobilized by the Army and supported by the republicans, comprises the Proclamation of the Republic of Brazil, on 15 November 1889, until the election of the first civilian president, Prudente de Moraes. The second period was known as the Oligarchic Republic and extends from 1894 to the 1930 Revolution. It was characterized by giving greater power to regional elites, especially in the south and southeast of the country.



From the 1940s and 1950s onwards, there was a significant increase in the state public primary education system. The city halls of the most urbanized municipalities contributed more effectively with the provision of elementary education, expanding the people's opportunity to access public schools (LOPES, 2019).

However, according to Bezerra (1995), while the number of government-funded primary schools expanded, the number of public gymnasiums showed a minimal growth, not even determining a more effective action by the State to increase their number. As a result, there was an expansion of the private education network in this segment.

The private network continued to expand and Rio's primary education became mandatory for all school-age children, through the State Constitution of 1947, and should be provided by the government. The text of this Constitution, in its Art. 13, defined that state public and primary education should be free, in addition to establishing, in its Art. 142, that 20% of tax revenues should be destined for the maintenance and development of education.

Amaral Peixoto's<sup>6</sup> government (1950-1954) aimed to further expand the supply of primary education in the former state of Rio and continued to work on the construction of school buildings, an undertaking that had already begun under his previous administration (1937-1945). According to official data presented by the secretary of education José de Moura e Silva, the increase in the number of school groups was expressive and, at the end of this second Amaral Peixoto government, there were already 62 school groups ready and nineteen under construction in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

The state government, in addition to using its own resources, also had financial support from the federal government, obtained through the National Fund for Primary Education (FNPE), whose resources were intended for the construction of schools and school groups in rural areas. According to reports by the secretary of education José de Moura e

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<sup>6</sup> Ernâni do Amaral Peixoto was born in Niterói, in July 1905. Son of Augusto do Amaral Peixoto and Alice Monteiro, he attended secondary school at Anchieta School, in the city of Nova Friburgo. He joined the Navy School in 1923. In 1927 he graduated as a geographer in Rio de Janeiro. Under the influence of his brother, also a soldier, Augusto do Amaral Peixoto, had contact with the tenentista movement before the 1930 Revolution, which would support and elevate Getúlio Vargas to power. In 1937, after the establishment of the Estado Novo, he was appointed to the position of federal interventor in the state of Rio de Janeiro, seeking, with Getúlio Vargas, whose son-in-law he became in 1939, for improvements in the economic conditions of Rio de Janeiro, than this resulted in the establishment of the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional (CSN - National Steel Company), in the city of Volta Redonda, and of the Fábrica Nacional de Motores (FNM - National Engine Factory), in Duque de Caxias. In 1951, he took his second term, now as elected governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, showing early in his government a concern with the recovery of the state's economy, especially with regard to the expansion of the industrial park in Rio de Janeiro. He developed a project called "Rural Educational Missions" which aimed to carry out educational and cultural work with the rural population of the state of Rio de Janeiro. He created the Normal School of Cantagalo in 1952, whose objective was to form primary teachers to work in schools in rural areas.

Silva, in 1951 alone, 51 schools were founded in the state of Rio de Janeiro in buildings built with FNEP funds.

Brandão (1992) analyzes that the depletion of the population in the rural regions of the state and the increase in the population in urban centers mark the policies implemented by Amaral Peixoto, which were not restricted to municipalities with greater economic weight. Public funds for urban sanitation, transport, electrification and construction of school buildings were used interchangeably, as they served more developed or more backward areas of the state.

The policies adopted by this administration mark the educational field, signaling the government's concern to serve both the population living in urban centers and those living in rural areas. In addition to the construction of new school units, the government created mechanisms that encouraged the continuation of teaching in rural areas, preventing the evasion of teaching in these regions. An important measure was the creation of the first Normal School, in the municipality of Cantagalo, on 27 July 1952.

Regarding the aspect of interiorization, the state government, in addition to providing assistance to populations living in urban centers, was also concerned with rural areas and, throughout the 1940s and first half of the 1950s, the state administrations made an effort to expand the state primary education network throughout the entire state of Rio de Janeiro. The table below shows the growth of enrollments related to state primary education in all regions of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

From 1955 to 1958, the educational policy adopted by the Miguel Couto Filho<sup>7</sup> government also focused its efforts on the elementary school, with 178 new schools being installed, eighteen school groups and eight kindergartens being created. In addition to this growth that took place in the state primary network, Rio de Janeiro city halls also increased the number of primary establishments during the 1950s.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the expansion policy took place decisively for elementary education, but the same did not happen with secondary education, whose offer of enrollments in the public network remained limited throughout these years (FIALHO;

<sup>7</sup> Miguel Couto Filho was born on 8 May 1900, in Rio de Janeiro. In the 1930s, he entered politics, having been elected state deputy for Rio de Janeiro in 1934. He served from 1935 to 1937, when Congress was closed by the coup of the Estado Novo. With the redemocratization, he was elected constituent federal deputy by the Social Democratic Party (PSD). In October 1954, he ran for the state government of Rio de Janeiro for the PSD and was elected. He resigned in July 1958 to run for the Federal Senate, to which he was elected in October. After the election, he left the PSD for the Progressive Social Party (PSP), becoming leader of the party in the Senate between 1963 and 1965. With the military coup of 1964 and the removal of the registration of the parties by the AI-2, he joined the National Renewal Alliance (ARENA), party that supported the regime. In 1966, he won a new term of federal deputy for the state of Rio by that acronym. He died while in office, on 2 May 1969, while traveling to Guarapari, a resort in Espírito Santo.

FREIRE, 2018). The State Constitution of 1947 announced that elementary education was mandatory and free of charge, but this was not foreseen in relation to secondary education (BEZERRA, 1995).

The offer of secondary education ended up being reduced and the number of establishments that offered some modality of this education to the population was very small. Regarding the professional technical course, the state government maintained three schools dedicated to industrial education: the industrial school Aurelino Leal, in Niterói, and the Nilo Peçanha school, in Campos, aimed at female clientele; and the Henrique Lage Industrial School, also located in Niterói, for males.

The report presented in 1949 by the director of the Statistical and Educational Research Service (SEPE) informs that, as for secondary education, only the Liceu Nilo Peçanha, in Niterói, was financed by the state; the Liceu Humanidades, in Campos; and the Petrópolis State Gymnasium. Attached to these two high schools were the Niterói Education Institute and the Campos Education Institute.

With the increase in opportunities to enter the official public primary school, the demand for other levels of education increased, especially in the more urbanized regions of the state, making the population feel the need to continue their studies. Thus, the offer of secondary education in private establishments was also expanded (BEZERRA, 1995).

Therefore, while the state and municipality concentrated their educational initiatives aimed at primary education, secondary education in Rio de Janeiro was handed over to the private sector. According to data revealed by Abreu (1955), of the total allocated to education expenditure, 75% were allocated to primary education, 24.5% to secondary education and 0.55% to higher education.

According to the report by the secretary of education José Moura e Silva, presented to Governor Amaral Peixoto, in 1951, there were 2045 students enrolled in state secondary education, being 551 in junior high and 435 in high school at Liceu Nilo Peçanha; 614 in junior high school and 280 in high school at the Liceu de Humanidades de Campos; and 165 in the state gymnasium in Petrópolis.

When it comes to the adoption of a policy aimed at expanding the elementary education network, the government of Amaral Peixoto alleged a lack of financial resources to carry out its implementation.

*It is highly costly for the Government to create and maintain Gymnasiums or Schools. While the State's resources are small, it will be better to grant scholarships to poor and capable young people, especially those who complete primary school in state school groups, enrolling them in private*

*establishments* (Report presented by Secretary José de Moura e Silva to Governor Amaral Peixoto, 1951, p. 24, our translation).

Despite this allegation of financial difficulties, the government was not totally oblivious to the demands for expansion of public gymnasiums and its secretary of education proposed that the number of enrollments in existing establishments be increased.

*The public's great interest in seeking secondary education maintained by the State in the two Humanities high Schools, in Campos and Niterói, is demanding greater attention from the public authorities, in order to expand, at least in these two cities, their possibilities of attending to the greater number of young people, especially teenagers from working-class neighborhoods* (Report presented by the Secretary of Education José de Moura e Silva to Governor Amaral Peixoto, 1951, p. 6, our translation).

With the aim of consolidating a more appropriate structure for the functioning of normal schools and also solving the problem of vacancies in secondary education, the education department proposed that there should be a separation in buildings of the educational institutes and high schools, which operated under the same direction and in the same place. Based on state law 2,146, of 12 May 1954, the educational institutes began operating in the buildings of the Getúlio Vargas and Saldanha da Gama School Groups (Report presented by Secretary José de Moura e Silva to Governor Amaral Peixoto, 1954, p. 10).

With this measure, the offer of secondary education could be expanded in the two high schools, since the rooms that were previously occupied by students of the Normal course were left vacant. According to Abreu (1955), with this measure, the number of students enrolled in secondary education increased from 2,045, in 1951, to 2,672, in 1954.

Even investing in this initiative to expand the offer of free enrollments in terms of the junior high school, the shortage of vacancies was visible, which led the state government to grant budget allocations to gyms of the National Campaign for Free Schools (CNEG). Article 145 of the 1947 State Constitution made it clear that, in municipalities where there were no gymnasiums, the State should pay for the maintenance of these courses.

As a result of this determination, the government considered it opportune to transfer funds to the gyms of the National Campaign for Free Schools. Holanda (1997) informs that CNEG used the resources of the community where it was installed, but also had financial support from the State itself, at its federal, state and municipal levels, as mentioned below:

*The situation of some Special Secondary Education Courses, foreseen by Article 145 of the State Constitution, is being studied, which will possibly lead to the conclusion of replacing them with Gymnasiums of the National*

*Campaign for Free Schools, while it is not possible for the State to install more gymnasiums on your own; transferring to these, the budget foreseen for the current Special Courses, of very low efficiency* (Report presented by the Secretary of Education José de Moura e Silva to Governor Amaral Peixoto, 1951 p. 7, our translation).

On the other hand, the government adopted an orientation that favored free education, even though granting scholarships in private schools. In this sense, at the end of Miguel Couto Filho's government there were seven public gymnasiums in the entire state of Rio de Janeiro, as a result of the increase in the number of official gymnasiums.

In 1955, the state government created three public gymnasiums in the municipalities of Itaperuna, Barra Mansa and Teresópolis, and later authorized the operation of one more state gymnasium in the facilities of School Group Adino Xavier, in the Alcântara neighborhood. In addition to these measures, in June 1957, it authorized the operation of classes at night, in the building of Humanities, in Campos, and, in 1958, a junior high school course at the Niterói Education Institute.

As there were still few public educational establishments, Miguel Couto Filho, like his predecessor, adopted a policy to encourage the development of gymnasiums as part of the National Campaign for Free Schools, as a way to respond to the demand for secondary schools existing at that time.

The provision of secondary education by the state was not limited to public educational establishments. In addition to offering places in official establishments, it also adopted measures to expand this offer in private establishments, through the granting of scholarships to students enrolled in private schools. As an alternative initiative, financial support was provided to gymnasiums of the National Campaign for Free Schools, throughout the state of Rio de Janeiro (BEZERRA, 1995).

## **Final considerations**

The school, in addition to being an institution with a social scope, is an indisputable establishment of culture, placing itself at an indisputable level of circulation of the same. Historical studies have contributed to significant advances in understanding the school dimension at different times.

The role of secondary schooling is to understand the social place of academic, humanist and propaedeutic formation aimed at transmitting a repertoire of general culture, confronted with the dimension of a technical and professionalizing culture.

The term secondary education has been used in various contexts in recent centuries, making researchers place themselves in a more attentive position regarding the semantic evolution used for this term. The adjective secondary emerged from the educational debates provoked with the French Revolution around 1840, having a double meaning: the intermediate degree between the primary and the superior and that of being destined to the formation of the wealthy classes.

The term 'secondary education' was used in Brazil from the creation of Pedro II School in 1837 and was linked to the formation of elites to have access to higher education. Castro (2019), in the work *Ensino Secundário no Brasil perspectivas históricas* (Secondary Education in Brazil historical perspectives), clarifies that secondary education is a generic term to encompass multiple formation possibilities: high schools, athenaeums, gymnasiums, schools, technical and vocational schools in large cities and in the distant and uninhabited interior of Brazil (CASTRO, 2019, p. 15).

The transformations brought about by the 1930 Revolution implied the creation of administrative bodies whose purpose was to prepare the country for the new market demands. Among these bodies, we highlight the Ministry of Education, whose first occupant was Minister Francisco Campos, who reformed secondary and higher education. This reform represented a moment of great excitement in the educational sector, since the education offered until then had a classical perspective, which directed students to enter higher education, which no longer behaved in this new Brazil.

In that context, the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education appears, as a response to the new political and educational scenario, which redesigned the country. In this way, this text aimed to recompose the historical process of implementation of secondary education in Brazil, highlighting the importance of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. On the other hand, it also highlights the possible contradictions observed in the provision of education by the State and the private sector.

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