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DOSSIER 3

Secondary Education, in a comparative perspective, in São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and the Distrito Federal: statistics, legislation, and historiography (1942-1961)¹

O Ensino Secundário, em perspectiva comparada, em São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro e no Distrito Federal: estatísticas, legislação e historiografia (1942-1961)

La Enseñanza Secundaria, en perspectiva comparada, en São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro y en el Distrito Federal: estadística, legislación e historiografía (1942-1961)

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Abstract

This is a presentation of results of comparative investigation on secondary education in SP, MG, RJ, and the DF from 1942 to 1961. The sources used, in dialogue with the reference bibliography, were yearly statistics of the IBGE, web portals of theses and dissertations, scientific periodicals, and public collections. The existence of demographic, economic, and social pressures on secondary education were perceived throughout Brazil, most notably in SP, MG, RJ, and in the DF, in which the expansion was carried out under the predominance of private initiative through state support. In SP, there was a balance between private institutions linked to civil society and to the Catholic Church. In MG, RJ, and the DF, Catholic initiative predominated. State legislation related to secondary education was significant, with some autonomy in relation to Brazilian legislation, at least up to 1930, at which time centrality was imposed by the New State (*Estado Novo*). There are a large number of studies available in historiography on Secondary Education, especially regarding MG and SP, above all, theses and dissertations, with a concentration on the topic of History of School Institutions.

Keywords: Secondary Education. São Paulo. Minas Gerais. Rio de Janeiro. Distrito Federal.

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Resumo

Apresentação de resultados de investigação comparada sobre o Ensino Secundário em SP, MG, RJ e no DF, entre 1942 e 1961. As fontes utilizadas, em diálogo com a bibliografia de referência, foram anuários estatísticos do IBGE, portais de teses e dissertações, periódicos científicos e acervos públicos. Percebeu-se a existência de pressões demográficas, econômicas e sociais sobre o Ensino Secundário em todo país, destacadamente, em SP, MG, RJ e no DF, nos quais a expansão efetivou-se sob predomínio da iniciativa particular, mediante apoio estatal. Em SP, houve equilíbrio entre instituições privadas vinculadas à sociedade civil e à Igreja Católica. Em MG, RJ e no DF, a iniciativa católica predominou. A legislação estadual relacionada ao Ensino Secundário foi significativa, com alguma autonomia em relação à legislação nacional, ao menos até 1930, dada a centralidade imposta pelo Estado Novo. A historiografia sobre o Ensino Secundário possui grande número de trabalhos disponíveis, principalmente sobre MG e SP, sobretudo, dissertações e teses, com concentração na temática da História das Instituições Escolares.

Palavras-chave: Ensino Secundário. São Paulo. Minas Gerais. Rio de Janeiro. Distrito Federal.

Resumen

Se presentan los resultados de una investigación comparada sobre la Enseñanza Secundaria en SP, MG, RJ y en el DF, entre 1942 y 1961. Las fuentes utilizadas, en diálogo con la bibliografía de referencia, fueron anuarios estadísticos del IBGE, repositorios de tesis y disertaciones, periódicos científicos y acervos públicos. Se percibió la existencia de presiones demográficas, económicas y sociales sobre la Enseñanza Secundaria en todo el país, destacadamente en SP, MG, RJ y en el DF, en los cuales la expansión se efectuó sobre el predominio de la iniciativa particular, mediante el apoyo estatal. En SP, hubo equilibrio entre instituciones privadas vinculadas a la sociedad civil y a la Iglesia Católica. En MG, RJ y en el DF, la iniciativa católica predominó. La legislación estatal relacionada a la Enseñanza Secundaria fue significativa, con alguna autonomía en relación a la legislación nacional, al menos hasta 1930, dada la centralidad impuesta por el Estado Nuevo. La historiografía sobre la Enseñanza Secundaria posee gran número de trabajos disponibles, principalmente sobre MG y SP, sobre todo, disertaciones y tesis, con concentración en la temática de la Historia de las Instituciones Escolares.

Palabras-clave: Enseñanza Secundaria. São Paulo. Minas Gerais. Rio de Janeiro. Distrito Federal.

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Introduction

The project designated "Secondary Education in Brazil in a Historical and Comparative Perspective (1942-1961)" ["Ensino Secundário no Brasil em Perspectiva Histórica e Comparada (1942-1961)"] was developed under the overall coordination of Prof. Dr. Eurize Caldas Pessanha of the Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados (UFGD), with the participation of Brazilian researchers affiliated with different institutions of higher education in Brazil. Initial results were related to examination of the historical situation of secondary education in the different Brazilian states.

In a second step, working groups were established, generally related to the different regions of Brazil, aiming at gathering researchers to foster possible comparisons between what had been discovered in relation to each one of the Brazilian states in particular.

Thus, with regard to the Southeast region of Brazil, it was possible to bring together researchers who, at the beginning of research, were responsible for examining the situation of secondary education in the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and the Distrito Federal². From the joint efforts made by this group of researchers, we can present the results achieved in this article.

For gathering and comparing statistical data on secondary education, we began with information contained in the statistical yearbooks of the IBGE and in the existing historiography on Brazilian secondary education and in the states examined. With regard to legislation, public collections were accessed, as well as what was available in the reference bibliography. As for historiography, access to web portals of theses and dissertations, to scientific journals, and to the bibliography, in the form of books and book chapters, was fundamental.

In terms of historical contextualization, in the period from 1942 to 1945, Brazil was under the aegis of what was known as the *Estado Novo* (New State), which was characterized by the centrality of the State in social life, as well as by the strong establishment of legislation in general and, more specifically, in relation to national education. The following period, from 1946 to 1961, was characterized by a redemocratization effort, but with elements of the Estado Novo legal framework remaining, even though a new constitution had been in force since 1946.

Thus, the results of the cooperative effort and of comparative analysis will be presented below, with the content divided into three parts: first, the examination of statistical data related to the expansion of secondary education in a comparative way, with the formulation of combined analyses; then, the presentation of legislation that structured secondary education; and finally, the listing and analysis of the historiography produced on secondary education in SP, MG, RJ, and the DF.

1. Statistics

The expansion of Secondary Education in SP, MG, RJ, and the DF in the period from 1942 to 1961 will be shown through the presentation of a series of statistical data, on which comparative analyses will be carried out. This provides the opportunity to address topics related to the population, municipalities, literacy, and especially, secondary education.

² It is important to observe that the city of Rio de Janeiro exercised the role of the Distrito Federal (the Federal District - the federal capital region) up to 1960. In that period, it was the recipient of strong intervention of the State, which carried out urban reforms for the purpose of making it a reference of modernity.

Regarding secondary education, the main topic of this investigation, the subtopics addressed include expansion in enrollment numbers, evolution in the number of educational establishments, the connections of schools to the different bodies promoting education (the state, civil society, and religious denominations), and the evolution of openings in the different municipalities of the states analyzed.

1.1. Population

In regard to the population of the states of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF, we will begin by examining the evolution of the population from 1890 to 1960. Then, we will look at the municipalities that had more than 50 thousand inhabitants in 1960; and finally, we will qualify the age ranges of the population in these states and the DF from 1940 to 1950.

Table 1 – Evolution in the population of SP, MG, the DF, and RJ (1890-1960) in millions of inhabitants.

		INHABITANTS												
YEAR		SP ¹			MG ²			DF ³			RJ^4			
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban ⁵	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total		
1890	-	-	1.4	-	-	3.2	-	-	0.5	-	-	1.4		
1920	-	-	4.6	-	-	5.9	-	-	1.2	-	-	2.7		
1940	3.2	4.0	7.2	1.7	5.0	6.7	-	-	1.8	-	-	3.6		
1950	4.8	4.3	9.1	2.3	5.4	7.7	2.3	0.08	2.4	3.4	1.3	4.7		
1960	8.0	4.8	12.8	3.9	5.9	9.8	3.2	0.10	3.3	5.3	1.4	6.7		

Sources: ¹ IBGE. Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação – Quadros de totais referentes ao Estado e de distribuição segundo os municípios. Série Regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1950. Parte XVII – São Paulo, t. I-III; IBGE. Censo Demográfico do Estado de São Paulo (1950). Série Regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1954. v. XXV, t. I.; IBGE. Censo Demográfico de 1960: São Paulo. Série regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1960, v. I, t. XIII; ² Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ³ Costa; Soares (2020); ⁴ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020); ⁵ In regard to the urban area in the DF, it is important to mention a common subdivision in the literature between urban and suburban area.

The data in **Table 1** show that between 1890 and 1960, there was significant population growth in the states of SP, MG, the DF, and RJ. In this respect, SP stands out, as it attained 814% growth in population between 1890 and 1960, passing from 1.4 to 12.8 million inhabitants, with acceleration that occurred mainly from 1920 on. In the DF, population growth until 1960 was also robust, but below the percentage attained by SP, increasing from 500 thousand to 3.3 million inhabitants, recording a population growth of 560%. As for RJ, population growth between 1890 and 1960 was around 378%, with a change from 1.4 to 6.7 million inhabitants. MG, in turn, had a high population base in 1890, at around 3.2 million inhabitants, which reached 9.8 million in 1960, registering growth of approximately 206%, the lowest in the period under analysis.

Furthermore, regarding the data presented in **Table 1**, it can be asserted that in SP, from 1950 on, there was predominance of the urban population over the rural, which became more significant in 1960, with 8 million inhabitants in the urban area and 4.8 million in rural areas, amounting to 62.5% and 37.5%, respectively. In the DF, in 1950, the urban concentration was even higher, around 96%, but in that case, for understandable reasons, given that it was the capital of Brazil. In RJ, in turn, the population living in the urban area in 1950 totaled 72.3%. However, in MG, the data are very different, with repeated predominance of the population that inhabited the rural area, although with a decrease in the difference between the percentages of those that inhabited the rural area in relation to the urban area, as shown by the data – 74.6% of the population of MG inhabited rural areas in 1940, which successively decreased to 70% in 1950 and to 60% in 1960.

TOTAL

Table 2 – Municipalities of SP, MG, and RJ with more than 50 thousand inhabitants in 1960.

Sources: ¹ IBGE. **Censo Demográfico de 1960**: São Paulo. Série regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1960, v. I, t. XIII; ² Gatti; Gatti Jr (2020); ³ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

In 1960, in the states of SP, MG, and RJ, there were 71 municipalities that had a population greater than 50 thousand inhabitants. Most prominent was the municipality of São Paulo, capital of the state with the same name, with a little more than 3.7 million inhabitants, far and above the population of the other municipalities. For other larger populations, Belo Horizonte, the capital of MG, was in second place, with a little more than 690 thousand inhabitants, and after that, the city of Nova Iguaçu, RJ, with a little more than 356 thousand inhabitants. However, cities with up to 99 thousand inhabitants predominated, a total of 48 municipalities, 67% of the total. SP had 28 cities with more than 50 thousand inhabitants and MG had 27. RJ, in turn, had a total of 16 municipalities of that size. In all cases, cities with up to 99 thousand inhabitants predominated.

Table 3 – Number of inhabitants by age range in SP, MG, the DF, and RJ (1940-1950)

AGE	S	P	M	G^3	D	F ⁴	R	J^5
RANGE	1940 ¹	1950^{2}	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950
00-04	1,042,033	1,337,566	1,079,690	1,278,885	182,847	258,558	287,724	372,532
05-09	951,107	1,105,743	1,002,305	1,093,276	174,818	206,220	262,011	299,975
10-14	909,977	1,018,326	900,226	985,255	178,398	209,021	245,975	274,693
15-19	774,960	956,254	738,796	862,458	174,334	241,561	195,413	241,382
20-24	679,382	937,527	636,481	731,477	-	267,268	$301,620^6$	372,532
Subtotal	4,357,459	5,355,416	4,357,498	4,951,351	710,397	915,360	1,292,743	1,188,582
25-29	609,192	790,987	527,431	589,394	-	234,807	-	177,832
30-39	925,785	1,206,293	759,138	892,639	286,397	371,842	217,752	280,704
40-49	628,265	859,311	528,310	616,366	106,645	273,419	163,331	202,779
50-59	356,666	507,985	310,146	365,681	120,718	171,424	95,772	126,891
60-69	195,436	266,326	165,295	195,167	57,571	93,633	49,412	66,774
70-79	76,045	101,665	59,417	70,555	21,531	33,307	18,995	24,025
80 +	24,614	34,054	25,575	27,074	6,909	9,712	8,222	9,022
Ignored	6,854	12,386	3,606	9,565	6,261	6,679	1,630	5,256
Total	7,180,316	9,134,423	6,736,416	7,717,792	1,316,429	2,110,183	1,847,857	2,081,865

Sources: ¹ IBGE. Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação – Quadros de totais referentes ao Estado e de distribuição segundo os municípios. Série Regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1950. Parte XVII – São Paulo, t. I.; ² IBGE. Censo Demográfico do Estado de São Paulo (1950). Série Regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1954. v. XXV, t. I; ³ Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ⁴ Costa; Soares (2020); ⁵ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020); ⁶ The census of 1940 of the state of Rio de Janeiro reported the age range of 20 to 29.

The data presented in **Table 3** show that the population of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF was concentrated in the age range of up to 24 years, with a mean percentage of 60% of the population. The population at the age of attending primary school and secondary school was much beyond the population at the age of attending higher education, in a ratio nearly always greater than 80% for

these first two levels of education. In regard to the primary and secondary levels, we can somewhat safely affirm that the populations at the age of attending these two levels of education were of nearly equal percentages, which denotes pressure for openings especially in relation to secondary school, given the lack of establishments at that time.

1.2. Reading and writing

Apparently, statistical information about the situation of the population of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF regarding mastery of reading and writing would be important, which was possible for the years 1940 and 1950, over a span of 10 years, which allows one to indicate possible changes in schooling processes.

Table 4 – Reading and writing as of 5 years of age, in SP, MG, the DF, and RJ (1940-1950), in millions.

C:44:		S	P		MG^5			DF^6				\mathbf{RJ}^7				
Situation	1940 ¹	%	1950^{2}	%	1940	%	1950	%	1940	%	1950	%	1940	%	1950 ⁸	%
Reads																
and writes	3.2	52%	4.6	59%	1.9	34%	2.5	39%	0.9	45%	1.6	84%	0.7	37%	0.8	57%
Does not read and write	2.9^{3}	48%	3.24	41%	3.8	66%	4.0	61%	1.1	55%	0.3	16%	1.2	63%	0.6	43%

Sources: ¹ IBGE. Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação – Quadros de totais referentes ao Estado e de distribuição segundo os municípios. Série Regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1950. Parte XVII – São Paulo, t. I.; ² IBGE. Censo Demográfico do Estado de São Paulo (1950). Série Regional. Rio de Janeiro, 1954. v. XXV, t. I; ³ Inclusive as pessoas de instrução não declarada: 83.966 pessoas (Censo de 1940); ⁴ Including the people who did not declare their level of instruction: 16,130 people (Census of 1950); ⁵ Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ⁶ Costa; Soares (2020); ⁷ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020); ⁸The census of 1950 in relation to the state of Rio de Janeiro determined the number who knew how to read as of 15 years of age. Such a position affects the comparison with the year 1940.

Regarding reading and writing, between the years 1940 and 1950, according to the data presented in **Table 4**, one can perceive considerable discrepancies. In SP and the DF, the number of people who read and write reaches percentages above 50%, with the 84% registered in the DF in 1950 standing out. RJ and MG, in turn, had lower percentages in 1940, around 35% of the population reads and writes, with only a slight improvement for MG in 1950, but a very significant improvement for RJ, which reached 57% of the population. In general, however, in 1950, the percentages related to illiteracy remained high, especially in MG, with more than 60% of the population under these conditions. This was followed, at some distance, by RJ and SP, with 43% illiteracy in RJ and 41% illiteracy in SP. In the DF, however, there was a reduction in illiteracy, which affected 16% of the population in question.

1.3. Secondary Education

In this part of the article, we will discuss secondary education in SP, MG, RJ, and the DF, with emphasis on the following aspects: expansion in the number of enrollments, evolution in the number of educational establishments, connection of the schools to the different bodies promoting education (state, civil society, and religious denominations), and evolution in the number of openings in the different municipalities of the states analyzed³.

³ It should be mentioned that in the period in reference, from 1942 to 1961, the middle schools (junior high schools) refer to the first cycle, and high schools refer to the second cycle of secondary education. In addition, enrollment in middle school was preceded by an entrance examination, which impeded access for a considerable part of the population.

Table 5. Number of establishments of secondary education by state in Brazil (1945).

State	Middle Schools	Middle Schools and High Schools	Total	%
São Paulo	139	91	230	27.8%
Minas Gerais	100	37	137	16.6%
Distrito Federal	43	49	92	11.1%
Rio Grande do Sul	61	14	75	9.1%
Rio de Janeiro	38	15	53	6.4%
Pernambuco	20	17	37	4.4%
Bahia	17	11	28	3.3%
Paraná	12	16	28	3.3%
Ceará	20	07	27	3.2%
Espírito Santo	12	05	17	2.0%
Goiás	14	01	15	1.8%
Santa Catarina	08	04	12	1.4%
Mato Grosso	09	03	12	1.4%
Alagoas	05	05	10	1.3%
Piauí	08	01	09	1.2%
Rio Grande do Norte	08	01	09	1.2%
Paraíba	08	01	09	1.2%
Pará	03	05	08	1.0%
Maranhão	05	02	07	0.9%
Sergipe	06	01	07	0.9%
Amazonas	00	03	03	0.3%
Acre (Territory)	02	00	02	0.2%
Brazil	538	289	827	100%

Source: O ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO NO BRASIL (1945).

Table 6. Number of establishments of secondary education by state in Brazil (1959).

State	Middle Schools	High Schools	Total	%
São Paulo	478	209	687	25.3%
Minas Gerais	344	93	437	16%
Rio Grande do Sul	204	56	260	9.5%
Distrito Federal	114	100	214	7.9%
Rio de Janeiro	125	47	172	6.3%
Paraná	117	31	148	5.5%
Pernambuco	113	24	137	5%
Bahia	107	17	124	4.6%
Ceará	86	14	100	3.7%
Goiás	64	08	72	2.7%
Espírito Santo	48	10	58	2.4%
Santa Catarina	45	9	54	1.9%
Alagoas	27	11	38	1.4%
Paraíba	30	6	36	1.3%
Piauí	27	5	32	1.19%
Mato Grosso	22	7	29	1.09%
Pará	20	8	28	1%
Maranhão	19	4	23	0.84%
Sergipe	20	3	23	0.84%
Rio Grande do Norte	14	6	20	0.73%
Amazonas	12	2	14	0.5%
Rondônia	3	1	4	0.14%
Acre	1	1	2	0.07%
Amapá	1	1	2	0.07%
Rio Branco	1	0	1	0.03%
Subtotal	2042	673	2715	100%

Source: BRASIL (1959).

It can be seen from the data presented in **Tables 5** and **6** that between 1945 and 1959, there was a considerable growth in the number of establishments dedicated to secondary education, from 827 to 2,715, which reveals an increase of approximately 228%. During that period, the states of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF had the largest number of establishments, 61.9% in 1945 and 55.5% in 1959. In both analyses, the largest number of secondary education establishments was in SP, at 27.8% in 1945 and 25.3% in 1959. After that came MG, with 16.6% and 16%; the DF, with 11.1% and 7.9%; and RJ, with 6.4% and 6.3% in the respective years.

Table 7a – Enrollments and conclusions in secondary education in São Paulo (1942, 1952, 1955, and 1963)

Year			Enrollments			Conclusions						
rear	Public	%	Private	%	Total	Public	%	Private	%	Total		
1942 ¹	-	-	-	-	63,008	-	-	-	-	14,916		
1952 ²	56,151	38.7	88,766	61.3	144,917	7,223	36.1	12,761	63.9	19,984		
1955 ³	75,728	42.2	103,516	57.8	179,244	9,738	39.3	15,036	60.7	24,774		
1963 ⁴	256.613	51.5	241.601	48.5	498.214	28,007	39.7	42,610	60.3	70,617		

Sources: ¹ IBGE. Statistical Yearbook of Brazil. Year VII-1946. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1947; ² IBGE. Statistical Yearbook of Brazil - 1954. Year XV. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1954; ³ BRASIL. Statistical Synopsis of Secondary Education 1955. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. Serviço de Estatística da Educação e Cultura. 1955; ³ BRASIL. Statistical Synopsis of Secondary Education 1956. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. Serviço de Estatística da Educação e Cultura. 1956; ⁴ IBGE. Statistical Yearbook of Brazil - 1965. Year XXVI. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1965.

Table 7b - Enrollments and conclusions in secondary education in Minas Gerais (1942, 1952, 1955, and 1963)

Year			Enrollments			Conclusions						
	Public	%	Private	%	Total	Public	%	Private	%	Total		
1942	-	-	-	-	21,439	-	-	-	-	4,609		
1952	-	-	-	-	58,258	-	-	-	-	8,549		
1955	11,050	16.3	56,820	83.7	67,870	1,572	14.2	9,469	85.8	11,041		
1963	39,744	25.7	114,944	74.3	154,688	4,848	23.3	15,919	76.7	20,767		

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

Table 7c - Enrollments and conclusions in secondary education in the Distrito Federal (1942, 1952, 1955, and 1963)

Year			Enrollmen	ts		Conclusions						
	Public	%	Private	%	Total	Public	%	Private	%	Total		
1942	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
1952	-		-	-	67,738	-	-	-	-	11,945		
1955	17,608	23.29	57,982	76.71	75,590	2,422	20.53	9,374	79.47	11,796		
1963*	5,606	82.75	1,168	17.25	6,774	1,589	89.06	195	10.94	1,784		

Source: Costa; Soares (2020). * In 1963, Rio de Janeiro was the only municipality of the state of Guanabara, which lasted until 1975. The data of 1963 are incomplete, due to the difficulties of carrying out the survey in that year of 1963.

Table 7d - Enrollments and conclusions in secondary education in Rio de Janeiro (1942, 1952, 1955, and 1963)

Year			Enrollments					Conclusions		
	Public	%	Private	%	Total	Public	%	Private	%	Total
1942	-	-	-	-	11,307	-	-	-	-	2,687
1952	-	-	-	-	22,754	-	-	-	-	3,751
1955	4,825	18.5	24,567	81.5	29,392	429	11	3,817	89	4,246
1963	15,400	20	60,931	80.0	76,331	2,013	20	8,236	80	10,249

Source: Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020)

The data presented in **Tables 7a, 7b, 7c,** and **7d**, which refer to enrollments in secondary education in SP, MG, RJ, and the DF, show the predominance of the private sector in providing for enrollments, especially in the year 1955. The percentages in descending order are 83.7% of enrollments in MG; 81.5%, in RJ; 76.7%, in the DF; and 57.8%, in SP. In this respect, SP shows balance in the number of enrollments between the private and public sectors, which shifted towards the public sector in 1963, at which time the level of 51.5% of enrollments in the public sector was reached in SP. However, in 1963, MG and RJ maintained high percentages of enrollments in the private sector, at 74.3% and 80%, respectively.

Regarding conclusions, there was predominance of the private sector. In RJ, the conclusions in the private sector exceeded 80%, in contrast with the number of conclusions in the public sector. This fact is repeated in MG, with the private sector exceeding 75% of the conclusions in the period. In the DF, in 1955, conclusions in the private sector, at 79.5%, exceeded those in the public sector, at around 20.5%. In SP, there was also predominance of conclusions in the private sector, with more modest numbers, though always above 60%.

Body promoting		,	SP			MG^3			DF ⁴				\mathbf{RJ}^5			
education	1945 ¹	%	1959 ²	%	1945	%	1959	%	1945	%	1959	%	1945	%	1959	%
			,		,		Public								,	
State	73	32	385	56	26	19	94	21	01	02	23	11	12	21	18	09
							Private	;								
Civil Society	71	31	111	16	41	30	139	32	71	77	93	43	17	30	34	18
Denominatio	70	30	168	25	70	51	152	35	20	21	98	46	24	49	120	73
ns																
	Not identified															
Not identified	16	07	23	03	00	00	52	12	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Total	230	100	687	100	137	100	437	100	92	100	214	100	53	100	172	100

Table 8 – Bodies promoting secondary education in SP, MG, the DF, and RJ (1945 and 1959)⁴

Sources: ¹ O ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO NO BRASIL EM 1945. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n. 17, nov./1945, p. 283-310; ² BRASIL, Estabelecimentos de Ensino Secundário em Funcionamento no Brasil até 1959 (inclusive). Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura – Diretoria do Ensino Secundário – Seção de Prédios e Aparelhamento Escolar, 1959; ³ Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ⁴ Costa; Soares (2020); ⁵ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

The data presented in **Table 8** show that in SP, MG, RJ, and the DF, educational establishments linked to the private sector predominated in the year 1945, which was more striking in MG, RJ, and the DF, with percentages that exceeded 79%, far above establishments linked to the public sector. In SP, private establishments also predominated, but with a lower percentage, around 61%, with a balance in the number of establishments maintained by civil society and by religious denominations. This situation was not repeated in the others, since, in MG and RJ, establishments linked to religious denominations predominated, most notably Catholic. Only in the DF was there strong predominance of establishments linked to civil society.

In 1959, there were changes and continuities with regard to the bodies promoting education. Thus, in SP, the number of establishments maintained by public authorities increased to 56% of the total, with religious denominations attaining greater relevance in the private sector.

⁴ The information regarding the bodies promoting secondary education was gathered from official data about the educational establishments in 1945 and 1959; however, the data did not distinguish which would be public and private and, within the private segment, which establishments would be linked to civil society and to religious denominations. For that reason, the survey was carried out through individualized research on each one of the establishments, being careful to define the situation in 1945 and 1959, which still lacks detailed verification, as it was not possible to perform at this time. In any case, in principle, the data presented here may be very close to the real data, with possibilities for adjustments that would likely not greatly change the percentages presented.

In MG, there was a decrease in the predominance of the private sector, though it maintained a considerable 67% of the total, with a balance between establishments maintained by civil society and by religious denominations. However, the DF and RJ maintained high percentages of establishments under the care of the private sector, at 89% and 91% of the total, respectively. The DF came to a balance in the maintenance of establishments by civil society and by religious denominations; and in RJ, the presence of religious denominations increased significantly, which came to attain 73% of secondary education establishments available in 1959.

Table 9a – Municipalities of SP, MG, and RJ with 3 or more secondary schools in 1945.

	SP ¹	%	MG^2	%	RJ^3	%						
			Public									
State	20	15	06	15	07	24						
	Private											
Civil Society	64	48	09	22	12	41						
Denominational 50 37 26 63 10 35												
Total	134	100	41	100	29	100						

Sources: ¹ O ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO NO BRASIL EM 1945. **Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos.** Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n. 17, nov./1945, p. 283-310; ² Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ³ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

Table 9b – Municipalities of the state of São Paulo with 3 or more secondary schools in 1945.

No.	Municipality		Establishments		Subtotal
		Public	P	rivate	
			Civil Society	Denominational	
01	São Paulo	03	45	25	73
02	Santos	01	06	04	11
03	Campinas	02	03	03	08
04	Ribeirão Preto	01	01	03	05
05	Bauru	01	02	01	04
06	Araraquara	01	02	00	03
07	Botucatu	01	00	02	03
08	Franca	01	00	02	03
09	Guaratinguetá	01	01	01	03
10	Jaú	01	01	01	03
11	Piracicaba	01	00	02	03
12	São José do Rio Preto	01	01	01	03
13	Rio Claro	01	01	01	03
14	São Carlos	02	00	01	03
15	Sorocaba	01	01	01	03
16	Taubaté	01	00	02	03
	Total	20	64	50	134

Source: O ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO NO BRASIL EM 1945. **Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos.** Rio de Janeiro, v.6, n.17, nov./1945, p.283-310.

Table 9c – Municipalities of the state of Minas Gerais with 3 or more secondary schools in 1945.

No.	Municipality		Subtotal		
		Public	Pi		
			Civil Society	Denominational	
01	Belo Horizonte	03	03	13	19
02	Juiz de Fora	00	02	04	06
03	Uberlândia	01	02	01	04
04	Poços de Caldas	01	00	02	03
05	São João del Rei	00	00	03	03
06	Ubá	01	01	01	03
07	Uberaba	00	01	02	03
	Total	06	09	26	41

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

02

10

03

29

Establishments No. Municipality Subtotal Public Private Civil Society Denominational 01 04 Niterói 07 03 14 02 Petrópolis 02 02 03 07 02 03 01 02 05 Campos

01

12

00

Table 9d – Municipalities of the state of Rio de Janeiro with 3 or more secondary schools in 1945.

Source: Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

Total

Nova Friburgo

04

The data presented in **Tables 9a, 9b, 9c,** and **9d** show that the state of SP leads in the number of municipalities with three or more establishments of secondary education, because in 1945, it had 16 municipalities under these conditions. In the capital, there were 73 establishments, making up 54.9% of a total of 134 establishments. After that came Santos (11 establishments, 8.2%), Campinas (8 establishments, 6%), Ribeirão Preto (5 establishments, 3.7%), and Bauru (4 establishments, 3%). The other 11 municipalities had 3 establishments of secondary education each, making for a total of 33 establishments (24.2%). In this total of establishments of SP, 134 total, most of them, 114 (85%), were linked to the private sector. Among them, 64 (48%) were linked to civil society and 50 (37%) to religious denominations. The state public sector was responsible for only 20 establishments (15%).

Considerably distant from SP was MG, with 7 municipalities with more than three establishments of secondary education in 1945, making for a total of 41 establishments. Of these, 19 (46%) were located in the capital, Belo Horizonte. After that came Juiz de Fora, with 6 establishments (14.6%), and Uberlândia, with 4 establishments (9.8%). The other 4 municipalities had 3 establishments each, which made for a total of 12 (29.6%). In terms of the bodies promoting education, only 6 (15%) establishments were linked to the public sector. The others, a total of 35 establishments, were mostly linked to religious denominations, with 26 establishments (63%), especially in Belo Horizonte, which accounts for half of this number. Civil society, in turn, maintained 9 establishments (22%).

In 1945, RJ had only 4 municipalities with more than three establishments of secondary education. Niterói ranked first, with 14 (48.2%) establishments. It was followed by Petrópolis, with 7 (24.1%); Campos, with 5 (17.3%); and Nova Friburgo, with 3 (10.4%). Most of the establishments were linked to the private sector, with a balance between civil society with 12, (41.4%) and religious denominations with 10 (34.5%) of the establishments. The public sector, in turn, was responsible for 7 (24.1%) establishments, the highest percentage seen thus far.

Table 10a – Municipalities of SP, MG, and RJ with 4 or more secondary schools in 1959⁵.

	SP ¹	%	MG^2	%	RJ^3	%		
	Public							
State	116	33.4%	29	23.4%	35	34.3%		
	Private							
Civil Society	90	25.9%	27	21.8%	31	30.4%		
Denominational	125	36.1%	60	48.4%	36	35.3%		
Undefined								
Undefined	16	4.6%	08	6.4%	00	0%		
Total	347	100%	124	100%	102	100%		

Sources: ¹ O ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO NO BRASIL EM 1945. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n. 17, nov./1945, p. 283-310; ² Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ³ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

⁵ For the purpose of examining the evolution in the number of secondary education establishments between 1945 and 1959, it was decided to define the number of four or more establishments in 1959 for analysis, given that there was a significant increase in municipalities that began to have that number or more of establishments in that year.

Table 10b – Municipalities of the state of São Paulo with 4 or more secondary schools in 1959.

		Establishments					
No.	Munícipality	Public	P	rivate	Undefiined	Total	
		Public	Secular	Denominational	Undeilined		
1	São Paulo	71	45	68	11	195	
2	Campinas	03	06	07	00	16	
3	Santos	03	05	06	00	14	
4	Ribeirão Preto	02	03	05	01	11	
5	Sorocaba	06	03	01	00	10	
6	Marília	02	02	03	01	08	
7	Araraquara	02	03	01	00	06	
8	Franca	01	02	03	00	06	
9	Jundiaí	02	02	02	00	06	
10	Santo André	02	01	02	01	06	
11	São José dos Campos	02	01	01	02	06	
12	Taubaté	01	03	02	00	06	
13	Bauru	02	02	01	00	05	
14	Piracicaba	02	00	03	00	05	
15	Rio Claro	01	03	01	00	05	
16	São Carlos	02	01	02	00	05	
17	São José do Rio Preto	02	01	02	00	05	
18	Araçatuba	01	01	02	00	04	
19	Barretos	02	02	00	00	04	
20	Botucatu	02	00	02	00	04	
21	Jaú	01	01	02	00	04	
22	Lins	01	00	03	00	04	
23	Lorena	01	00	03	00	04	
24	Presidente Prudente	01	02	01	00	04	
25	Tupã	01	01	02	00	04	
	Total	116	90	125	16	347	

Source: BRASIL, Estabelecimentos de Ensino Secundário em Funcionamento no Brasil até 1959 (inclusive). Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura — Diretoria do Ensino Secundário — Seção de Prédios e Aparelhamento Escolar, 1959.

Table 10c – Municipalities of the state of Minas Gerais with 4 or more secondary schools in 1959.

		Establishments				
No.	Municipality	Public	Private Private		Undefined	Total
		rublic	Secular	Denominational	Undernied	
01	Belo Horizonte	15	01	31	04	51
02	Juiz de Fora	03	06	07	01	17
03	Uberaba	02	05	02	00	09
04	Governador Valadares	00	02	02	01	05
05	Montes Claros	02	01	02	00	05
06	Uberlândia	01	02	02	00	05
07	Araguari	01	01	02	00	04
08	Diamantina	01	01	02	00	04
09	Itajubá	01	01	01	01	04
10	Ituiutaba	00	02	02	00	04
11	Muriaé	00	01	02	01	04
12	Ouro Preto	02	00	02	00	04
13	Poços de Caldas	00	01	03	00	04
14	Teófilo Otoni	01	03	00	00	04
	Total	29	27	60	08	124

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

		Establishments					
No.	Municipality	Public	Private		Undefined	Total	
		Public	Secular	Denominational	Olidelilled		
01	Niterói	08	07	09	00	24	
02	Petrópolis	02	01	08	00	11	
03	São Gonçalo	02	05	03	00	10	
04	Campos	03	02	03	00	08	
05	Nova Friburgo	02	02	03	00	07	
06	Nova Iguaçu	02	04	01	00	07	
07	Duque de Caxias	04	01	01	00	06	
08	Vassouras	03	03	00	00	06	
09	Valença	02	00	03	00	05	
10	Nilópolis	02	03	00	00	05	
11	Três Rios	02	02	01	00	05	
12	Barra Mansa	02	00	02	00	04	
13	Volta Redonda	01	01	02	00	04	
	Total	35	31	36	00	102	

Source: Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

It can be seen from the data presented in **Tables 10a, 10b, 10c**, and **10d** that the state of SP also leads the number of municipalities with 4 or more secondary education establishments, given that it had 25 municipalities in these conditions in 1959. In the capital there were 195 establishments, making up 56.2% of a total of 347 establishments, which reinforced its predominance in the state of SP. Next was the city of Campinas, which surpassed Santos, with 16 establishments (4.6%). Then came Santos (14, 4%), Ribeirão Preto (11, 3.2%), and Sorocaba (10, 2.9%). The other 20 municipalities had from 4 to 8 secondary education establishments each, making for a total of 101 establishments (29.1% of the total). Of all these establishments in SP, 347 in all, most of them, 215 (62%) were linked to the private sector, and of these, 90 (25.9%) to civil society and 125 (36.1%) to religious denominations. The state public sector was responsible for 116 establishments (33.4%), a considerable increase over the 1945 data.

Still quite distant from SP, MG had 14 municipalities with more than 4 establishments of secondary education in 1959, with a total of 124 establishments of secondary education. Of these, 51 (41.1%) were located in Belo Horizonte, capital of the state of MG. Next came Juiz de Fora, with 17 (13.7%) establishments, and Uberaba with 9 (7.3%). The others, 11 municipalities, had 4 to 5 establishments each, which makes for a total of 47 (37.9%). In terms of the bodies promoting education, 29 (23.4%) establishments are linked to the public sector. The others, a total of 87 establishments, are mostly linked to religious denominations, with 60 (48.4%) establishments, especially in Belo Horizonte, which accounts for just over half of this number. Finally, civil society maintained 27 (21.8%) establishments.

In 1959, RJ was close to MG, with 13 municipalities with more than 4 secondary education establishments. Niterói ranked first, with 24 (23.5%) establishments. It was followed by Petrópolis with 11 (10.8%) and São Gonçalo with 10 (9.8%). Most of the establishments were linked to the private sector, with a balance between civil society with 31 (30.4%) and religious denominations with 36 (35.3%). The public sector, in turn, was responsible for a significant 35 (34.3%) establishments, the highest percentage seen thus far.

VEA	SP ¹			MG^2				RJ^3				
YEA R	Have	%	Do not	%	Have	%	Do not	%	Have	%	Do not	%
K			have				have				have	
1957	226	52.0	207	47.6	180	37.1	305	62.9	53	97.0	03	3.0
1958	271	62.3	161	37.0	200	43.3	262	56.7	53	97.0	03	3.0
1959	295	67.8	136	31.3	219	47.3	244	52.7	54	98.0	03	2.0
1960	300	59.5	199	39.5	248	53.0	220	47.0	60	99.0	02	1.0
1961	301	59.6	198	39.2	268	57.6	197	42.4	60	99.0	02	1.0
1962	311	61.6	187	37.0	283	61.0	181	39.0	62	99 5	01	0.5

Table 11 – Secondary education course in the municipalities of SP, MG, and RJ (1957-1962)

Sources: ¹ IBGE. Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – 1957. Ano XVIII. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1957; IBGE. Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – 1958. Ano XIX. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1958; IBGE. Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – 1959. Ano XX. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1959; IBGE. Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – 1960. Ano XXI. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1960; IBGE. Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – 1961. Ano XXII. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1961; IBGE. Anuário Estatístico do Brasil – 1962. Ano XXIII. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 1962; ² Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020); ³ Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

The state of RJ stands out in terms of the offer of secondary education in its municipalities, as this level of education was available in more than 97% of its municipalities between 1957 and 1962, the highest percentage among the states analyzed here. SP is in second place, offering secondary education in more than half of its municipalities, 52% in 1957 and 61.6% in 1962. In this aspect, MG had the lowest percentage of municipalities offering secondary education, 37.1% in 1957. But it had a considerable effort of improvement, especially from 1960 on, reaching a percentage close to SP, around 61%, though this was still far from RJ.

2. Legislation⁶

The examination of the educational legislation related to secondary education in the states of SP, MG, RJ and in the Distrito Federal focused on those legal devices that had a structuring character in relation to this level of education, moving away from the more commonplace legislation, which addressed issues of everyday life in secondary schools, such as transfers, minor regulatory changes, etc. ⁷ The list of this legislation appears in the tables shown below.

⁶ In regard to Brazilian legislation, there are parameters that favor understanding in Martins Filho (1999).

⁷ During this step of the project, a survey was carried out on the structuring legislation regarding secondary education approved between 1942 and 1961. The study was carried out through consultation of the physical and virtual archives of the states of SP, RJ, MG, and the DF. It should be noted that this task has not been exhausted, since the topic is very broad, with derivations that must be investigated in other collections, which will allow different types of analysis, such as comparative studies. We emphasize that the measures instituted by public authorities to contain the community transmission of the coronavirus, namely, the closing of public offices as of

Table 12a – Legislation structuring secondary education in São Paulo (1933-1969).

No.	Designation	Specific articles
01	Decrees no. 5.884 and 5.885, of 21 April 1933. Education Code of the State	172 articles, of a total of 992.
	of São Paulo. / Establishes measures of adjustment to the new situation	36 articles, of a total of 36.
	created by the Education Code.	
02	Decree-law no. 15.235, of 28 November 1945. Provides for organization in	12 articles, of a total of 12.
	secondary education.	
03	Decree no. 17.698, of 26 November 1947. Approves the Consolidation	147 articles, of a total of 1114.
	ordered to be created by Decree no. 17.211, of 13 May 1947.	
04	Act no. 21, of 10 March 1949 of the General Board of the Business Office of	98 articles, of a total of 113.
	Education. By-laws of the Establishments of Secondary and Normal	
0.5	Education of the State.	102 .: 1 . 6 1 . 6 102
05	Act no. 10, of 27 January 1950 of the General Board of the Business Office	103 articles, of a total of 103.
06	of Education. By-laws of the State Middle Schools and High Schools.	
06	Law no. 1.192, of 25 September 1951. Provides for costs of student transport, on the part of the state, and makes other provisions.	6 articles, of a total of 6.
07	Decree no. 38.538, of 29 May 1961. Approves the By-laws of the	126 articles, of a total of 131.
07	establishments of secondary and normal education of the State of São Paulo.	120 articles, of a total of 131.
08	Decree no. 38.634, of 23 June 1961. Approves the new wording of articles	3 articles, of a total of 3.
00	91, 104, 105, 106, and 107 of the By-laws of the establishments of secondary	3 articles, of a total of 3.
	and normal education of the State of São Paulo.	
09	Decree no. 39.334, of 10 November 1961. By-laws of the establishments of	124 articles, of a total of 128.
	secondary and normal education of the State of São Paulo.	
10	Decree no. 45.159-a, of 19 August 1965. Approves the by-laws of the	136 articles, of a total of 173.
	establishments of secondary and normal education of the State of São Paulo.	·
11	Decree no. 47.404, of 19 December 1966. Approves the regulatory standards	124 articles, of a total of 128.
	of the state secondary and normal education establishments.	
12	Law no. 10.038, of 5 February 1968. Provides for the organization of the	19 articles, of a total of 77.
	Educational System of the State of São Paulo.	
13	Law no. 10.125, of 4 June 1968. Institutes the Education Code of the State of	03 articles, of a total of 51.
	São Paulo.	
14	Decree no. 52.312, of 7 October 1969. Provides for approval of the State	3 articles, of a total of 5.
	Education Plan and makes other provisions.	Plano Estadual de Educação:
	Observation: Plano Estadual de Educação (1970-1971). Conselho Estadual	Vol. 1: p. 10-14, 19-21, 31-35, 48-49;
	de Educação. vols. I e II.	Vol. 2: p. 4-8, 73-146, 216, 218.
15	CEE Resolution no. 8/63. Establishes standards for expansion of the state	4 articles, of a total of 4.
	secondary education system.	

Source: Chiozzini, Andrade (2019); Chiozzini, Moreira (2021)

Table 12b – Legislation structuring secondary education in Minas Gerais (1890-1926).

No.	Designation	Specific articles
01	Decree 260 of 1 December 1890. Creates the Minas Gerais Middle School	40 articles (Chapter 1. On
	and suppresses the Day Schools of the State and Lyceum of the Capital.	Secondary Education)
02	Decree 535 of 13 June 1891. Approves the regulations drawn up for the	113 articles
	Minas Gerais Middle School	
03	Law 41 of 03 August 1892. Provides new organization to public instruction	53 articles (Title III. Chapter 1.
	of the State of Minas Gerais.	On Secondary Education)
04	Law 221, of 14 September 1897. Contains provisions in regard to public	36 articles
	primary and secondary instruction.	
05	Law 281, of 16 September 1899. Provides new organization to primary	30 articles
	instruction of the State of Minas Gerais.	
06	Decree 2.513 of 17 April 1909. Approves the regulation of the «Basic Course of	27 articles
	Secondary Instruction», de Bello Horizonte	
07	Decree 3.321 of 22 September 1911. Approves the regulation issued for	246 articles
	execution of laws no. 463, of 12 September 1907 and 533, of 21 September	
	1910, in the part referring to the Middle School of Minas Gerais.	
08	Decree 3.853 of 29 March 1913. Approves the regulation of the Middle	264 articles
	School of Minas Gerais	

March 2020, hampered development of the research, since it prevented access to the physical collections. The DF legislation, for example, is not digitized.

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09	Decree 4.363 of 7 April 1915. Approves the regulation of the Middle School of Minas Gerais.	162 articles
10	Decree 7.101 of 30 January 1926. Approves the regulation of the Middle	224 articles
	School of Minas Gerais	

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

Table 12c – Legislation structuring secondary education in Rio de Janeiro (1890-1961).

Nº.	Designation	Observations
01	BRASIL. Federal Decree 1389, of 21 Feb. 1893 – Validated	
	examinations taken in the Lyceum of Humanities of Campos for	
	entrance in higher education courses.	
02	LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF RIO DE	
	JANEIRO. Collection of Laws, Resolutions not sanctioned,	
	Decrees, Deliberations, and Directives of the Government. 1893.	
	Law no. 41 of 28 January 1893. Organizes Public Education in the	
	State of Rio de Janeiro	
03	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Law no. 285, of 03/03/1896. Creation of	
0.5	the Fluminense Middle School.	
04	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 287, of 25 July 1896.	
0-1	Implementation of the Fluminense Middle School.	
05	BRASIL. Federal Decree no. 3.578, of 27 January 1900. Equalization of	
03	the Fluminense Middle School with the National Middle School.	
06	BRASIL. Federal Decree no. 4.809, of 30 March 1903. Repeal of the	
00	privilege of equalization granted to the Fluminense Middle School.	
07		Auto 1 6 and 7
07	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 826, of 31 December 1903.	Arts. 1, 6, and 7.
00	Organizes instruction in the State of Rio de Janeiro.	
08	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 1026, of 21 March	
	1907. Reduces the number of chairs of the Lyceum of Humanities	
	of Campos	
09	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 1027, of 21 March	
	1907. Reorganizes the curriculum of the Lyceum of Humanities of	
	Campos.	
10	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 1.034, of 19 April 1907.	
	Institutes service examination for teachers of the Lyceum of Humanities	
	of Campos.	
11	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 1.241, of 13 March 1912.	
	Institutes Regulations of Secondary and Normal Education of the State	
	of Rio de Janeiro.	
12	BRASIL. Federal Decree no. 11.530, of 18 March 1915.	Equalization of the Lyceum of
		Humanities of Campos with Pedro II
		High School.
13	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 2.181, of 12 July 1926.	Regulation of the Lyceum of
		Humanities of Campos for
		adaptation to the federal reform of
		1925.
14	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 2.539, of 16 January 1931.	Creation of the Nilo Peçanha
		Lyceum
15	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. DECREE NO. 2.571, OF 22 April 1931.	Art. 1 – This approves regulation of
	Regulation of secondary and normal education.	secondary and normal education that
	g	accompanies the present Decree
		signed by the State Secretary of the
		Interior and Justice and through
		which the Nilo Peçanha Lyceum and
		Lyceum of Humanities of Campos,
		Normal Schools, and equalized
		establishments will be governed.
		Chapter I On organization of
		education and its purposes. Chapter
		II On enrollment. Chapter III On
		attendance. Chapter IV On penalties.
		Chapter VI On congregation Chapter
		Chapter VI On congregation. Chapter
		VII On leave of absence, absences,
		substitutions, vacations, and

27	CTATE OF DIO DE LANGIDO D. 1 1020 0 I 1045	0
27	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree-law no. 1939; 3 June 1947. Reorganizes the services of education and health; creates the Office of Education and Culture, the Office of Health and Assistance, and makes other provisions.	State establishments of secondary education directly subordinated to the secretary (3 industrial schools, 1 middle school, 2 high schools, and 2 education institutes).
28	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. CONSTITUTION AND Act of the Transitory Constitutional Provisions promulgated on 20 June 1947.	Art.145: "The State will bring into effect secondary education of the branch most fitting local conditions in the cities with populations greater than ten thousand inhabitants and in the municipalities of more than thirty thousand." "Sole paragraph – The State will fund the maintenance of courses that prepare the population for examinations in official establishments of secondary education in the municipalities in which there is no middle school."
29	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Decree no. 3.230, 01 October 1947. Approves the Regulations of the Office of Education and Culture. Regulations of the Office of Education and Culture approved by Decree no. 3.220-A of 1 September 1947.	State establishments of secondary education directly subordinated to the secretary (3 industrial schools, 1 Middle School, 2 High Schools, and 2 Education Institutes).
30	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Official Public Gazette of 30 January 1948. Institutes in the State High School of Campos the second evening cycle (classic and scientific).	
31	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Official Public Gazette of 12 February 1948. Provides for the payment of classes that exceed the number of weekly hours in the secondary and normal courses.	
32	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Law no. 1.870 of 18 April 1953. Determines that the teaching body be composed of teachers in public service positions and functions of monthly supernumerary or hired in primary, industrial, <i>secondary</i> , and normal education.	Art. 45. "The public service examination for filling positions in industrial, secondary, and normal education will be carried out before an examination committee named by the Governor of the State ()"
33	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Official Public Gazette of 12 May 1954 Law no. 2.146. Reorganizes the Office of Education and Culture in all its sectors and makes other provisions.	Art. 7: Department of Secondary Education; Art. 12: The Nilo Peçanha Lyceum and Lyceum of Humanities of Campos are for the purpose of offering the complete secondary education course, including () Art. 13: State Middle School of Petrópolis. Art. 15: Course of Middle School Preparation.
34	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Official Public Gazette of 14 May 1954. Separates the Institutes of Education of Niterói and of Campos from the Nilo Peçanha Lyceum of Niterói and from the Lyceum of Humanities of Campos, respectively, granting them their own administration ().	T. C.
35	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Official Public Gazette of 16 July 1954 [Law no. 2181] Provides for the filling of positions of full teacher of secondary education; implements positions of secondary education teacher with more than 5 years in the teaching body, instituted by Law no. 102 of 11 February 1948; establishes the number of weekly hours to which teachers and conductors of secondary education are bound, and makes other provisions.	
36	STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO. Repeals Art. 5 and 6 of Law no. 2181 of 14 July (sic) 1954 that deals with filling positions of full teacher of secondary education and of conductor of that same education, respectively.	

Sources: Abreu (1955); Alerj (1967); Falcão (1946); Maia (2017); Miceli (2015); Coleção de Leis do Estado do Rio de Janeiro/APERJ (2022).

Table 12d – Legislation structuring secondary education in the Distrito Federal (1890-1926).

No.	Designation
1.	Decree-Law no. 4015 of 14 January 1942. Exemption from previous registration in the Audit Court of the
	expenses related to the salaries of the contracted federal supernumeraries and monthly employees.
2.	Decree-Law no. 4.063 of 29 January 1942. Provides for qualification in secondary education.
3.	Decree-Law no. 4.131 of 26 February 1942. Incorporates the University High School of the Universidade do Brasil
	to the Pedro II High School.
4.	Decree-Law no. 4.141 of 28 February 1942. Provides for the beginning of classes of establishments of secondary
	education in the 1942 school year.
5.	Decree-Law no. 4.335 of 25 May 1942. Transitory provisions for execution of the Organic Law of Secondary
	Education.
6.	Decree-Law no.4.450 of 9 July 1942. Exemption from any cost for those interested in certifications and other
	papers for the purpose of granting the family bonus.
7.	Decree-Law no. 4.545 of 31 July 1942. Provides for manner and presentation of national symbols, and makes
	other provisions.
8.	Decree-Law no. 4.548 of 4 August 1942. Regulates the situation of personnel called to military service and makes
	other provisions.
9.	Decree-Law no. 4.683 of 11 September 1942. Alters art. 39 of Decree - Law no. 240 of 4 February 1938.
10.	Decree-Law no. 6.660 of 5 July 1944. Alters the wording of art. 2 of Decree-Law no. 2895 of 21 December 1940.
11.	Decree-Law 7.034 of 9 November 1944. Authorizes the Ministry of Education to acquire by exchange lots for the
	purpose of new facilities of Pedro II High School.
12.	Decree-Law no. 7.122 of December 1944. Creates two official establishments of secondary education in the Distrito
	Federal.
13.	Decree-Law no. 8.193 of 20 November 1945. Provides for promotion in the current school year.
14.	Decree-Law no. 8.777 of 22 January 1946. Provides for definitive registration of teachers of secondary education
	in the Ministry of Education and Health.
15.	Decree-Law no. 8.893 of 24 January 1946. Equates full teachers of the Pedro II High School with the positions of
	Educational Advisor for effects of salaries and benefits.
16.	Decree-Law no. 8.945 of 26 January 1946. Regulates examinations in the middle school course.
17.	Decree-Law no. 9.331 of 10 June 1946. Terminates Pre-Military instruction.
18.	Issues instructions for enforcement of the laws of secondary education in effect (Published in the Official Public
	Gazette of 25 November 1947; reproduced in the Official Public Gazette of 2 February 1948).
19.	Directive no. 201 of 31 March 1945. Provides for proof of expenses in the Construction and Equipment Plan of
	1944.
20.	Directive no. 215 of 18 April 1945. Provides for the conditions for performance of teachers of choral music in
	educational establishments under federal inspection.
21.	Directive no. 636 of 29 December 1945. Issues instructions for carrying out examinations of a second time period
	of secondary education establishments.
22.	Directive no. 5 of 2 January 1946. Provides for the limitation and distribution of the time of school work in
	secondary education and makes other provisions.
23.	Directive no. 21 of 10 January 1947. Alters instructions in Directive no.153 of 2 May 1939, in reference to the
	hygiene and diet regimen of secondary and commercial education establishments.
24.	Directive no. 576 of 29 November 1947. Gives new wording to items 6 and 7 of Ministerial Directive no. 636 of
	29 December 1945, which imposed instructions for carrying out examinations in a second period in secondary
	education establishments.
25.	Directive no. 353 of 24 September 1948. Authorizes the granting of a transfer to students of the secondary
	education course.

In this step of the research, 48 items of legislation were catalogued, distributed as follows: SP, 7 decrees with 622 specific articles and 2 administrative acts; RJ, 16 decrees; the DF, 16 decrees and 7 directives. Items outside the time frame of the project, but considered fundamental for understanding the structure of secondary education in the period, were also listed. This category includes SP, 1 decree; MG, 10 decrees; and RJ, 22 decrees. From these results, we highlight the greater investment of the state of SP in the production of specific legislation related to secondary education.

The topics addressed by legislation from 1942 to 1961 showed great diversity. The SP decrees mainly addressed the by-laws of secondary education establishments. In RJ, legislative acts for organization of the office of education and the regulation of teachers' careers predominated. In the DF, priority was given to actions that regulated examinations carried out to evaluate students, the implementation of teacher registration, and the creation of school units.

From these partial results, it is possible to advance some hypotheses that may guide future investigations. The first is that in the states of MG, RJ, and the DF, the legislation that structured secondary education was produced in the period prior to the time frame of the research. The second is that the greater volume of legislative acts approved in the state of SP in the period would be an indication of greater investment by this state in secondary education. The third is that the diversity of topics in the decrees would be the result of different levels of development of associations of students, teachers, and owners of educational establishments in the states.

3. Historiography

Initially, it is important to clarify that the bibliographical survey presents a different timeframe in relation to each one of the states and the DF, because the beginning point is associated with the oldest text related to the descriptor "secondary education" located by the researchers of each state. With the exception of Minas Gerais, for which a study dated 1920 was found, the regions had texts dating from the 1950s to 2019, with small variations.

3.1. Bibliographical production

Table 13a – Historiography on the History of Secondary Education in São Paulo (1958-2019)⁸

Dissertations		Theses		Books		Chapters		Articles	
17	16.6 %	51	50%	5	5%	4	3.9%	25	24.5%

Sources: CAPES Portal – catalogue of theses and dissertations; CAPES periodicals; CRUESP – repository of scientific production and institutional repositories of USP, Unicamp, and Unesp; Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations; Lumen: collection of the libraries of PUC-SP; Google Scholar; Scielo.

Table 13b – Historiography on History of Secondary Education in Minas Gerais (1920-2019)⁹

Dissertations		The	eses	Bo	oks	Cha	oters	Arti	cles
07	12.3%	32	56.1%	09	15.8%	05	8.8%	04	7%

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

Table 13c – Historiography on History of Secondary Education in Rio de Janeiro (1955-2019)

Dissertations		The	eses	Bo	oks	Cha	pters	Arti	icles
07	20%	10	28.57%	05	14.2%	04	11.4%	09	25.7%

Source: Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

Table 13d – Historiography on History of Secondary Education in the Distrito Federal (1920-)

Dissertations		Theses		Books		Chapters		Articles	
02		01		00		00		01	

Source: Costa; Soares (2020).

⁸ Descriptors: "secondary education", "middle schools" ("ginásios"), "São Paulo". Database: Capes catalogue of theses and dissertations: Capes Periodicals: CRUESP: BDBTD: Repositories: USP/PUCSP/UNESP/UNICAMP; SCIELO; Google Scholar. Historical period of the research: 1894-1990; Filters used: Year of defense (1958-2019); Large area - Education; Knowledge area - Education.

⁹ Descriptors: "secondary education", "middle school" ("ginásio", "gymnásio"), "high school", and "secondary instruction". Database: Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations of Capes; Digital Bank of Theses and Dissertations; Graduate Studies Program of UFMG, of UFU, of PUC-SP, and of USP. In addition, as information was sought regarding educational establishments, texts were discovered that had escaped the previously consulted collections.

Through the bibliographical survey carried out for São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and the Distrito Federal, based on the analysis of **Tables 13a, 13b, 13c,** and **13d**, it can be affirmed that the state of São Paulo exhibited the highest result for research related to the topic of secondary education, with 102 studies. Minas Gerais exhibited 57 results and Rio de Janeiro 35. The Distrito Federal was the region with the smallest number of results, only 4 studies.

Considering the results shown for São Paulo (**Table 13a**), there is a higher incidence of academic studies at the master's level, with a total of 51 theses, that is, 50% of the total of studies found. After that, articles gain prominence, with 25 productions, while the dissertations add up to 17 results. Books (5) and chapters (4) do not yet stand out in the historiography of secondary education for São Paulo.

In Minas Gerais (**Table 13b**), theses are also prominent, representing 56.1% of the results obtained of a total of 57 studies described. However, in relation to the other regions, Minas Gerais stands out in the production of 9 books specifically on the topic of secondary education. The dissertations are in third place, with 7 productions, and then chapters (5) and articles (4).

Rio de Janeiro (**Table 13c**) showed 35 results in the topic of secondary education. Theses and articles stand out in quantity, 10 and 9, respectively, while dissertations, books, and chapters were of lower frequency, 7, 5, and 4, respectively. Despite these results, the number of studies for this region is considerable compared to the Distrito Federal (**Table 13d**), which showed only 4 results: 2 dissertations, 1 article, and 1 thesis.

3.2. Topics

Table 14a – Topics regarding History of Secondary Education in São Paulo (1958-2019)

Number	Topics	Studies	%
01	History of school institutions ¹⁰	25	24.5%
02	School subjects/curriculum/teaching	13	12.7%
03	Teacher formation	6	5.8%
04	Secondary education / material culture	3	3%
05	Secondary education / entrance examination	5	5%
06	Secondary education / printed material	6	5.8%
07	History of secondary education	22	21.5%
08	Vocational middle schools	13	12.7%
09	Experimental classes	9	9%
	Total	102	100%

Sources: CAPES Portal – catalogue of theses and dissertations; CAPES periodicals; CRUESP – repository of scientific production and institutional repositories of USP, Unicamp, and Unesp; Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations; Lumen: collection of the libraries of PUC-SP; Google Scholar; Scielo.

Table 14b – Topics regarding History of Secondary Education in Minas Gerais (1920-2019)

Number	Topics	Studies	%
01	History of school institutions	42	73.7%
02	History of secondary education	09	15.8%
03	History of the teaching profession	01	1.75%
04	State, church, and secondary education	01	1.75%
05	Physical education and exercise in secondary education	01	1.75%
06	History of educational printed material	01	1.75%
07	Political and cultural history	01	1.75%
08	Cultural heritage	01	1.75%
	Total	57	100%

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

¹⁰ In relation to the topic "history of school institutions", the decision was made to check how many studies refer to private institutions, public institutions, and those that we have for now called without definition, since they are institutions that began as private and then became public, or vice versa. The followed result was obtained in this respect: History of Public Institutions, 11 (44%); Private Institutions, 9 (36%); without definition, 5 (20%).

Number	Topics	Studies	%
01	Institutions	17	48.5%
02	History of secondary education and/or organization of secondary education	09	25.7%
03	Teaching profession	06	17.1%
04	Sponsorship / private initiative	03	8.5%
	Total	35	100%

Source: Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

Table 14d – Topics regarding History of Secondary Education in the Distrito Federal (1950-2020)

Number	Topics	Studies	%
01	Institutions	2	
02	History of secondary education and/or organization of secondary education	1	
03	Intellectual pathway	1	
	Total	4	100%

Source: Costa, Soares (2020)

The studies identified by regions were grouped into central topics, as can be seen in **Tables 14a**, **14b**, **14c** and **14d**. The topics "history of school institutions" and "history of secondary education" were present in all regions. However, as can be seen in the footnote of **Table 14a**, the state of São Paulo further defined the topic "history of school institutions" by considering the specificity of the institution and the modality of offer (public, private, or both).

This topic also represented 24.5% of the results obtained in São Paulo, with 25 studies, while the "history of secondary education", with a total of 22 productions, represented 21.5% of the entire survey carried out. The topic "vocational middle schools" also stood out, with 13 productions, that is, 12.7% of all studies found. With the same result, the topic "school subjects and curriculum" was also important. The "experimental classes", "teacher training", "secondary education and printed material" and "entrance examinations" had similar results: 9, 6, 6, and 5 respectively. On the topic "secondary education and material culture", the smallest number of productions were found. There were 3 results, corresponding to 3% of the total number of studies identified.

Minas Gerais (**Table 14b**) exhibited 42 studies on the "history of institutions", a difference of 17 studies compared to the state of São Paulo. However, the "history of secondary education" showed 9 results, a difference of 13 productions in relation to the state of São Paulo, which had 22 productions for this topic. The other topics, "history of the teaching profession", "state, church, and secondary education", "physical education and exercise in secondary school", "history of educational printed material", "political and cultural history", and "cultural heritage" had one production each.

As for the state of Rio de Janeiro (**Table 14c**), 35 studies were identified. The topics are concentrated in 4 areas: "history of institutions", with 17 productions; "history of secondary education / organization of secondary education", with 9 studies; "teaching profession", with 6; and "sponsorship / private initiative", with 3 results. The Distrito Federal (Table 13d) was the state with the smallest number of productions, a total of 4 results. Of this total, 2 studies deal with "history of institutions", while the topics "history of secondary education" and "intellectual pathway" obtained 1 result each.

The State with the greatest diversity of topics was São Paulo, likely because of the specific characteristics of the region in the process of implementing secondary education. However, in general, the topic that generated the greatest interest on the part of researchers was the "history of school institutions".

3.3. Institutions

With regard to educational institutions responsible for theses and dissertations, in the state of São Paulo (**Table 15a**), the Pontifícia Universidade Católica of São Paulo represented 34% (23 studies found). Still in the field of private institutions, the Universidade Católica de Santos presented 5 academic studies on secondary education. USP, Unicamp, and Unesp were the public universities that, after PUC-SP, developed the greatest production with topics directed toward secondary education: 12, 10, and 9, respectively. The other public and private institutions had numbers ranging from one to three studies on the topic.

In Minas Gerais (**Table 15b**), UFU and UFMG had the highest number of studies, 13 and 10, respectively. The private university that stands out with the largest number of studies on the subject of secondary education in Minas Gerais is the Universidade São Francisco, in the state of São Paulo, with 4 productions. The other public or private universities in Minas Gerais developed from one to three studies each.

In Rio de Janeiro (**Table 15c**), the Universidade Federal Fluminense showed 8 results, while the Pontifícia Universidade Católica of Rio de Janeiro obtained 3 productions. The other public and private universities had only 1 result each.

As for the Distrito Federal (**Table 15d**), of the 3 theses and dissertations identified, two studies were developed by the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro and one by the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo.

Table 15a – Institutions of theses and dissertations on secondary education in São Paulo

No.	Institution	Theses and	%
		Dissertations	
01	Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho"	09	13.2%
02	Universidade Estadual de Campinas	10	14.7%
03	Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo	23	34.0%
04	Universidade de São Paulo	12	17.6%
05	Universidade de Sorocaba	03	4.4%
06	Universidade Católica de Santos	05	7.3%
07	Universidade Federal de São Carlos	01	1.4%
08	Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina	02	3.0%
09	Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba	02	3.0%
10	Universidade Federal de Sergipe	01	1.4%
	Total	68	100%

Sources: CAPES Portal – catalogue of theses and dissertations; CAPES periodicals; CRUESP – repository of scientific production and institutional repositories of USP, Unicamp, and Unesp; Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations; Lumen: collection of the libraries of PUC-SP; Google Scholar; Scielo.

Table 15b – Institutions of theses and dissertations on secondary education in Minas Gerais

No.	Institution	Theses and Dissertations	%
01	Universidade Federal de Uberlândia	13	33.30%
02	Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais	10	25.60%
03	Universidade São Francisco	04	10.30%
04	Universidade Estadual Paulista	03	7.71%
05	Universidade de Uberaba	02	5.10%
06	Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais	01	2.57%
07	Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo	01	2.57%
08	Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro	01	2.57%
09	Universidade Estácio de Sá	01	2.57%
10	Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora	01	2.57%
11	Universidade Federal de Viçosa	01	2.57%
12	Universidade Metodista de São Paulo	01	2.57%
	Total	39	100%

Source: Gatti; Gatti Jr. (2020).

Table 15c – Institutions of theses and dissertations on secondary education in Rio de Janeiro

No.	Institution	Theses and Dissertations	%
01	Universidade Federal Fluminense	8	
02	Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro	3	
03	Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro	1	
04	Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro	1	
05	Universidade Estadual do Norte Fluminense Darcy Ribeiro	1	
06	Fundação Getúlio Vargas (RJ)	1	
07	Universidade Estadual de Campinas (SP)	1	
08	Universidade Federal de Uberlândia (MG)	1	
	Total	17	

Source: Bezerra; Oliveira; Gouvêa (2020).

Table 15d – Institutions of theses and dissertations on secondary education in the Distrito Federal

No.	Institution	Theses and Dissertations	%
01	UFRJ	2	
02	PUC-SP	1	
	Total	3	

Source: Costa; Soares (2020).

From this information, we can observe that in the state of São Paulo, there was predominance of academic studies directed toward secondary education, which were concentrated at PUC-SP. In turn, in the other states, the concentration of studies was linked to public universities. Also worthy of note is that secondary education in Minas Gerais was considerably investigated in theses and dissertations from institutions of other states (about 28%), as well as from institutions of the Distrito Federal (33%). In São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, studies are carried out mainly by institutions of the state itself. There is also projection of São Paulo institutions, which hosted theses and dissertations on all other states.

Final considerations

Historical examination of the situation of secondary education in a comparative perspective, which combined efforts made in the states of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF, has not been concluded; however, important steps were taken in the direction of this possibility, and we are sure that this should be deepened in the future.

At this time, we found that there were pressures of a demographic, economic, and social order for secondary education to be expanded in the period covered by this investigation, from 1942 to 1961. Thus, the strong population growth and growth of cities and the advances of economic circulation through railways and roadways first required expansion of primary education, but soon afterwards, and even at the same time, expansion in secondary education. This expansion could be seen throughout Brazil, but particularly in the states of SP, MG, RJ, and in the DF, which from 1945 to 1959 were at the top in the number of secondary school establishments in Brazil.

This expansion in secondary education predominantly occurred through private initiative, by means of legislation and state support. In São Paulo, there was balance between private institutions linked to civil society and to the Catholic Church, as seems to have been the preferential option of an important fraction of the elites of São Paulo. However, in MG, RJ, and the DF in this period, expansion was characterized predominantly by Catholic initiative, which was supported by governing powers.

Even though expansion in the offer of secondary education in Brazil was important in the period, passing from 827 establishments (1945) to 2715 (1959), especially in the states of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF, which gathered more than 50% of the number of secondary education establishments in Brazil, the total population demand could not be met, given the population growth, above all in the age range of up to 24 years.

In terms of legislation, state regulation that structured the offer of secondary education was significant, and even though it proved to be dependent on national legislation, it retained some autonomy, at least up to the advent of the Revolution of 1930, when educational policy and educational legislation came to be centralized in a more significant way in the central government, above all beginning with the Estado Novo.

In regard to historiography on secondary education, it was a happy surprise to see the number of studies available for reading, especially theses and dissertations, which clearly shows the fundamental role of the development of graduate studies since the 1960s, notably in Education and, in our particular case, in the states of SP, MG, and RJ. The Distrito Federal has a small production, which indicates that there is still a gap to be filled regarding the history of secondary education in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Up to the present time, we were able to perceive that there has been a concentration in investigations related to the History of School Institutions, a large part of them being the fruit of processes of obtaining master's and doctoral degrees by their authors.

Undoubtedly, this was an initial effort of researchers in the area of History of Education of SP, MG, RJ, and the DF in perceiving common and differentiating elements in the process of constitution and expansion of secondary education in their respective states and in the DF, with examination of statistical data, legislation, and the historiography already produced. We hope this initial work can be continued, both by the action of the researchers involved here, but also by other researchers that can dedicate themselves to such a fruitful and important topic.

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