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Lima, Fábio Souza

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THE ORDER OF PRESIDENT JK:

primary teacher training and political interests in the creation of the
Júlia Kubitschek Normal School, 1960¹

A ordem do presidente JK: formação de professores primários e interesses políticos
na criação da Escola Normal Júlia Kubitschek, 1960

La orden del presidente JK: la formación del profesorado de primaria y los intereses políticos
en la creación de la Escuela Normal Júlia Kubitschek, 1960

FÁBIO SOUZA LIMA

Universidade Federal do Amazonas, Manaus, AM, Brasil. E-mail: fabiosouzaclima@ufam.edu.br.

Abstract: This article aims to reconstruct the history of the creation of the Escola Normal Julia Kubitschek, in 1960, the year in which the capital of Brazil was transferred from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília. Specifically, it also aimed to address public policies for the training of primary teachers, political party plots, coverage of the Rio press and the role of student parents' commissions during the process of creating the unit. The study was based on the assumptions of the new political history and the journal analysis methodology. It was concluded that there was no planning for the expansion of the Normal Course in the old capital, with political bargains, presidential interference, the interests of the press and Rio families being the central pieces that gave rise to the institution.

Keywords: history of education; Julia Kubitschek Normal School; teacher training; normal school; educational policy.

Resumo: O presente artigo tem por objetivo resgatar a história da criação da Escola Normal Julia Kubitschek, em 1960, ano em que a capital do Brasil foi transferida do Rio de Janeiro para Brasília. Especificamente, objetivou-se também abordar as políticas públicas para formação de professores primários, as tramas político-partidárias, a cobertura da imprensa carioca e a atuação de comissões de pais de alunos durante o processo de criação da unidade. O estudo teve por base os pressupostos da nova história política e a metodologia de análise de periódicos. Concluiu-se que não houve planejamento para a expansão do Curso Normal na antiga capital, sendo as barganhas políticas, a interferência presidencial e os interesses da imprensa e das famílias cariocas as peças centrais que deram origem à instituição.

Palavras-chave: história da educação; Escola Normal Julia Kubitschek; formação de professores; escola normal; política educacional.

Resumen: Este artículo tiene como objetivo reconstruir la historia de la creación de la Escuela Normal Julia Kubitschek, en 1960, año en que la capital de Brasil fue trasladada de Río de Janeiro a Brasília. Específicamente, también tuvo como objetivo abordar las políticas públicas para la formación de maestros de primaria, las tramas de los partidos políticos, la cobertura de la prensa carioca y el papel de las comisiones de padres de alumnos durante el proceso de creación de la unidad. El estudio se basó en los supuestos de la nueva historia política y la metodología de análisis de revistas. Se concluyó que no existía una planificación para la ampliación del Curso Normal en la antigua capital, con los pactos políticos, la injerencia presidencial, siendo los intereses de la prensa y las familias cariocas las piezas centrales que dieron origen a la institución.

Palabras clave: Historia de la Educación, Escuela Normal Julia Kubitschek, Formación de Profesores, Escuela Normal, Política Educativa.

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INTRODUCTION

The selection process for the new training classes of middle-level primary female teachers in the capital of Brazil ended with a large number of surpluses in 1959. There were 237 female candidates² who claimed the right to be enrolled in the normal course of the city, but were not yet matriculated at the end of the period of that year. In addition to this number, hundreds of candidates to be included in the middle school of these same institutions were expected to be also admitted to their course for the school year that began in 1960³.

The candidates for the vacancies were attracted by the recognized and prestigious quality of the teaching of the Normal Course, clearly renewed by the ideals of the New School, although still traditionally characterized by humanistic content. Studying in these units, therefore, raised the chances of better social placement as much as it could open the door to a 'good marriage'. Still added to these opportunities was the fact that the normalists of the Federal District (DF) automatically became public servants of the municipal primary school system at the end of their studies.

Thus, whether for an education considered solid, either by the social repositioning of their daughters, or by seeking a minimum of financial stability, many families from Rio de Janeiro, at the turn of the 1960s, still wanted access to one of the five normal schools of the Federal District (DF). Not by chance, the 1959 contest strongly mobilized the action of these families, which guided this subject in newspapers thanks to the interest they had in the theme, in addition to involuntarily encouraging the populist discourse practiced by politicians in the period (Lima, 2021).

At that time, there was a strong growth in demand for school vacancies from literacy grades to higher education. It was a characteristic post-World War II effect, and this time was described as the 'Glorious Thirty' years of fostering school networks throughout the West. A period in which the promises of development, social mobility and equality were attributed to the school, and this was seen as the way to the conquest of a bourgeois *modus vivendi* (Canary, 2008). In Brazil, in general, the need to produce a new 'social being', urbanized and used to work in the incipient national industry, has elevated the importance of the school as a redeemer of social problems and a promoter of the nation's development. Thus, discussions on improvements in education necessarily passed through the fight against illiteracy, the construction of new schools and the training of more teachers.

² We will use the female nouns 'Students', 'Candidates' and also 'surpluses' to refer to these young women, because between the years 1946 to 1962, by determination of the city hall of the Federal District, the Normal Course was restricted to the female sex (Lima, 2017).

³ In a speech on the first day of school at Júlia Kubitschek Normal School, the principal of the primary school Paulo de Frontin (where the unit functioned provisionally) welcomed about 800 incorporated students, without pointing out the exact number of new gymnasts (Inaugurated School..., 1960).

As a result of these discussions, illiteracy rates in the country were 56% in the 1940s, but decreased to 50.5% in 1950 and 39.4% in 1960 (Ribeiro, 2010). In the state of Rio de Janeiro, there was a clear expansion of its primary schools thanks to the articulations of different public authorities (Rizzini & Schueler, 2014). The results of the state of Rio de Janeiro for the period were 34.24% in 1940, 29.97% in 1950 and, in 1960, 37.18%. An index that, at first glance, seems bad, but that, when considering that the population of the state almost doubled in the period, from 3,611,998 to 6,709,891, shows results consistent with the policy of opening schools. The privileged city of Rio de Janeiro, at the time Federal District, and then state of Guanabara (1960), had impressive indexes. Even housing half of the entire population of the state of Rio de Janeiro, its numbers were 13.87%, 23.29% and 9.59% for the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, respectively⁴.

METHODOLOGICAL PATHWAY

Willing to rescue the history of the Juscelino Kubitschek Normal School⁵, we addressed the unit first. On the venue, however, we found that the school does not have an organized iconographic or documentary collection that could be consulted by professionals working in academic research. Just as many other school units that have their stories linked to political, social, cultural and economic movements at the municipal, state and federal levels, ENJK's past was getting lost in time. Performing this research, therefore, required a specific methodology with which we could have our questions contemplated and from which it was possible to perform new questions that would lead us to more sources and more research.

In the months leading up to the writing of this article, we immersed ourselves in the methodology of journal analysis (Pasquini & Toledo, 2014). When we approach the Rio de Janeiro newspapers *Diário de Notícias*, *Diário Carioca* and *Correio da Manhã*, as well as *Jornal do Brasil*, of greater scope, we considered the proposals of these authors, which point to the "[...] crucial importance of asking about the sources of a given publication [...] relations with political institutions, economic and financial groups" (Luca, 2005, p. 116).

⁴ For calculation purposes, the total populations of the Federal District were considered, decreased from the group of people from 0 to 4 years. The illiteracy index presented in the census considers those who cannot read and write. The 1960 census concerns the newly created state of Guanabara, comprising the same territory as the former Federal District (IBGE, 1940, 1950, 1960; Proderj, 2019).

⁵ The institution was renamed in the 1980s as State School Juscelino Kubitschek, although it continues to train high school teachers.

It can be affirmed that history is a context much larger than a sequence of dates and is not restricted to the facts or events of the past, first of all it means the struggle for life existing among men, which expresses itself as an instrument of transmission of the cultural heritage of a people [...] (Pasquini & Toledo, 2014, 265).

Following this path, it was necessary to research the political position of each journal. We consider, for example, that the *Diário de Notícias* maintained a position of opposition to President Juscelino Kubitschek, pointing to the construction of Brasília as a superfluous work and characterizing his government as "[...] adventurousness, corruption and [capable] of promoting a disastrous economic-financial policy" (Ferreira, n.d., p. 1). When addressing the *Diário Carioca* as a source, it was also prudent to know that "Everything that interested the economic elite of the country in general was encamped by the newspaper of Macedo Soares, resulting from its fluid and imprecise position" (Leal, n.d.b, p. 1), or even that "[...] DC was an elite newspaper, with few readers, relatively, but of enormous influence [...]" (Medeiros, 2011, p. 10).

When researching *Correio da Manhã*, knowing that it was considered an 'opinion newspaper' turned out to be important, with the pro-Juscelino position, although it was against the construction of Brasília fearing the political emptying of Rio de Janeiro (Leal, n.d.a). The *Jornal do Brasil*, by first publishing a photograph on the cover of its edition in the late 1950s, contributed to make the journals lighter information vehicles, making the content of their reports more sensitive to the interests of the masses, as we will see later (Brasil, 2015). So to speak, finally, it was fundamental to address the fact that: "[...] the media are not exactly political realities: they can become politicians because of their destination, as they say of the instruments that are transformed into weapons" (Rémond, 2003, p. 441).

With our object linked to the field of politics and media use, we chose to approach the new political history as a 'focusing point' within a singular time frame in the JK government, the year 1960 (Rémond, 2003). As we have already pointed out, this approach consists of: " [...] see, in precise cases, how influences work – conception, development and closure of programs, appointment and removal of directors, and also these various incidents that make the machine creak and reveal its gears" (Jeanneney, 2003, p. 220). Thus, equipped with the instruments that we consider appropriate to the lack of sources observed about the latter normal school of teacher training installed in the capital of Brazil, we began writing about this history.

THE META-SYNTHESIS AND THE ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT

Juscelino Kubitschek's meta-synthesis, composed of 30 points, it was organized as follows: Energy (1 to 5); Transport (6 to 12); Feeding (13 to 18); Basic Industries (19

to 29) and Education (30). Listed in a way that respects an order of priorities, the Goals Plan items were not handled in the same way. Education, illustrating the structuring of government actions under the title 'Training of Technical Personnel', was in the last position in the general composition of the motto stated: '50 years in 5'. The attention to the Education portfolio would still be obscured by the so-called 'meta-synthesis', which, as the name says, when carried out, would cover up the failures of the other goals. The meta-synthesis was the construction of Brasília (31), which was proposed at the last minute, despite having entered in history as the main achievement of the JK government (Programa de metas do presidente Juscelino Kubitschek, 1958).

Another issue also presented itself as an urgent problem to be solved by JK. The creation of a Legislative Assembly of the State of Guanabara (ALEG) and the call for elections to make up its legislature would automatically extinguish the mandates of the councilors of the former DF. As expected, the councilors of the Federal District were tense, because their mandates were supposed to extend from 1958 until the year 1963. The sessions of the House of Councilors did not cease to discuss, in February, March and April 1960, the right that parliamentarians thought they had to end their mandates. The councilors also discussed the amounts, as compensation for the loss of the Federal Capital, to be allocated to the municipality. They also discussed JK's power to appoint a provisional governor to the city, illustrating how deep the political game was in the Brazilian capital (Motta, 2000).

In time, it is important to point out that discussions in the former capital about the possible merger with the state of Rio de Janeiro or the creation of the state of Guanabara had already taken over the political means, becoming one of Rio de Janeiro's main concerns. If, on the one hand, the city was privileged in relation to public services, on the other, it was threatened with losing all this structure of services, which until then was financed by the federal government.

Between July and August 1958, *Correio da Manhã* published a set of 32 reports, which, under the suggestive title of 'What will be of Rio?', gathered opinions of expressive figures from the Federal District and the state of Rio – former mayors, deputies from Rio de Janeiro, entrepreneurs, technicians in urban planning, geographers, sociologists, historians – about the destiny of the city after changing the capital to Brasília (Motta, 2000, p. 31, emphasis added).

In August 1958, the news expanded the engagement of the population to the central theme of capital change (Luca, 2005; Santos, 2008). The periodicals made room for the opinions of psychologists who sought to address aspects of *carioca*'s thinking and behavior, emphasized in headlines in the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* as follows: 'Annexation hurts *cariocas*' sensitivity (1958, p. 1), 'In a plebiscite,

psychological factors would act against union with the State of Rio' (1958, p. 1) or 'It will be the same thing without a total reform of structure and mentality [...] Psychology that the others do not have' (1958, p. 1).

Given the sensitivity of *cariocas* to lose the position of political axis of the country, the JK government has been able to support strong government propaganda and promises of economic development and social integration (Ferreira & Mesquita, 2001; Santos, 2008). They were "[...] several cases of patronage and nepotism, such as the appointment of relatives of the first lady to assume public office or the ownership of profitable public notaries in Minas and Rio de Janeiro" (Costa, 2013, p. 311).

Some concessions were also made, such as amnesties to the military involved in the rebellions during his rule and against him, facts noticed in Jacareacanga e Aragarças (Benevides, 1991; Kubitschek, 2000). Likely, the combinations and improvements on behalf of the government were endless, to which we added the creation, with the intervention of the president, of another normal school in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The concessions, agreements, amnesties, favors and benefits were related to the ambition to meet the synthesis goal and fit into a context of prevalence of the discourse of modernization of the Brazilian society. In this sense, considering that the discourse of opening new schools could help elect candidates, a new unit of teacher training may have served not only as a balm to the battered spirit of the *carioca* people but also as a political bargain between the different groups that negotiated the country's capital change.

Not by chance, this was also the time of a political phenomenon called populism. Although it is not pretense in this work to discuss this concept, it is important to emphasize that populism not only has links with the population growth characteristic of this historical period, but is also the result of a modernization of labor relations that changed in these decades. Thus, the phenomenon of populism was the effect, at the same time, of the loss of representativeness in terms of a pre-industrial Brazilian society and a new policy of care for urbanized working masses (Gomes, 1996).

This relationship of political representativeness emerges from our text as attention paid to the interests of families seeking social ascension via education. "[...] To the extent that development mobilized increasingly demanding social layers – but unable to be absorbed institutionally by the system – it contributed to the decline of the virtualities of the 'Golden Years'" (Benevides, 1991, p. 19, emphasis added), opening the door to a specific type of political action, populism.

Following this reasoning and the events pointed out so far, in the first four months of the year 1960, the agenda of discussions of the City Council of the Federal District remained absolutely obstructed, while the population still tried to absorb the impacts of the transition of the capital. It was within this framework that the competition for the teaching schools of the Federal District ended at the end of

February with a large number of young people who did not get the dream vacancy. It was not long before the students' parents pressured the education department to consider the grade performance of their daughters' scores.

On March 11, 1960, the Secretary of Education and Culture Américo Lacombe gathered the press and frustrated the intentions of many Families of Rio who maintained the expectation of enrolling their daughters in the normal schools of the city. Endorsed by the principals of all five units, Lacombe devoted himself to explaining why the surpluses for that year's contest would not be accepted: "I cannot admit the surpluses, because the level they reached in the exams was very low" (*Excedentes tiveram nível baixo nas provas*: Lacombe, 1960, p. 1). Faced with the group's insistence, the secretary also told another journal:

Young women who are calling themselves surpluses have not been classified. That's the truth. Those that were not classified in the admission contest could never, as is absolutely normal and clear, be met. Three tests were carried out. Those classified in the first two tests are not considered surpluses. Those who took the third test and could not classify, decided to call themselves surpluses. That is about it. Nothing more than an erroneous interpretation of the meaning of the surplus name (*As falsas excedentes não vão cursar escolas da PDF*, 1960, p. 2).

Thus, the mayor of the Brazilian capital, José Joaquim de Sá Freire Alvim, aware that the state of Guanabara was going to be created, ratified the position of his secretary stating that the executive would not be involved in the case. In practice, while the secretary of education was supported by the rules of the contest, the mayor of the Federal District washed his hands. The readings about the Mayor José Joaquim de Sá Freire Alvim and the Secretary Américo Lacombe on the political field, however, had not contemplated the year of 1960, which crowned a differentiated historical period in the Federal District (Rémond, 2003).

The mayor's and the secretary's statements were a response to the pressure from the Parents' Commission of normal school students. This Commission had been founded the previous year with the goal of safeguarding what would be the rights of normalists, in addition to 'assisting' the city in the selection processes for the Normal Course (Lima, 2017). The Commission has come to act in accordance with what would be its responsibilities. On March 18, 1960, with the lawyer Jorge Chaloupe Sobrinho, the group of parents obtained a warrant that forced the city to enroll the candidates (*Mandado de segurança para excedente obter matrícula*, 1960, p. 1).

In addition to the judicialization of the case, the families mobilized the City Council. Councilman Frederico Trotta (PSD), active in the creation of ENIAA, promised to present a bill that would benefit candidates who reached the minimum

average for approval in ENCD (Lima, 2020). Ten days after the warrant, another councilman, Amando Fonseca (PTB), declared that both the secretary and the mayor "[...] had highly bad will for the fair claim of future teachers" (Câmara dos D. Federal, 1960, p. 8).

The Commission of Parents of unused students also went directly to the Presidency of the Republic to ask Vice-President João Goulart (PTB) and President Juscelino Kubitschek himself (PSD) to intercede with the city of the Federal District. With Kubitschek and Goulart members of the same parties as Trotta and Fonseca, related in the 1955 presidential election, pressure from the Parents' Commission had definitely reached the federal sphere. In the next session of the City Council of the Federal District, on April 1, 1960, Councilman Amando da Fonseca said that the president of the Republic himself, in conversation by phone, would have given the order to the mayor to enroll the candidates.

PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED

At the beginning of the session, Amando Fonseca announced that the President of the Republic had communicated, by phone, with the mayor and had asked why the surpluses of normal schools were not enrolled and the head of the municipal executive had answered that he was waiting for the order to do so. In addition, added the council member: 'At this point, the president said: if the order is lacking, it is already given' (Presidente ordenou, 1960, p. 6, emphasis added).

The council member's speech raised immediate uneasiness between the executive and legislative branches of the Federal District. The councilmen claimed interference from one power over another. Regardless of whether the candidates were surplus, as they themselves claimed, or disproved, as the normalists and the secretary of education stated, the president's order admitted them as new students of the school system. Three days later, Secretary Lacombe did not resist the pressure and resigned, expressing discomfort with federal interference over the municipality's business.

'I return to my federal office, according to decree,' Mr. Lacombe and, turning to the if. Maciel Pinheiro concluded: 'Five years ago things were going well; now it's 3,500 normalists, but the problem is no longer mine.' He was referring to the surpluses protected by presidential order that led him to resign from office (Trabalhei com lealdade, não pude mais resistir, 1960, p. 6, emphasis added).

On April 5, the secretary of education, the Director of the Institute of Education (IE), Mário de Brito, and the Principal of ENCD, Teacher Hilda Matos, also resigned.

While the two primary teacher-training units were without principals, journals such as *Jornal do Brasil* highlighted, on the same pages, the beginning of the activities of the students of all units in this episode:

President's order to take advantage of failing candidates leads Carmela Dutra to strike. Organizing in a common movement with the students of the other four normal schools of the City Hall (Institute of Education, Schools Sarah Kubitschek, Heitor Lira and Ignácio Azevedo do Amaral), the strikers will meet today at 8:30 am, in *Praça do Congresso*, to undertake a march to *Catete* (Ordem do Presidente para aproveitar reprovadas leva Carmela Dutra a greve, 1960, p. 9).

Under the news that the president would be involved in the admission of surplus candidates in the 1960 contest, the five normal schools of the municipality joined in protests aimed at denouncing the lack of structure of the units⁶. The complaint made that year contrasted with the constructed image that public education lived its 'Golden Years'. At the turn of the 1960s, the famous IE no longer received the same attention of the time when the educators of the Nova Anísio Teixeira School, Lourenço Filho and Fernando de Azevedo, were directly involved with the municipal education of the Federal District (Lopes, 2013).

AGAINST THE REGULAR SCHOOL JÚLIA KUBITSCHKE

With the support of the unit's management, IE took advantage of the controversy that took the Rio de Janeiro's newspapers to denounce a series of problems in its monument building. In the face of discussions about the forced expansion of the number of vacancies for teacher training, the model unit for the country denounced how the water leaks in the library and other rooms, the dirty courtyard, the walls without ambush, the drinking fountains and the broken chairs interfered in the quality of their teaching, as shown in Figure 1 (*É profundamente lamentável o estado de nossas dependências*, 1960).

⁶ During the 1950s and 1960s, *Jornal do Brasil* presented moderate opposition to governments, not taking major clashes during this period, although it also assumed to address education issues due to the great interest of the *Carioca* public (Leal, 2009; Brazil, 2015).



Uma assistente do diretor aponta as infiltrações das chuvas na Biblioteca

Figure 1 – Director of the I.E.

Source: É profundamente lamentável o estado de nossas dependências (1960).

The *Jornal do Brasil* was one of the responsible for introducing a 'mythical modernization' in the editorial style of the journals at the time (Barbosa, 2006). If, before, newspapers were content-heavy, with language considered far-fetched and difficult to understand, the frequent use of images helped to popularize this media, making them more accessible to the mass of the population (Jeanneney, 2003; Pasquini & Toledo, 2014; Luca, 2005). Exposing an image that sought to portray the depleted state of the building that was supposed to be a reference helped motivate the students of the Institute of Education to act against what they considered a lack of care with teacher training. This situation worsened the fact that the Normal Schools Carmela Dutra, Sarah Kubitschek, Ignácio Azevedo do Amaral and Heitor Lira remained provisionally functioning within primary schools, with little structure for the training of teaching professionals (Lima, 2017).

In a protest movement against the use of surpluses, about 5,000 normalists organized, for this morning, an enormous march, from the Museum of Modern Art to the *Palácio do Catete*, where they will try to prove to the President of the Republic that the Institute of Education and the Normal Schools Carmela Dutra, Sarah Kubitschek, Azevedo Amaral and Heitor Lira do not have the conditions to accommodate new students. Only the Institute of Education, whose maximum capacity is 3,800 students, currently has a total of five

thousand, despite the almost complete abandonment that is relegated by the city. The march, which is also an act of grievance for teacher Mário Brito, director of IE, Jacobina Lacombe, Secretary of Education, and Hilda de Matos, director of Carmela Dutra, who resigned after the presidential order to use the surpluses, was decided at a general meeting held yesterday afternoon in the IE auditorium. Parallel to the protest of the normalists, the House of Councilors will be voting today the project that determines the registration of candidates who did not get the grade performance reviews in the admission exams of the normal schools of the PDF (Normalistas (hoje) com JK: contra excedentes, 1960, p. 1).

With presidential support and the promise in the House of Councilors that surpluses would be admitted even in the face of structural problems present in the units, the students of the five normal schools organized, together, parades through the streets of the Federal District. At the same time, rumors arose that, in order to receive the surpluses that were being protected by the president, another normal school would be created, news that further inflated the spirits of normalists.

On April 7, female students from the five regular schools of the Federal District filled the IE auditorium, as can be seen in Figure 2. Ignoring the powers of the City Council and the mayor, the group agreed to directly pressure the Presidency of the Republic at *Palácio do Catete*. The positioning of the young women and their families was openly opposed to the creation of the new unit, with the argument of the quality of education to be maintained and the lack of structure of normal schools already in operation.



Figure 2 – Normalists (today) with JK: against surpluses.
Source: Normalistas (hoje) com JK: contra excedentes (1960).

On April 8, rumors of the creation of a new normal school came true. Even in the face of the protests, one of JK's coreligionists, Councilman Frederico Trotta, presented the project of creating another unit in the lights of the former Federal District. Thanks to the victorious project of creation of ENIAA, which he led, Trotta had achieved the popular projection that Amando Fonseca lacked to pursue the proposal of the new school. The presentation of this project made the case even more notorious and promoted more protests of the normalists (Figure 3) against the Presidency of the Republic, since, at that time, it was no longer possible to identify, in practice, the competencies and distinctions between the municipal and federal powers (Luca, 2005).

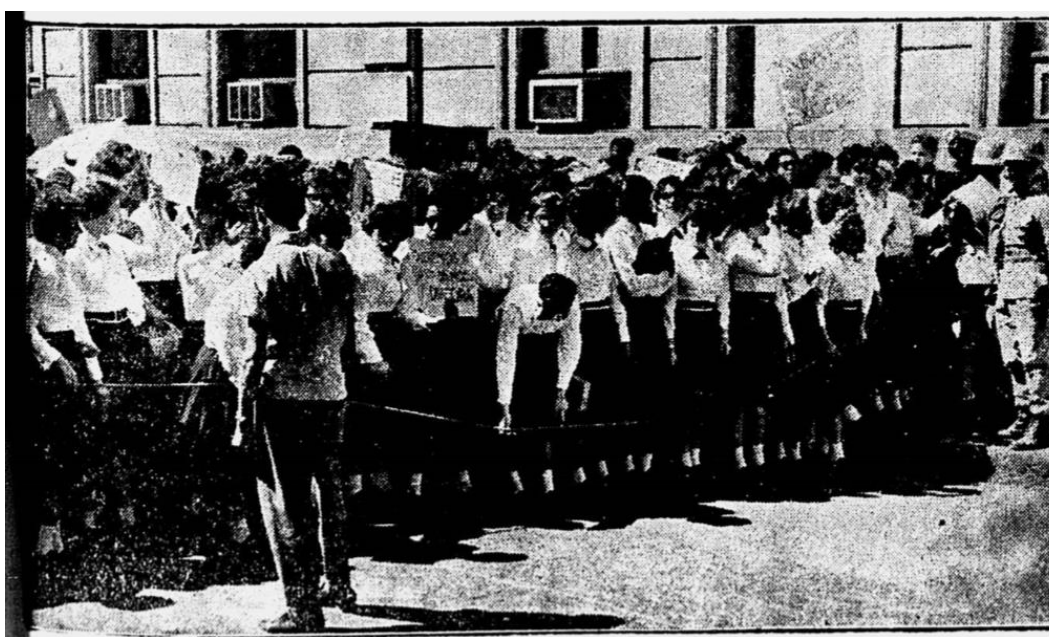


Figure 3 – At Catete the case of surpluses was not known.
Source: *Cordão contra normalistas* (1960).

About seven thousand normalists⁷ of the five schools of the City Hall went yesterday to Catete to express to the President of the Republic their displeasure by the order to enroll the surpluses, practically disproved in the last examinations of admission. Mr. Kubitschek refused to receive the girls and only one of them (ten in total) can enter the Palace, where they were received by the deputy head of the Civil House, Mr. Ciro dos Anjos, who knew nothing about it and was very surprised at everything. [...] it was the first time that the five Normal Schools marched together (*Cordão contra normalistas*, 1960).

⁷ The number of 7,000 normalists seems exaggerated. The secretary of education had already appointed a total number of students in the order of 3,500. However, it must be considered that, in the protests, there were also students from middle schools and their families, contributing to the high number of protesters reported.

On the other hand, lawyer Jorge Saloupe Sobrinho began to defend the cause of the surplus candidates. Sobrinho took the opportunity to publicly accuse the former director of IE, Mário de Brito, of promoting animosity between the groups and inciting normalists to protests against JK and against the new normal school. The journals *Diário Carioca*, *Última Hora* and *Diário de Notícias* reproduced the accusation of Saloupe Sobrinho at different times, while the normalists transitioned from the federal executive to the municipal legislature, pressing for the surpluses not to be enrolled and to interrupt the project of creation of the new unit.

According to a committee of normalists, which representing all schools in the District came yesterday to the *Jornal do Brasil*, only 'ignorance of the difference between disapprovers and surpluses may have led the President of the Republic to order the Secretary of Education to install a School only for pushing students'.

'– And if another School has to be installed it is not understood that it is to take advantage of the false surpluses: especially in knowing that the Azevedo Amaral School has no proper head office, it works in a borrowed building' (Campanha contra empurrão prossegue: normalistas vão ficar em greve até segunda, 1960, p. 1, emphasis added).

The acquaintance of the movement with the principals of the units, especially IE and ENCD, became evident when the *Jornal do Brasil* also published what would be the condition for the end of the strike.

'Rejecting the project, they will return to their posts not only the Secretary of Education but also the directors of the Institute and the Carmela Dutra Normal School, who resigned in solidarity with Mr. Américo Jacobina Lacombe. Rejection and return are, therefore, suspensive conditions of the strike' (Campanha contra empurrão prossegue: normalistas vão ficar em greve até segunda, 1960, p. 1, emphasis added).

The mass participation of normalists caught the attention of the media in the same way that drew attention to the membership of the families of the students who further increased the movement. On the day of the presentation of the project in the Chamber, the normalists, surpluses and families of the two groups met.

Placed face-to-face, in two different sectors of the chamber's galleries, the normalists, on the one hand, and the surpluses, on the other, fought yesterday a duel of interests, watching the debates, in the House, in which the project to take advantage of the latter had been voted. In the end, the surpluses won, which promoted noisy demonstrations, while the normalists withdrew in silence, before the vote (Excedentes ganham escola, 1960, p. 1)⁸.

The former principal Mário de Brito (IE), even after resigning, positioned himself in the following day in the *Diário da Manhã*: "Those who say they are surplus, are not in fact. They are rejected applicants in the last test and many have only obtained in some of the tests scores equal to 0.2 and 0.3. These are the ones who were 'sent' to enrollment" (Normalists protest against the registration of favor of surpluses, 1960, p. 6, griffin of the author). Former director Hilda Matos (ENCD), on the other hand, had already made a statements a few days before:

– That parents fight for the admission of their daughters, even if they have not reached the level required by the selection contest, it is natural; but it is incredible that the authorities give in to the pressure of movement that is led even by an outsider, influential, who has a failing daughter and nieces. It would be really an insanity, to let out of school, due to the lack of vacancies students who took the exam and passed. But this is not the current case. It will be a tremendous harm to the intellectual level of normal schools the admission of these students who obtained very low grades, already knowing beforehand, therefore, that they could not be approved. I have been, on other occasions, next to surpluses – but in those times it was even surplus. This time, there is no doubt that they should not be taken into consideration (Ordem do presidente para aproveitar reprovadas leva Carmela Dutra a greve, 1960, p. 9).

While the Newspapers of Rio de Janeiro pointed out the passivity of the city in the face of pressure exerted by the federal government, Juscelino Kubitschek, despite the insistence of the protesters, still did not receive the commission that tried to stop the project. It was not long before sympathy for the president's captivating profile was replaced by derision, portrayed by the *Diário da Manhã*, right in front of *Palácio do Catete*, as it can be seen in Figure 4.

⁸ 'Quorum' postponed (for today) regular school voting (1960); Mayor will approve tomorrow Sarah Kubitschek School (1960); Instructed by its principal, normalists will continue to strike against JK's act (1960); Former surpluses against surpluses (1960).



Figure 4 – "Bossa nova: us by selection, them by connection".
Source: Presidente não recebeu normalistas no Catete (1960).

After the first show of force, near the federal government's office, the marches of uniformed normalists were banned by the Department of Education of the Federal District (Lima, 2017). What was seen in the following days demonstrated that an agreement needed to be done for the agenda of the House to be unlocked.

THE 'SPIRITS TRANQUILITY' AND THE DEPARTURE OF JK TO BRASILIA

The opposition to the project and the action of the federal government was headed at the municipal level by the councilwoman Maria Ligia Lessa Bastos (UDN). The councilwoman had already tried to prevent, at all costs, the creation of ENCD in the 1940s, seeking to maintain the centralization of teacher training in IE (Lima, 2016). Thus, consistent with what he had previously advocated, he voted against the creation of a new unit. Next to her in the vote were: Raul Brunini (UDN), Dulce Magalhães (Christian Democratic Party – PDC), Arnaldo Nogueira (UDN) and Luciano Lopes (Partido Libertador - PL) (Approved without amendments the project creation of the new Normal School, 1960, p. 6).

Despite the organization of the opposition, project number 392-A it was approved on April 8 with the following wording:

Art. 1º A normal school of the General Secretariat of Education and Culture of the Federal District City Hall is created to be installed later this year, in the tijuca region - Rio Comprido - Estácio de Sá - Center, with the same purposes and regulations in force for the Carmela Dutra Normal School.

Paragraph 1 – The candidates not used for lack of vacancy will be enrolled this year in the first year of the normal course of the school, and candidates not used for lack of vacancy, in the last selection test made this year for the other normal courses of the PDF.

Paragraph 2 – For students who enroll from 1961 in the middle school courses of the Institute of Education and in those of other normal schools maintained by the PDF, the prerogative of automatic access to the respective training courses of primary teachers (normal courses) is extinguished.

Paragraph 3 – All candidates for the selection contest for admission to the first grade of the Junior High School Course of the Institute of Education and School [Normal] Carmela Dutra who have taken the exams of the respective contest and are considered approved, however, exceeding the limit of vacancies that has been established will be used in this school year. Also, the surpluses of 1959 will be taken into consideration [sic] (Aprovado sem emendas o projeto criando a nova Escola Normal, 1960, p. 6).

The newspaper *Diário Carioca* and councilman Frederico Trotta repeated the self-promotion procedure, with the creation of a teacher training school. The front-page headline of the periodical was: 'Alderman approved (32 x 4) Júlia Kubitschek School.' Then, the report also highlighted: "Yesterday came to the office of *DIÁRIO CARIOCA* a committee of surpluses of the middle and normal schools of the City Hall, in order to express their thanks to the President of the Republic [...]" (Vereador aprovou..., 1960, p. 1).

The creation of this teacher-training unit could go through without attracting attention. But the fact that it occurred in the midst of an institutional imbroglio, in which it was not recognized for sure when the City Council of the Federal District ended and when the new Legislative Assembly of the State of Guanabara began, offered a special condition to its history. As we pointed out, he also told the specificity of this story a clear interference of the federal executive on the municipal sphere. The fact that the procedure and approval of the new school project occurred in a hasty, seamless manner, amid the reportedly obstructed agenda of the Chamber, points to the political negotiation of different groups and interests in this process. Not by chance, a few days later:

[...] impasse only resolved in the early hours of April 12. With some amendments, a second substitute was then presented to the Chamber as 'the formula of tranquility of spirits'. The urgency requested by Sérgio Magalhães [PTB] was finally approved based on understandings between the leaders of the UDN, PTB and PSD, and the new substitute became Law No. 3,752, with 'rules for the convening of the Constituent Assembly of Guanabara and other measures', known as The San Tiago Dantas Law and considered the birth certificate of the newest state of the Brazilian Federation (Motta, 2000, p. 33-34, emphasis added).

In addition to the approval of the project to create the new school, this substitute reaffirmed the provisional governor's power of choice by the President of the Republic. The substitute also recognized "[...] the right of the 50 councilors to integrate, together with the 30 deputies to be elected in October, the future Legislative Assembly of the State of Guanabara" (Motta, 2000, p. 34).

In the days leading up to the change of capital, the new students of the teacher training course were confident in the installation of the normal school: "– We have the word of President Juscelino Kubitschek, who is not a man to retreat; just see the construction of Brasília - said one of them. They also hope to be studying at the new school before moving from the capital to Brasília" (Convite a Dona Júlia para estrear a escola, 1960, p. 1).

On the day JK embarked on a plane to Brasília, April 20, Sette Câmara took office as provisional governor of the state of Guanabara. The symbolic inauguration date of ENJK would also be this, to be held in the building of the Brazilian Press Association (ABI), at 10 am (3 podem..., 1960). However, the city's opening party that would drive political decisions away from popular pressures was more important to parliamentarians.

Finally, the following day after the Brazilian presidential entourage boarded to Brasília, *Diário Carioca* published, on the cover of its morning copy, almost all the subjects involved in this process, as shown in Figure 5. In large letters, it can be seen the reference to the school for surpluses, along with the mention of the new ALEG, which kept the old councilors of the Federal District. The Mayor Sá Freire had been portrayed for all his impotence, while President JK was photographed on his way to achieving his meta-synthesis.



Figure 5 – Farewell of JK: Catete and S. Dumont.

Source: Escola para as excedentes será aprovada hoje pela Assembléia (1960).

The school, however, was not immediately inaugurated. The responsibility for signing the law passed to ALEG, which did so only on April 26, 1960, as shown in Figure 6. While the president of the new legislative house signed the law, the journal that most followed the case of surpluses commented: "[...] for the immediate installation, it is lacking only the building " (Aprovação hoje da lei que dará escola para excedentes, 1960, p. 1).



Figure 6 – Today's approval of the law that will give school to surpluses.

Source: Excedentes ganharam escola (1960).

By the announcement of the signing of the project, Frederico Trotta tried one last political onslaught for the promotion of his own name. Aware that the inauguration of the new capital was a settled matter, he proposed that the new unit be called "Escola Normal Estácio de Sá" (Celso will approve project: surpluses, 1960,

p. 3). It would be a tribute to the founder of the city of Rio de Janeiro, but it was openly rejected by the surpluses, which remained faithful to JK.

WON'T HAVE THEIR NAMES CHANGED

Knowing that Mr. Frederico Trotta had proposed another name for the new school, the surpluses informed DC that, at all, will give their acquiescence to that initiative. '<<The name has already been given and the plaque al>>related to the inauguration is already done. (Excedentes (237) vencem batalha pela matrícula, 1960, p. 1, emphasis added).

The newspaper also reported that the students held a petition with 800 signatures requiring that the name of Julia Kubitschek be used in the new normal school ((Excedentes vão inaugurar a Escola Júlia Kubitschek – Titular da Educação mandará cumprir a Lei, 1960, p. 12)). In addition, the new students of the network organized two caravans, one for Brasília, and another for the city of Diamantina (MG), aiming to invite JK and his mother to the inauguration of the unit, even if they did not yet have a place.

In a last-minute attempt to stop the creation of the school, the normalists filed a warrant (Excedentes, 1960). On the other hand, the surpluses rent, with their own resources, a building in Tijuca, the same neighborhood where the Institute of Education operated. Afraid of any setback in the process that admitted them, the surpluses presented the space rented to the newly installed in Secretary of Education and Health, Celso Cunha. On this occasion, Marilda Cavalcante Horta offered the premises of the Paulo de Frontin School for the normal school to be installed, which calmed the surpluses and avoid the new unit of the Federation of going through the embarrassment of having a school working in a building rented by the students themselves.

With its head office and name, the inauguration was finally agreed for June 15, 1960, inside the Paulo de Frontin School, at Rua Barão de Ubá (Figure 7). While one of the units operated in isolation in the south, and the others were distributed throughout the interior of the city, on the banks of the railway line, ENJK was inaugurated less than a kilometer from the IE. Evidence of the lack of planning and the overlap of political interests in the face of public education.

Principal Marilda Cavalcanti Horta was in charge of the two schools. Apparently, neither Juscelino nor Júlia Kubitschek were present at his inauguration, despite the efforts of the students. The newspaper *Diário Carioca*, awarded by ENSK, wrote about the state authorities who honored the event, but not about the president and his mother.



Figure 7 – Gold Emblem for DC.

Source: Inaugurada a Escola “Júlia Kubitschek” (1960).

The unit remained operating at the Escola Paulo de Frontin until 1961, and then moved to the city center, where it began to share the facilities with the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios until 1979. This past year, he has definitely moved to 182 General Cadwell Street, also downtown. The anthem of the unit was composed by teacher and musician Olintina Costa between the years 1960 and 1961 (Chaves, 2000), being responsible for the lyrics professor Geraldo Menezes⁹.

FINAL REMARKS

The presence of five teacher-training units, installed until 1960, sustained the growth of the primary education network in the Federal District and allowed differentiated literacy and urbanization rates compared to the rest of the country. Despite this, it remained evident the need to train more teachers to work in the suburbs of the capital. Despite this lack of professionals in these poorer regions, the sixth unit was created in the downtown neighborhood, close to IE.

The historical context of the creation of the unit also involved the change of the capital to the city of Brasília, the loss of public services previously administered and supported by the federal sphere and the extinction of the mandates of parliamentarians

⁹ It was impossible to infer the exact year of the creation of the Hymn. However, our first reference found dates from Mother's Day of the year 1961, that is, in the month of May. Thus, we consider its creation between the years 1960 and 1961 (Moral and civic education in schools, 1961).

of the City Council of the federal district in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The negotiations of municipal and federal politicians were decisive in the process of installing the school, as well as the involvement of the President of the Republic himself. In this context, the political representation of Rio's families met with the interests of parliamentarians in maintaining their mandates and inaugurating a new capital for Brazil, away from popular pressures, as was the case with the protests of normalists.

The representation of the Parents' Committee was also strongly mediated by the media, which, expanding its readers' bases, sought to meet the interests of the middle classes and fractions of the elites who sought, in the formation of the Normal Course, better opportunities for their children. Thus, when considering these factors, we conclude that the creation of the sixth normal school in the city of Rio de Janeiro, at the time, the Federal District, was the result of a specific historical context that did little to involve real interests in education. On the contrary, the political bargaining, the interests of the press and the actions of the Rio de Janeiro's families as central pieces that gave rise to the institution were evident.

However, there are few educational units that have such an interesting history. Named as The Júlia Kubitschek Normal School, originally linked to the political context of the year 1960, the quality of education dedicated to its students proved that it would go beyond that conjuncture. With the moving to its definitive headquarter, in 1979, ENJK established itself and strengthened in the following decades. Currently, it is one of the most important training units of middle school teachers, still in operation, in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

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FÁBIO SOUZA LIMA: with a degree in History from the Fluminense Federal University (UFF) and in Philosophy from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), he works as an adjunct professor of History of Education at the Faculty of Education (FACED) and at the Graduate Program in Education (PPGE) from the Federal University of Amazonas (UFAM).

E-mail: fabiosouzaclima@ufam.edu.br
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1855-1738>

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Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery (UNESP – Marília)
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<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6316-3243>

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