

Lyceum Education and the New Socioeconomic Realities Emerging from the Post-War (1945-1968)

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Abstract: The economic reconstruction of the European continent, as regards the capitalist bloc, combined policies for consolidating representative democracy through the European Recovery Programme (the Marshall Plan) and the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). These policies resulted in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), with its liberal rationale of fostering economic competitiveness using technology and a belief in the good of development. A central role in this development was played by education, with its basis in the theory of human capital. In this period, Portugal recognized the need to reposition itself internationally, at the same time making thorough internal changes. The growing role of the state in ideological control made it possible to exact a contribution to economic development from education. Education planning policies were implemented in conjunction with economic planning and development, centred around the training of qualified human resources, the valorisation of school capital, and making use of technical support from international organisations. In this polarised context, how did the goals attributed to lyceum education and its curricular structure develop? What were the objectives of the so-called Preparatory Cycle of Secondary Education (Ciclo Preparatório do Ensino Secundário - CPES). A panoply of written sources has been called upon and submitted to documentary analysis using the critical method in order to answer these questions. In a certain way, they sum up the resolution of ideas and the polarity of positions on the burning question and the creation of the CPES, and the attention dedicated, at least rhetorically, to vocational guidance.

Keywords: Lyceum education; CPES; human capital; OECDism; Estado Novo.

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1. Prologue

The reconstruction of Western Europe was carried out under the leadership and auspices of the United States of America, as well as under its patronage via the European Recovery Plan (ERP), commonly known as the Marshall Plan, and the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), the aim of which was to enhance European cooperation and coordinate the distribution of ERP funds. This reconstruction combined policies for strengthening representative democracies and consolidating competitive market economies, based on a belief in the good of development. Education was assigned an essential role in economic growth, in accordance with the dissemination of human capital theory that marked the expansion of education systems in the 1960s and 1970s.

The changes in international order after World War II entailed rethinking Portugal's role in the concert of nations and its consequent repositioning in the face of European cooperation. It was not exempt from hesitation and political inflexion –e.g., alignment with the Marshall Plan (Rollo, 1994)–, and needed visible participation in the OECD (1948), the European Payments Union (1950) or later in membership of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA, 1959), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (1961). This was reflected in Portugal's openness to the post-war international economic and financial system and an effort to cooperate in the respective institutions, without losing sight of the ambivalent and contrasting nature of domestic politics (Rollo, 2007).

Internally, the social formation of Portugal, due to the nature of the *Estado Novo*¹, would undergo a period of «invisible changes» (Rosas, 1994) in the decades following 1945. The sense of structural transformation between 1950 and 1974, especially in the '60s, comes under three broad factors: rural exodus, industrial development and economic cooperation with Europe and tourism. The last had economic, social and cultural heft and importance, as regards the country's customs (Barreto, 1996). In this quarter century, Portugal succeeded in combining two models of development: the first was founded on policies of substitution of imports and was protectionist and autochthonous. Once exhausted, it gave way to a broader outlook of European cooperation, with a view to opening trade and capital import, which led to the accession to the EFTA and agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1972. It also saw the emergence of large industrial and financial groups with a significant influence on employment and economic growth (Wiarda, 1999) – e.g. CUF, Espírito Santo and Champalimaud – with no detriment to any political, ideological and economic limitations (Rosas, 1994). These changes were initially accompanied by growth in per capita GDP rates in the second half of the 1940s and in the 1950s, which, although lesser in comparison with Europe, were still sufficient to ensure the consolidation of the modernisation processes that would prove essential for the high pace of economic growth in the following decade, notably higher than the vast majority of European countries. The corollary of this economic growth in the sectoral structure of the economy, according to the data (Lains, 2003), was an irregular process of tertiarization, with high levels of production and employment

¹ Also known as the Second Republic – the far-right regime installed in Portugal in 1933.

in the agricultural sector until the '60s, when a clear decline set in. It was at this time that the contribution of human capital to sustained economic growth was most significant (Cardoso, 2014).

Economic changes were reflected in urban growth and industrialisation – highly significant on the Braga-Lisbon-Setúbal coastal axis – with development taking place asymmetrically between the coastal and the interior areas of the country. This concluded in the growth of an industrial proletariat and an urban, petit bourgeois society of service-sector wage-earners, and brought with it changes in daily life, generating new consumption and behavioural habits and therefore indicating new mental imagery, boosted by the decreased illiteracy rate, access to media such as TV and the real growth in wages (Rosas, 1994). There was a 130% increase in average wages at a rate of 6.7% per year between 1960 and 1973 (Lopes, 1996), although some comparison in the social progress of this population should be made - e.g., the national average salary represented 25% of German salaries and 49% of Spanish; inequalities in distribution of income at the household level had intensified by the end of the 1960s (Santos, 1990).

These economic and social vicissitudes were accompanied in the '60s by the definitive conclusion of the process – not unrelated to the colonial war – of national integration of society, administration, the communications system and the internal market. Concomitantly, new public service networks emerged – health, education, social security – also accompanied by a process of expansion of public administration at the state level, whether central or local – e.g., growth of public expenditure, public expenditure on the social function of the state and on its workers (Barreto, 1996).

2. Education, the state and the new socio-economic reality

The problem of education and development, in the post-war period is therefore related to a time of «adjustments to shifting circumstances» (Grácio, 1981, p. 653) or «accommodation of new situations» (Nóvoa, 1992, p. 460), a time of transformation and adaptation for the education system. This process represents a change in the nature of the demand for education and in the contribution required of the education system, as well as the beginning of a transition in the definition of national development (Stoer & Dale, 1987). In view of the mandates delivered to the education system, this process is subdivided into two periods, 1945-1968 and 1968-1974 (Stoer, Stoleroff, & Correia, 1990). The present analysis focuses precisely on the first of these two periods.

Sited at the confluence of Portugal's readjusted international role and its internal transformations, the education system was *required* to combine its contribution to maintaining order by preparing skilled labour. In the context of an administrative state consolidating its power, education was replaced by a repressive apparatus in maintaining social order (Stoer, 1982). School was freed for other missions and was granted a nexus of its own, authorising the education system to exercise a certain autonomy (Nóvoa, 1992).

In this scenario, with a focus on analysis of the period 1945 to 1968, the contribution of education is predominantly economic, satisfying the need for trained and qualified human resources and aiding the emergence of another means of social

integration (Grácio S. , 1986). This change of direction in educational policy came under the aegis of the ministers Pires de Lima (1947-1955) and Leite Pinto (1955-1961), who were successively responsible for the Ministry of National Education. These narratives and action educational discourse and decision-making in the field of education policy, especially under Leite Pinto, shifted to give priority to the training of human resources for development (Teodoro, 2001a), to the detriment of control and ideological indoctrination (Nóvoa, 1992). It is now more or less consensual that this general orientation included such measures as the reform of technical education (1948), the Popular Education Plan (1952-1956) and the extension of the period of compulsory schooling, as well as the political action of Leite Pinto to further economic and cultural development and educational planning (Grácio, 1995; Grácio, 1981; Grácio, 1986; Nóvoa, 1992; Stoer, 1982; Teodoro, 2001a).

The reform of technical and vocational education dates from the creation of a commission (Decreto-lei n.º 31431/1941) for this purpose and the work carried out in the years 1941 and 1942. It was approved five years later by the National Assembly (Lei n.º 2025/1947) and enacted in the following year with the legislator for the Statute of Industrial and Commercial and Professional Education (Decreto n.º 37029/1948). The reform appears to have arisen from the desire to create a different, complementary path for lyceums, an initiative which was exclusively attributed to the government and based on a belief in the economic role of technical schools and one which would eventually serve the government's plans for industry (Grácio S., 1986). It safeguarded the other educational provision from the pressure of social demand and fitted itself to the needs of the labour market, with the commission targeting the link between technical education and the directions foreseen as a result of options taken for industrial development. However, as the commission itself emphasised, the problems of qualifications for work in Portugal in the middle of the last century were (still) to be found at the primary education level, due to the high illiteracy rates among the working population (Teodoro, 2001a).

The Popular Education Plan was implemented a decade after the conclusion of the work of the Commission for the Reform of Technical Education and before the embarrassment created by the international statistics which showed Portugal's illiteracy rate to be in the order of 44% (World survey of education. Handbook of educational organization and statistics, 1965), leaving Portugal in last place in Europe. The Plan combined reinforced conditions for effective schooling of children, including the use of suppressive and repressive measures, at a time of advanced progress in the schooling of children between seven and nine years of age – about 73% (Candeias , 2001) –, with the creation of adult education courses and a popular literacy campaign (Decreto-Lei n.º 38968/1952; Decreto-Lei n.º 38969/1952), which closely followed international guidelines (Bhola, 1989; Canário, 2008). These measures fitted the perception of education as a factor of economic development (Ramos, 1999), reflected to reduce the illiteracy rate of the active population as a strategy for investing in human resources and preparing them for the labour market. The legislator also pronounced on the dependence of labour productivity on widespread education, as well as discussing and making clear the great advantages of good education for workers – e.g., stimulating mental activity and providing a greater aptitude for the workers to further improve in their profession (Decreto-Lei

n.º 38968/1952). Speeches by political leaders in 1953 were similarly aligned, be it when Veiga de Macedo supported raising the cultural level of workers and made a connection between this and the country's economic and social growth or the moment when the Minister for National Education, Pires de Lima, identified adults up to the age of 35 as beneficiaries of the policies adopted, now ready to be reclaimed for a labour market which lacked literate workers (Ramos, 1999). These economic options were nevertheless still framed by the perspective of limitation and control (Nóvoa, 1992) and it is therefore almost *natural* that they should be coloured by the concerns for education supported by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). These concerns were based on the ideological substratum of the regime, emphasising the attention given to the «general education of the people», a human, but national education (Decreto-Lei n.º 38968/1952). This ideology, for example, stands out in the texts of the official organ of the National Campaign for Adult Education (Mota, 2012). The limitation, however, emerges in the reduced primary education programme for adults (Loureiro & Gaspar, 1953) and in the fact that the three years of compulsory schooling continued in place. This ambivalence, despite everything, did not prevent the demand for education from taking off at all levels of the school system in the first years of the '50s, with sustained growth in numbers in the first nine years of schooling, even before the 1950s were half over (Grácio S., 1992), including a rise in the number of children who voluntarily enrolled in the 4th grade (Fernandes, 1999).

At the end of the 1950s, Europe witnessed enthusiasm for school and its role in structuring social order, a phenomenon that was eventually to arrive in Portugal (Fernandes, 1999). This was a process linked to economic development (Grácio, 1986), sustained by industrialisation and evidenced in the disaggregated gross domestic product (Teodoro, 2001a). This phenomenon occurred simultaneously at all levels of education and was the basis for the change in the family conception of schooling for the new generations (Grácio, 1997). The reasons lay in the (real) improvement in available income and resulted in a demand for schooling that, combined with Portugal's inclusion in the OECD, contributed to explaining the decision to extend compulsory schooling (Fernandes, 1999). In the second half of the '50s, compulsory schooling was extended from three to four years, first for boys (Decreto-lei n.º 40964/1956) and then for girls (Decreto-lei n.º 42994, 1960). Four years later, with the retrieval of a project from 1938 (Grácio, 1995), compulsory schooling was extended to six years with the creation of the complementary cycle of primary education (5th and 6th grades) (Decreto-lei n.º 45810/1964). This served as an antechamber of the working world for children of working-class backgrounds, who supposedly had the necessary competences for the vocational rethink demanded by the labour market, given the fact of the migrations and a certain amount of technological modernisation (Grácio, 1995). The initial cycles of technical and lyceum education were fused with the creation of the secondary education preparatory cycle. This envisaged postponing the choice of their next phase of studies for two years and seeking to gloss over differentiation of methods or moods that hindered school reorganisation. This problem will be returned to on analysing the evolution of lyceum education.

The action and the mobilising discourse of Francisco de Paula Leite Pinto, Minister for National Education (MNE) (1955-1961), made him, in certain domains,

a precursor of Veiga Simão, but it was his political-educational discourse which incorporated key words such as «skilled workforce», «human resources» and «manpower» (Miranda, 1978). Political action reflects the concern with planning education in conjunction with economic planning and development; there are two objectives, one, to coordinate education planning with politics and provide guidelines for policy makers, and the second, to adapt and transform school systems according to the needs of economic expansion. Within the ideology of political-educational European capitalist development (Grácio, 1995) or *OECDism* (Miranda, 1978), there are three inter-hinged ideas (Grácio, 1995): the imperative need to combine economic and educational planning; the acceleration of social change based on technical and scientific transformation which makes school education a factor for social mobility; and the broadening of the school base for recruiting competent managers and technicians (Pinto, 1964; Pinto, 1957). This discourse had corresponding action in the extension of compulsory schooling from three to four years, as already mentioned, further demonstrating respect for the principles of *Estado Novo* policy, adjusting the structure of schooling to the social demand for education (Teodoro, 2001a). In the same way, the attempt to merge the initial cycles of both branches – technical and lyceum – aimed to postpone the choice of the next phase of studies for two years and facilitated the reorganisation of school, which, after prior consultation with teachers of lyceums and technical-vocational schools, was in fact attempted, although unsuccessfully (Grácio, 1995).

The reality is that Minister Leite Pinto, for whom the need to plan was unquestionable (Pinto, 1964), inaugurated planning in education. The 1st Development Plan (1953-1958) seems to have resulted in part from external pressures from the OEEC – later, OECD – in combination with internal pressure from the representative group of the «first generation of industrial entrepreneurs» (Teodoro, 2001a; Miranda, 1978). It was in this context that the influence and pressure of the OEEC/OECD perspective begin to make itself felt in the Ministry of Education. It culminated in Leite Pinto inviting the OECD to finance a study of the Portuguese school system in order to lay the foundations for an educational programme in the medium and long term (Miranda, 1978; Stoer & Dale, 1987; Grácio, 1995; Teodoro, 2001b). This was, symbolically, the introduction of *OECDism* in the Portugal of Salazar and the *Estado Novo* (Miranda, 1978). The Mediterranean Regional Project originated here, in which Spain, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey participated in addition to Portugal, the financing of which in Portugal was undertaken by the Institute of Industrial Research and by the Development Plan (Grácio, 1995). The study was carried out by a team from the Centre for Statistical Studies of the Institute of High Culture (Miranda, 1978). Portugal's involvement consists of two volumes (*Projecto Regional do Mediterrâneo*, 1963; *Projecto Regional do Mediterrâneo*, 1964), one describing the structure of schooling in the 1950s and the other, of a prospective character, tracing its development until 1975 – e.g., students, teachers, facilities – envisioning future human resource needs. It is an important contribution in terms of the methodology and information that it discloses, as well as the shortages, distortions and delays in the education system, along with the volume of resources to be mobilised and the efforts being made to correct and surmount them (Grácio, 1995).

Publication came about with Leite Pinto already removed from the ministry, and its reception fell to his successor in the MNE, Galvão Telles (1962-1968). Telles considered it a study which should be considered, but one to which the ministry under his guidance did not adhere, directing his subsequent discourse to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of planning educational action, to which this publication remained subordinate (Telles, 1964a). He discussed the relationship between education and economics, emphasising the superior goals of the former, recognising above all that there is no economic progress without educational progress, as productivity depends on the worker and the worker's value depends on what education does in various ways – e.g., the power of initiative, a creative imagination, knowledge, diligence, discipline and integration into the social environment (Telles, 1964b). Minister Galvão Telles highlighted one of his initiatives that he considered to be the exponent of qualitative planning, the future Statute of National Education (Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1966-1968), an extensive and complex document that envisaged global education reform. He identified the Statute as the «charter of teaching» that would contain «powerful ideas», that is, a basic law with guiding principles that would embody a renewed education system, «faithful to the great constants of Christianity and Lusitanity, but modernised» (Telles, 1964b, p. VIII). This proposal and reading of it could be interpreted as a rethinking of the developmental perspective, although three decades later, the minister maintained that it was just a question of looking at «education as a whole» and embodying «this whole in a single legal diploma» (Telles, 2002, p. 64). What is certain is that the planning direction was retained, starting with the fact that it was under Galvão Telles that the Interim Development Plan (1965-1968) inaugurated the inclusion of education and research, relinquishing its exclusively economic character. In line with the OECD proposals, the Manpower Development Fund (MDF) was created by the Ministry of Corporations in 1963 and two years later the Office of Studies and Planning for Educational Action (OSPEA) emerged, bringing to fruition an OEEC/OECD proposal that dated from beginning of that decade (Stoer, 1982; Teodoro, 2001b).

There remained ambiguities, even considering the growing influence of international organisations (Teodoro, 2019) and the dependence of the regime on the state's repressive apparatus. Education, legitimised by the OECD, emerged with the responsibility for contributing to economic growth and meeting demands and needs for labour, but the idea continued of teaching as an element of cultural conformation and a vehicle for ideological indoctrination in terms of educational policy options, as well as in the specific scope of education, as was the case with programme contents (Stoer, 1982). It is in this context and these circumstances that the reform of 1947 and the evolution of lyceum education, as it adjusted to the calls for contribution to economic growth and the optimistic search for education, are examined here.

3. Lyceum education and the contribution of education to economic development

Two years after the work of the Commission for Reform of Technical Education mentioned above, a Commission for the Reform of Lyceum education was appointed (Adão & Remédios, 2008). Lyceum education, in addition to the political will of the

executive authority to reform secondary education, also came under scrutiny from legislative power, as becomes clear in contributions to National Assembly debates. Positions were polarised between the timely discussion of management problems and administration of lyceum education – e.g. the school network, job insecurity (Portugal, 1945, p. 250; Portugal, 1946, pp. 960-961) – and a more systemic view which voiced the need for a reform of secondary education – e.g., Couceiro da Costa (Portugal, 1947, 25 de janeiro), Afonso Ribeiro Cazaes or Maria Van Zeller (Portugal, 1947, 1 de fevereiro). Due recognition was given to the legitimacy of the criticism of the system and, especially, the need to reconcile lyceum and technical education, the reform of which was decreed before and regulated a posteriori; the National and Corporate Assemblies were bypassed and the government passed legislation – in practice, the President of the Council held the majority of the power (Rosas, 1992) – to enact the reform of lyceum education (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947) and also published the new statute of that stratum of education (Decreto n.º 36508/1947).

The growth in demand for lyceum education aids understanding of the circumstances at the time, as well as the options and the stances taken. In this period, from the beginning of the 1950s to the mid-1970s, limiting analysis to the *Estado Novo* and the timeframe defined for this study, the demand for secondary education in general and for lyceum education in particular, went hand in hand, as has already been pointed out, with educational policy measures employed at the level of the school network, as well as the increase in compulsory schooling. The number of pupils enrolled in lyceum education – state and private – tripled from the school year 1950-1951, with 48,485 students to 155,445 students enrolled in 1966-1967. By courses, in the same period, general course in lyceum – 1st and 2nd cycle – witnessed a similar expansion in enrolments, while in the 3rd cycle, this increased four and a half times. This non-retractable reality should, however, be tempered by the fact that, in 1966-1967, the numbers of pupils enrolled in lyceum education accounted for only 17.4% of all pupils enrolled in primary education, 891,082, and 17.5% of the pupils who had «embarked» on primary school four years earlier, in 1962-1963.

By comparing the solutions implemented at the international level and by examining the history of secondary education and the experiences that took place at the national level, the legislator concluded that students were leaving lyceum without the minimum preparation necessary to embark on any university course, as indeed their profile was inadequate for any profession. A utilitarian and functional perspective of education and lyceum teaching was thus adopted. The educational provision in secondary schools now served two purposes: the formation of the elite – the national ruling class – and, in what was a clear commitment to the labour market and the social demand for education, as well as pre-announcing massification, it would educate the «great mass of the population» (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947, p. 881), to whom would be administered culture appropriate for the task that would ensure social reproduction. Pragmatically, instruction would be given according to the place that each one would occupy in the structure and the economic and social hierarchy. For the elite, classical humanities, for the others, given the «realities of modern social man» and the revision of the concept of «humanities», «present-day humanism» (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947, p. 881), that is, necessary and sufficient culture to meet the demands of social practices. According to the purpose and

objectives of lyceum education, considering the beneficiaries and their future, there were in fact two educational offers, respectively the general course and the 3rd cycle. This prior option determined the choices made in terms of the duration of studies, the educational regime and especially in the management of subjects, where pragmatics and a utilitarian perspective would dictate the law.

Lyceum education retained its seven-year duration so as not to delay the start of active life (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947) but brought back the structure of 1931 with the distribution of the number of years for the general course – divided into two cycles (two plus three years) – and for the complementary course (Decreto n.º 20741/1932). This effort attempted to respond to adolescent development but was never completed and is still a current subject for debate, having recently made a return to the Portuguese educational policy agenda (Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 36, 2019, p. 1542).

The five-year general course had the essential aim of «the balanced and gradual development of the faculties» for pupils, and it was envisaged that all would acquire a «certain degree of culture» (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947, p. 881). Thus, the first five years of a lyceum course should teach what was «useful and necessary, such as knowledge, mental exercise and the elements of education» (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947, p. 881), making all students part of Portuguese society and culture and preparing them for the careers that they could be expected to follow. In the complementary course, seen as pre-university education and a consolidation of what was learnt on the general course, the purpose was to administer fundamental knowledge in the scope of the students' vocational choices.

The justification for choosing a mode of frequency was provided by the aims and objectives pursued by each course. In the 1st and 2nd cycles, in the understanding of the legislator, the purposes of the general course benefited simultaneously from the study of a set of disciplines and from the connections established among them. This also contributed to reducing the risk of fatigue, if the work required was graded according to the nature and importance of the discipline. With this understanding, the class regime was adopted, requiring a reflection on and management of the number of subjects, as well as action to be taken on the programmes. In the complementary course, a subject system was followed, with a reduction in the number of subjects, «being limited to what is essential for the studies on which the students intend to embark, with an increase in the number of lessons in the subjects that are new» (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947, p. 883).

With the General Course shortened by one year, the legislator opted to standardise the syllabus – discarding the possibility of optional subjects – and, in the name of an essential factor, reduced the number of subjects – given the work and effort spent. The contents of programmes considered non-fundamental were also reduced, taking into consideration the students' ability to «meet the common needs of life or pursue studies» (Decreto-lei n.º 36507/1947, p. 882). The subjectivity of concepts such as «essential» or «non-fundamental», which was (almost) never really substantiated or clarified, played a decisive role here. In respect for the canons of a certain pragmatism and utilitarianism, the reduction in subjects such as geography, history and the natural sciences was brought forward, unlike mathematics, which was useful for intellectual exercise and the power of reasoning,

and languages – by choice, French throughout all five years and English only in the 2nd cycle. Thus, the revision and simplification of the programmes focused on the «abilities of the students» and took «teaching experience» into account (Decreto n.º 37029/1948, p. 1081). The fact is that the results lagged, not only because of the systematic criticism of the disappearance of certain subjects from the general course – for example, Latin – but also due to opposition to the option of reducing certain programmes. There was especial criticism because six years later the legislator republished lyceum education programmes (Decreto n.º 39807/1954) with the same rationale and arguments, that is, the experience of the teaching available and the accommodation of programmes to the students' capacity.

The approach that led to the reform of the lyceum curriculum brought the place and meaning of the humanities in general and of Latin and Greek to the centre of the debate. Only a small part of the elite would have access to a classical humanist education when they went to lyceum, given that even in the supplementary course, only students on route to law courses and some other courses delivered in the faculty of letters would have Latin and Greek in their curriculum. As already pointed out, this option was influenced by a certain utilitarianism which, according to some authors, marked the options in such disciplines as mathematics and overshadowed the important contribution of the humanities to building spirit and character, without losing the utilitarian outlook (Soares, 1956).

The public debate was, to say the least, long lasting, but it should be borne in mind that this polarity had been a hallmark of the design of lyceum education study plans since the second half of the nineteenth century, although it had undergone several nuances of a sociocultural nature, and was simultaneously crossed with the discussion of secondary education at the international level. Still, the debate on the question of the humanities, Latin and Greek was far from exhausted.

In a (more) global assessment of positions and ideas over two decades after the enactment of the 1947 lyceum reform, two categories are pre-defined: on the one hand, the vast majority of criticisms and/or proposals which concern only one option or a set of reform options – e.g., Latin, a programme or a set of programmes; this is distinct from a small number that can be defined as those that present other foundations – purposes and/or objectives – for lyceum education and therefore implying (or not) other choices in different domains. Taken as a critical synthesis of measures, texts and articles, the stances related to the first category can be grouped into three areas which are not necessarily mutually exclusive:

i) The programme-centred question – discussion on what had survived from Latin in the Portuguese programme and the vague character of the concepts that now guide the study of this subject; the grouping of the same four-year Latin programme into six years and the problem of its assimilation was broached, also with an emphasis on the importance of the loss of the connection with Portuguese; the evolution of the study of Latin in lyceum education was examined, along with its lack of *didactization* as an understanding of the options of the reform (Pavão Jr., 1951; Almeida, 1956; Soares, 1956; Almeida, 1958).

ii) The formative worth of the humanities and classical culture – fundamental to overcoming the «intellectual and moral crisis of the nations» (Freire, 1947) – whether from the point of view of the elevation of man's spiritual nature or by their

more utilitarian contribution to developing the scientific spirit, a knowledge of modern languages, especially the mother tongue, with discussion even reaching the core of what is «useful», criticising the association with exclusively pragmatic values (Freire, 1947; Almeida A. N., 1956; Soares, 1956; Andrade, 1959; Santos, 1960).

iii) Questioning of educational policy options – the link of the importance of Latin with the purposes of lyceum education, the systematic criticism of the legislator's arguments and the position of defending the reintroduction of Latin studies in the lyceum general course (Gersão, 1948, p. 194; Soares, 1956).

Seven years after the reform of lyceum education, two years after the beginning of the Popular Education Plan and in the same year that new programmes for lyceum education were published, a proposal to defend the integrity of lyceum and the «sanitisation» of their frequency by supporting the arguments in the discussion of the purpose of lyceums gained momentum and exposure. It was a time of exponential growth in numbers of students attending Portuguese lyceums, and the proposal consubstantiated an alternative reading of the place and role of lyceums in the Portuguese education system and society (Almeida, 1954; Almeida, 1955a; Almeida, 1955c; Almeida, 1955d; Almeida, 1955b; Soares, 1955a; Soares, 1955b; Soares, 1955c).

The rationale for this argument was based on a set of empirical findings resulting from observation and from the experience of different teachers, which allowed the conclusion that the mental level of the students in lyceum was very low (Almeida, 1954), namely in the attitudes they displayed in class and their responses to questioning (Almeida, 1955a). It revealed memorised information which students were unable to interrelate or reflect on critically and the conclusion was that «no matter how clearly the teacher is in giving his lesson and however attractive he may wish to make learning, it can always be noted that after a few days, most of the students did not grasp his thought properly» (Almeida, 1954, p. 114). The question was raised of whether the level of students had been maintained or had diminished, and a set of hypothetical possible causes were presented, ranging from the current reform (or all reforms) to the problem of student selection: «Does this mean that our lyceum education is struggling with an immense dead weight of students who should not be there?» (Almeida, 1954, p. 116). Aware of the social reality and the social demand for education, together with educational policy options and their impact on the education system in general and in lyceum, the purposes were announced (Almeida, 1954).

The next step was to subject the empirical conclusions on the level of lyceum students to rigorous testing, and for this purpose, a study based on the academic results of students was presented, showing that only 25% of students attending the 5th year of lyceum education had an enough mental level to obtain satisfactory results (Almeida, 1955a). In an investigation of the causes usually put forward as being at the root of low student academic performance, e.g., the number of subjects or number of teaching hours – the situation was compared with that of Switzerland and the reforms in Portugal (1931, 1936, 1947) – it was concluded that some factors are not relevant or are insignificant, especially as the situation had not changed over the previous decades. The finger was pointed at student selection, or rather, the absence of it (Almeida, 1955b).

As a means of emphasising the importance of the selection of students to be admitted to lyceum, many of these students in the mid-1950s as were described not having «the appropriate kind of intelligence for the quality of teaching that the syllabus dictates for them», but are gifted with «practical or mechanical intelligences with no aptitude for speculation or the management of ideas» and have «a factual spirit which can hardly grasp teaching concerned with mental development, where clear reasoning, a capacity for abstraction and synthesis and skilful criticism are indispensable». It was stated that «it is shocking to see [...] the dead weight on the courses...», despite their «practical intelligence», «manual ability» or «artistic sensibility» (Almeida, 1955b, p. 352). In the same perspective, Pinto Soares, also a lyceum teacher, stressed that the door should not be closed to those who wanted to enter – emphasising that this was a positive sign of evolution of the Portuguese and of Portugal – but that, in his view, they needed to have previously demonstrated intellectual qualities to succeed (Soares, 1955c).

This seemed to be the general feeling among a certain Portuguese social and political elite. In this line of reasoning, Pinho de Almeida concluded with the need for rigorous selection for lyceum entrance, rerouting candidates without the necessary profile for lyceum to attendance at other establishments. In order to reach this goal, it was considered essential to establish the means for selection and the best age to do it, aspects that are interwoven with the purposes of lyceum education (Almeida, 1955b). According to Pinho de Almeida's account, lyceum could not and should not fulfil both purposes which the 1947 reform indicated, lest it undermine the education of the elite. The rationale lay in the consideration that the «overall culture» provided by the general course in lyceums, while of functional use for the «utilitarian and professional preparation of the average man» (Almeida, 1955c, p. 427) could not similarly serve the elite, especially since it was therein that the «bases for understanding the world and life» were covered (Almeida, 1955c, p. 426). This was an essential feature of the education of the ruling class which was hampered by the presence of other students (Almeida, 1955c).

As a logical conclusion, attention was drawn to the fact that these students should have been at technical schools and, in their view, lyceum should be safeguarded for the education of the elite, since the two purposes which the 1947 reform allocated were incompatible. It was consistently argued that technical schools were not simply inferior lyceums and that they had a «very important mission to play in raising our economic and cultural level» (Almeida, 1955c, p. 428). In this perspective, even the coercive power of the state to oblige students to attend technical schools was defended because, as was stated, technical schools had the mission of raising the economic and cultural level and these educational institutions had a mission to fulfil in the labour market. Given the case of these two situations, the state must impose regulations preventing the admission of the average along with graduates from the lyceum general course. There was, indeed, a contribution of education to economic growth and a link to the labour market, but this should be understood within the scope of technical schools. As regards lyceum education, it was the ruling class's defence of and concern for the elite lyceum which was at the heart of this assessment; this was made more or less clear with the emphasis that «this orientation would allow careful selection to be carried out upon lyceum entrance, with no great shock to

or resistance from families, and would allow it to carry out its functions better, with smaller, homogeneous and interested groups» (Almeida, 1955c, pp. 428-429).

The selection proposed depended on the effectiveness of vocational training, and in this perspective suggested postponing selection until the age of 12. This was advanced for reasons of mental order and the idea came about of transforming the technical education preparatory cycle, created in 1948, into a secondary education preparatory cycle – technical and lyceum. In this latter case, the 1st cycle of the lyceum general course would be eliminated, accompanied by a demanding and effective tool for vocational guidance, based on «tests of a psychological and pedagogical nature», making scientific selection possible (Almeida, 1955d).

The recognition that the material conditions were not in place to put scientific selection into practice led to the alternative suggestion of the usual selection tests at the end of the course, picking the students according to the quality of their test results. In Pinho de Almeida's argument, taking this decision would solve burning issues such as poor secondary schooling or excessive numbers of pupils and would doubly improve the quality of teachers' work by reducing the number of students per class and, at the same time, limiting the heterogeneity of the mental level of classes and, consequently, of the classroom (Almeida, 1955d). The forthcoming proposal of a preparatory course common to lyceum and technical education, which the engineer Leite Pinto tried to build during his mandate in the MNE, as already pointed out, was interpreted as a key part of lyceum reform (Almeida, 1959).

In 1967, in what was commonly regarded as a decisive reinforcement for the extension of compulsory schooling and a step in the process of massification of education, the Preparatory Cycle of Secondary Education (Ciclo Preparatório do Ensino Secundário - CPES) was created. This took place within the framework of a retrospective view of the historical educational process and was the result of a fusion of the technical education preparatory cycle with the 1st cycle of the lyceum general course. The aim was to provide adequate, basic, general education for continued studies with observation of students to guide them in their subsequent academic choices, as well as to correct asymmetries of methods and spirit between the technical education preparatory cycle and the 1st cycle of the lyceum general course (Decreto-lei n.º 47480/1967). Necessarily, the whole process of extending compulsory schooling in general, as well as the creation of the CPES, was a response to the «shortages of skilled labour and the needs of economic development within the framework of capitalism» (Fernandes, 1981, p. 169).

The legislator set 12 years of age as the time for decision-making on the next phases of studies, and in those two years there was the opportunity to diffuse obstacles to school guidance, such as differentiated methods or cultures. Culture considered valid and relevant with developmental and learning psychology can be considered explicit sources of the curriculum, providing an understanding of the development of pre-adolescents, with a subsidiary source being the pedagogical organisation of the curriculum and a certain «need for social equalisation as regards the system of secondary school education» (Ferreira, 2003, p. 14).

School orientation would consist of systematic observation of each student, especially in their «reactions to the stimuli of the diverse educational groups» (Decreto-lei n.º 47480/1967, p. 3) which were part of the components of the curriculum

in the CPES (1968), namely the instructional component as part of the instructional strand (learning of knowledge and skills of the cognitive domain) and technical strand (learning of psychomotor skills and know-how), the expression and development component, associated with explicit sources of curriculum developmental goals, and finally, the sociomoral component, concerning values and norms transmitted by the curriculum, that is, the goal of socialisation (Decreto n.º 48572/1968, p. 1343).

It was hoped that this observation, equipped with a certain systematicity, would enable useful information to be provided to students, parents and guardians to facilitate the choice of the next phase of studies, as well as resolving pedagogical and educational problems for which teachers and parents and guardians had responsibility. Meanwhile, the information shared would consist of recommendations or advice and thus did not affect free choice of academic career. With the school guidance services organised by class, the information about each student was in their individual process. This structure had, at the top of the pyramid, a school guidance council composed of the principal, deputy principal, teachers of moral and religious education, two other teachers and the school doctor; they were responsible for directing the guidance services, for guidance in cases of doubt, for authorising the consultation of psychotechnical or mental health laboratories and for giving an opinion «on the choice of compendia and textbooks and on teaching methods, insofar as they are of interest to school guidance» (Decreto-lei n.º 47480/1967, p. 3).

4. Closing comments

In the post-war period, Portugal re-established its international role and experienced a time of internal transformations – unprecedented structural changes – in which the consolidation of the role of the state allowed a new mandate for education, freeing it from the function of maintaining order. Henceforth, the contribution of education was predominantly economic, meeting the need for training qualified human resources and assisting in the emergence of another form of social integration. School gained its own rationale and the education system, in a way, became autonomous.

European euphoria around school and its role in social construction at the end of the 1950s spread progressively in Portugal, linked to economic development and supported by transformations at the socio-economic level – (real) improvement of available income – and cultural level – e.g., changes in the conception of families on schooling for the new generations – that were carried out in the Portuguese social formation. This went hand in hand with the internal pressure of demand for schooling that, combined with the insertion of Portugal into the OECD, contributed to educational policy measures that were envisaged to contribute to economic growth through the qualification of the workforce; these included the reform of technical education (1948), the Popular Education Plan (1952-1956), the extension of compulsory schooling and the political action of Leite Pinto which championed economic, cultural and educational planning. It was in this context and under these circumstances that the reform (1947) and the evolution of lyceum education has been analysed, in its process of adaptation to the seduction of *OECDism* to the theory of

human capital combined with the optimistic search for education, the valorisation of school capital and the advancement of educational planning.

The reform of 1947, along with the sporadic adjustments that were introduced, conformed to the effort to adapt to the new circumstances. Indeed, to respond to the social demand for education and the need for qualified human resources, it became the responsibility of lyceum to foster the education of a layer of a school elite, in addition to the schooling of a wider range of the Portuguese people. With these purposes on the horizon, decisions were made regarding the duration of studies, the frequency and the excessive number of subjects.

This process, however, was carried out on a basis of inequality in access to education, with the general course being provided to those who entered lyceum and the complementary course being reserved for the elite whose end aim would be university entrance, a place where social selection even outweighed gender selection (Nunes, 1971). These circumstances supported progressively affirmed humanism based on a culture rife with utilitarianism and pragmatism to the detriment of what can be defined, for the sake of economy, as classic humanism; the implications and consequences of this were clear in the educational plan of lyceum education.

The Portuguese education policy for secondary education during this period reveals preoccupations with the system's efficiency, connected to the idea of human capital, and reflects an attempt to face the challenges and guidelines of both the international plan (e.g. OECD) and the national plan, with its growing internal demand for social education. Under this perspective, the recognition of the role and importance of vocational guidance goes hand in hand with the desire to maintain the schools of the massification process as elite formation schools (of the *escola*), as opposed to the vast majority of children who would be lead towards technical education. The educational policy focused on the extension of elementary schooling in view of a better qualified workforce, yet even then, however, by delaying the entry into the labour market or the selection for technical or lyceum education, it constituted a widening of opportunities and social expectations for certain groups and social sectors.

Thus, the process gave rise to a merging of the two lower secondary education paths of the technical and lyceum schools into a new common preliminary pathway – *Preparatory Cycle of Secondary Education (Ciclo Preparatório do Ensino Secundário - CPES)*. The CPES was idealised to be incumbent of constituting itself over the desired area of selection, equipped with a service of vocational guiding responsible for gathering and disseminating the information to the stakeholders, using a contemporary term, i.e., the families, professors and children. The absence of the implementation of an effective service of vocational guidance certainly limited the already reduced reach of the measure, making it exclusively limited to school failure/success. One should similarly not forget that this option was ridden with iniquity since its inception due to the creation of two new paths of completion for the first six years of mandatory schooling – the complementary cycle of primary education (5th and 6th grades) (Decreto-lei n.º 45819/ 1964) in 1964, and the television preparatory cycle (Telescola) (Portaria n.º 23529/ 1968) in 1968 – both of which dual-natured resources combining the suppression of the shortcomings of the school network and its professors with the fact that they were pedagogically devalued paths.

This position was favourable to verticalization in combination with a certain academic Malthusianism that recognised and praised the social demand for education but recognised that it needs supervision to avoid any «risk of strangulation or suffocation of the intellectual elite» (Telles, 1966, p. 178). The gradual valorisation of school capital allowed new means of social enhancement, in which measures to extend compulsory schooling were an indication of changes in social attitudes and in educational policy. School played a more significant role in the process of social selection and recruitment of elites (Nóvoa, 1994). But while, from then on, it was to be school success and not the social position of families which «determine the studies that each one will be able to perform and the places that one can aspire to» (Nóvoa, 1994, p. 5), family legacy determines much of school success (Nóvoa, 1994, p. 5) and herein, school plays a decisive role in concealing discrimination (Grácio, 1986).

Educational equality as an abstract and generalised concept tied to the notion of a universal right was still perceived as less than credible, a mirage. Despite the political interest in the distribution of schooling, it still lacked a rationale that allowed everyone to equally take part in it. Back then the demagogic formulation of equality that would unravel the following decades in Portugal was not yet necessary, even though many people strived to have their children follow their studies in order to climb the social ladder. The state-promoted expansion of schooling attempted to keep up with the economic development of the country and, thus, opened up opportunities for some to escape their family's social situation, reinforcing the illusion that success depended on individual efforts and intellectual capacity. In truth, even if each and every one were summoned to school it was not set in stone that finishing the studies was all that sufficed, since the conditions for success were not envisaged for all. In any case, this schooling expansion intertwined with the economic development will condition the dynamic that will impose itself upon Portugal beginning in the 70s of the 20th century, when the rhetoric of the democratisation of education will be increasingly common and especially appealing in political discussions.

5. References

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