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## THE PRESENCE OF FELIPE TIAGO GOMES IN BAHIA AND THE CREATION OF THE MOVEMENT'S FIRST CENTER OF "FREE GYMNASIUMS" IN THE COCOA REGION, BRAZIL

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### ABSTRACT

The study highlights the *Cenegista* Movement presence in Brazil (National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG in Portuguese), originated from the Recife student movement of 1943, in Pernambuco), during the 1950s, and focuses on Felipe Tiago Gomes' actions, its main representative, in the process of implantation of the CNEG's first center of "Free Gymnasiums" in the State of Bahia's south, in the Cocoa Region. In this sense, the historical narrative about the "free gymnasiums" creation in the south of the state was constituted by having as reference the social and collective memory present in the sources, documents and written texts about the CNEG, taking into consideration their intersection with the history and memory of the secondary school movement in the region. Thus, the happening is interpreted as the result of an interests' convergence between an established need in the region and the action of a thinking intellectual who is present at the place and can structure the "free gymnasiums" composition, although this process did not occur without conflicts and contradictions.

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### INTRODUCTION

In Brazil, due to the context established with the end of World War II, the import substitution economy, which began in 1930, accelerates and diversifies itself between year 1945 and the early 1960s, causing profound changes in the economic order of the country, in addition to new needs that the education could not ignore. This period became known in Brazilian history as the National Developmentalist. In the educational field, there were heated debates about the project's referral of the first National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB in Portuguese), as well as the conflict triggered throughout its course, between public school defenders and private school defenders (Saviani, 2007), with repercussions in the various regions, which led to a great expansion of secondary education. During this period, the industrialization advance brought with it the urbanization process and the progressive penetration of foreign investment in the country's

economy. The change in the population axis from the rural to the urban area allowed the emergence of new social classes, due to the cities' fast expansion and the emergence of new municipalities. Among the urban populational cores stood out the traders and the industrialists, who came from professions of greatest repercussion at that historical moment. In the post-New State (Estado Novo in Portuguese), economic development stratified the society into upper class (at its extreme), represented by the agrarian-commercial oligarchy and by industrial bourgeoisie, and working class (at the opposite extreme). The middle class was between them, made up of liberal professionals and public agents. At the time, schooled education was viewed as one of the main access routes to the professions performed by the average segments and the entry into school represented an important baseline for social rise and the effective participation in society (Almeida, 2004, p. 89). Therefore, with the end of New State (1945), discussions about the 1946 Constitution began, which would

establish the need for new educational laws to replace the old ones, considered outdated for the new economic and political moment that the country was experiencing. It was a transience period when there was an intense manifestation about the educational system direction. The new Constitutional Charter advocated freedom and ensured education as all Brazilians' right, in addition to obliging the public authorities to guarantee, in accordance with the Law, the education at all school's levels, alongside with private initiative, a factor that would contribute to intensify the movements around the "democratization" of educational opportunities through the expansion of schools' network. In this way, the developmentalist aura exposed the Brazilian population educational precariousness more clearly and education remained being a major problem.

From 1950, one of the aspects that most marked the educational system was the education's general expansion in Brazil. In the period, high school corresponded to two cycles: junior high school, having four years of duration, and high school, having three years. Both comprised secondary education as well as technical education (industrial, agricultural, commercial and teacher training). On this occasion, the movements around the access to secondary education and the creation of junior secondary schools were intensifying in the various regions of the Federation states. Here, the history of the "free gymnasiums" creation in the Cocoa Region, in southern Bahia, during the first half of the 1950s, is highlighted, showing, in a way, the encounter among the secondary schooling movement's history in region, the municipalist movement and its intersection with the movement's action started by Felipe Tiago Gomes, named as the National Campaign of Free Schools, which was also known as "*cenegista* movement", in the memory's perspective. One agrees with Maurice Halbwachs (1950) when the author points out that memory is constituted within society, of their references, in which individuals and social groups move in a given time, space, forms of expression, language etc. To Halbwachs, individual memory refers to "a point of view on collective memory", built from the references and own memories of the social group (Halbwachs, 2004, p. 55). Thus, the historical narrative about the "free gymnasiums" creation in Bahia's Cocoa Region, in the 1950s, product of the *cenegista* movement in Brazil, under the leadership of Felipe Tiago Gomes, was constituted having as reference the social and collective memory present in the sources, documents and texts written about CNEG, taking into account its intersection with the movement's history and memory for the secondary schooling in the region.

**The *cenegista* movement in the 1950s and its articulation with the state:** The 1943 student movement in Recife, Pernambuco, under the leadership of Felipe Tiago Gomes, inspired by the Peruvian political leader Haya de la Torre's action, initially called the "Poor Ginasian Campaign" and later "Campaign of Free Schools", after starting a partnership with the state, would be widespread throughout Brazil, still in the early 1950s, under the name "National Campaign of Free Schools". After following Lourenço Filho's recommendations, then Director of the National Department of Education (1948), with the new Statute's approval, the movement would assume a National feature and adopt the National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG) nomenclature, initially maintaining its headquarters in Recife, which would later be transferred to the Federal District (1949), with the aim of facilitating

articulations with the then Ministry of Education and Health. According to the Statute approved by the group, at that time, CNEG would be constituted by the following agencies: National Congress, National Board of Directors and Fiscal Council. Felipe Tiago Gomes would remain as CNEG Delegate to the other states, as well as to the Federal District and the Brazilian Territories (Holanda, 1981, p. 40-1). Although the CNEG Statute (Chapter IV) dealt with the Direction and Inspection agencies at the National sphere, in other parts of its content there were references not only to the Delegations, but also to the State Directorates. The National Congress would be the CNEG's sovereign agency, with powers to resolve all social affairs, take any decision, approve, ratify or not, all acts of interest to the Campaign, and would consist of the National Board, State Delegates and Contributing Members (Articles 10 to 14 of the CNEG Statute). The purpose of the Campaign would be expressed in Chapter II, art. 4º, in the following items:

- Collaborate with the Ministry of Education and relevant state agencies and receive from them the necessary guidance;
- Disseminate teaching and offer courseware free of charge to the less favored classes;
- Establish free schools throughout the national territory;
- Ensure social assistance to students;
- Promote research of educational interests;
- Establish libraries and agencies of scientific-educational feature;
- Intercede with any government agency to obtain funding, money for the Campaign's maintenance (CNEG, 1948, translated).

At the time, Rubem Braga published in Recife's newspaper *Diário da Noite* the text "Os Millionários", referring to the performance of Felipe Tiago and in defense of CNEG, when he said: "Obviously, it is for the nation, unable to carry out the enormous work of education that is needed on its own, to help concretely, with indispensable reservations and precautions, but in a positive way, such movements." (Braga, 1949, translated). In this sense, he continues: "These movements show that there is still much generous boost in this country that does not back down from the astonishing mediocrity of so many sectors of public life." (Braga, 1949, translated). In the "*First Ten Years of Struggles for Free Teaching's Report*", prepared by CNEG, with the goal of new adhesions to the cause of "Free Gymnasiums", defended by the Campaign, in the form of "a Memory", produced in 1953, which would be directed "to the heart of the Brazilian people", it stood out: "To you fellow *Cenegista*! So that the strength of this ideal, overcoming years of resistance and aloofness, and the example of the persistence overcoming where the idea seemed to fail, will recapture its excitement and enthusiasm" (CNEG, 1953, translated). The Report also highlighted that the work was devoted especially for those who did not know the *Cenegista* movement, with the expectation that, by reading it, they would learn about the movement and be convinced to cooperate with CNEG. And that, according to the discourse presented, meant "rediscovering this immense Brazil, suffocated in the tentacles of dreadful ignorance, making all our aspirations for common happiness, progress and greatness impossible. That by the end of reading this Memory you become a new and ardent *Cenegista*" (CNEG, 1953, translated), said the text, written with the purpose of motivating new adhesions to the

movement. In the *"First Ten Years of Struggles' Report"*, it was also considered that in Brazil's every corner, a free gymnasium would be "Brazil discovering itself, establishing its conscience, taking its place in the repair of Nations. And to anyone who is not yet 'one of ours', let us shout with idealistic fervor, 'FRIEND, ONFORWARD, IN THE CINEGISTA PHALANX OCCUPY THY PLACE!'" (CNEG, 1953, translated). With this, the list of 65 free gymnasiums already in operation in Brazil was presented, scattered throughout the Federal States. In general, the conclusions about the *Cenegista* Movement, contained in the Report, presented the following discourse:

It is of immense and incalculable effect to education in our country. This is not only considering it in its immediate objective, which is the diffusion of secondary education, making it accessible to all, thus elevating the educational level of the country, but considering it in the priceless good it is doing to our people, for all of the parts where such people is "touched" by its ideal.

A - It is the *Cenegista* movement more than a gymnasium seeder, a booster of democratic life.

Wherever it begins, the movement unites, without distinction of color, religion, political creed, and social status, all willing Brazilians eager to work for a greater Brazil. What has been observed is that in all these parts, the movement started by a small group is, at first, fighting with the disbelief of some and the distrust of others (the Brazilian people are disappointed with the demagogic movements and apprehensive about the extremist movements) ends up eventually gaining the sympathy and enthusiasm of the most indifferent, driving them out of their individualism (CNEG, 1953, p. 32, translated). However, at the beginning of the presented conclusions, the "Report" text pointed out that: "We have reached the end of this Memory. We reported and commented on this noble Campaign that was born from the patriotic impulse of Brazilian youth, materialized in the achievements described here, and is today a comfortable affirmation of the power and strength of an ideal" (CNEG, 1953, p. 32, translated). Thus, the text follows on from the conclusions on the *"First Ten Years of Struggles for Free Teaching"* described in the Report. As for the item concerning the secondary instruction dissemination, making it accessible to all, this is what it says:

On this point, we would like to conclude, or rather stress the need for such diffusion, as it is still a prejudice among us - and the Campaign has often encountered the strong opponent - that this instruction would bring to the country a proliferation of the tendency towards "baccalaureate", threatening the professional field. Such prejudice originates from a "taboo" that we have to destroy and that is precisely responsible for the "baccalaureate" that the bearers of such prejudice fear so much. This "taboo", although having its roots in our colonization - the prejudice of manual labor, originated by slave labor, feeds nowadays on the social and economic difference that is linked to secondary education. (CNEG, 1953, p. 34, translated). The *cenegista* movement, name also adopted by the Campaign at that time, besides articulating the "enthusiasm for education" (Nagle, 1974), articulated "the Ministry of Education interest in spending as little as possible on secondary education, with the private initiative sympathy for this honorable work and with the politicians interested in promoting themselves through it" (Cunha, 1991, p. 390-1,

translated). According to Jayme Abreu (1961, p. 5-26), the high school demand preference for junior secondary school was due to four basic reasons: it was the branch that enjoyed prestige the most, as a social rise agency; it was the most believed training agency for a range of activities in semi-skilled jobs and services; it was the best way to access higher education; and even more, it was next to business education and the least cost-demanding. Thus, by Decree 36,505 of November 30, 1954, CNEG would be officially established as a civil society, with its headquarter located in the Federal District capital and declared as a public utility institution. In this way, the Campaign leaders could expand their schools network throughout the country and, ten years after its creation, CNEG was present in all states of the Federation, with 42 gymnasiums and 13 collegiate institutes, in 54 cities, serving 20,000 students. Cunha (1991), when locating social movements for public school, points out that the denomination of social movements has been attributed to the claim actions of urban populations segments (mainly) that are characterized by reacting to inequalities in the public resources distribution in the services offered, which has to do with what is conventionally called "quality of life", and among which are the vindicatory movements for education (Cunha, 1991, p. 62). The adoption of the name "*cenegista* movement" would be presented in the CNEG Bulletin published in December of the same year, entitled "*Cenegism - cenegista*". The Bulletin pointed out that "There are words that are imperative in a bold and imperious self-creation. These are idea-words. Symbol-words. National Campaign of Free Schools. CNEG. *CENEGISTA!*". "Cenegism", born from the ideal of a poor young students' group, became a considerable movement and would be spread to all four corners of Brazil (Vermelho, 1959, p. 51, translated).

The "*cenegista* movement" would have as its purpose a better future and, in this sense, "work without fading in this ideal's realization". Since the *cenegistas* believed "in democracy, in the constructive force of the well-oriented people, in human dignity" (Vermelho, 1959, p. 51). Vermelho (1959), when presenting the CNEG Bulletin, points to the enthusiasm and redemptive character attributed to the role of education and teaching in society, highlighted by the movement. In the view presented, being a "*cenegista*" also meant "fighting for democratization and free secondary education, trying to make the opportunity to conquer new horizons accessible to all". It was "to undertake a serious renewing movement, which aims, as its ultimate goal, for a more enlightened Brazil, aware of its immense flaws and, therefore, equipped to redeem itself through education" (Vermelho, 1959, p. 51, translated). Thus, it is clear from the Bulletin the pedagogical enthusiasm and the redemptive character attributed to schooled education. The "*cenegista* movement" would be publicized by its creators as a new open path in the Brazilian educational field. In the CNEG Bulletin, "*cenegism*" is presented as "a social movement that relies on the force and cooperativism potentiality almost never exploited in our people" (Vermelho, 1959, p. 51, translated). In addition to "a Flag, and its followers, in ever-progressive march, they break down the obstacles created by the official bureaucracy, the incomprehension of some and the aloofness of others" (Vermelho, 1959, p. 51, translated). According to the same Bulletin, the movement would have been born an adult, full of meaning, patriotic ardor, vibrant enthusiasm, and mystical value. CNEG would count on the press support, which had become a strong ally for the development of its actions. Press support was also considered key to the

Campaign's penetration into the House of Representatives and the Federal Senate, as well as the Ministry of Education, earning itself valuable supports, as well as acquiring financial resources and other types of aid. For Holanda (1981, p. 42-3) CNEG aroused interest in certain politicians as they saw in the movement an alternative way to solve the secondary education problem in "their" states and municipalities. Thus, Felipe Tiago Gomes's ideal, inspired by Haya de la Torre, starting from the student movement, would begin to bear fruit with the creation of the first "free gymnasium" in Recife, the "Castro Alves". In this way, the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP) took shape, was molded and materialized in the "cenegista movement", widespread throughout Brazil and spread, equally, in the State of Bahia during the first half of the 1950s. It was from this time that the first center of the "free gymnasiums" was created in the Cocoa Region, in the south of the state.

**The presence of Felipe Tiago in Bahia and the creation of the first *cinegista* center of gymnasiums in the cocoa region:** With the "cenegista movement" dissemination in the late 1940s, after having been authorized to operate the first "free gymnasium" of the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP) in Recife, Felipe Tiago was already living in the Federal District. Soon after agreements with the Ministry of Education, the movement gained strength and now had the support of the nation, since it would be incorporated into the Brazilian educational policy. From 1948 onwards, the initial project called the Poor Ginasian Campaign (CGP) was published throughout Brazil under the official name "National Campaign of Free Schools (CNEG)". Visiting states and cities, and touring throughout the whole country, the *cenegista* leader announced the project to create "free gymnasiums" in the places he passed, especially where this need was already beginning to occur. He publicized the Campaign's purposes and guided the creation of popular gymnasiums along the lines established by CNEG, getting, most of the times, the acceptance of his ideas and adherence to his project by local leaders in the communities where he was. After some unsuccessful attempts, the *cenegista* movement led by de Felipe Tiago reached the state of Bahia and was established in the city of Itabuna, in the cocoa zone, in the early 1950s, and expanded to other municipalities in the region, at the moment in which the population called for the expansion of secondary school access conditions, with the creation of public or free gymnasiums in their localities. On this occasion, the "cenegista movement" could also count on the press's and local leaders of the region's support.

CNEG's creator would have already informed the newspaper *Diário de Notícias de Salvador* about the support and great welcome that the Government had been giving to the Campaign through the Minister of Education, Simões Filho. According to Felipe Tiago, several aid destined to CNEG were foreseen in the State Chambers and the Federal Chamber budgets. However, it was not the goal of those directly responsible for the Campaign to rely solely on government assistance. The individual, through modest contributions, was expected to collaborate "for the largest uplift of culture in the country, through the founding of free gymnasiums not only in the capitals but also in the inner cities" (*Diário de Notícias*, July 6 1952, translated). The *Diário de Notícias* newspaper, on July 6, highlighted the movement's character, pointing out that the instruction at CNEG Gymnasiums was ministered by teachers, a work that they would perform for free, receiving only a small gratification, when possible. The *Diário de*

*Notícias* article reported that in Rio de Janeiro, for example, there was "one of these gymnasiums operating in the I.A.P.C. (Institute of Traders' Retirement and Pensions) building, providing the Institute's board with free transportation for teachers. In other places, an empty house is used, or even a school building that does not function at night" (*Diário de Notícias*, July 6, 1952, translated). The *Diário de Notícias* reported that after the opening of several schools in various Federation states, it was Bahia's turn to implement its "free gymnasiums". The Campaign enthusiast would have visited the city of Salvador, the capital of the state, a few times, without success. This time he would find in the cocoa zone, in southern Bahia, a fertile ground to develop his ideas and implement his project to create the first "free gymnasiums" of the state, in this region. Felipe Tiago Gomes was in Bahia with the purpose of guiding the Campaign and spreading the "free gymnasiums" throughout the state. Thus, on the Saturday afternoon of July 5, the leader of CNEG met with Dorival Passos, Secretary of Education, who promised to give his full support to the movement (*Diário de Notícias*, July 6, 1952). He would have had already traced a plan with the objective of visualizing the Brazilian regions that needed popular schools and gymnasiums.

Felipe Tiago Gomes' presence was considered fundamental to intensify the movement for the popular gymnasiums creation in the Cocoa Region, especially after the installation of the CNEG Directory in the city of Itabuna in 1952. Since he had already succeeded, with his Campaign, in reaching the Ministry of Education instances and establishing a dialogue with that purpose. Thereby, the *cenegista* movement creator was present in the cities of Itabuna and Ilhéus, where he found an entire political movement around the installation of popular gymnasiums in their localities, especially with the diffusion of the municipalist movement and the emancipationist cause, quite publicized in the region. At the occasion, Itabuna and Ilhéus experienced a political unrest that had been set in motion by the debate on municipal issues. Regarding educational issues, the lack of a popular gymnasium in Itabuna became the focus of the city's attention, and the movement to create a public or free gymnasium in the city was intensified. This issue has been widely reported in the main media outlets in the region. Thus, the movement to create a gymnasium in Itabuna would be intensified and started to be supported by the local press, being also published in the state capital newspapers. In Ilhéus, the issues surrounding secondary education were based on the debate on the decentralization of Colégio Eusínio Lavigne's Municipal Gymnasium, due to the emancipation imminence of its main districts, with the crumbling of its territory. In the city of Itabuna, attentions were being focused on the lack of a public or free secondary education establishment in the city. In this way, in the face of pressure from local political leaders, the lack of a popular gymnasium became a major problem for the municipality, representing a barrier to its development.

On June 11 and 14, the newspaper *O Intransigente* discussed again the issue of the absence of a Municipal Gymnasium in the city and sought to show support for the Campaign or any movement in favor of the Municipal Gymnasium creation in Itabuna, as well as highlighted the role of Itabuna's youth and the commitment of the Itabuna Secondary Students Union (UESI) youth in the campaign for secondary education in the municipality. On June 14, *O Intransigente* announced the Itabuna student youth movement march, which addressed the

Ministry of Education and the state authorities, appealing, in a gigantic petition fully supported by it, so the promised Gymnasium would be given to the city of Itabuna. Referring to the noble work of the young men who were being "hampered by the lack of a Gymnasium in Itabuna" that would reach the level of their material and cultural progress. He also stressed that young people were already tired "of the disservices, in this sector, losing their youthfulness lush, the love for words and seeing the years go by without their spirit's improvement, without the preparation for the struggle of life that day by day demands greater knowledge from those who wish to win" (O *Intransigente*, Jun 14 1952, translated). During his visit to the Cocoa Region, still at the beginning of July 1952, Felipe Tiago was received by the newsroom of the newspaper *O Intransigente*, from Itabuna, when he had the opportunity to make considerations about the movement and to leave the instructions and the needed material for the Free Night Gymnasium creation in the city, in collaboration with CNEG (O *Intransigente*, 1952). Although the city of Ilhéus already had the Municipal Gymnasium and a project to create branches of the "Colégio Municipal Eusínio Lavigne" in its three main districts (Itajuípe, Coaraci and Uruçuca), the population of the city of Itabuna was still "suffering" from the lack a "free gymnasium". Thus, the movement towards access to this level of education was intensified in the region. According to the 1953 Report text, referring to the action of CNEG in Bahia during the period, "Itabuna, the great cocoa center", was the starting point of the Campaign activities. In this sense, "Authorities and the people came together around the 'Firmino Alves' Gymnasium", among others, who were striving for their own building construction. Moreover, he points out: "Soon, we will visit Ilhéus, Cruz das Almas, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Jequié and Vitória da Conquista. University Student Afrísio Vieira Lima is the Campaign Delegate in the State." The Report also stated that: "Bahia could become one of the strongest centers of the Campaign." (CNEG, 1953, p. 4-5, translated).

**The creation of the first center of "Free Gymnasiums" in the cocoa lands:** The movement for popular gymnasiums creation in the Cacao Region, still in the early 1950s, would gain new vigor with the municipalist cause and the emancipationist campaign, and would be widespread within it, being intensified. The interest in the establishment of public and free gymnasiums in the cities of Itabuna and Ilhéus would reach its main Districts in the political emancipation process. In addition, it was making itself present in other state municipalities. The *cenegista* movement would gain a new force, and would count on the municipalist movement in addition to the support and presence of its leader, Felipe Tiago Gomes, who visited the region, spreading his Campaign's goals. On April 15, 1953, the newspaper *O Intransigente* announced "The Night Gymnasium Installation" with the presence of authorities, class representations, teachers, the press and students. On the evening of April 10, at the school building, the inaugural class of Comendador Firmino Alves Free Night Gymnasium was held. The President of CNEG in Itabuna, Claudionor Ramos, opened the solemn session, passing the works' direction to Manoel Ito Rocha, who, after a brief dissertation, gave the floor to Claudionor Ramos. According to the newspaper, "This one, in simple terms, as usual, gave the report of the Gymnasium's short existence, its formation, the obstacles that emerged, the way they were transposed, the cooperation of the determined comrades", among which, Miguel Moreira and Felipe Tiago Gomes (O

*Intransigente*, 1953, translated). On June 6, 1953, *O Intransigente* published again a new appeal to raise funds for the "Firmino Alves Night Gymnasium", announcing to the "Friends of Itabuna: Sign Up for Your Valuable Cooperation of \$20.00, \$10.00 or even \$5.00 a month, or \$100.00 or \$200.00 annually for the Firmino Alves Free Night Gymnasium's maintenance, which is already working". According to the announcement, such a contribution would give contributors "the title of good Itabuna citizens". They should look for a proposal to room 9 of the city's Rural Bank. In the same issue, the newspaper highlighted the "Indissoluble Cultural Ties linking Itabuna and Ilhéus" (O *Intransigente*, 6 June 1953, translated). After the CNEG Municipal Directory creation in Itabuna and the "Firmino Alves" Night Gymnasium implementation, under the Campaign's responsibility - the first "*cenegista* school" of Bahia - simultaneously, new requests for the creation of "Free Gymnasiums", along the lines established by CNEG, came to Claudionor Ramos hands. The Campaign's action would be welcome throughout the region, as already said, a factor that would contribute to intensify the movement for the creation of "free gymnasiums" south of the state, the result of Felipe Tiago Gomes' initial work and of Claudionor Ramos' participation, as President of CNEG in Bahia during the period. Thereby, political leaders and local representatives from Ilhéus and Itabuna, and from neighboring cities would be interested in the "free gymnasiums" proposal, especially the political leaders of the major districts, newly emancipated from the two most important municipalities in the cocoa zone, while awaiting for the election's establishment, for the political and administrative autonomy actualization, and for the establishment of the municipal headquarters. This way, such leaderships would be able to envision Claudionor Ramos' support, the Campaign's representative of in Bahia, with the objective of achieving the "free gymnasiums" in their localities.

In the Districts of Itajuípe (newly emancipated from Ilhéus), Ibicaraí (emancipated from Itabuna) and Buerarema (still linked to Itabuna), local political leaderships would seek the community's and the people's support in general with the goal of ensuring the Campaign's "free gymnasiums" creation in these locations. Measures for the creation of the first center of CNEG's "free gymnasiums" in Bahia would be under the leadership of Claudionor Ramos, the then CNEG legal president in the state, who was already operating in the Cocoa Region. The districts of Itajuípe, Ibicaraí and Buerarema, linked to the cities of Ilhéus and Itabuna, would be mobilized around the creation of their "free gymnasiums". In Itabuna, during the month of November 1953, a Bill would be discussed in the City Council, proposed by João Batista de Assis, with the purpose of creating a tribute on the taxes collected in the municipality, in the 1954 budget, aiming at the maintenance of CNEG Gymnasiums created in the city, called "Firmino Alves", in Itabuna, "14 de Agosto", in Vila de Ibicaraí and "Henrique Alves" in Vila de Buerarema (Jornal Oficial, Jan 16 1954). On December 9, Itabuna's Mayor would have already included in the budget proposal of the municipality, 1954 fiscal year, in the item "Subsidies, Contributions and Aid", the amount of Cr\$ 10,000.00 (ten thousand cruises) for each of the CNEG's "free gymnasiums", with the purpose of meeting part of the students' costs in the municipality (Official Journal, 26 Dec. 1953). In Ilhéus, measures for the "free gymnasium" installation in Vila de Itajuípe - the "Sete de Setembro" - would also have been provided. Therefore, in Ilhéus and Itabuna, the Campaign's

first center of "Free Gymnasiums" was being set up in the region, together with the city of Ubaitaba, also located in the Cocoa Region. On March 22, 1954, *O Intransigente*, from Itabuna, announced the "Inaugural Class" of the "Sete de Setembro" Gymnasium of Vila de Itajuípe, as well as the "Admission Exams and Enrollment in new gyms created by CNEG, under Conditional Regime", according to a "telegram received from Rio de Janeiro by Dr. Claudionor Ramos, responsible throughout the state for the Free Secondary Education Campaign", designed by Felipe Tiago Gomes. The opening of Itajuípe's "Free Gymnasium" was announced through the text published by Claudionor Ramos, as a Juvenile Judge, in the newspaper *O Intransigente*, dated March 10, 1954, entitled: "Itajuípe opens its Gymnasium's doors". Writing the article, Claudionor Ramos (1954) pointed out that the CNEG tree, "whose seed we have planted here and so many great fruits and restful shade has been offering to the Itabuna's youth, extended its roots to the pleasant Itajuípe, which today opens the doors of Sete de Setembro Gymnasium to its youth eager of secondary education" (*O Intransigente*, March 10 1954). On Saturday, March 27, the same newspaper published the program for the "Admission Exams at the Buerarema, Ibicaraí and Ubaitaba Gymnasiums" execution. According to *O Intransigente* (March 27, 1954), Inspector Osvaldo Ramos, appointed by the Secondary Education Board to oversee and preside over entrance examinations at the new Gymnasiums founded in the region by the National Campaign of Free Schools, would have set the following dates for the taking of tests:

14 DE AGOSTO GYMNASIUM, from Ibicaraí - Portuguese written test at 10 am on the 29th, Monday, other subjects' written and oral exams on the 30th, from 10 am on.

HENRIQUE ALVES GYMNASIUM, from Buerarema - Portuguese written test at 10 am on April 1, the other written and oral tests will be held on April 2, from 10 am on.

UBAITABENSE GYMNASIUM, from Ubaitaba - Portuguese written test at 10 am on April 5; the other written and oral tests will begin on April 6, at 10 am (*O Intransigente*, March 27, 1954, translated).

According to the newspaper *O Intransigente* (March 31, 1954), "the struggle waged for our State's Free Gymnasiums operation would be ceased, in which our dear fellow and brilliant parliamentarian Nelson Carneiro had a decisive participation", highlighted its editor. The "Henrique Alves Gymnasium Inaugural class", which would mark the beginning of its activities, would also be published by the same newspaper on March 31. The press acted as a strong ally to the *cenegista* cause, publicizing the implementation of the new "Free Gymnasiums" in the region. On April 9, 1954, in its loose issue, the newspaper *Voz de Itabuna* published the article in the "Teaching" column: "Solemnly Inaugurated the Buerarema Gymnasium." On April 14, 1954, the newspaper *O Intransigente* published the holding of the 14 de Agosto Gymnasium inaugural class in Ibicaraí. The newspaper *Voz de Itabuna*, in its edition 156, of April 20, 1954, reported: "Ibicaraí produces a goal in the instruction sector", referring to the beginning of the activities of the "14 de Agosto" Gymnasium. The new *cenegista* school began his activities in the city of Ibicaraí, newly emancipated from Itabuna, including a very crowded solemn session, with the participation of representative elements of local society. Thus, Bahia's first

center of "Free Gymnasiums" would be formed, in the cocoa zone. In 1959, there would be fully functioning, in the state of Bahia, the "Free Gymnasiums" in the cities of: Inhambupe, named "Dr. Luis Coelho"; Itabuna, "Firmino Alves"; Buerarema (still a District of Itabuna), "Henrique Alves"; Ibicaraí, "Quatorze de Agosto"; Caravelas, "Santo Antônio"; Iará, "São Judas Tadeu"; Itajuípe, "Sete de Setembro"; and Ubaitaba, "Ubaitabense", in addition to the Commercial Schools created in the cities of Correntina and Santa Maria da Vitória; and the "Firmino Alves" Normal School, in Itabuna (CNEG, 1959). By the end of the 1950s, CNEG became responsible for the creation, within the state, of nine (9) "Free Gymnasiums", two (2) Commercial Schools and one (1) Normal School, achieving a major expansion in the following decade (CNEG, 1959). To Silva (1969, p. 229-330), the *cenegista* movement "represented and represents real community initiatives in favor of education", although the teaching offered was free in a great part, or almost free, because it was "largely subsidized by public money". In this sense, the author states that private initiative would have made a pioneering contribution to secondary education expansion, which would not have been surpassed by public initiative until 1964 (Silva, 1969, p. 330, translated).

### Final Considerations

According to Halbwachs (2004), society, in each era, indeed, puts in the forefront the activities that are considered most important to them. Therefore, social groups, by becoming aware of their real needs, shape their memory in the milestone, in which those who are considered their best members tend to be highlighted. It was considered that memory and history of the first center of "free gymnasiums" creation in Bahia, during the first half of the 1950s, are directly linked to Felipe Tiago Gomes' protagonism, with CNEG; to the commitment and dedication of Claudionor Ramos, in the Cocoa Region, by taking responsibility for the "free gymnasiums" creation in southern Bahia, and the dissemination of the "*cenegista* movement" in the state, at that time; as well as the collective memory of the need for the junior secondary school, present throughout the country, in the state of Bahia, and in the state's cocoa region, which articulate and integrate, at that moment, amid the games of interests' dialectic, conflicts and contradictions surrounding the project for the implementation of CNEG's "popular gymnasiums". It is admitted that the creation of "free gymnasiums" in Bahia during the period, under the responsibility of CNEG, is the result of a combination of efforts, involving the presence of Felipe Tiago, in Bahia and region, and members of society and its political leaderships, who exercised different forms of influence with the federated entities responsible for offering educational services, searching, from political interests, to meet the local populations' desires, a factor that also contributed to the secondary education establishment, with the implementation of "free gymnasiums" in the localities. In addition, the "*cenegista* movement" also had the press's support, which was also considered fundamental for the penetration of CNEG in different regions of the country. However, it was pointed out the state's absence in the provision of educational public services, given the need to establish a network of high schools in the state of Bahia during the period. Highlighting the urgency of offering secondary education, in response to the wishes and popular claims, around the creation of public or free gymnasiums. Furthermore, the issue of resources (public and private) for the maintenance of the "free gymnasiums"

under CNEG's responsibility was highlighted, so that they could remain in this condition. Thus, the happening is interpreted as the result of an interests convergence between a need established in the region and the action of a thinking intellectual who is present at the place and can structure the composition of "free gymnasiums", although this process did not occur without conflicts or contradictions. However, the presence and the action of Felipe Tiago in Bahia, in the first half of the 1950s, with the "cenegista movement", were considered as fundamental for the expansion of junior secondary school in southern Bahia's Cocoa region, as well as for the dissemination of CNEG in the State. In view of this, the intersection between the memory and the history of the "cenegista movement" with the history and the memory of the movement is visualized through the creation of the "popular gymnasiums" in the Cocoa Region, which is constituted throughout the narrative as a historical memory of a movement for schools, resulting from a time, space, languages, representations and diverse interactions, which are present in the collective memory of different groups, around the interests convergence about the adoption of alternative policies for medium level schools implementation in the State of Bahia and Region. Thus, in the events' dialectic, conflicts, contradictions, divergences and games of interest come into play, that become the movement for junior secondary schools.

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