



Education, Formation, and Development on the pages of Vozes Magazine during the Brazilian Military-Civilian Dictatorship (1964-1985)¹

Educação, Formação e Desenvolvimento nas páginas da Revista Vozes durante a Ditadura Civil-Militar brasileira (1964-1985)

Educación, Formación y Desarrollo en las páginas de la Revista Vozes durante la Dictadura Cívico-Militar brasileña (1964–1985)

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Abstract

This paper is part of a documental research that aims to analyze the practices and representations of Education, Formation, and Development on Vozes Magazine during the Brazilian Military-Civilian Dictatorship (1964-1985). This magazine was created by a group of German Franciscan Friars in 1907 aimed at giving voice to the Brazilian catholic intellectuality. As a research source, it enables to comprehend the religious mentality and Brazilian socioeducational context throughout its publications. Teachers must be characters of their own professional formation and development process, taking on initiatives, developing projects, appreciating their work, and connecting theory and practice. Practices and representations of Education, Formation, and Development on the magazine are linked to the Catholic Church, which had several schools in the Brazilian territory and presented the ecclesiastic hierarchy engaged in campaigns to speak very highly on the advantages of catholic schools and to attack the public educational system.

Keywords: Vozes Magazine; Brazilian Military-Civilian Dictatorship (1964-1985); Education.

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Resumo

Este artigo integra uma pesquisa documental que busca analisar as práticas e as representações de Educação, Formação e de Desenvolvimento na Revista Vozes durante a Ditadura Civil-Militar brasileira (1964-1985). O periódico foi criado por um grupo de frades franciscanos de origem germânica em 1907, objetivando dar voz à intelectualidade católica brasileira. Como fonte de pesquisa, permite compreender as mentalidades religiosas e o contexto socioeducativo brasileiro ao longo de suas publicações. Expressa que os docentes devem ser personagens de seu processo de formação e de desenvolvimento profissional, assumir iniciativas, desenvolver projetos, apreciar seu trabalho e conectar teoria e prática. As práticas e as representações de Educação, Formação e Desenvolvimento presentes na Revista estão vinculadas à Igreja Católica, que tinha diversas escolas espalhadas pelo território brasileiro e apresentava a hierarquia eclesiástica engajada em campanhas com o intuito de exaltar as vantagens de estudar nos colégios católicos e atacar o funcionamento da rede pública de ensino.

Palavras-chave: Revista Vozes; Ditadura Civil-Militar brasileira (1964-1985); Educação.

Resumen

Este artículo integra una investigación documental que busca analizar las prácticas y representaciones de Educación, Formación y Desarrollo en la Revista Vozes durante la dictadura cívico-militar brasileña (1964–1985). Un grupo de frailes franciscanos germánicos fundaron dicho periódico en 1907, buscando dar voz a la intelectualidad católica brasileña. Como fuente de investigación, permite comprender las mentalidades religiosas y el contexto socioeducativo brasileño a lo largo de sus publicaciones. Sostiene que los docentes deben ser protagonistas de su proceso de formación y desarrollo profesional, tomar iniciativas, desarrollar proyectos, valorar su trabajo y conciliar teoría y práctica. Las prácticas y representaciones de Educación, Formación y Desarrollo presentes en la Revista están vinculadas a la Iglesia Católica, que tenía varios colegios en territorio brasileño y presentaba a la jerarquía eclesiástica comprometida en campañas para exaltar las ventajas de estudiar en colegios católicos y atacar el funcionamiento de la red de enseñanza pública.

Palabras clave: Revista Vozes; Dictadura cívico-militar brasileña (1964–1985); Educación.

Introduction

A group of German Franciscan Friars created *Vozes Magazine* in 1907. As the name indicates, it was intended to give voice to Brazilian Catholic intellectuals in order to regain dominance in Catholic education and, at the same time, be present in debates in opposition to the liberal ideas regarding education thinking. The following purposes pursued by the Franciscans by publishing *Vozes Magazine* stand out: “[...] a) to spread good Catholic morals; b) to publicize the publisher's production through the presentation and comment of works; c) to transmit to lay and ecclesiastical readers the knowledge selected by the editors” (TANNÚS, 2008, p. 139).

In this scenario, it is noteworthy that the clash between Catholics and liberals has driven the educational debate since the 1930s. The “*Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova*”, released in 1932, under the leadership of Anísio Teixeira, highlighted the need to “[...] create a political fact and through it unite followers from different sectors of civil society who had the aversion to the Catholic thought in common, as they could only transform the document into an element of unity for the nation's general aspirations this way” (CAMARA, 2003, p. 34). This assertion highlights the ideological bases of the secular teaching defended by the signatories of this document. Therefore, the production of the 1932 Manifest sought to capitalize on the discussions present in society about secularism and freedom as fundamental principles of the Brazilian Republic, constituting part of the renovators’ strategies to make their proposals victorious and, with this, intensify and strengthen the criticism formulated against Catholic intellectuals and educators.

For the renovator group, led by Anísio Teixeira, education consisted of organizing scientific means of action in order to guide the natural and full development of the peculiar aptitudes of human beings in each of the stages of their growth, according to a certain worldview conditioned to social life needs. For the signatories of the 1932 Manifest, the School was new not only because of its social function, scientific processes, experimental method and consented and responsible discipline, but also because, in its purposes, it recognized “[...] to the student the right to acquire the plenitude of their skills by means of practices that are proper to their interests and needs” (CURY, 1984, p. 86). In this sense, the State should assume as its duty, with the cooperation of all social institutions, the defense of every citizen's right to full education.

The “*Manifesto dos Educadores Mais uma Vez Convocados*”, dated 1959 and led again by Anísio Teixeira, begins by emphasizing the seriousness of the problems in the education field, which forced pioneers to institute a new stage of the educational reconstruction movement, this time with the participation of the new generation. According to Bedin (2011, p. 71), “[...] the action plan had become a program of practical achievements, which implementation had been fruitlessly expected for more than a quarter of a century”. The 1959 Manifest adopted a more pragmatic stance, considering the practical achievements of rebuilding education to be urgent – especially because the procedures of the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases* [Law of Lines of Direction and Bases of the Education] had been stagnant for eleven years.

Sanfelice (2007) argues that the 1959 Manifest was emphatic and coherent when it stated that it did not preach the State monopoly in education, but it did for disciplined freedom. Proof of the absence of such monopoly was the continuous growth of private schools, most of which were confessional, linked to the Brazilian Catholic Church and identified as ambitious for profits, acting as trade counters, under the influence of public authorities. Thus, the State aimed at universal, full, compulsory, and free public education at all levels to ensure the greatest development of physical, intellectual, and artistic capabilities of each child, adolescent, or young person.

Hence, the debates that took place between the 1930s and 1960s, within the scope of educational policies, highlight different projects in dispute, especially between defenders of public schools and those of private schools. Whereas, in the 1930s of the 20th century, the focus of conflicts was on the secular nature of public education, in the 1950s, it was on the destination of public funds for public schools and not exactly on the existence of private schools. Therefore, one may state that the Manifests of 1932 and 1959 had the character of a movement organized by educators, whose commitment focused on the elaboration of a scientific, political and social reading of education.

Regarding the editorial policy of *Vozes Magazine* until 1966, in general terms, it can be asserted that it was conservative as to the political sphere. In the 1930s-1950s context, it adopted favorable postures to authoritarian regimes, such as that of António Salazar, in Portugal, and that of Francisco Franco, in Spain. It also supported, in 1936, an ambiguous stance towards Nazi-fascism, given it was interpreted as positive and acceptable to be against the advance of communism. Furthermore, following a large part of the Brazilian Catholic environment, at the beginning of the 1960s, the magazine highlighted anti-communism and even supported the Civil-Military Coup of 1964 (ANDREO, 2015).

At such period, there were few foreign contributors to *Vozes Magazine* – a pattern that continued throughout the period from 1960 to 1980. Despite being lay people, authors of ecclesiastical origins predominated in the magazine, such as priests, bishops, and nuns. Amidst the troubled socio-political context after the 1964 Coup, aiming to overcome a crisis regarding its circulation and inserting itself as a representative of Catholic positions in the country's intellectual debates, the magazine seeks, under the direction of Clarêncio Neotti², to modernize its themes and approaches. Neotti then tried to bring to light the intellectual/academic debates in vogue at the time by approaching subjects such as music, literature, and theater.

Thus, by analyzing *Vozes Magazine*, the present study constitutes a historiographical work that is based on the interpretation and perception of meanings from actions and relationships of non-quantifiable facts, as well as the production of several Brazilian and foreign historians. The aim is, therefore, to understand the social group, the editors and collaborators associated with such magazine, with the help of the practice and representation concepts (CHARTIER, 1991, 1998, 2002, 2009), which make up the theoretical repertoire that supports the discussion proposed herein. In this sense, the objective is to analyze the practices and representations of Education, Formation and Development present in *Vozes Magazine*, highlighting contextual relationships during the period that comprises the Brazilian Civil-Military Dictatorship³ (1964-1985). In addition to the introduction and final considerations, this paper is divided into four sections, which discuss: theoretical and methodological aspects; the press in the Brazilian Civil-Military Dictatorship; history of *Vozes Magazine*; and practices and representations of Education, Formation and Development in *Vozes Magazine*.

² Clarêncio Neotti, writer and journalist, joined the Franciscan Order in 1954 and worked for twenty years at Editora *Vozes*, in the city of Petrópolis.

³ The movement that took place on April 1 of 1964, which ended the democratic experience that began at the end of 1945, was a civil and military coup. The inclusion of the “civilian” term is due both to the support of a significant part of public opinion for the coup and to the mobilization of civilian leaders that are radically against Jango's government – having the military support, indeed. It is possible to notice how the actions of the governors from the strongest states of the Federation – São Paulo (Ademar Barros), Minas Gerais (Magalhães Pinto), and Guanabara (Carlos Lacerda) – always considered, alongside the disputes with a view to the 1965 elections, the compulsory anticipation of the end of Jango's mandate, i.e., his discharge (FERREIRA; GOMES, 2014).

Theoretical and methodological aspects

Voices Magazine represents, as a document, an excerpt that enables the historian to reconstitute ideas, thoughts, and mentalities. In this sense, the magazine produces a certain discourse that reverberates among the population and produces a certain way of thinking. It is important to highlight that, between 1964 and 1985, the magazine was published in parishes, schools and universities, that is, widely in various regions of the Brazilian territory and even abroad.

The representation and practice concepts make up the theoretical assistance that supports the intended discussion. The representation notion provides the opportunity to articulate the collective representations that incorporate in individuals the divisions of the social world and organize the perception schemes from which they classify, judge and act (CHARTIER, 2009). This notion does not distance historians from the real or the social, yet it helps them to get rid of the limited idea of the real, insisting on the strength of representations, whether internalized or objectified. Representations are not simple images; they have their own energy, leading us to believe that the world is what they say it is. From this perspective, they produce the breaches that break societies. Coordinating the history of written culture with that of representations means to link the power of writings to the one of the images, which enable their hearing, and to mental categories, which are the matrices of classifications and judgments (CHARTIER, 1998).

In this regard, Chartier (1991) points out that reading is a practice when embodied in gestures, spaces, and habits. Far from a reading phenomenology that deletes all concrete modalities of the reading act and characterizes it by its effects, postulated as a history of reading ways, it is necessary to differentiate the specific dispositions that identify communities of readers and reading traditions. Thus, the division between literate and illiterate people does not end with differences regarding the association with writing.

Thinking about cultural practices regarding the distinguishable occupations allows us to not consider the texts or examples that aim to create the thoughts and behaviors of the majority as effective and acculturating. Furthermore, “[...] these practices create uses or representations that are not absolutely reducible to the will of the producers of discourses and norms” (CHARTIER, 2002, p. 68). Thus, the act of reading, as well as the behaviors experienced in the prohibitions and precepts that intend to regulate such behaviors, cannot be annulled in the text itself. The acceptance of proposed models and messages operates through arrangements and sometimes resistances that manifest the uniqueness of each adaptation.

Therefore, the researcher who works with documents needs to overcome some obstacles and be wary of several pitfalls before conducting an in-depth analysis of the material. It is important, then, to locate the relevant texts and assess their credibility, as well as to understand the meaning of the message of what you have in hand, whether it is fragments or passages that are difficult to interpret and full of unusual terms and concepts that were written by an unknown person. Therefore, due to these limits, the researcher will have to take prior precautions that will facilitate the task and will guarantee the validity and solidity of their explanations (CELLARD, 2008).

Hence, Samara and Tupy (2010) point out the relationship between the historian and his/her main work tool: the historical document. The contact with a text and its reading should evoke some essential questions to achieve a closer connection to the document and its initial classification: “[...] what material form does it present; what content is available for research;

and what are its objectives or purposes of those who prepared it and those who read or interpret it” (SAMARA; TUPY, 2010, p. 70). Thus, the use of a document as a research source largely depends on the answers found.

We also use the content analysis methodology that Bardin (1977, p. 42) defines as “[...] an array of communications analysis techniques aimed at obtaining, through systematic and objective procedures of content description of messages, indicators (quantitative or not) that allow the inference of knowledge regarding the production/reception conditions (inferred variables) of these messages”. For Franco (2008, p. 12), however, the message can be “[...] verbal (oral or written), gestural, silent, figurative, documentary or directly evoked.” In this sense, we resumed the proposed objective and moved on to choosing the documents. How to choose these documents that would make up our corpus? Would they be enough to help achieving our goal?

Bacellar (2005) states that starting a paper requires locating sources. In the research process referenced here, seven articles from Vozes Magazine were mapped focusing on Education, Formation and Development, which can be viewed below on Chart 1. Most of the articles were about three-page long and were part of the section “*Cadernos da Associação de Educação Católica do Brasil*”⁴(AEC), which is a space in Vozes Magazine directed to defending education from the perspective of the Catholic Church, that is, the defense of private confessional schools.

Chart 1 – Articles analyzed for the study (1968-1969)

Nr.	Author	Title	Publication Data	Year
1	Alceu Amoroso Lima	Development and Education	year 62, p. 373-374, April	1968
2	Luciano Castelo	Education and Development	year 62, p. 563-565, June	1968
3	Paul Eugene Charbonneau	Education and Formation	year 62, p. 665-666, July	1968
4	Luiz Tauhata	Education, Science, and Development	year 62, p. 667-669, July	1968
5	Jorge Chácon	Education and Social Formation	year 62, p. 669-671, July	1968
6	Laura Chaer	Education and Development	year 62, p. 951-954, October	1968
7	C. Petit	Catholic Teaching and its Role in Development	year 63, p. 946-948, October	1969

Source: Developed by the authors (2022).

⁴ “The Association of Catholic Education (AEC, acronym in Portuguese) in Brazil operated within the field of education, maintaining a deep connection with the Catholic schools in the country by providing them with guidance and support in their educational activities. The AEC in Brazil was founded in 1945 as a result of initiatives in this direction, raised during the 1st National Congress of Private Educational Establishments in 1944, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The AEC was founded with the intention of addressing the issues faced by Catholic schools in their interactions with public, secular, and free education. Additionally, it aimed to invigorate and coordinate the educational efforts of the Catholic Church in the country” (TANNÚS, 2008, pp. 108-109).

After selecting and reading the texts, the practices and representations of Education, Formation and Development produced on the pages of *Voices Magazine* were analyzed and discussed, covering the following themes: a) education and development; b) lack of social formation in schools; c) training of Education professionals; d) global conception of education; and e) contribution of Catholic schools to the development.

The press in the Brazilian Civil-Military Dictatorship

Fico (2001) highlights the existence of nuances and complexity to identify the military individuals who carried out the Civil-Military Coup in 1964, between the “moderated” and the “hard”, remembering that President Castelo Branco took a great step to consolidate the hardline with the approval of the 1967 Federal Constitution. General Ernesto Geisel himself, the president who led the political project to open the regime, tolerated the use of torture, a position shared by the more authoritarian military individuals. Thus, Joffily (2008) recalls that, if on the one hand, the repression system was instituted by the so-called hardline military, on the other hand, it must be recognized that this process had the support of the moderated military, in addition to being incorporated by the Armed Forces as an institution. In this way, this entire system of repression was present in the control of the Brazilian press, between 1964 and 1985.

Most of Brazil's major newspapers initially supported the Civil-Military Coup of 1964. On March 31, 1964, the mainstream press (*O Estado de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, among other newspapers) reported that the “Glorious Revolution”, which was an expression used by the military in favor of the Coup, intended to rid the country of the communist threat. The headlines of these newspapers highlighted the outrage about the present and the optimism about the future. The colonels who entered the newsrooms to maintain order were not shaken by Assis Chateaubriand's tactics: “Threatening the agenda with truths, half-truths or lies, if they did not pay or exchange with the Associates' cash” (LAURENZA, 2012, p 182). The military's speech against corruption damaged Chateaubriand's companies, whose practices were commented on and amplified by his enemies.

Between the Civil-Military Coup, in 1964, and Institutional Act Nr. 5 (AI-5), in 1968, book censorship in Brazil was marked, in the words of Reimão (2010, p. 271), “[...] by a confusing and multifaceted action, as, in addition to lacking criteria, it mixed police raids, seizure, confiscation and physical coercion”. One of the targets of this censorship was Ênio Silveira, owner of the “Brazilian Civilization Publisher.” In addition to seeing his publishing company invaded and his editorial production seized, Ênio was arrested several times and prosecuted.

Gradually, the presence of censors in newsrooms was removed from most newspapers, and control began to be exercised more over the owners of media outlets. However, the end of this prior censorship only happened in 1978, when the National Congress enacted the Constitutional Amendment Nr. 11, which revoked, as of January 1, 1979, the Institutional Act Nr. 5 (CORRÊA, 2012).

In this scenario, the so-called alternative press flourished, which was characterized by its renewing, independent and controversial attitude, allowing journalists critical of the Civil-Military Dictatorship to find space to disseminate their ideas. These newspapers, which were characterized by their resistance to the authoritarian Brazilian government of the time, had a more significant role in the 1970s, a period of intense repression. Despite being tolerated, such magazines were kept under surveillance and had to face, in addition to censorship, far-right groups who threw bombs at the newsstands where they were sold (CORRÊA, 2012).

On the Rio-São Paulo axis, the mainstream daily press usually, according to Aquino (1999, p. 38), establishes “[...] the bastion of political conservatism” and acts as a defender of the so-called ideals of the 1964 movement, of which the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* was a confessed conspirator. As for the establishment of democratic freedoms, from the mid-1980s onwards, common sense judged *Folha de S. Paulo* as one of the defenders of a fair and democratic society.

During the same period, some newspapers clashed with censorship bodies and sought to report it through specific strategies: “ESP published excerpts of literature in censored spaces; Veja Magazine resorted to desires (of angels and demons) and poems with double meanings” (CAPELATO, 1988, p. 55), being removed from newsstands four times. The newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, in turn, was against the Dictatorship from the beginning and suffered the consequences of that decision. The owner, Niomar Moniz Sodr e, was kidnapped and arrested by repression agencies on the grounds that the newspaper published articles and reports with an oppositionist tendency. As a result, the newspaper experienced economic difficulties and ended up closing its doors in the 1970s.

Thus, since the 1964 Coup, mechanisms were installed to control the press, as there was concern about how information would be spread to the public. Therefore, Barbosa (2007, p. 187) reports that, in 1964, “[...] the *Serviço Nacional de Informações* (SNI, National Information Service) was created and, at the end of the decade, the *Centros de Informação do Ex rcito* (CIE, Army Information Centers) were structured, and the *Aeron utica* (CISA, Air Force) and the *Marinha* (CENIMAR, Navy center) are rearticulated.” Until 1968, the most common form of information control was calling newspaper offices to prohibit the dissemination of news. However, from AI-5 onwards, censorship action became more incisive.

General data on book censorship indicate that censorship activity was tougher between 1975 and 1980, “[...] a period in which more than 50% of the submitted books were vetoed, whereas, between 1970 and 1973, this percentage was well below 50%” (REIM O, 2010, p. 286). This shows that censorship of books during the Dictatorship had a stronger effect at the time of the years of lead (1968-1972). However, during the government of Ernesto Geisel (1974-1979), despite setback periods, the beginning of a slow and gradual process of political opening was noticed.

This historic censorship period also included arbitrary arrests and torture of political prisoners, arising from groups that fought against the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Prior censorship on articles that dealt with political issues was related to the type of information offered by the mainstream press. According to reports by Aquino (1999, p. 62), the mainstream press “[...] needs a very strong business scheme that not only guarantees large-scale distribution, but also constant periodicity”, which ends up creating a greater dependence on advertisers for the composition of their profits rather than on sales at newsstands or the purchase of subscriptions.

Thus, another factor that prevented the press progress in Brazil was illiteracy. According to Bahia (1990, p. 393), “[...] the rate in 1970 was 33% and, in 1980, 25% of the population, according to the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estat stica* (IBGE, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). However, the quality of the information provided by printed media, as well as its credibility, contributes to explaining society's interest in the news presented. Furthermore, although less interesting, distribution and circulation should not be neglected.

The consequences of the Dictatorship for the press were colossal. On the one hand, conditions were created for the popularization of television; on the other, Brazil went through a dramatic period regarding media censorship. In this context, the decision-making process adopted by the authoritarian government was not known by most of the population. For this government, the media were of interest to help disseminate premises for the construction of a country that only existed in the ideological discourse of the military.

The story of Vozes Magazine

In 1907, the Franciscans, under the leadership of Friar Inácio Hinte, founded a culture magazine, Vozes Magazine, whose first edition was printed in July. Published monthly, Vozes Magazine was named after the German newspaper *Stimmen der Zeit* (Voices of Time), widely read by Franciscans of that period. The Magazine was monthly, with more than 70 pages in American format (14 x 21 cm) and featured illustrations. According to Andrades (2001a, p. 33), in the editorial of the first issue, the Magazine's plural option is clear: "[...] *Vozes de Petrópolis* (Voices of Petropolis) will have a general character and not a purely religious one. Our Magazine will bring a variety of articles that will be current in nature."

The first editorial in Vozes Magazine, entitled "*Quo vadis*" (where you go), signaled the defense of Catholic culture and opposition to the principles defended by the Republic, such as the secular position of society. The journal focused on general culture and the formation of thoughts focused on the Catholic framework of culture and society. The reach of a printed publication was recognized by the friars who already worked in German printers and knew the strength of the dissemination of certain publications. In the words of Andrades (2001a, p. 34), they decided to launch a Magazine in which they could publish "[...] Franciscan propaganda, moral and religious guidelines, news selected from European newspapers, book comments to guide consciences and chapters of books in tune with the Catholic morale and promote massive product promotion."

In 1928, subscription to the printed matter was semi-annual or annual for readers in Brazil. For readers abroad, only annual subscriptions were accepted. The dissemination was thus described in the words of Tannús (2008, p. 145): "Fortnightly, Religious, Scientific, Literary and Art Magazine".

Annual volumes of the Magazine were also offered, although not always, bound in hardcover. The journal also published translated book chapters. This practice of publishing novels in chapters in the Magazine, "[...] letting the reader to eagerly await the next edition, was common in the first decades of the 20th century" (TANNÚS, 2008, p. 135). The printed version also contained articles from the city of Petrópolis. Over time, local news was left aside, and the journal became a national magazine.

Andrades (2006) highlights that part of the hierarchy of the Church in Brazil, made up of bishops, vicars, volunteers, and influential partners, collaborated with the Magazine's propaganda. This group observed the need for a publisher to fill "[...] the lack of religious publications in Portuguese and, in the case of priests, obtain publications that they could recommend to the churchgoers, without the fear of disturbing their faith" (ANDRADES, 2006, p. 113).

With few resources, coming from the publications themselves, volunteer collaborators or influential friends enabled Vozes Magazine to set up, in the 1930s, a distribution and circulation network, sending its copies to different regions of Brazil. The support of bishops and vicars contributed greatly to the creation and maintenance of this network. Thus, the Magazine met the expectations of its supporters (ANDRADES, 2006).

Readers were also called, as well as religious people, to collaborate in the multiplication of subscribers, promoters, and buyers of Vozes Publisher's publications. The friars launched an interesting campaign: "We ask you to kindly tell us the address of people who might be interested in our Magazine, so that we can send them an issue" (ANDRADES, 2004, p. 12). This request even resulted in letters with lists of potential subscribers from the cities of Ouro Preto, in Minas Gerais, São Leopoldo, in Rio Grande do Sul, Itapeperica, in São Paulo, Santarém, in Pará, and Palhoça, in Santa Catarina, since the Magazine brings comments and even entire chapters on books published by Vozes Publisher, in order to prepare readers for their acceptance.

Neotti (2007, p. 49) highlights that, “[...] until the 1940s, *Vozes de Petrópolis* was the only, let’s say, magazine for the Catholic intellectual elite.” For a long period, Catholic schools, due to subscriptions, were the financial basis of the Magazine: several teachers began to subscribe to it due to contact with this publication in confessional institutions.

In the mid-1960s, *Vozes Magazine* defended the 1964 Coup, because, according to Andreo (2014, p. 2), “[...] it was contrary to dialogue between Christians and Marxists, configuring itself as anti-revolutionary, anti-communist, in addition to being fiercely critical of religions of African descent.” In 1966, topics related to Catholic ideals still appeared in a large proportion in the periodical, but they began to coexist with cultural themes and approaches and analyzes of issues linked to social problems in Brazil and the world.

Neotti (2007) highlights that, in the 1960s, he received relevant help from Father José de Vasconcellos, president of the Catholic Education Association (AEC) and member of the Federal Education Council (CFE). He needed to visit Catholic schools, and Vasconcellos suggested that a monthly bulletin was prepared for teachers and schools associated with the AEC. This sixteen-page bulletin began to be published as a special section, including didactic material, from May 1966 to December 1969, until Vasconcellos left the position. Therefore, it was possible to guarantee the subscriptions of Catholic schools throughout Brazil and the subscriptions of several teachers.

Vozes Magazine had a specific section to publish general AEC news, called “*Caderno da AEC do Brasil*.” This section provided “[...] news about Catholic schools, movements of interest of schools and training texts for their members” (TANNÚS, 2008, p. 111). This space in the Magazine demonstrates the support given by *Vozes Publisher* to AEC.

For educational institutions affiliated to the AEC, educational action was understood from the perspective of Catholic doctrine. Thus, the AEC understood educational action as a function that was based on the search for a liberating education, which inspired awareness of the social dimension and its demands for a more comprehensive Christian education. In this debate, Tannús (2008, 114) mentions that “[...] the education ideal as a whole quality training and with respect for ethics in human relations, in accordance with the recommendations of Catholic ideology, were the tone of the Association.” There was also a concern to prepare educators and institutions to interact with the market and the State in their legal and prerogative requirements to compete for the number of students enrolled at schools.

The material found in the brochure is made up of articles that often do not even occupy an entire page. Sometimes, its collaborators brought their opinions on current events in short texts that resembled those seen in the sections, nowadays called “readers' opinions” in major newspapers. There were few texts that presented bibliographical references or followed technical standards for their preparation. Furthermore, “[...] in the texts, images are practically non-existent and when they appear they are merely illustrative and unnecessary” (ANDREO, 2013, p.2).

The periodical, despite having the majority of its audience linked to the ecclesiastical environment, when Friar Clarêncio Neotti takes over the direction of the Magazine, seeks, in the midst of a sales crisis, to expand to an intellectual group, especially from universities, an expansion that was successful from the 1970s onwards, through the increasing approach to lay cultural subjects, such as comics, literature, cinema, music, and academic themes. Furthermore, there is a meaningful change in publications: social and political analyzes centered on Brazil and carried out from the point of view of both the ecclesiastical environment and the academic sectors. All these aspects made *Vozes Publisher*, which had been modernized, began to stand out commercially in the academic world (ANDRADES, 2001b).

Assis (2008) explains that the collaborators of *Vozes Magazine*, representatives of civil society, came from the most different professional activities. The periodical called on writers to participate: “[...] we appeal to all national Catholic writers, teachers, students, gentlemen or ladies, to send us their articles whenever they seem to fit the program and spirit of the Magazine” (ASSIS, 2008, p. 47).

Neotti (2007) draws attention to the issue of press censorship, especially during the government of Emílio Garrastazu Médici (1969-1974). The Magazine was registered in the *Serviço Nacional de Informações* (SNI, National Information Service) as a left-wing philosophical periodical and not a pamphlet. It was never attacked, highlights Neotti (2007), precisely because it was careful to put together the Magazine number using expressions that were not in the Dictatorship censors' dictionary, such as:

Problems of descriptive linguistics, Structural Semantics, Semiology, Discourse Theory, History of comic books, Dynamics and Mismatch, Anachronic Ideology, Festival of the Subconscious, The Leap to the Object, The Poetics of Denotation, Cybernetics and Ideology (NEOTTI, 2007, p.50).

If the periodical was not affected by the Dictatorship censorship, it was affected by the censorship of the Vatican. The Apostolic Nuncio himself, D. Sebastião Baggio, went to Petrópolis to complain about Father Jaime Snoek's article on homophily, saying that he agreed with the content, but that the topic did not fit well in a Catholic magazine. Furthermore, Baggio was bothered by a small article of just over three pages, entitled “*Quem informa o Papa*” [“Who informs the Pope”]. In the words of Neotti (2007, p. 51), “[...] the note made a comparison between a Manifest by Catholics from Minas Gerais, attached to the times before the Council, and an admonishing letter to Pope Paul VI to the CNBB.” The note concluded that the Pope's letter was based on the Minas Gerais Manifest, condemned by the Brazilian Bishops' Conference.

Neotti (2007) also highlights that, due to financial reasons, exemplified by the reduction in the number of subscribers to 375 and individual sales to 84, the Board of Directors of *Vozes Magazine* recognized that the periodical no longer aroused interest. Under the allegation that all the areas the publication used to cover were occupied by other specialized magazines, in 2003 the periodical ceased to exist for three reasons: the magazine's high deficit; the absence of a proposal that could modify the situation; and the lack of publication focus, which is the point that most contributed to the suspension of publications.

Practices and representations of Education, Formation and Development on the pages of *Vozes Magazine*

In Brazil, during the Civil-Military Dictatorship, the *Doutrina de Segurança Nacional e Desenvolvimento* (DSND, Doctrine of National Security and Development), proposed by the “*Escola Superior de Guerra*”⁵ (ESG), guided much of the policies and actions of military governments. Regarding economic development, the ESG proposal focuses on modern capitalism, based on a model of State interference in national economic planning, direct production, and infrastructure investment, with appropriation of state resources. From this perspective, it approaches state capitalism, which has been seen in the centralizing structure developed by military governments since 1964 (ALVES, 1985).

⁵ The ESG was created in August of 1949. Among its founders were officers who had participated in the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB), in Italy, under the command of the United States. This connection with the North American country will characterize ESG since its inception.

Concerning education, ESG defines school as the place where teaching and learning take place or as educational institutions. The group of schools of a national society makes up its school system, which consists of educational institutions, articulated, and coordinated to cover all degrees and modalities of teaching and learning necessary for life and development, both for people and for society. In the words of Gonçalves (2011, p. 8), “[...] national school systems tend to identify themselves in an ever-increasing way, with the vital needs and aspirations of the societies that establish them.”

It is necessary to emphasize that the expression “school” covers all educational institutions, including higher education. In this sense, the accumulation of human capital through education has had two effects: a) the increase in productivity of the labor factor, which is reflected in the market via an increase in real wages; b) the increase in mobility of the labor factor, which begins to explore, more effectively, the differences in sectoral productivity that exist in the economy. Therefore, the fundamental importance of human education as the most productive investment for development is characterized. It is through technical-scientific professional preparation that a society is able to assimilate technology already created and to apply and expand more developed technology (ALVES, 1985).

Consequently, there is a guideline regarding the necessary training with relevant role as to development. Within ESG thinking, development would contribute to better economic and social conditions for the population, favoring National Security.

On the other hand, Libâneo and Pimenta (1999) emphasize that research on teacher training points out as a fundamental issue the fact that teachers perform a theoretical-practical activity, making it difficult to reflect on the possibility of educating outside of a concrete situation and a defined reality. The teacher needs to combine theoretical elements with real practical situations. For this reason, when thinking about a formation curriculum, the emphasis on practice as a formation activity appears as a training exercise for the future teacher. However, it is one of the central aspects in teacher training because it brings decisive results to professional formation.

In this way, it means the connection between initial and continued training. On the one hand, initial training would be linked to work contexts, making it possible to think about disciplines based on what practice says. On the other hand, continued training can be carried out at school based on the knowledge and experiences acquired by teachers in the work situation, being associated with initial training and leading teachers to university for an analysis of their practices. In both cases, there is interaction between training practices and work contexts, so that schools are considered places for innovation and improvement, appearing as privileged environments for the continued training of teachers (LIBÂNEO; PIMENTA, 1999).

In the article entitled *Desenvolvimento e educação* (Development and education), Alceu Amoroso Lima⁶ (1968) reproduces the idea of full development, in which education plays a central role. What is most characteristic about the conception of development defended by Lima (1968) is that it is not just about the economic progress of people, but their total progress, which includes respect for the material elements of man and society. From this perspective, education is the process not only initial, but also lasting, according to which man truly becomes man (LIMA, 1968), so that, just as “[...] the path to peace passes through development, we can say that the path to development passes through education” (LIMA, 1968, p. 374). Therefore, it is essential that every action to promote the development of a people begins through a collective effort even in elementary education.

⁶ Literary critic, writer, teacher, intellectual and Brazilian Catholic leader, he had a great journalistic production and stood out in the fight against the Brazilian Dictatorship.

In the text called *Educação e desenvolvimento* (Education and development), Father Luciano Castelo⁷ (1968) highlights the importance of education for development. According to him, many people do not understand that the difference between a developed country and an underdeveloped one “[...] is one of nature and not just degree, as if some quantitative measures were enough for underdevelopment to be overcome. More schools, more roads, more investments and everything would be solved” (CASTELO, 1968, p. 563).

In this conception, it is important to consider the role of education for development. It is common for certain people, who consciously or unconsciously opt for the *status quo*, to defend education while an isolated measure as the solution to the problems of underdevelopment. It would therefore be enough to increase the number of schools to move towards development. However, this position is mistaken, for example, because it does not comprehend the relationship between education and economic, social, and political structures.

In the words of Castelo (1968, p. 563), “[...] if everyone had education, there would not be major social problems, since they are caused mainly by the ignorance of the people.” Assuming that the basis of this statement was correct, it would yet remain to prove that the universalization of education would be possible without changing economic and social structures. Furthermore, for education to contribute to development, it is important, in addition to structural reforms, that it itself undergoes transformation. However, at the end of the 1960s, the Brazilian educational system was traditional and far from meeting the demands regarding human rights and the common good (CASTELO, 1968).

On his part, Father Paul Charbonneau⁸ (1968, p. 665), in his article *Educação e formação* (Education and formation), highlights that in practice “[...] nowadays there is no doubt as to the need to provide sexual education to children”. According to Charbonneau (1968, p. 665), such education must be provided in four stages: “The first stage varies between four or five years; the second is around five-six; the third is the beginning of puberty and the fourth, in full puberty.” Each of the steps requires complete answers and more precise guidance. Thus, sexual education is necessary and must represent the stages of the child's intellectual curiosity, which requires the presence of two elements: information and training.

From this perspective, at the end of the 1960s, sexual education constitutes a problem in the religious education of youth, as few parents have sufficient religious culture to be able to offer their children a religious formation that corresponded to the demands of youth. Therefore, the first thing necessary is that “[...] religious education is carried out by parents, who are convinced about the validity of their religious option and who have cultural baggage on a religious level greater than that found” (CHARBONNEAU, 1968, p. 666), that is, parents mature enough to assimilate a religious problem and transmit it in terms that are acceptable and valid for today's youth.

Aligned with this, in the article *Educação e formação social* (Education and social training), Father Jorge Chacón⁹ (1968), an important defender of Catholic schools, discusses the lack of social training in schools, a lack that falls on educators for not having given an effective response to urgent social needs. “Among the students, bourgeoisie and classism, irresponsibility and indifference towards social injustices are evident, as well as the decentered religious sense of charity and the postulates of the Mystical Body” (CHACÓN, 1968, p. 669).

⁷ Professor of Sociology and critic of the Brazilian Dictatorship, he mobilized his students from Mariana and Ouro Preto (MG), in the second half of 1964, when it was clear that the military would not leave power. In October 1964, he traveled to France to study at the Catholic Institute of Paris.

⁸ Theologian, Catholic priest, and Canadian educator who settled in Brazil in 1959. One of the founding members of the Association of Christian Business Directors (ADCE), in which he worked as a doctrinal advisor.

⁹ Pedagogue, theologian and Jesuit priest born in Pelileo, province of Tungurahua in Ecuador, in 1905, he was fifteen years old when he entered the Jesuit order and, after completing higher education, when he obtained the degree of Doctor in Theology, he went to Spain to continue his studies in Philosophy.

The Brazilian educational system inherited from the 19th century needed quality formation and urgent renewal, both educational and pedagogical, to conceive a permanent education for the nation. The implementation of a national educational renewal policy should not be delayed at the risk of psychological, economic, and social tensions. Therefore, public authorities needed to be alerted to the need for this renewal, to which they could contribute with all their strength (CHACÓN, 1968).

In the article *Educação e Desenvolvimento*, professor Laura Chaer¹⁰ (1968) highlights that educational planning must be carried out considering the problems arising from the influence of economic, political, and social factors. “Clear planning takes into account the phenomena caused by industrialization, urbanization, poor distribution of the population” (CHAER, 1968, p. 953), problems that call into question the educational action in Brazil, such as:

- a) The education system in an underdeveloped country like ours, imported from foreign societies with a higher social and economic level. An anachronistic system that has not progressed much, not even with the influence of urbanization and industrialization, nor has it become aware of the flexibility granted to the curriculum by the LDB;
- b) The low performance of the education network caused by dropping out of school, flunking, the high rate of absences, causing a decrease in teaching; due to the selective school style at elementary and other levels, due to the low level of culture of the teaching staff;
- c) Functional illiteracy. In addition to the fact that only 50% of children of school age have access to school, a large number of those who start attending drop out, either because the school does not meet the needs of the region, or because it lacks the technical training required by the job market (CHAER, 1968, p. 953).

In this quote, two issues stand out. The first concerns teacher formation, since a significant number of teachers did not have university training, especially in the countryside of Brazil. The second concerns the lack of schools for school-aged children. Despite the drop in the illiteracy rate, throughout the 1960s and 1980s, millions of students were still out of school.

In another article published in *Vozes Magazine* called *Educação, ciência e desenvolvimento* (Education, Science and development), professor Luiz Tauhata¹¹ (1968) debates education and development at the institutional level of teaching. Tauhata (1968, p. 667) notes an education aimed at the elite, of academic nature and suitable for an artificial society, “[...] based on inhuman values, an archaic and inoperative methodology, school levels interspersed with exams that establish economic and social filtering.” In this sense, Tauhata (1968, p. 668) mentions the existence of “[...] a perennialism conception tempered with essentialism, in the same way he notes an effort to promote education for all participants, which is necessary for the construction of a new society.”

¹⁰ With a degree in Neo-Latin Language and Literature from the College of Science, Language and Literature of the Santa Úrsula Institute (1949) and a doctorate in Neo-Latin Language and Literature from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (1954), she was a full professor at the Catholic University of Goiás.

¹¹ With a degree in Physics from the University of Brasília (1965) and a PhD in Physics from the Brazilian Center for Physics Research (1984), he was a researcher at the National Nuclear Energy Commission. He has experience in Physics, with an emphasis on Nuclear Disintegration and Radioactivity.

In this global effort for autonomy, development appears as a consolidated requirement in what is genuine in formation, being projected as a portrait of our historical affirmation. Reflection, criticism of the economic system, commitment to humanism implemented in efficient planning and a tireless sense of research configure guidelines for conscious behavior. In terms of institutional education, this means “[...] development of a creator sense, freedom of expression, objectivity of studies, integration into reality, participatory methodology, primacy of motivation over discipline” (TAUHATA, 1968, p. 668).

In the article entitled *O ensino católico e seu papel no desenvolvimento* (Catholic teaching and its role on development), C. Petit¹² (1969) emphasizes that development must be absolute, promoting all men, making it possible to develop the skills and qualities they receive from birth, “[...] igniting a transcendent humanism and assuming the superior values of love, friendship, prayer and contemplation” (PETIT, 1969, p. 90). The universal right to education highlights this global conception of education, founded on the personal vocation of human beings: everyone has the right to education corresponding to their own vocation, that is, their temperament, their culture, and national traditions. According to Petit (1969, p. 91), “[...] the scope that education pursues is to form the human person, from the perspective of his/her highest purpose and from the good of the groups, of which man is the member and at the service of which he carries out his adult activity.”

This global conception of education, which aims to guarantee the maturity of the human person, is not limited to Christian education, to which all Christians have the right. The parallelism between Christian conceptions of development and education highlights the importance that Catholic schools have for development. It is not enough to point to the relevance of the Christian vision proposed by the Catholic Church in the field of education and development. The Church claims its share of responsibility as an educator of men (PETIT, 1969).

If the Catholic school has a role for playing in development – of intellectual, moral and religious formation of the students entrusted to it –, it needs therefore to fulfill an important mission, putting itself at the service of development. Those responsible for development and education, based on concrete data and studies necessary to establish plans according to possibilities, need to act without waiting for orders. It is also up to Catholics to imbue themselves with a Christian mentality and spirit, considering the customs, laws, and structures of their community, in accordance with the Christian mission of development. It is up to them to take initiatives and be agents of peace, as development is also known as.

Thus, there were centralization and decentralization movements from State actions to follow economic and social changes at a global level, adapting education to the market needs. Such actions represent the discontinuity of educational policies, characterizing them only as government policies and not as State policies. In this scenario, educational planning becomes a field of political and ideological debates among different social actors, who bring distinct conceptions of education. In this relationship of forces, educational planning assumes divergent purposes, and education, despite presenting achievements, is intended to preserve the dominant hegemony.

¹² Defender of Catholic schools in the 1960s and 1970s.

Final considerations

Voices Magazine constituted a widely circulated periodical that produced content with the purpose of disseminating and instilling the ideology of the Catholic Church in defense of maintaining its interests. It acted in line with the laws imposed by the Brazilian Dictatorship regarding education and professional training that inaugurated a series of State actions, with the aim of carrying out the expanded reproduction of capital, which was extended beyond the process of qualifying this force, since such sectoral policies affected scientific research, technological innovations, social assistance and collective consumption. In this scenario, legislation was decisive for the extended reproduction of the workforce, and the social policy of military governments, adopted since 1964, became visible in the preponderance of repressive apparatuses, placed at the forefront of the war against the popular classes, aiming to separate their organizations and their struggles for structural changes in the Brazilian society.

Many articles on formation start from the concept of professional development, that is, from the idea that preparing teachers to carry out their professional activity is a process that involves several stages and is always incomplete. However, it is possible to point out several contrasts between the logics of training and professional development. While training is associated with the formal concept of following courses, professional development occurs through multiple forms, which include activities such as projects, exchanges of experiences and readings. Furthermore, in training, we pursue what the teacher lacks and, in professional development, attention is paid to their capabilities.

From this perspective, teachers must be the characters in their training and professional development process, taking initiatives, developing their projects, appreciating their work, and connecting theory and practice. This is a modification that involves new representations and new professional practices, above all a new professional attitude. Likewise, making numerous types of training opportunities available to teachers at distinct stages of their career, with diverse needs and interests, especially in terms of how they can support their professional development process, establishes a responsibility for the institutions responsible for teachers' training. It is their responsibility to unite theory with practice, seeking to determine what is happening in the formation processes of their initiative and responsibility.

Nevertheless, in the period analyzed in this article (1964-1985), the expansion of public schools, the growth of the private sector in education (dominated by teaching entrepreneurs), the scarcity of resources to maintain the teaching-learning process and the lack of a clear policy on the part of the Catholic Church for its presence in the area of education generated difficult situations for Catholic schools. For these reasons, several schools aligned with this approach closed their doors. Voices Magazine configures a strategy of resistance and preservation of the space conquered by Catholic schools in the Brazilian education system.

Having this in mind, the analysis of the relations between confessional private education and the Brazilian State must consider two dimensions: where the State's responsibility ends and its interventionism in the free initiative of education begins; and on what does the freedom of teaching depend and to what extent direct or indirect state funding limits such freedom (autonomy). These are two dimensions that need to be present in any debate about the relationship between private education and the State in Brazil.

The practices and representations of Education, Formation and Development present in Voices Magazine are linked to the Catholic Church, which had several schools spread across the Brazilian territory and presented the ecclesiastical hierarchy engaged in campaigns with the aim of exalting the advantages of studying in Catholic schools and attacking the functioning of the

public education network. It is also worth highlighting that the long duration of *Voices Magazine* (1907-2003), despite having been restructured several times both in its form and in its essence, is due to openings within the Catholic Church itself. The desire for renewal of the Church to preserve the *status quo*, through restoration policies dictated by the Vatican, made it possible to bring the Church closer to civil society, stimulating a group of intellectuals who preserved Catholic principles within society, at all levels. From the 1960s onwards, the periodical began to give space to lay collaborators and the most varied discussions.

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