



Teaching Moral and Civic Education to children and adolescents during the Civil-Military Dictatorship: an analysis of ‘Mauro's Diary’ (1974)

Ensino de Educação Moral e Cívica para crianças e adolescentes na
Ditadura Civil-Militar: uma análise do “Diário de Mauro” (1974)

La enseñanza de la Educación Moral y Cívica a niños y adolescentes durante la
Dictadura Cívico-Militar: un análisis del “Diario de Mauro” (1974)

Francisco das Chagas Silva Souza
Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Rio Grande do Norte (Brasil)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9721-9812>
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/7340894360051987>
chagas.souza@ifrn.edu.br

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the book “Educação Moral e Cívica para alunos do Primeiro Grau” by Edília Coelho Garcia, published in 1974 in the format of a diary written by the character Mauro. Considering the political and socio-economic scenarios at the time of the book's production and consumption, the study adopts a relational approach, articulating an internal analysis – focused on the materiality of the work (cover, textual organization, illustrations, and content) – with an external analysis that encompasses the historical conditions of production and circulation, as well as the author's social position. Based on this articulation, the relationship between the work and the historical context of the Civil-Military Dictatorship is evidenced. From the cover and the table of contents, it is possible to identify the reinforcement of conservative ideas, with the textbook being one of the means of disciplining society and disseminating the “advances” brought about by the regime installed in 1964.

Keywords: Moral and Civic Education; Textbook; Civil-Military Dictatorship.

Resumo

Neste artigo, objetiva-se analisar a obra “Educação Moral e Cívica para alunos do Primeiro Grau”, de Edília Coelho Garcia, publicada em 1974, no formato de diário escrito pelo personagem Mauro. Considerando-se os cenários político e socioeconômico à época da produção e circulação do livro, o estudo adotou uma abordagem relacional, articulando a análise interna – centrada na materialidade da obra (capa, organização textual, ilustrações e conteúdos) – à análise externa, que contempla as condições históricas de produção e circulação, bem como o lugar social da autora. Observados o seu material (capa, escrita, ilustrações, conteúdo) e o lugar social da autora, fica clara a relação íntima entre a obra e o contexto histórico da Ditadura Civil-Militar. Percebe-se, desde a capa e o sumário, o reforço de ideias conservadoras, sendo o livro didático um dos meios de disciplinar a sociedade e de divulgar os “avanços” trazidos pelo regime instalado em 1964.

Palavras-chave: Educação Moral e Cívica; Livro didático; Ditadura Civil-Militar.

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar el libro «Educação Moral e Cívica para alunos do Primeiro Grau», de Edília Coelho Garcia, publicado en 1974 en formato de diario, escrito por el personaje Mauro. Considerando los escenarios político y socioeconómico de la época de producción y consumo del libro, el estudio adopta un enfoque relacional, articulando un análisis interno – centrado en la materialidad de la obra (portada, organización textual, ilustraciones y contenido) – con un análisis externo que abarca las condiciones históricas de producción y circulación, así como la posición social de la autora. A partir de esta articulación, se pone de manifiesto la relación entre la obra y el contexto histórico de la Dictadura Cívico-Militar. En la portada y en el índice se identifica el refuerzo de las ideas conservadoras, siendo el libro de texto uno de los medios para disciplinar a la sociedad y divulgar los «avances» conseguidos por el régimen instaurado en 1964.

Palabras clave: Educación Moral y Cívica; Libro de texto; Dictadura Cívico-Militar.

Received: 2025/02/11

Approved: 2026/04/14

Introduction

Numerous academic studies and large-scale databases have been produced in various countries on the development, writing, authorship, publishing, and content of didactic textbooks¹. The appreciation of the material sources of school history, which were ignored until a few decades ago, represents an important epistemic and social shift. Firstly, it focuses on understanding cultural practices and school culture, with icons and objects serving as records of that culture. Secondly, it confers on these materials a status they did not previously have—namely, exclusion from the school’s memory (Escolano Benito, 2010).

Our work in the history of education and in graduate-level teaching has led us to investigate various topics, including didactic textbooks, particularly those focused on Moral and Civic Education (*Educação Moral e Cívica* - EMC). This subject became mandatory through Decree No. 869 on 12 September 1969 (Brazil, 1969), at the height of the civil-military dictatorship. In this article, we analyze the 1974 book *Moral and Civic Education for Primary School Students*, written by Professor Edília Coelho Garcia (1920–2012) and published by Editora LISA (Livros Irradiantes S.A.²). We consider the historical context of its production, the book’s objectives, and the author’s engagement with the political climate of the time.

We have chosen this work because it is intended for children and adolescents aged 7–14 (according to Law No. 5,692/1971 in Brazil), with the clear intention of instilling the values and discipline of the regime established by the 1964 coup. We also acknowledge the challenge of accessing alternative EMC didactic textbooks, as these works were deemed irrelevant when this curriculum ended in 1993 and consequently were not preserved in school or personal libraries.

The first step in this analysis was to search for information about the author, as her social position certainly influenced her writing³. We discovered that Professor Edília Coelho Garcia had held several prominent positions at national and state (Rio de Janeiro) levels during the military governments. Her positive relationship with the ruling political establishment brought her benefits, visibility, and various honors.

As this involves implementing a subject in the curriculum, we sought to understand the history of teaching morality and civics in Brazil. As Viñao (2008) states, school subjects should be viewed as 'living organisms' that are born and disappear. To this end, we conducted a bibliographic and documentary review (surveying laws and opinions on EMC) to understand the content of the aforementioned work better.

In terms of the theoretical basis, we used studies by renowned authors in the field of *Manualística*. According to Escolano Benito (2001, p. 13, our translation), this term refers to the 'set of practices and theoretical developments that have emerged in relation to the creation, production, and use of manuals to regulate teaching and learning'. In addition to this historian, we also draw on the publications of other authors in this field, namely⁴: Angulo and Rubio (2016); Choppin (2004, 2009); Cigales and Oliveira (2020); Magalhães (2006, 2021); Munakata (2016); Rosa and Teive (2016); and Viñao (2008).

¹ According to Choppin (2009), the concept of the textbook is historically recent. Depending on the language and the era in which they were produced, these works have a variety of names (school manual, textbook, school book, etc.). We prefer to use the term “didactic textbook” because it is the most common in Brazil. However, when citing sources, we will use the term as it appears in the original source.

² Founded in 1965 in São Paulo by Leonídio Balbino da Silva, it was a subsidiary of the José Olympio publishing house.

³ According to Certeau (2008, p. 66), all historiographical research is linked to a specific socio-economic, political, and cultural context. “It is, therefore, subject to constraints, tied to privileges, and rooted in a particular context.”

⁴ We would like to point out that there are numerous works and articles by these and other researchers in the field of *Manualística*, and it is impossible to cite many of them—all of which are also important—within the scope of a single academic article.

Despite the importance of didactic textbooks for research in the history of education, scholars specializing in these texts highlight the difficulties involved in studying them, beginning with their very designation, which varies by era and language, and with their classification into a typology. They emphasize the need for methodological advances in these studies to enable comparative research and more precise assessments across regions and national states. One such methodology is that proposed by Cigales and Oliveira (2020, p. 8), which investigates didactic textbooks from a relational perspective between the macro level — 'the social fields, where didactic textbooks are produced from the power struggles inherent in the constitution of these symbolic spaces' — and the micro level — 'the school institutions, where didactic textbooks are intended, received, and reinterpreted by school culture'.

In light of the above, this article is divided into three sections, in addition to this introduction. The first section discusses the growth of research on didactic textbooks and the emergence of Textbook Studies as a new scientific field. Next, given that 'To analyze a school textbook, one must be attentive to the historical dynamics of school subjects' (Cigales & Oliveira, 2020, p. 3), we examine the context of the implementation of the EMC subject in Brazil during the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Finally, we analyze the aforementioned work, relating its elements to the dictates of the dictatorship the author embraced.

Contributions of the didactic textbook to historical-educational research

For a long time, didactic textbooks and other teaching materials belonged to the realm of objects excluded from cultural heritage by idealist and positivist epistemes that severed ties with memory and dismissed all evidence of material culture, viewing it as trivial in terms of its explanatory potential. This situation changed in the 1990s when historians of education recognized the relevance of these materials for new approaches. According to Escolano Benito (2001, p. 14, our translation), "It is clear that textbook studies is an essential intellectual field for investigating the representation and meanings of *paideia*, the *ethos*, and the modes of didactic production of any civilization." In another article, the Spanish historian adds the term *trace-objects* to refer to these textbooks:

Material history is constructed primarily from objects. These tools—which form the basis of ethnographic collections, or their representations—bring us closer to the distant and the absent, as Carlo Ginzburg puts it; and once removed from their spheres of use and placed in an exhibition or a catalog, they become "semioforic" objects, that is, they become materials that carry meanings to be deciphered through the clues they suggest to the observer [...] Based on this proposal, the school's old objects, as well as the new ones, would be conceived as [...] trace-objects that tell relevant things—not always known—about our shared formative past and that, in some way, constitute the sources from which the very history of the school is constructed as a social institution governed by empirical practices in which materialities intervene (Escolano Benito, 2010, p. 18, our translation).

Studies on school textbooks have gained greater prominence due to the historiography of education's emphasis on school culture. Julia (2001, p. 10) defines school culture as "a set of norms that define the knowledge to be taught and the behaviors to be instilled, as well as a set of practices that enable the transmission of this knowledge and the incorporation of these behaviors."

This conception of school culture is used in numerous articles and books addressing the topic, but has also drawn criticism. Commenting on this, Munakata (2016, p. 122) observes that school culture is not only concerned with norms, rules, symbols, and representations or prescribed knowledge but also with "practices, appropriations, attributions of new meanings, and resistances that produce multiple and varied configurations that occur locally within the school." Munakata emphasizes the importance of didactic textbooks for consolidating, disseminating, and perpetuating school subjects: "It is not always the case that the didactic textbook limits itself to transcribing the established or emerging content of a school subject. There are times when it plays a decisive role in defining the subject" (Munakata, 2016, p. 126).

As the concept of school culture evolved, it became clear that textbooks, in all their forms, were fundamental to this culture's identity. "The convergence of this research with the development of the history of school subjects and curricula highlights the importance of the didactic textbook as an object of historical inquiry into schooling in general" (Rosa & Teive, 2016, p. 410).

Thus, we can speak of a relatively new field of research: Textbook Studies, which emerged in parallel with media changes generated by the digital shift. This field focuses on investigating the material and formal attributes of didactic textbooks. According to Escolano Benito (2012, p. 43, our translation), "The book can be examined as a representation of the practices it anticipates and induces, as a medium for pedagogical discourse on school life, and as an object indicative of the values upon which the administration regulating it is based." He asserts that textbooks are holistic representations of the entire culture of education and therefore reveal the "black box" of school grammar.

In this sense, the school textbook is a mirror of the society that produced it, as its content, language, and iconography reflect the values, stereotypes, and ideologies that define the established mindset, as interpreted by its authors and the committee responsible for its approval⁵ (Escolano Benito, 2001, 2012).

As privileged sources for understanding teaching and learning processes in schools, textbooks must be denaturalized by "recovering their historicity and understanding them as human products and cultural objects with a school function and use" (Rosa & Teive, 2016, p. 413). These artifacts must be viewed as "objects rooted in the school educational form and thus problematize their role in the educational process by inquiring whether they are vestiges of the school's cultural purposes" (Rosa & Teive, 2016, p. 413).

Angulo and Rubio (2016) support in-depth research in the field of textbook studies but caution that the field must now focus on the second stage of school textbooks' lifecycle (without neglecting their production and creation). This stage involves investigating the processes of transmitting and mediating their messages, the pedagogical interventions involved, and the processes of receiving and applying these messages, including the manipulation of the official truths and knowledge they convey. The authors suggest examining textbooks using various sources, such as oral histories, interviews, evidence of manipulation by professors and/or students, and the textbook's exercises and tasks. This approach aims to reveal the complexity of these works, their multifaceted functions, their coexistence with other educational media, and the diverse agents they engage.

Despite proposals by Angulo and Rubio (2016) and others, Cigales and Oliveira (2020) note that few studies address methodological issues related to school textbooks. Thus, they propose a methodology grounded in Bourdieu's concept of the social field, emphasizing that textbooks should be analyzed through the lens of relational sociology. This approach takes into account tensions between micro and macro levels because the interior of a textbook reflects broader disputes within social fields and how these disputes influence its structure.

⁵ This recognition has led, in recent decades, to the creation of databases on didactic textbooks, namely: EMANUELLE (France), MANES and CEINCE (Spain), EDISCO (Italy), DIASPORA (Canada), and LIVRES (Brazil). Furthermore, Badanelli (2010) highlights the existence of smaller collections and school museums, as well as the holding of academic conferences in various countries to discuss and learn about studies focused on textbooks.

They explain the relationship between these two levels.

school textbooks (a) respond to external (macro) demands, as they are both products and producers of discourses and representations of the social world, contested by actors situated within social fields, with a particular focus in this study on the educational field; (b) possess an internal (micro) logic, that is, they are part of school culture and, in this sense, possess a logic of production inherent to educational systems; their primary intention is pedagogical, but they also embody symbolic powers linked to the intentions of the social agents who produce them; and (c) require a plurality of methods for their analysis. Equally important, textbooks constitute a market for symbolic and material goods and must therefore be included in this framework to understand better how their field is structured (Cigales; Oliveira, 2020, p. 9).

For the authors in question, the textbook is the objectification/materialization of the social relationships established among various agents who guide its development. This complexity requires methodological creativity, as there is no single formula for analyzing it. Cigales and Oliveira (2020, p. 13) summarize their methodological approach:

A relational sociological analysis of school textbooks is not merely concerned with describing their content and internal logic; above all, it seeks to understand the relationship between this level of analysis and the external logic that governs the entire process of developing, distributing, and using these cultural artifacts in education. Weaving this web of meanings, while attempting to understand the disputes and power dynamics involved in this process, is the aim of this methodology.

Based on the above, it is clear that didactic books have taken on significant importance in the history of education in recent decades. Given that it makes no sense to write the history of school textbooks or to investigate the content of a work without considering the rules that political or religious authorities impose on the various actors within the educational system (Choppin, 2004), we will now discuss the implementation of the EMC curriculum by the Civil-Military Dictatorship.

EMC: Historical Background and Legal Framework

Studies examining the "birth" of a subject emphasize that a set of factors, both external and internal to the school, contribute to this process. According to Julia (2002, p. 68), "the difficulty in writing a history of school subjects lies in the need to keep all the threads of this history together without neglecting any of them."

Advocacy for teaching morality and civics was part of the history of Brazilian education in the 20th century. It was present in the curriculum sometimes as a required subject and sometimes as a non-formal practice. This "oscillating harmony" (Cunha, 2007) had political and ideological motivations. While the Catholic Church advocated for mandatory Religious Education, arguing that it provided moral and civic formation, positivist intellectuals and politicians emphasized the secular nature of the state. This dispute demonstrates that subjects are not abstract, universal, or static entities. As Viñao (2008, p. 204) points out, they "are born and develop, evolve, transform, disappear, swallow one another, attract and repel each other, break apart and unite, compete with one another, relate to and exchange information (or borrow it from others), etc."

At certain moments in Brazilian educational history, however, disputes between these two approaches cooled, and even a coalition occurred, as during the Estado Novo (1937–1945) and the Civil-Military Dictatorship (1964–1985).

In both authoritarian regimes, importance was placed on religion, one of their pillars, and on EMC as strategies for maintaining the political system and for disciplining children and youth in formal and non-formal education settings (Souza, Silva, & Costa, 2023).

The landscape of political and economic disputes and arrangements immediately following the civil-military coup led military presidents and their ministers to view education as a means of imposing authoritarian principles and combating the opposition. They also viewed education as a means of attracting economic investment. The Doctrine of National Security and Development (*Doutrina de Segurança Nacional e Desenvolvimento* - DSND), Human Capital Theory (*Teoria do Capital Humano* - TCH), and Technicist Pedagogy worked in tandem to this end. The DSND originated from the Escola Superior de Guerra (*Escola Superior de Guerra* - ESG), established in Brazil in 1949 based on the model of the American National War College, and is rooted in the ideology of national security. According to Alves (2005, p. 31):

In its Brazilian theoretical form, the Doctrine of National Security and Development constitutes a coherent body of thought that includes a theory of war, a theory of revolution and internal subversion, a theory of Brazil's role in world politics and its geopolitical potential as a world power, and a specific model of associated-dependent economic development that combines elements of Keynesian economics with state capitalism.

According to the author, ESG participants turned to the Institute for Social Research and Studies (*Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Sociais* - IPES) and the Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (*Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática* - IBAD) to formulate government policies emphasizing the management of capitalist development. The slogan "Security through Development," used during the dictatorship, reflects the fear and mistrust regarding the "red menace" and the conservatism of the IPES/IBAD complex, two civil institutions that participated in the 1964 coup in the context of the Cold War (Motta, 2002).

It is important to note that, in an economic sense, the notion of development refers to the expansion of a society's productive capacity. In the Brazilian case, this expansion occurred on the periphery of the world system (Alves, 2005). This explains the expansion of concessions granted to foreign companies and the education financing agreements signed between the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The well-known MEC/USAID agreements can be understood through the lens of the TCH, which viewed education as a means of economic development and overcoming inequalities.

However, it should be noted that intellectuals from various ideological backgrounds were dedicated to developing an economic vision for education even before the 1960s. According to Salles (2002, p. 18), the belief was that Brazil would have to undergo a "developmentalist phase" to achieve modernity, during which education would play a strategic role. In this way, the country would rely on education to escape poverty and underdevelopment." By establishing a direct link between education and development, the idea was that the more human capital invested, the greater the chance of improving living conditions. Therefore, "aid" from the United States in the form of political and technical guidelines for education was welcomed because it was believed to put Brazil on the "right path" indicated by the international economy.

Technicist pedagogy, present in Brazilian educational policy before the coup but strengthened thereafter, is another aspect of the DSND and Human Capital Theory. Horta (1982) notes that during the dictatorship, economists frequently participated in the formulation of education policies. The involvement of technocrats from the Ministry of Planning in education-specific issues generated tensions between the two ministries. Although official statements claimed that the two ministries were complementary, this was not the practice case. The Federal Council of Education (*Conselho Federal de Educação* - CFE) was gradually sidelined from the educational planning process. The loss of the CFE's influence was evident in the educational goals of the Government's Economic Action Program (*Programa de Ação Econômica do Governo* - PAEG), which was implemented during the Castello Branco administration (1964–1967).

This chart illustrates the series of actions taken by the civil-military dictatorship, particularly following the enactment of Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5) in 1968. It is also worth noting, however, that the economic policy implemented in 1964 generated growth in the gross domestic product (GDP) between 1968 and 1973. This period became known as the "Economic Miracle." Although this growth came at the cost of dependence on foreign capital, income concentration, and a wage gap for workers, it served as "proof" that the country was heading in the right direction, toward the model of wealthy nations. Notably, a major reform of primary and secondary education was implemented through Law No. 5,692/1971 during this period, when the importance of educational economics became evident by establishing the compulsory nature of what was then called "vocational education" in secondary school (Brazil, 1971).

It is worth noting that the "Economic Miracle" occurred amid political turmoil. The crackdown on social protests, including workers' strikes and actions promoted by the left, led to abuses of power, including arbitrary arrests, torture, and suppression of freedom of expression. The government sought to control society not only through force but also by shaping individuals who were obedient and aligned with the state's interests. For this reason, compulsory EMC education was introduced into the curriculum. Schools were one of the means the dictatorship used to achieve its objectives. Jardim (2006, p. 104), drawing on Foucault's studies, explains the importance given to schools in this context.

The school, as a field of visibility, is a space for the exercise of a desire for truth and, consequently, for the exercise of power. It is a privileged place where truth resides: where technical results are observed, classified, regulated, and measured. In this place—the school—someone plays the role of bearer of a truth (knowledge) and also uses instruments to extract that truth (power); thus, it is a space of the sayable and the visible.

Foucault's writings on the disciplinary society help us understand how dictatorships use schools as a means of social control, though not only during that period. According to Foucault, "discipline produces submissive and disciplined bodies, docile bodies. Discipline increases the body's forces in economic terms of utility and diminishes those same forces in political terms of obedience" (2013, p. 134). According to Foucault, the success of disciplinary power is due to three instruments linked to the norm: the hierarchical gaze, the normalizing sanction, and regulatory power. The hierarchical gaze is defined as follows: "Surveillance becomes a decisive economic operator, insofar as it is at once an internal component of the apparatus of production and a specific cog in the machinery of disciplinary power" (Foucault, 2013, p. 169). The normalizing sanction is defined as follows: "Regulatory power compels homogeneity." But it also individualizes, allowing for the measurement of deviations, the determination of levels, the establishment of specialties,

and the utilization of differences by adjusting them to one another" (Foucault, 2013, p. 177). The third instrument is the examination, which "by combining hierarchical surveillance and normalizing sanctions, performs the disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximum labor and time extraction, continuous accumulation, and composition of distributions" (Foucault, 2013, p. 184).

It is important to note that, before the civil-military coup, Decree-Law No. 50,505/1961 stipulated that the teaching of morality and civics should be part of the curriculum as extracurricular activities, namely: the raising of the National Flag; the singing of the National Anthem and the Hymn to the Flag "and others that are a collective expression of the country's traditions and the achievements of its progress"; celebration of civic holidays; study of the biographies of "figures of marked influence in the formation of Brazilian nationality"; as well as content emphasizing the importance of Brazil and its progress (Brazil, 1961). Therefore, even before the military seized power, a school culture had already been formalized to define the knowledge to be taught and the behaviors to be instilled (Julia, 2001).

The imposition of norms and practices discussed by Julia (2001) demonstrates that, in modern society, power is grounded in discipline and control; that is, it does not aim at punishment or repression in and of itself. According to Foucault (2013, p. 185), "power produces; it produces reality; it produces fields of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that can be gained about them originate in this production."

One can thus understand the military government's efforts to go beyond everyday practices in the school setting, given that such rules could be circumvented or neglected; it was necessary to compel teachers to enforce them. This is how the EMC course became mandatory, with the pedagogical practices outlined in Decree-Law No. 50,505/1961 incorporated into it. In this regard, Cunha (2007, p. 295) reports that:

At the start of the military regime, the Federal Council of Education (CFE) came under intense pressure to endorse the implementation of the EMC, which it resisted [...]. However, changes in the Council's composition, as well as the radicalization of the political process, [...], led to the approval of a bill that formed the basis of Decree-Law No. 869, dated September 12, 1969, issued by the military junta. As a result of this legal-political act, EMC became a mandatory subject in schools of all levels and types within the country's education system.

According to the author in question, "The objectives of EMC represented a solid fusion of reactionary thought, conservative Catholicism, and national security doctrine, as conceived by the War College" (Cunha, 2007, p. 295). This assertion is evident in Decree-Law No. 869/1969, which lists the following as the course's objectives:

- (a) The defense of democratic principles through the preservation of the religious spirit, human dignity, and responsible exercise of freedom under God's inspiration.
- (b) Preserving, strengthening, and promoting the spiritual and ethical values of the nation.
- (c) Strengthening national unity and a sense of human solidarity;
- (d) Reverence for the fatherland, its symbols, traditions, institutions, and the great figures of its history;
- (e) Cultivating character grounded in morality and dedication to family and community.

- (f) Understanding the rights and duties of Brazilians and knowledge of the country's socio-political-economic organization;
- (g) Preparing citizens to engage in civic activities grounded in morality, patriotism, and constructive action aimed at the common good.
- (h) Respect for the law, dedication to work, and integration into the community (Brazil, 1969).

This legislation also established the National Commission on Morality and Civics (CNMC), whose functions were focused on the implementation of EMC:

- (a) Coordinate with civil and military authorities at all levels of government to implement and maintain the Moral and Civic Education doctrine in accordance with the principles established in Article 2.
- (b) Collaborate with the Federal Council of Education in developing curricula and programs for Moral and Civic Education.
- (c) Collaborate with labor unions at all levels to develop and expand their activities related to Moral and Civic Education.
- (d) Influence and solicit the cooperation of institutions and bodies that shape public opinion and disseminate culture, including newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, theaters, movie theaters, radio and television stations, sports and recreational organizations, social clubs, professional associations, and printing and advertising companies, to serve the objectives of Moral and Civic Education.
- (e) Advise the Minister of State on the approval of didactic textbooks from the perspectives of morality and civics. Collaborate with other agencies of the Ministry of Education and Culture to implement the measures and initiatives deemed necessary in the spirit of this Decree-Law (Brazil, 1969).

The success of the new course was aided by the publication of didactic textbooks, which, before reaching teachers and students, underwent evaluation by the CNMC, and whose findings required MEC approval. This reveals a hierarchical power structure within the school system, extending from administrators to coordinators and teachers.

The book “Moral and Civic Education for Elementary School Students.”

As previously mentioned, Decree-Law No. 869/1969 mandated that Civic and Moral Education (EMC) be taught in all types of educational institutions at all levels. With financial support from the agreement signed between the Ministry of Education (MEC) and USAID, didactic textbooks on EMC and other subjects were published and distributed to schools⁶. Among these was the book *Moral and Civic Education for Elementary School Students*, published by Professor Edília Coelho Garcia. The book, which has over three hundred pages, was published by Editora Livros Irradiantes S.A. It was intended for students aged 10 to 14 enrolled in grades 4 through 8 of Primary Education. This designation was created by Law No. 5,692/1971 (Brazil, 1971).

During the Civil-Military Dictatorship, Professor Edília Coelho Garcia was one of the country's most prominent educators. She published other works for teaching EMC. Although

⁶ The study conducted by Vahl and Peres (2017) shows an increase in the distribution of didactic textbooks in Brazil through the National Book Institute's Textbook Program for Elementary Education (PLIDEF/INL), which operated via a co-publishing system between the public and private sectors from 1971 to 1976. However, the authors show that this number was well below the number of students enrolled in elementary school.

we have not found a detailed biography, records of ceremonies and honors bestowed upon her (some posthumous) confirm this. Garcia held various management positions at the national and state levels: She was president of the Brazilian Institute of Education, Science, and Culture (Guanabara Commission); a member of the CFE; undersecretary of education for the state of Rio de Janeiro; president of the Brazilian Academy of Education; a member of the state board of education for the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro; and president of the Union of Private Schools of Rio de Janeiro, among others. Her role in the administrations of military officers Floriano Peixoto Faria Lima of the National Renewal Alliance (ARENA) and his successor, Antonio de Pádua Chagas Freitas, is important to highlight. Then-President Ernesto Geisel appointed Lima to govern Rio de Janeiro from 1974 to 1979, and Freitas to govern the now-defunct state of Guanabara from 1979 to 1983. These facts demonstrate Professor Edília's integration into the power structure during the dictatorship.

Although the CNMC evaluated the work, there is no authorization form in the book's physical copy indicating approval for use in schools. It was likely lost. The author dedicates the work to her father, "for whom morality and civility were always the law...", implying that such values should exist naturally without the need for a law to enforce them.

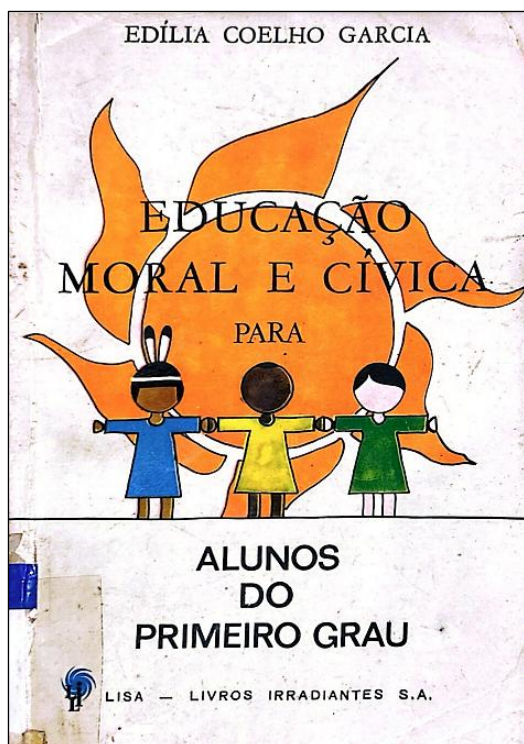
In addition to thanking the four professors "whose collaboration made this book possible," Garcia extends thanks to Rev. Benjamin de Moraes Filho and Efraim Gerschgorin⁷, "whose collaboration allowed us to give this book an ecumenical treatment regarding religious matters" (n.p.). Given that ecumenism was seen as supporting communism during the so-called "years of lead" because it was composed of Christian religious leaders (Catholics and Presbyterians) who were sensitive to coercive situations on the part of the state, we were surprised by the author's interest in giving an ecumenical character to an extremely conservative work. As Brito (2010) notes in his research, these religious leaders were also monitored by the repressive apparatus.

Regarding the cover (Figure 1), Escolano Benito (2012) writes, "It is the gateway to the manual, a kind of poster that, through typography, shapes, and colors, stimulates the sensibilities of children and young people. It is also, in part, a motivational poster for what the book contains [...]" (Escolano Benito, 2012, p. 35, our translation). It has a white background, and in the center is an image of a radiant sun surrounded by three children of different ethnicities (white, Black, and Indigenous) holding hands and dressed in the colors of the national flag. Thus, the cover conveys the author's ideological commitment to reinforcing the myth of "racial democracy," which claims that Brazil is a country where the three "races" have mixed and lived together harmoniously over the centuries. Fábio Martins Garcia⁸ produced the illustration for this part of the book and others that open the chapters, but we found no information about him.

Figure 1: Cover of the book "Moral and Civic Education for Elementary School Students"

⁷ Rev. Benjamin de Moraes Filho was a Presbyterian pastor, lawyer, professor, and journalist. Among the various positions he held, we highlight his role as Secretary of Education for the State of Guanabara during the administration of Governor Francisco Negrão de Lima (1965–1971). We were struck by the diversity of associations in which he participated; notably, he served as a lecturer at the Escola Superior de Guerra on issues of ethics, morality, and religion in Brazil, and as a member of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights—that is, he was able to reconcile completely opposing viewpoints. As for Professor Efraim Gerschgorin, we were unable to find any information about him online.

⁸ We have not been able to find any information about this illustrator. His last name matches that of the author, but we do not know if this is merely a coincidence.



Source: Personal archive.

To emphasize the official status of this subject, the author begins the work by presenting the relevant legislation, preceded by the heading "For the Information of Parents and Teachers." The author then quotes an excerpt from CFE Opinion No. 94/1971, which addresses "Curricula and Programs for Moral and Civic Education." By warning teachers and parents about the importance of the didactic textbook, we see confirmation of what Angulo and Rubio (2016, p. 33, our translation) stated: "The transmission of the didactic textbook's content is essentially in the hands of the professor, but parents and other intermediaries can play a similar role. Therefore, reducing the context of transmission to the school is inaccurate in terms of real-world experience."

For primary school⁹, the level for which the work was intended, there are two units, each with its respective behavioral objectives. The document emphasizes that to achieve these objectives, "in addition to the professor who teaches the concepts as a subject, other educators must embrace the same ideals and civic responsibilities [...]". The opinion reiterates this point: "All areas of study and the entire school environment must reflect the moral and civic objectives the professor intends to achieve. In the moral and civic formation of students, everyone participates." It notes that EMC instruction is based on concentric circles. "The study begins with the groups closest to the child: Family and School. Then, it moves on to the community, the state, the country, and the world" (Garcia, 1974, p. 27). The pressure exerted by legislation regarding administrators' and professors' responsibility for the subject's success is clear.

Garcia dedicates a few pages of her book "To Teachers" after presenting the legislation on EMC education. She does so because she understands that content is transmitted not only from outside the school to inside it but also within it. In these pages, she seeks to persuade teachers of the work's relevance and encourage them to follow the prescribed content. To this end, she poses and answers three questions. Who is this book intended for? Why did we adopt the form of a diary? How should this book be used?"

⁹ The author describes the curriculum structure in effect at the time Decree-Law No. 869/1969 was published, that is, prior to the 1971 reform of primary and secondary education.

Regarding the first question, Garcia clarifies that the book is intended for elementary school students and notes that moral and civic education "has always been a concern of true educators." The novelty of the work, she explains, lies in "our attempt to provide a better systematization and more consistent attention to this subject, an approach that reflects our concern that students should effectively 'learn' *good principles of morality and civics*" (Garcia, 1974, pp. 33–34, emphasis added).

Regarding the second question, García explains that writing the book in a diary format aimed to make the language more relatable to students and their daily lives, thereby preserving the "democratic traditions of our people." The author also warns that establishing such principles *may prevent the enemies of our sovereignty from taking advantage of youthful naivety* (Garcia, 1974, p. 34, emphasis added).

Finally, regarding the book's use, the author advises professors to encourage deeper exploration of the topics by asking questions. Furthermore, she presents professors with a series of didactic suggestions, including written assignments, research projects, visits to museums and monuments commemorating historical events, the creation of Civic Centers, and planning activities involving other subjects. However, she reminds professors that "moral and civic education is primarily the family's responsibility." The school plays a supplementary role." Mauro's Diary thus seeks to integrate school life with family life" (Garcia, 1974, p. 36, emphasis added).

The answers to the author's questions reveal the work's reactionary nature, consistent with the aims of the EMC discipline. Professor Edília Garcia affirms her commitment to the DSND by warning of the risks posed by communists, who, in her view, exploit the naivety of children and young people. She views the teaching of EMC as an antidote to the student movement unless it is limited to Civic Centers, which are associations directly linked to the school administration and teachers of this subject. The suggestion of interdisciplinary practices might be viewed favorably were it not a subterfuge to expand the disciplinary control desired by the civil-military dictatorship.

Therefore, the presentation of the work and the list of topics addressed align with Chervel's (1990, p. 207) considerations: "Lecture-based instruction, exercises, practices of incitement and motivation, and a docimological apparatus all evidently function in close collaboration at every stage of the discipline, each directly linked to the objectives."

Garcia obscures the true objective of EMC by claiming that it fosters happiness, prepares individuals for family life and work, and cultivates "conscious citizens" who are "useful to the Fatherland" — that is, docile and uncritical subjects. In this way, educational practices become

It is a way of controlling discourses of truth and the primary medium through which knowledge and power are exercised to implement institutional techniques of surveillance, hierarchy, discipline, and control. Thus, the pedagogical space is an open field traversed by power relations that begin with the first steps of learning. In this space, power regulates, produces, shapes individuals, manufactures model images, and evaluates. The aim is to subjugate individuals through technical manipulation internalized in educational institutions as practices of subjugation (Jardim, 2006, p. 104).

Given that "a discipline is defined as much by its objectives as by its content" (Julia, 2002, p. 45), we can see how the curriculum content aligns with the standards outlined in Opinion No. 94/1971, as reproduced by the author (Chart 1)

Chart 1: Curriculum Content for the Elementary School Program¹⁰

Unit I – Behavioral objectives. Focus: The family—its relationship with the school and the local community.	Unit II – Behavioral objectives. Focus: School – its relationships with the community.
Program Content:	Program Content:
Concepts of God and religion are based on the natural world surrounding the child.	<i>Concept of character</i> through examples drawn from history and the life of the average Brazilian.
The student's family: the social role of each member.	Identification and study of community resources to foster a sense of community.
Equitable distribution of tasks, with equal opportunities for all and fair allocation of rewards.	Community public services. Identification of the resources needed to maintain these services: concept of taxation.
The school's role in the community.	Systematization of rules of good conduct. Development of codes by the students themselves. Concept of law.
Appreciation of the different forms of human work.	<i>Symbols of the Homeland:</i> National Flag – description and meaning. Arrangement and meaning of the stars. The Southern Cross. National Anthem – basic understanding of its meaning. Authors, lyrics, and music. Anthem to the Flag.
Concepts of <i>authority and leadership</i> . Democratic opportunities to fulfill various social roles.	
Everyone's responsibility to protect public property—the common good.	
Symbols of the Nation: recognition of the flag and the proper conduct during its raising and lowering; the colors of the flag and national colors; the national anthem.	

Source: Brasil, 1971 *apud* Garcia, 1974, p. 27-28 (grifos nossos).

Following the introduction, the book's chapters begin with a diary that the character Mauro received as a birthday gift on January 1. The book's content unfolds in short chapters (Figure 2), each corresponding to a day of the year and illustrated with images similar to those on the cover. As is common in school textbooks, their textuality “is generally a mixture of images and words, harmonized according to informational, aesthetic, and didactic strategies that influence the communication of content and even the fostering of attitudes” (Escolano Benito, 2012, p. 35, our translation).

¹⁰ It is important to note that the Primary Course ceased to exist six months after Opinion No. 94/1971, with the enactment of Law No. 5,692/1971, when it became part of elementary education.

Figure 2: Summary of the textbook *Moral and Civic Education* for elementary school students

The boy concludes that obeying the laws is every citizen's duty (Garcia, 1974, p. 70, emphasis added). In this way, Garcia normalizes the authoritarianism of the executive branch at the time while encouraging obedience and fighting what he conceived as social disorder.

The term "citizenship" recurs throughout the book. In a Civic Education class, Mauro's professor explained what it means to be a citizen and concluded that a citizen is someone who contributes effectively to the progress of their homeland. Mauro also learned that a "civic-minded man is vigilant regarding the interests of the fatherland, preserves order, defends good customs and morals, helps his fellow man, and cooperates for the well-being of his community" (Garcia, 1974, p. 95, emphasis added). Thus, Garcia teaches young audiences that to be a citizen, one must accept one's reality.

At home, his uncle asks Mauro to name Brazilians who are not citizens. When the boy mentions illiterate people as an example, explaining that they do not vote, his uncle responds: "The illiterate person cannot be considered. In the case of voting, they have no right. They have lost the opportunity to be an active citizen" (Garcia, 1974, p. 107, emphasis added). Clearly, the uncle blames illiterate people for their condition, implying that opportunities exist equally for everyone. At school, the professor made a similar comment but alluded to the need to increase the number of schools and teachers to combat this problem. Later, Mauro's uncle explained to him that "literacy alone is not enough. It is necessary to continue educating those who have learned so they do not forget everything. That is part of the MOBREAL plan" (Garcia, 1974, p. 303).

Still on the topic of citizenship, Mauro's uncle advised him about the value of freedom. He told Mauro that for freedom to exist, the established order must be respected. He cited the actions of "subversives" as examples of disorder because they: "undermine good order with acts of agitation, rob banks and grocery stores, kidnap people, and cause great chaos. These individuals, who always claim to speak in the name of freedom, are bad patriots," and he warned that "conscious people should guard against their false propaganda." He further explains to the boy that due to the actions of these "bad Brazilians," the government issued a series of AI decrees to contain the "terrorists, subversives, and corrupt" (Garcia, 1974, p. 115, emphasis added). Mauro wrote in his diary what he learned about the AI decrees.

These *measures* have been criticized mainly by the enemies of democracy. Their beneficial effects are being felt, and disturbances and unrest have been declining. The Brazilian people love *order* and *peace*, and appreciate that the government is vigilant and can guarantee democracy. Uncle Pedro stated that those who do not know how to obey also do not know how to command. Young people and adults alike must respect the *constituted authorities* (Garcia, 1974, p. 115, emphasis added).

Mauro's writings demonstrate the importance he placed on democracy, even though it did not exist in the historical context of the time. The AI were merely legal instruments used to concentrate power in the executive branch. Yet, Garcia believed they were beneficial because they combated "disturbances and unrest." Through her character, the author expresses her aversion to communism and actions against the dictatorship. Furthermore, she reinforces the stereotype that Brazilians are orderly and peaceful. Uncle Pedro taught his nephew that "those who do not know how to obey do not know how to command" — that is, the "subversives," should they come to power, would not know how to govern and would bring about chaos. This idea becomes more explicit a few pages later when Mauro writes: "Socialist republics are a form of government where the people do not participate directly in the choice of their rulers" (Garcia, 1974, p. 122, emphasis added). This is a contradictory statement given that although Brazil is not a socialist country, there were no direct elections for the highest executive branch positions.

In the chapter addressing the anniversary of the "Revolution," the author goes to great lengths to defend the civil-military dictatorship. On that day, Mauro wrote about the celebration at his school.

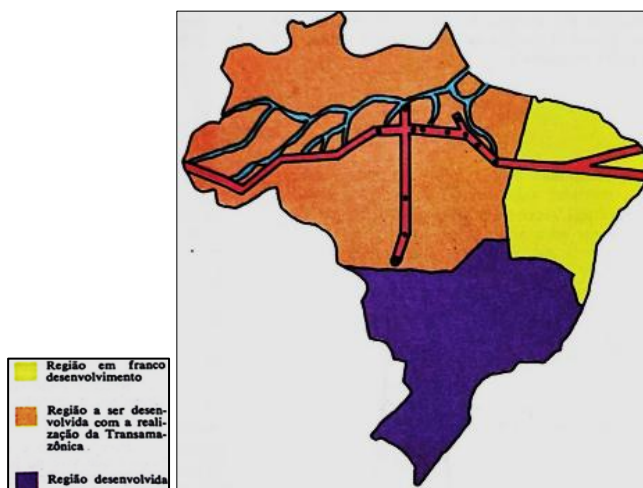
We arrived early, and the whole school was gathered in the courtyard. It was a beautiful celebration: in front of the national flag, we sang our country's national anthem. Then, a student from the Primary Course planted the tree, and Professor Maurício said a few words about the event: "Freedom is like a seed that needs to be planted and cared for with love so that good fruits may be harvested from it." Professor Rui added: "The 1964 revolution was the beginning of a new life for Brazil's future; it was as if Brazil had been planted on that day" (Garcia, 1974, p. 125).

The text emphasizes the significance of national symbols, such as the national anthem and flag, and the link between the "Revolution," freedom, and the start of a "new life." We can also add the symbolism of planting a tree to this, as it emphasizes the country's hope, growth, and stability.

After describing how the celebrations unfolded, Mauro concludes that with the "Revolution," "Thus began the country's return to order and discipline." Having overcome a period of disorganization and governmental incompetence, Brazil returned to its task of enhancing and developing democratic ideals" (Garcia, 1974, p. 126, emphasis added). He proudly writes that the "Revolution" was more a matter of ideas than of arms. Thanks to the prompt action of the military leaders, who knew how to act with calmness and firmness, there was no bloodshed" (Garcia, 1974, p. 127). However, the author "forgot" to mention the events that occurred after the coup, such as the repression of mobilized leftist groups like the General Workers' Command (CGT), the National Students' Union (UNE), and the Peasants' Leagues. Opposition politicians were removed from office, and there were arbitrary arrests and torture under the pretext of maintaining order and democracy.

Garcia argues that thanks to the "Revolution," Brazil was emerging from backwardness, as shown by a map included in the book (Figure 3). While some regions were more developed than others, the map shows the government's efforts to "resolve" this issue by constructing the Trans-Amazonian Highway to connect the Northeast to the North, as well as the Cuiabá-Santarém Highway. The government led people to believe that both highways would bring development to these regions and "populate" those areas.

Figure 3: Stages of development of Brazilian regions



Source: Garcia (1974, p. 273).

To tarnish Cuba's image, García exploited the school's celebration of Pan-American Day on April 14. According to Mauro, this doctrine, conceived by Simón Bolívar, advocates for the union of the countries of the Americas. However, Fidel Castro betrayed this ideal by allying himself with the Soviet Union. Therefore, Garcia wrote that Castro "represents a danger to the other nations of the Americas" (1974, p. 148, emphasis added).

Garcia's work also discusses labor and its importance for citizenship. When Mauro's sister asks their father why he still studies at night even though he has a profession, he tells her that a good professional never stops studying. "My job, for example, is to build bridges. Construction techniques improve with each passing day. If I stop studying, I fall behind. I neither improve my knowledge of the subject nor get promoted to earn a better salary" (Garcia, 1974, p. 46, emphasis added). His meritocratic and competitive discourse is evident in his linking of study to promotion and higher pay, a characteristic of the economics of education reinforced by American experts who came to Brazil under the MEC/USAID agreements.

Later, Mauro noted that a new initiative had been implemented at his school to produce professionals to "help Brazil's development." Garcia is likely referring to polytechnic schools, which were created a few years before Law No. 5,692/1971 and encouraged by it. These schools had the clear objective of training a workforce to meet market demands. According to Germano (2005, p. 176), this policy had a utilitarian character: "It is an attempt to establish a direct relationship between the educational system and the occupational system, to subordinate education to production. In this way, education would only make sense if it prepared or qualified individuals for the labor market."

While discussing the May Day holiday, Mauro learned from his father that an educated person knows the importance of work. He added that all work contributes to a country's development: "The doctor, the engineer, the professor, the bricklayer, the farmer, the janitor, the cook—all are, in one way or another, cooperating for the progress of their homeland" (Garcia, 1974, p. 162). While this teaching may help reduce prejudice against certain workers, it disguises the reality of the profession hierarchy that persists to this day, in which society values some professions more than others. Note that García begins by mentioning higher-level professions and then points out those that can be performed by people with little or no formal education.

Mauro's father taught him the characteristics of a good worker.

He is diligent and never misses work; he is attentive; he seeks to collaborate with his colleagues; he does not get distracted or concern himself with matters unrelated to his work. He strictly adheres to his schedule, remains in good spirits, and is friendly to everyone. He neither encourages nor participates in *strike* movements. A *strike*, my dad told me, is a terrible way to act: it's a collective absence, a work stoppage to gain advantages and perks. Today, we have many laws that guarantee workers' *rights*. There are *unions*, organizations that bring together workers in the same profession and defend their interests. Therefore, there is no reason for workers to go on strike (Garcia, 1974, p. 163, emphasis added).

Garcia's conciliatory rhetoric is evident in his portrayal of his character as a docile worker, the type desired by capital. In the text, class struggle does not exist because the "good worker" does not participate in strikes. In contrast, the "bad workers" are lazy strikers and subversives. For Mauro's father, strikes are unnecessary because unions exist to defend workers. While there is some logic to the importance of unions, this discourse is far removed from Brazil's reality at

the time, when the most militant organizations were shut down, and their leaders were persecuted. To continue existing, many of these associations had “pelegos”—candidates selected and appointed by the Ministry of Labor and the political police—at their helm.

Finally, we emphasize the author's focus on examples of “good Brazilians.” Garcia draws on traditional history to emphasize the importance of these men in carrying out actions that she considers patriotic and supportive. One example is the celebration of “Dia do Fico” on January 9. According to Mauro’s grandmother, a great example of human solidarity took place on that date. Upon being summoned back to Portugal, Prince D. Pedro decided not to heed the call and to stay, knowing that it would greatly harm Brazil and his Brazilian friends. Garcia concludes that D. Pedro showed solidarity with the Brazilian people (1974, p. 55, emphasis added).

Since nationalism is an essential element of authoritarian regimes, Garcia lists Brazilians who, like D. Pedro, exemplified love for their homeland. She dedicates several chapters to honoring individuals who distinguished themselves in politics, science, and the arts. These individuals include Tiradentes, Dom Pedro I, Dom Pedro II, Princess Isabel, the Duke of Caxias, the Baron of Mauá, Castelo Branco, Marshal Rondon, Santos Dumont, Rui Barbosa, Benjamim Constant, Vital Brasil, Osvaldo Cruz, Carlos Chagas, Aleijadinho, Machado de Assis, Villa-Lobos, and Cecília Meireles. The honors were not restricted to those in the Pantheon of National Heroes, but rather to “important people,” who, according to Garcia (1974, p. 35), were not necessarily wealthy, but rather distinguished themselves through their “moral or civic qualities.”

Garcia provides an index at the end of the work that lists the most frequently used words, such as education, morality, flag, citizenship, homeland, democracy, work, development, rights, school, community, anthem, family, God, nation, and civility. These words give us a general idea of the themes most frequently addressed in the book. In the bibliography, Garcia lists the fifteen works that she used to write the text. Two of these works are from EMC, and Garcia authored one of them. The others are history books published during the dictatorship, as well as some classic works such as *History of Brazil* by Rocha Pombo (1947) and *Biographies of Brazil’s Greatest Figures* by Professor Eduardo P. C. de Vasconcellos (1937).

Final Considerations

In this article, we analyze Moral and Civic Education for Elementary School Students, a didactic textbook published by Professor Edília Coelho Garcia in the early 1970s and intended for students aged 10 to 14. To accomplish this, we employ the methodology proposed by Cigales and Oliveira (2020), which enables us to consider the relationships and conflicts between macro and micro social fields. This approach considers that these works respond to external demands, making them both products of and producers of discourses and representations of the social world. However, the textbooks also possess an internal logic, including content; the interrelationships among authorship, organization, classification, and distribution of content; cover and interior illustrations; writing style; recommendations for professors; and lists of exercises.

At the macro level, we emphasize that moral and civic education was a recurring theme in Brazilian educational policies throughout the 20th century, especially in historical contexts marked by authoritarian regimes. Reintroduced at the height of the Civil-Military Dictatorship, when the country experienced the “Economic Miracle,” and the National Security Law persecuted the opposition, the EMC discipline was one way the state intervened in schooling to mold young people into “good citizens,” or docile and obedient individuals committed to the country's economic development and obedience to the law.

Against this backdrop, countless didactic textbooks were published. Those in the humanities aimed to reinforce the idea that the 1964 coup was a "Revolution" led by the military and supported by politicians, business leaders, and Catholic leaders. The Revolution's mission was to rid Brazil of the communist threat, defend democracy, and combat corruption (Irfffi & Reis, 2023; Mansan, 2022). Under the influence of ESG, the security-development binomial was strengthened. These two concepts were perceived as inseparable and mutually determining. They were also characterized as the central goal of the ideal state model in contemporary times (Mansan, 2022, p. 2). Garcia's work was published against this backdrop.

By complying with the demands of the Civil-Military Dictatorship—evident on the cover through its emphasis on "racial democracy"—the work makes its intentions clear from the outset. The author's introduction, the warnings given to professors, the care taken to follow legal requirements in the selection and presentation of content, and the division of the work into short diary-like chapters—among other elements discussed in this article—demonstrate the author's alignment with the Dictatorship's ideology, especially since she benefited from it by assuming positions of national importance.

Throughout her book, which is more than three hundred pages long, Professor Edília Garcia strives to "prove" that Brazil was on the development path but that this depended on the formation of patriots—that is, Brazilians who were obedient and orderly and committed to the country's progress. The behavior of the character Mauro exemplifies the model that the author, in service to the dictatorship, saw as ideal: passivity that poses no threat to the regime and fosters "good Brazilians," future workers dedicated to the "progress" of the nation.

Notably, a significant portion of Mauro's learning came from conversations with family members. This demonstrates the importance Garcia placed on family, perhaps because she believed that, despite being a space for the reproduction of the dominant ideology, school was also a place permeated by "subversives" of the established order, including professors, staff, and older students. To prevent the adoption of ideas contrary to the law, the author reminded parents of their role in their children's upbringing, using lessons from Mauro's relatives as an example.

Garcia also combined the content of Civic and Moral Education (EMC) with school practices established before this subject was created in 1969. She aimed to create and strengthen a school culture that would shape individuals who would obey the law and maintain order. One effective means of achieving this was instilling fear of communism in students, who, in the analyzed work, were children and adolescents.

References

ALVES, M.H.M. *Estado e oposição no Brasil: 1964-1984*. Bauru: EDUSC, 2005.

ANGULO, K. M.; RUBIO, A. M. B. Los contextos de transmisión y recepción de los manuales escolares: una vía de perfeccionamiento metodológico en manualística. *História da Educação*, v. 20, n. 50, p. 29-48, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-3459/62455>.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. *Decreto-Lei nº 50.505, de 26 de abril de 1961*. Consolida as disposições relativas à educação moral e cívica nos estabelecimentos de ensino, e dá outras providências. Brasília, DF, 1961. Disponível em: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1960-1969/decreto-50505-26-abril-1961-390388-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>. Acesso em: 8 jul. 2024.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. *Decreto nº 869, de 12 de setembro de 1969*. Dispõe sobre a inclusão da educação moral e cívica como disciplina obrigatória, nas escolas de todos os graus e modalidades, dos sistemas de ensino no País, e dá outras providências. Brasília, DF, 1969. Disponível em: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1960-1969/decreto-lei-869-12-setembro-1969-375468-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>. Acesso em: 8 jun. 2024.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. *Lei nº 5.692, de 11 de agosto de 1971*. Fixa diretrizes e bases para o ensino de 1º e 2º graus e dá outras providências. Presidência da República. Brasília, DF, 1971a. Disponível em: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei/1970-1979/lei-5692-11-agosto-1971-357752-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html>. Acesso em: 8 jul. 2024.

BRITO, A. S. *Fermento da Massa: ecumenismo em tempos de ditadura militar no Brasil, 1962-1982*. Seropédica, RJ. Dissertação (Mestrado em História, Estado e Relações de Poder) Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro, Seropédica, RJ, 2010.

CERTEAU, M. *A escrita da História*. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2008.

CHERVEL, A. História das disciplinas escolares: reflexões sobre um campo de pesquisa. *Teoria & Educação*, Rio Claro, n.2, p.177-229, 1990.

CHOPPIN, A. História dos livros e das edições didáticas: sobre o estado da arte. *Educação e Pesquisa*, São Paulo, v.30, n.3, p. 549-566, set./dez. 2004. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-97022004000300012>.

CHOPPIN, A. O manual escolar: uma falsa evidência histórica. *História da Educação*, Pelotas, v.13, n.27 p.9-75, 2009. Disponível em: <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/29026/pdf>. Acesso em: 21 maio 2025.

CIGALES, M.; OLIVEIRA, A. Aspectos metodológicos na análise de manuais escolares: uma perspectiva relacional. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, Maringá, v.20, p.1-18, 2020. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v20.2020.e099>.

CUNHA, L.A. Sintonia oscilante: religião, moral e civismo no Brasil - 1931/1997. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, São Paulo, v.37, n.131, p.285-302, 2007. Disponível em: <https://publicacoes.fcc.org.br/cp/article/view/358>. Acesso em: 24 mar. 2025.

ESCOLANO BENITO, A. Sobre la construcción histórica de la manualística en España. *Revista Educación y Pedagogía*. Medellín, v.13, n.29-30, p.13-24, jan./set. 2001. Disponível em: <https://revistas.udea.edu.co/index.php/revistaeyep/article/view/7503>. Acesso em: 29 maio 2025.

ESCOLANO BENITO, A. Patrimônio material de la escuela e Historia Cultural. *Linhas*, Florianópolis, v.11, n.2, p.13-28, jul./dez. 2010. Disponível em: <https://revistas.udesc.br/index.php/linhas/article/view/2125>. Acesso em: 29 maio. 2025.

ESCOLANO BENITO, A. El manual como texto. *Pro-Posições*, Campinas, v.23, n.3, p.33-50, set./dez. 2012. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-73072012000300003>.

FOUCAULT, M. *Vigiar e punir: nascimento da prisão*. 41. ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2013.

GARCIA, E. C. *Educação Moral e Cívica para alunos do Primeiro Grau*. São Paulo: Editora Lisa S/A, 1974.

GERMANO, J. W. *Estado militar e educação no Brasil*. 4. ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 2005.

HORTA, J. S. B. *Liberalismo, Tecnocracia e Planejamento Educacional no Brasil*. São Paulo: Cortez/Editores Associados, 1982.

IRFFI, A. S. R. P. C.; REIS, A. I. R. P. C.; REIS JR., D. O. Edições Michalany: manuais didáticos de estudos sociais como dispositivos de normatizações culturais no Brasil (1973). *Cadernos de História da Educação*, Uberlândia, v.22, p.1-21, 2023. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14393/che-v22-2023-164>.

JARDIM, A. F. C. Michel Foucault e a educação: o investimento político do corpo. *Unimontes Científica*, Montes Claros, v.8, n.2, p.103-117, jul./dez. 2006. Disponível em: <https://www.periodicos.unimontes.br/index.php/unicientifica/article/view/2322>. Acesso em: 23 mar. 2025.

JULIA, D. A cultura escolar como objeto histórico. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, Maringá, v.1, n.1, p.9-43, 2001. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/38749/20279>. Acesso em: 3 jul. 2024.

JULIA, D. Disciplinas escolares: objetivos, ensino e apropriação. In: LOPES, A. C.; MACEDO, E. (Org.). *Disciplinas e integração curricular: história e políticas*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2002. p.37-71.

MAGALHÃES, J. O manual escolar no quadro da História Cultural. Para uma historiografia do manual escolar em Portugal. *Sísifo. Revista de Ciências da Educação*, n.1, p. 5-14, set./dez. 2006. Disponível em: <http://sisifo.ie.ulisboa.pt/index.php/sisifo/article/view/35>. Acesso em: 30 maio 2025.

MAGALHÃES, J. Os manuais escolares na história da educação. In: Ribeiro, C. P. *et al. A investigação em História da Educação: novos olhares sobre as fontes na era digital*. Porto: CITCEM, 2021. p.181-192.

MANSAN, J.V. O binômio “Segurança e Desenvolvimento”: propaganda, controle social e educação superior durante a ditadura militar no Brasil (1964-1988). *Cadernos de História da Educação*, Uberlândia, v.21, p.1-25, e144, 2022. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14393/che-v21-2022-144>.

MOTTA, R.P.S. *Em guarda contra o “Perigo Vermelho”*. São Paulo: Perspectiva: FAPESP, 2002.

PIZOLATI, A.R.C.; ALVES, A. Os debates sobre educação moral, caráter e conduta do indivíduo nas primeiras décadas do século 20 e seus reflexos na atualidade. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, Brasília, v.100, n.256, p.651-674, set./dez. 2019. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.24109/2176-6681.rbep.100i256.4161>.

ROSA, M.; TEIVE, G.M.G. Manuais didáticos como patrimônio histórico-educativo: artefatos da cultura material escolar. *Roteiro*, Joaçaba, v.41, n.2, p.407-430, maio/ago. 2016. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18593/r.v41i2.9859>.

SALLES, F. C. História e ideologia da economia da educação no Brasil. *Intermeio*, Campo Grande, v.8, n.16, p.16-29, 2002. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.ufms.br/index.php/intm/article/view/2610>. Acesso em: 15 jul. 2024.

SOUZA, F. C. S.; SILVA, F. V.; COSTA, F. G. V. A Educação Moral e Cívica no currículo escolar brasileiro do século XX. *Revista Exitus*, Santarém, v.13, p.1-26, e023061, 2023. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24065/re.v13i1.2334>.

VAHL, M. M.; PERES, E. O Programa do Livro Didático para o Ensino Fundamental (1971-1976). *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, São Paulo, v. 47 n. 164 p. 562-585 abr./jun. 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1590/198053143792>.

VIÑAO, A. A história das disciplinas escolares. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, Maringá, v.3, n.18, p.173-215, 2008. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/40818>. Acesso em: 28 fev. 2023.