



Students and the Civil-Military Dictatorship: The Educational Campaign in *Jornal do Brasil* (1964–1968)

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ABSTRACT. The article aims to analyze the complex figurational relationships established between students and the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship (1964–1968), drawing on representations disseminated by *Jornal do Brasil*, a Rio de Janeiro-based daily newspaper that formed part of the country's major press during the period. The study adopts the socio-historical perspective proposed by Norbert Elias, which enables an examination of long-term social processes and employs the categories of “established” and “outsiders” as analytical tools for a critical analysis of the editorials that constitute the principal sources of the research. During these years, *Jornal do Brasil* pursued an editorial project aimed at justifying the 1964 coup and legitimizing the continuation of the civil-military dictatorship, while simultaneously creating controlled spaces for the articulation of occasional criticism of the government. Concurrently, the newspaper undertook an educational campaign directed at its readership, within which stigmas and emotions circulated that both reinforced and revealed processes of social differentiation and the intense tensions shaping the educational field at that historical juncture. The analysis demonstrates that authoritarianism became increasingly pronounced in the relations between students and the government, contributing to a deepening polarization of Brazilian society. This dynamic is evidenced by the impossibility of establishing effective negotiation or dialogue, given the profoundly divergent values that underpinned each group's position of power and the shared conviction that political and social problems could only be resolved through the exclusion of the other from power.

Keywords: university students; power; press; authoritarianism.

Estudantes e ditadura civil-militar: a campanha educacional no *Jornal do Brasil* (1964-1968)

RESUMO. O artigo visa analisar as complexas relações de figuração formadas entre estudantes e a ditadura civil-militar brasileira (1964-1968), a partir das representações presentes no *Jornal do Brasil* – diário impresso e carioca que integrava a grande imprensa da época. A pesquisa parte da perspectiva sócio-histórica proposta por Norbert Elias, que permite uma análise dos processos sociais em curso e utiliza a categoria ‘estabelecidos’ e ‘outsiders’ para examinar criticamente os editoriais, que constituem a principal fonte do estudo. O *Jornal do Brasil*, nesse período, desenvolve um projeto editorial que tinha como objetivo justificar o golpe de 1964 e legitimar a continuidade da ditadura civil-militar, embora, ao mesmo tempo, criasse espaços controlados para a produção de críticas pontuais ao governo. Paralelamente, o *Jornal do Brasil* se empenhou em promover uma campanha educacional voltada para o público leitor, na qual circularam estigmas e emoções que reforçavam e evidenciavam as dinâmicas de diferenciação social e os intensos tensionamentos presentes no contexto educacional daquele momento histórico. No decorrer da análise, percebe-se que o autoritarismo se intensifica de forma significativa nas relações entre os estudantes e o governo, contribuindo para uma maior polarização da sociedade. Isso se torna evidente nas impossibilidades de estabelecer negociações e diálogos efetivos, devido aos valores profundamente divergentes que sustentavam as posições de poder de ambos e à convicção mútua de que a resolução dos problemas políticos e sociais dependia da exclusão da posição de poder do outro.

Palavras chave: universitários; poder; imprensa; autoritarismo.

Estudiantes y dictadura civil-militar: la campaña educativa en el *Jornal do Brasil* (1964-1968)

RESUMEN. El artículo tiene como objetivo analizar las complejas relaciones de figuración formadas entre los estudiantes y la dictadura civil-militar brasileña (1964-1968), a partir de las representaciones presentes

en *Jornal do Brasil*—un diario impreso de Rio de Janeiro que formaba parte de la prensa dominante de la época. La investigación adopta la perspectiva sociohistórica de Norbert Elias, la cual permite un análisis más profundo de los procesos sociales en curso, y aplica el concepto de ‘establecidos’ y ‘marginados’ para examinar críticamente los editoriales, la fuente principal de este estudio. Durante ese período, el periódico desarrolló un proyecto editorial destinado a justificar el golpe de 1964 y legitimar la continuación de la dictadura civil-militar, aunque también creó espacios controlados para la crítica ocasional al gobierno. Simultáneamente, *Jornal do Brasil* se comprometió en promover una campaña educativa dirigida a sus lectores, a través de la cual circularon estigmas y emociones que reforzaban y evidenciaban las dinámicas de diferenciación social y las tensiones intensas presentes en el contexto educativo de ese momento histórico. A lo largo del análisis, se evidencia que el autoritarismo intensificó significativamente las relaciones entre los estudiantes y el gobierno, contribuyendo a una mayor polarización de la sociedad. Esto se hace evidente en la imposibilidad de establecer negociaciones y diálogos efectivos, debido a los valores profundamente divergentes que sostenían las posiciones de ambas partes, así como a la convicción mutua de que la resolución de los problemas políticos y sociales dependía de excluir al otro del poder.

Palavras chave: universitarios; poder; prensa; autoritarismo.

Received on October 24, 2024.
Accepted on February 21, 2025.
Published in December 19, 2025.

Introduction

Traditionally, the period from 1964 to 1968 has been characterized in memorial narratives as the ‘moderate’ phase of the civil–military dictatorship. This characterization has been questioned by historiography (Fico, 2004), which has demonstrated the extent and intensity of repression during these years. Although the civil–military regime resorted to force from its inception to eliminate political opponents, it also invested in additional strategies aimed at preventing dissent and legitimizing its grip on power, particularly as public fear of state authorities gradually waned. Within this context, the educational sphere, which mobilized students and exerted broad social resonance, became a key instrument of control, as well as a vehicle for disseminating ideas associated with capitalism and authoritarian modernization (Cunha & Góes, 1996; Sanfelice, 2007; Motta, 2014).

In Brazilian historiography, there is an ongoing debate regarding the designation of the 1964 coup and the dictatorship that followed, a debate imbued with political and social responsibilities that continue to generate tensions within Brazilian society. This article addresses the subject through the lens of relations of interdependence between civil society and the military forces, aligning with the concept of a civil–military dictatorship as formulated by Reis Filho (2014a). This conceptualization emphasizes the regime’s civil dimension, while recognizing that the exercise of power was marked by pronounced asymmetries between the military leadership and its civilian supporters.

Understanding the relations between civil society and the military during the civil–military dictatorship has been a central concern of historiography, particularly in efforts to avoid unilateral reductionisms (Rollemberg & Quadrat, 2010) and to emphasize that the dictatorship constituted a ‘social construction’ (Reis Filho, 2014b). From this perspective, the figurational microcosm proposed in this study—namely, the student sphere—offers a valuable analytical entry point for deepening the understanding of how social relational dynamics operate.

The use of periodicals as historical sources contributes to an understanding of the complex relations of interdependence that emerge within the everyday dynamics of the public and political spheres. In this sense, the History of Education enters into dialogue with broader historiography by treating periodicals as media that preserve traces of daily experiences, thereby revealing both changes and continuities in behaviors shaped by immediate memory.

Daily newspapers disclose educational practices and discourses, as well as their broader social repercussions. In analytical terms, the researcher is required to assemble events and identify the multiple versions that compose the whole in order to comprehend the historical educational process (Carvalho et al., 2002, p. 72).

In this article, the press is approached as a historical source (Capelato, 1988; Ribeiro, 2003; Barbosa, 2015), with particular emphasis on *Jornal do Brasil*. Founded in support of the Monarchy, *Jornal do Brasil* was first published on April 9, 1891. Its founders included Rodolfo Dantas, former Minister of Education of the Empire,

and Joaquim Nabuco, a prominent collaborator of the monarchical cause. In 1919, the newspaper was acquired and revitalized by Count Pereira Carneiro. Subsequently, in 1954, the owner of *Jornal do Brasil*, Countess Maurina Pereira Carneiro, together with her son-in-law Manuel Francisco do Nascimento Brito, assumed its direction and launched a series of graphic and editorial reforms that redefined the newspaper's intended readership (Lessa, 1995), shifting its focus from the middle class and popular sectors toward the middle class and the elite.

This transformation in the newspaper's image contributed to its consolidation among the most influential periodicals in the national press. By the 1960s, *Jornal do Brasil* had established itself as a leading Rio de Janeiro-based morning newspaper with significant representativeness, defining itself as a communication outlet that was "[...] Catholic, liberal, and independent [...]" and guided by a posture of "[...] political neutrality" (Motta, 2018).

From 1961 onward, suspicions concerning the stance of the Goulart government were already evident in the press, which began to subject it to intensified scrutiny. With the restoration of presidentialism and the expansion of social mobilization, *Jornal do Brasil*, along with most other periodicals, came to constitute an opposition bloc to the constitutional government (Napolitano, 2014). This bloc actively promoted the destabilization of Goulart's public image and openly called for military intervention.

In 1963, the Rio de Janeiro radio stations *Jornal do Brasil*, *Globo*, and *Tupi*, together with hundreds of affiliated broadcasters, created the *Rede da Democracia* (Democracy Network), an initiative designed to provide a platform for opponents of the Goulart government. Among those given voice were members of the União Democrática Nacional (UDN) and actors linked to the IBAD-IPES complex—the Brazilian Institute of Democratic Action (*Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática*) and the Institute for Research and Social Studies (*Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Sociais*)—which financed the campaigns of anti-communist candidates (Carvalho, 2013).

In 1964, the majority of the mainstream press aligned itself with business interests that feared the *reformas de base* (basic reforms) and, consequently, supported the civil-military coup (Dantas, 2014). At the time of the coup, most newspaper owners adhered to economic liberalism and identified with the União Democrática Nacional (UDN), the political party that, in conjunction with the military, conspired against the Goulart government. The proprietors of the country's major periodicals—*O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP), *O Globo* (OG), and *Gazeta Mercantil* (GM)—were affiliated with the UDN (Abreu, 2006).

From 1963 onward, *Jornal do Brasil's* political stance became increasingly explicit, as reflected in its sustained attacks on the public image of the Goulart government. Alberto Dines, the newspaper's editor-in-chief between 1961 and 1973, together with other journalists on the staff, also positioned himself in opposition to the government. Dines observed that *Jornal do Brasil* portrayed Goulart as an 'anti-legalist', an interpretation shared by other press outlets, including *Correio da Manhã* (Abreu, 2006).

The positioning adopted by *Jornal do Brasil* (JB) unfolded within a context marked by the growing prominence of popular agendas associated with the *reformas de base* (basic reforms), which the newspaper denounced as populist initiatives intended to mobilize the masses and foment disorder, thereby enabling the president to remain in power. However, no evidence was ever produced to substantiate the alleged reelectionist intentions attributed to Goulart.

The analysis focuses on the editorials published on the opinion page, as illustrated in Figure 1. This page acquired a fixed layout from 1963 onward and maintained it until 1975, when the column *Coisas da Política* (on the right) was replaced by political cartoons. The double-column editorials occupied the central portion of the page, positioned between the fixed triple-column *Coisas da Política* and the single-column sections on the left, which alternated among *Cartas dos Leitores* (letters from readers), the literary commentaries by Josué Montello, and the political notes by Mário Martins. Below *Coisas da Política*, an authorial triple-column section appeared, written primarily by journalists such as Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, Carlos A. Dunshee de Abranches, Tristão Athayde, Martins Alonso, Octavio Costa, Otto Engel, and L. G. Nascimento Silva.

The editorial is the journalistic genre that most clearly distinguishes itself from others. Bahia (1990, p. 98) defines it as expressing the "[...] voice of the owner; it is their point of view, what the publisher thinks and says." In this respect, the editorial may be understood as an engaged and informative text that articulates opinion, insofar as its purpose is to reflect upon, judge, or analyze selected events. This function endows it with a doctrinal character and a persuasive, direct style, distinguishing it from news reports, feature articles, interviews, or commentaries (Bahia, 1990).

Figure 1. *Jornal do Brasil*, April 4, 1968, p. 6, no. 308.

Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira (2024).

This article analyzes the symbolic representations articulated by *Jornal do Brasil* concerning the relations between students and the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship between 1964 and 1968. These representations depict interdependent and plural subjects occupying distinct positions of power within the figuration of formal schooling, thereby offering insights into the specificities of this relationship, which was marked by tension and dispute.

To this end, the study examined editorials published by the newspaper between April 1, 1964, and December 14, 1968, the day following the enactment of Institutional Act No. 5, when the publication of editorials was suspended. Editorials and political columns resumed circulation only on January 3, 1969. In total, 1,464 editions were consulted in the *Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira* (Brazilian Digital Newspaper Library), associated with the National Library, and 303 editorials addressing issues related to formal education—such as schools, illiteracy, student demonstrations, students, and government—were identified.

The analysis of the editorials reveals, as an initial observation, a quantitative increase from 1966 onward, with particular emphasis on 1968, as illustrated in Figure 2. This expansion in editorial production parallels the growing prominence and frequency of the topic in other sections of the newspaper, such as front pages, columns, news items, photographs, reports, and feature articles, and is directly related to the intensification of student social practices, including public demonstrations and confrontations with state authorities.

Within the editorials, it was possible to identify recurring themes, track the trajectory of the educational debate, examine social practices and myths surrounding formal education, and analyze, over time, the relations of interdependence between students and the civil-military dictatorship. To this end, the article highlights how these debates are articulated with social habitus, the socio-historical context, violence, the conquest of public space, and the tensions between established groups and outsiders.

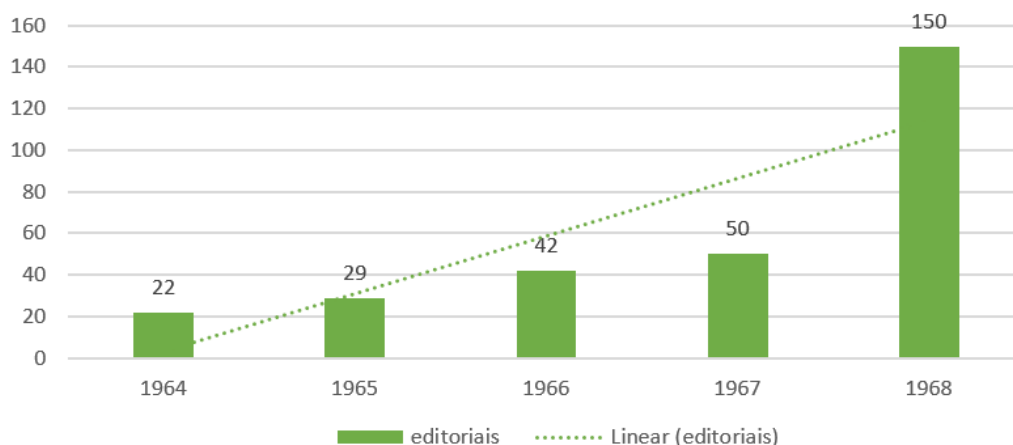


Figure 2. Number of *Jornal do Brasil* editorials on education (1964-1968).

Source: Authors (2024), based on editorials consulted in issues of *Jornal do Brasil* available in Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira (2024).

The Educational Campaign in the Editorials of *Jornal do Brasil*

In addition to relying on coercion, the civil–military dictatorship was also concerned with securing its legitimacy (Rezende, 2013; Ridenti, 2014). Its members and supporters asserted their commitment to democracy and reform in an effort to construct an appearance of normality. *Jornal do Brasil*, while contributing to the formation of this idealized image, also addressed political and socioeconomic agendas that diverged from those advanced by the dictatorial governments. Thus, although the newspaper aligned itself with the civil–military dictatorship, it gradually opened space for criticism, albeit in a less emphatic manner than *Correio da Manhã* (Alvim, 1979). Such criticism, however, was not primarily directed at questioning the nature or existence of the dictatorship; rather, in many instances, the disputes revolved around disagreements over political priorities and policy agendas.

In developing its educational campaign through editorials, *Jornal do Brasil* questioned how the ‘1964 Revolution’, endowed with exceptional powers, would address the problem of education. The newspaper advocated the adoption of educational models drawn from developed countries, particularly the United States. In the editorial *Revolução básica* (1964), it argued that educational reform should constitute one of the historical hallmarks of the ‘Revolution’, given that the Republic had neither embraced nor demonstrated a sustained commitment to education, a failure presented as a cause of national underdevelopment. Similarly, in *Revolução e Educação* (1964), *Jornal do Brasil* reiterated the view that education needed to occupy a central place if Brazil were to become a ‘great nation’ and attain international ‘influence’.

The marginalization produced by the lack of schooling and by unequal access to education was embedded in Brazilian social habitus. From the perspective of Elias and Dunning (1992), the concept of social habitus is employed in place of ‘culture’ to designate automatic and socially valued behaviors characterized by a high degree of self-control. Although such behaviors may appear to be the product of individual free will (Elias, 1994), social habitus is constituted through patterns of behavior learned over time and internalized by individuals and by the collectivity, forming what Norbert Elias describes as a ‘second nature’. Complementing this understanding, Dunning and Mennell (1997) conceptualize habitus as embodied social knowledge, shaped by both continuity and change.

In the 1960s, primary education enrolled only eight million students nationwide (Paiva, 1990). By 1965, secondary education accounted for approximately two million enrollments (Romanelli, 1986), while in 1964 the university student population was limited to 142,000 students (Motta, 2014). During this same period, the illiteracy rate reached 39.5% (Paiva, 1990).

In 1964, during its initial phase, the regime was criticized for concentrating almost exclusively on repression while neglecting reforms. *Jornal do Brasil* argued that education had been undermined under the deposed government (*Revolução e Educação*, 1964). The reforms advocated in this context called for a differentiated mode of integration through schooling.

At the end of 1964, the festive atmosphere of the holiday season was permeated by frustration with a ‘Revolution’ that had failed to produce positive outcomes in the field of education (*Educação eleitoral*, 1964). Editorials such as *Perspectivas sombrias* (1965), *Drama da educação* (1965), *Caso de angústia* (1965), *Educação*

clandestina (1965), *Recursos estéreis* (1965), *Retrocesso* (1965), *Falência do ensino* (1965), and *Inépcia e obstinação* (1965) collectively evoke the notion of a longstanding tradition marked by the absence of a passion for education and by persistent state neglect.

The editorials point to schooled figurations characterized by an aesthetics of lack (*estética da falta*) (Veiga, 2022), that is, they are defined by what they do not possess or by what they are not (*Recursos estéreis*, 1965). In *Oferta de ensino* (1965) and *Consciência educacional* (1965), the editorials urge the Revolution not to accept the bleak projections for 1970, which forecast the persistence of a shortage of school places and high illiteracy rates.

In the editorials, the university is closely associated with socioeconomic development and is regarded as fundamental to the regime's project of conservative modernization (Motta, 2014; Reis Filho, 2014b). Initially, *Jornal do Brasil* held that change should proceed from the top down and aligned itself with the government's proposal, which prioritized investment in higher education (*Revelações do óbvio*, 1964).

However, as the problems caused by the increased demand for public secondary education and by the middle class's difficulties in remaining in private schools became evident, given the constant rises in tuition fees and the cost of school materials, along with the poor quality of instruction, the newspaper reconsidered its stance in editorials such as *Tempo perdido* (1965), *Grita artificial* (1966), and *Educação obsoleta* (1966), advocating for tuition-free secondary education rather than free higher education.

It is observed that the principal obstacle to the democratization of secondary education resided in the fact that nearly half of this level of schooling was confined to private provision, which offered low-quality education inaccessible to the majority of the population. In light of this situation, *Jornal do Brasil* denounced such marginalization as a form of discrimination against a large segment of society, particularly young people who had completed primary education but lacked the financial means to continue their studies and who, according to the newspaper, constituted the target audience for technical education (*Preparo profissional*, 1966).

From this point onward, secondary-level technical education assumed greater prominence within the educational campaign. The editorial *Preparo profissional* (1966, p. 6) presented this modality as an alternative for young people with “[...] insufficient resources to continue their studies.” It also criticized the middle class's social prejudice against technical and vocational education, attributing such resistance to the historical valorization of *bacharelismo*.

In support of technical careers, the newspaper promoted the view that such pathways would be “[...] less demanding in terms of duration and curricula [...]” and would thus make it possible to avoid “[...] creating more places for degree-holders” (*Vestibulares*, 1967, p. 6; *Excedentes*, 1967, p. 6). The alleged ‘overproduction of bachelor's degrees’ was a recurrent target of criticism in the editorials, which argued that, within higher education, “[...] 50 percent of students were enrolled in Law, Philosophy, and Social Sciences”—fields that, according to the newspaper, belonged to the “[...] realm of vagueness [...]” and were the product of a “[...] formalist secondary education [...]” that failed to prepare students for programs such as Medicine and Engineering (*Educação*, 1967, p. 6).

From early 1965 onward, *Jornal do Brasil* emphasized the need to qualify the workforce at three differentiated levels—skilled, technical-professional, and scientific—while urging business leaders to invest in the educational sector in view of the potential financial returns of such investment. The newspaper argued that education should “[...] precede needs and even stimulate industrialization [...]” as a pathway to achieving progress (*Atos e palavras*, 1965, p. 6).

Technical education is directly connected to another recurring theme: the surplus of university applicants. It was presented as a solution to alleviate both the intense competition for limited university places and the demand for qualified labor. Cunha (2014) examines this issue by arguing that the growing reliance on the university diploma became the principal mechanism of social mobility for the middle class, which, after 1964, aligned itself with the dictatorship and exerted pressure for the expansion of higher education programs—a process already underway since the 1950s. Confronted with the inability of public higher education to absorb all applicants and constrained by budgetary limitations, the government advanced the professionalization of secondary education as a strategy to curb this demand by offering vocational qualifications oriented toward the labor market, albeit without concrete data to substantiate such a need.

Even so, from the outset of the dictatorship, *Jornal do Brasil* propagated the belief that the market demanded technical-level professionals, emphasizing that “[...] technicians were sought after by private companies and by the public administration” (*Reforma universitária*, 1965, p. 6). Although the newspaper endorsed the government's agenda to strengthen technical education, it also questioned the absence of

concrete implementation and the insufficiency of investment in this sector. *Jornal do Brasil* maintained that, despite the acknowledged need for such professionals, technical education remained in the same condition of deprivation as it had been prior to the civil–military dictatorship (*Atos e palavras*, 1965).

Souza's (1981) study examines the role of the IPES (Institute for Research and Social Studies) in the formulation of educational policies, highlighting its reaction to the escalation of student protests in 1968, which led to the drafting of the document *A educação que nos convém* ('the education that suits us'), intended to defend the political-ideological interests of the business sector. The author concludes that the educational reform proposals advanced by IPES encompassed the professionalization of secondary education, the selectivity of higher education aimed at the formation of elites, and the promotion of the belief in equal opportunities at the secondary and higher levels through scholarships awarded to 'the most capable'.

Brazilian business leaders shared with *Jornal do Brasil* and the government a common perspective that prioritized the differentiation of education and the dissemination of social beliefs intended to sustain this approach as a solution to the student and educational crisis. Germano (1993, p. 129) underscores that IPES played a decisive role in shaping an educational model designed to "[...] serve the social development of Brazilian enterprise [...]" by promoting a direct linkage between education and the labor market, advocating fee-based education, rationalizing the educational system, and advancing the professionalization of secondary education, thus anticipating guidelines that would later be institutionalized in Law No. 5.692 (1971).

In both the editorials and the government's proposals for educational reform, there is a clear emphasis on addressing university-related issues, which increasingly occupied space in the press and frequently permeated the discourse of public authorities. This prioritization is associated with the greater power gradient of the middle class, which was able to exert pressure for the expansion of its educational opportunities, in contrast to the limited influence of poor and illiterate children. For this reason, the editorial campaign forcefully advocated the approval of the Executive's proposal to implement a full-time regime for university professors, linking this measure to the struggle against semi-illiteracy and subversion.

The president stressed that the professor's role was to preserve the normal functioning of teaching by preventing political interference (*Primado do ensino*, 1964; *Mestres e alunos*, 1964). The objective, therefore, was to train a full-time professor exclusively devoted to the university, who would thereby contribute to controlling student nonconformity and eliminating spaces of idleness. In this framing, the editorials depict students as subjects to be recovered, guided, and regenerated through models of authority or through educational incentives—such as full-time professors, laboratories, technology, travel opportunities, scholarships, facilities, materials, and books—designed to distance them from the political sphere.

In the editorials *Futuro Ameaçado* (1966) and *Sintoma* (1966), a central contradiction of the government is underscored: it demanded greater student dedication to academic pursuits while failing to implement reforms capable of genuinely improving education, such as expanding access, enhancing the quality of instruction, and renewing university governance. This criticism is likewise articulated in *Desacerto* (1966, p. 6), which asserted that the government "[...] has done nothing and seems not to know what to do [...]", despite holding "[...] exceptional powers [...]", thereby exposing its inertia in the educational domain. The newspaper's critiques highlight the absence of comprehensive projects and substantive reforms in national educational policy, noting instead the predominance of partial measures that ultimately reaffirmed the role of the civil–military dictatorship in safeguarding the existing socioeconomic order (Saviani, 2008). With regard to university policy, the lack of consensus over its direction, as Motta (2014) observes, generated a pervasive sense of anxiety.

The editorials *Os Reitores e as Pupilas* (1967), *Reitores e Promotores* (1967), *Ano da Ignorância* (1967), and *Demolidores da Educação* (1967) express a sense of disillusionment with a government that offered promises without corresponding action and with what was portrayed as a mediocre Ministry of Education. In 1968, the educational campaign increasingly concentrated on issues of higher education, which were depicted as problems that continued to multiply while their solutions were repeatedly deferred. Such representations are evident in editorials such as *A Resposta dos Moços* (1968), *Comportamento Coletivo* (1968), *Círculo de Giz* (1968), *Questão de Brio* (1968), and *Falência Universitária* (1968).

The educational system, framed as a problem, is characterized by the absence of "[...] access to schooling, [...] opportunities for study, [...] a traditional education policy [...]" and of "[...] alignment between government plans and popular response [...]", as well as by the "[...] lack of a secure outlook for opportunities in life, [...] the absence of guarantees for personal fulfillment [...]" and of "[...] participation in the life of the country

[...]”. These conditions are imposed through a process of “[...] narrowing of opportunities to study” (*Círculo de Giz*, 1968, p. 6; *Marcando Passo*, 1968, p. 6; *Líderes e Liderados*, 1968, p. 6). Taken together, these editorials emphasize that the civil–military dictatorship perpetuated a social habitus that marginalized individuals through the denial of educational access.

In the editorials, formal education is advocated as an instrument for “civilizing” Brazilians according to the standards of so-called “developed” countries, particularly following the U.S. model, and as a pathway toward the achievement of democracy. From the newspaper’s perspective, the lack of investment and the persistence of educational *deficiências*, stemming from the failure to treat education as a priority area, were integral to the social habitus perpetuated by the civil–military dictatorship.

The following section examines, through the representations articulated by *Jornal do Brasil*, key aspects that characterize the dynamics of the relationship between the civil–military dictatorship and university students during the initial moments of the establishment of this new political regime. It considers both the newspaper’s editorial interpretation of this relationship and the impact of political and social actions on shifts in the periodical’s perspectives.

The Use of Violence and the Estrangement between Students and the Civil-Military Dictatorship

The first editorial on education published after the civil–military coup, *Educação e Política* (1964), accused the Goulart government of instrumentalizing education for political purposes through the Ministry of Education and the National Student Union (*União Nacional dos Estudantes* – UNE), which were depicted as contaminating educational institutions with political continuity and communism. The editorial advocated a ‘democratic’ educational program, defined as “[...] an education policy rather than political education” (*Educação e Política*, 1964, p. 6). Similarly, in *A effigie* (1964), the newspaper reinforced the view that, instead of coercing society, it was necessary to reconquer and persuade student organizations, as well as workers and peasants affected by the ‘Revolution’.

The editorial stance soon made it evident that university students occupied a privileged position within the context of formal education, being regarded as the country’s most educated segment and as agents of the future and of development. They were viewed as individuals with the potential to attain higher social positions, given their access to resources and to a social space that most of the population at the time could not reach. In this sense, university students constituted an established group within the schooled spheres.

The projection of the university student’s image as a figure associated with the possibility of success rendered this position desirable to many outsiders, those located outside university figurations and, in some cases, even beyond the school system, as well as respected by a broad segment of society that sought to benefit from the social functions these individuals were expected to perform. Moreover, the university occupied a central place in the civil–military dictatorship’s project of conservative modernization, which, in turn, maintained a significant degree of dependence upon it.

The civil–military dictatorship described itself as a ‘Revolution’, claiming popular support in its struggle against corruption, communism, and subversion, while simultaneously promising profound transformations (*Árvore Secular*, 1967). However, the neglect of educational reforms (*Marcando Passo*, 1968) and the expansion of student mobilizations—although led by a minority within the university population—succeeded in engaging different sectors of society in opposition to the regime and its representatives. These dynamics contradicted the official discourse and undermined the consolidation of the regime’s legitimacy.

As noted, students were established within the school system; however, in the political sphere, a segment of this group became outsiders as the expansion of state control curtailed their autonomy, marginalizing them from political organization, public policy formulation, and decision-making processes. This occurred because the student idealized by the dictatorship, beyond remaining a fundamental element in sustaining the social myth of formal education as a civilizing instrument capable of promoting equality and resolving socioeconomic problems, was also expected, within the prevailing context, to exhibit behaviors aligned with dictatorial values such as order, discipline, morality, depoliticization, and obedience to established authorities.

In this context, the first government of the civil–military dictatorship prioritized the implementation of repressive measures aimed at dismantling political organizations and criminalizing opposition students and those with political aspirations (*Política estudantil*, 1965, p. 6). The violence employed in the immediate

aftermath of 1964 was regarded by *Jornal do Brasil* as necessary; however, the continued reliance on physical coercion was not fully endorsed, as it contributed to the construction of a negative image of both the country and the new regime, which in its discourse claimed to uphold democratic principles. Moreover, repressive actions within the university environment intensified conflicts between the government and students, mobilizing other actors and social groups that engaged in movements of support and solidarity, thereby appearing to strengthen the resistance of opposition university students to the civil–military dictatorship.

At this juncture, the newspaper's criticism of the violence directed at students was embedded within a process of transformation in its editorial line which, following the enactment of Institutional Act No. 2, led to an intensification of opinion pieces adopting a more critical stance toward government actions. The government was accused of fostering social instability through the proliferation of Institutional and Complementary Acts, as well as of disregarding democratic rituals. In this context, the newspaper began to advocate a democratic transition. This critical posture, however, was neither continuous nor rigid, but rather interspersed with more moderate editorials that reflected moments of retreat.

Institutional Act No. 2 made explicit the continuity of the civil–military dictatorship, standing in contrast to the provisional character that *Jornal do Brasil* had previously emphasized as a central element in legitimizing the so-called 'Revolution', a feature also deemed essential by the broader group of liberal supporters of the coup, including the mainstream press. Napolitano (2017) contributes to the understanding of this process by observing that the civilian right favored a purifying and moderate dictatorship, yet did not seek the consolidation of an institutionalized authoritarian regime with no clearly defined endpoint.

Unlike *Correio da Manhã*, which quickly broke with the civil–military dictatorship by interpreting Institutional Act No. 1 as a betrayal of constitutional values (Napolitano, 2017), *Jornal do Brasil* maintained a predominantly supportive stance, articulating more forceful criticism only after Institutional Act No. 2, when liberal sectors began to distance themselves from the regime.

Between 1964 and 1965, the disillusionment of liberal sectors, combined with what came to be termed 'cultural terrorism'—characterized by political persecution, police and military investigations, censorship, and reactionary discourse—drove even students who did not identify with left-wing orientations away from the government (Martins Filho, 2007). The primary targets of this process were students, workers, artists, journalists, and intellectuals. The expression 'cultural terrorism', coined by *Jornal do Brasil* columnist and writer Athayde (1964), circulated widely between 1964 and 1966 and was appropriated by students, journalists, and opponents of the civil–military dictatorship as a means of denouncing repression. The concept extended beyond the university environment and came to permeate everyday life.

This intensification of authoritarianism came into conflict with emerging tendencies such as the reduction of fear toward authorities (Wouters, 2009), the expansion of legal equality, and the narrowing of power differentials between rulers and the ruled (Elias, 2006). Dissatisfaction with processes of marginalization, combined with the escalation of authoritarian practices, generated the tensions that shaped power struggles between authorities and students, transforming this figuration into a site of political and social contestation that extended beyond the walls of educational institutions.

In 1965, the debate over University Reform, an issue present on the political agenda since before the Jânio Quadros administration, was taken up once again and became one of the central banners of the educational campaign in the editorials. Within the framework of this reform, the depoliticization of students was identified as a priority. This issue asserted itself on the national political and editorial agenda, particularly following the proposal known as the Suplicy Law, which sought to abolish student organizations. Its objective was to control or demobilize the contestatory and oppositional student figuration, as well as to prevent its influence over other social groups.

The government advised students who possessed a political vocation to seek affiliation with political parties or to organize their own political groups, but not to do so as members of student councils supported by public funds. Students were not prohibited from engaging in politics per se; rather, they were forbidden from transforming the student body into a political organization (*Estudantes e ministros*, 1964, p. 6).

As reflected in its editorials, *Jornal do Brasil* advocated distancing students from political activities, restricting their demands exclusively to educational matters. In an effort to consolidate this control over students, the Minister of Education implemented the Suplicy Law, which was widely rejected by the university community and ultimately became a symbol of the reorganization of the student movement (Martins Filho, 2007; Sanfelice, 2007). The students' reaction, combined with the growing consolidation of a negative image

of the civil–military dictatorship resulting from political persecution, took the government by surprise (Martins Filho, 2007).

During the second invasion of the University of Brasília by the Military Police amid a strike against the authoritarianism of the university administration, students and professors were subjected to physical violence. In *Impasse a gravar* (1965), the episode is described as having been condemned by society and as having generated solidarity in other universities. Ultimately, it was asserted that “[...] there has thus far been a mismatch between Revolution and Education in Brazil” (*Modernização universitária*, 1966, p. 6).

At the Federal University of Santa Maria, *Jornal do Brasil* praised the educational concepts articulated by President Castello Branco, which defined universities as ‘laboratories of solutions’ and linked their function to national development. In contrast, however, the newspaper also argued that, despite the quality of these diagnoses and concepts, the government needed to move toward concrete reformist action, as reality revealed that educational issues were being addressed primarily through measures such as the repression of striking students, allegations of subversive politicization, shortages in educational provision, conflicts with faculty, problems related to tuition fees, high failure rates, vocational mismatches, and other related concerns (*Desafio sem proposta*, 1966).

The absence of substantive educational reforms was associated with the liberal values underpinning Castello Branco’s economic policy and, consequently, with a broader commitment to fiscal restraint. Within the government itself, there were impasses between anti-reformist factions, which advocated the withdrawal of the State from its role as provider to universities, and reformist sectors, which resisted such measures (Motta, 2014).

The mandatory payment of tuition fees proposed by the government was implemented in several institutions, with the Federal University of Minas Gerais being the first to adopt the measure. This policy generated conflicts within the student community, which intensified in Belo Horizonte and rapidly spread to other regions of the country (*Modernização universitária*, 1966). Subsequently, students at the National School of Philosophy launched a strike in protest against the imposition of tuition fees. Since 1965, the newspaper had defended the charging of tuition, arguing that the indiscriminate gratuity of higher education constituted an undemocratic and discriminatory practice that perpetuated the privileges of a minority (*Inversão de valores*, 1966).

The struggle for free higher education persisted and became intertwined with other student demands, including freedom of expression and assembly and an end to violence against students. These protests gained momentum in response to the repressive posture of police forces and university authorities, who reacted to demonstrations held both on university campuses and in the streets with violent repression, including beatings, sieges, arrests, expulsions, suspensions, expropriations, budget cuts, campus invasions, bans on meetings and demonstrations, and restrictions on freedom of expression.

Students rapidly adapted to the constraints imposed by the dictatorship, consolidating themselves as the principal force of opposition to the civil–military regime (Martins Filho, 2007). In 1966, a wave of student protests marked by growing articulation and sustained by a sense of solidarity and nonconformity, spread throughout the country and, on several occasions, garnered the support of other segments of society, including intellectuals, members of the clergy, lawyers, popular sectors, and politicians.

Within this context, *Jornal do Brasil* criticized the indifference and ineptitude of the authorities, who proved unable to devise practical solutions to the educational crisis (*Falência do Ensino*, 1965). In *Incompetência subversiva* (1966, p. 6), the government was accused of failing to heed the grievances of “[...] students who want to study.” Over time, the persistence of this detachment from what the newspaper described as “[...] legitimate student aspirations [...]” (*Líderes e Liderados*, 1968, p. 6) gave rise to accusations of the “[...] omission of the 1964 Revolution [...]” in the face of the country’s largest wave of “[...] student insubordination [...]” (*Revolta*, 1968, p. 6).

The recurrent street demonstrations are portrayed by the newspaper as sources of anxiety and insecurity, understood as reflections of a weakened political system marked by indirect and restricted elections and limited opportunities for participation (*Sintoma*, 1966). In this way, the newspaper advances a dual critique, condemning both government repression and inertia on the one hand, and student agitation on the other, while simultaneously defending the need to impose authority in order to restore order, which was deemed essential to the existence of society and the nation. Within this framework, the periodical argues that educational reforms can only be implemented under conditions of order (*Tumulto estudantil*, 1966; *Hora de agir*, 1966).

At the close of the extended period in August 1966, the editorials *Hora de Agir* (1966) and *Ponto Final* (1966) drew attention to student demonstrations occurring in several centers across the country, including Goiás,

Brasília, Guanabara, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. *Batalha perdida* (1966) portrayed the climate of emotional turmoil surrounding education, marked by feelings of demotivation and frustration. In assessing the educational record of the Castello Branco government, *Jornal do Brasil* concluded that its net outcome had been an increased distance between those 'responsible for power' and the 'new generation of schools', accompanied by an intensification of protests.

The expansion and persistence of these demonstrations across various faculties and student organizations, whether official or informal—particularly from March 1966 onward—led *Jornal do Brasil*'s editorials to portray protesting students in an increasingly negative light. In the newspaper's interpretation, student demonstrations came to be viewed as a risk to order, fostered by the spread of a climate of unrest and threat that evoked the period preceding the civil-military coup.

This claim-making conduct of students who chose to confront a civil-military dictatorship that held the official monopoly of force indicates that, at this moment, a segment of the student body no longer displayed fear in demanding resources that had been denied to them, such as freedom, space, access, dialogue, participation, and rights.

Since the end of 1964, the National Student Union (*União Nacional dos Estudantes* – UNE), which led the student movement, was officially dissolved by the dictatorship and forced into clandestinity. Since 1957, the organization had gained prominence through its engagement with issues of national relevance, such as the campaign for the creation of Petrobras and the defense of legality in 1961. Prior to the coup, its political and social activities had been permitted and were often carried out in collaboration with state authorities.

During the João Goulart administration, some of the demands advanced by student organizations were accommodated, and several of their activists even assumed official positions (Motta, 2014). Throughout this period, the UNE maintained sustained public and political activity until the government's overthrow. Its participation in the national-popular front was active, aimed at expanding student involvement and promoting free public education (Martins Filho, 2018). In the 1963 plebiscite, for instance, the UNE campaigned for a 'NO' vote against parliamentarism and in defense of presidentialism (Azevedo, 2010), while also taking part in the rally of March 13, 1964.

Thus, student demands during the dictatorship were primarily directed toward reclaiming spaces and resources of power that had been previously lost. In this process, it becomes evident that left-wing students engaged in the protests sustained ideas, behaviors, and values inherited from earlier periods, precisely those that the civil-military dictatorship sought to eradicate. To this end, the regime attempted to distance these young people from positions of influence that afforded them greater power, freedom, and autonomy. This strategy was intended to preserve control over power by excluding those who openly questioned the regime's values, foundations, and legitimacy. This confrontation ultimately shaped the dynamics of the relationship between the government and the student movement.

Here, power is understood from the perspective of Elias (2018), who defines it as a structural characteristic of human relations and, therefore, as inherently relational. Power is linked to capacity for action and to relations of dependency: when individuals are more dependent on others than those others are on them, the latter hold greater power. In this sense, the relationship between established groups and outsiders was marked by a pronounced asymmetry of power.

It is undeniable that university figurations and student organizations were highly dependent on the State, which controlled financial resources, the coercive apparatus, laws, and institutions, thereby concentrating broad decision-making capacity. Although university students constituted a social minority, their remarkable capacity for pressure and mobilization is noteworthy; even with significantly limited power, they were able to influence society and the civil-military dictatorship, affecting political and educational decisions. The effects of these student pressures warrant consideration and, although they are not examined in depth in this article, they have been addressed more extensively in studies such as those by Motta (2014) and Valle (2008).

In the editorials, there is a clear concern regarding the effects that the disregard for democratic rituals and the acts of violence performed by the civil-military dictatorship could have on the country's international image, distancing it from an 'ideal image of itself' as a nation aspiring to be perceived as 'civilized'. The newspaper expressed a strong interest in preserving the appearance of 'democratic normality' through the maintenance of legal and institutional rituals, and the failure to observe these elements created space for criticism of the government.

Beyond the actions of the dictatorship itself, *Jornal do Brasil*'s agenda points to another characteristic of Brazilian social habitus: conservative authoritarianism, which, according to Fausto (2001), manifests within

the State through practices aimed at suppressing the contentious mobilization of social groups and centralizing political decision-making. This latent authoritarian tendency intensified and spread throughout society and social relations as the civil–military dictatorship consolidated.

Considering this tendency and drawing on the established–outsiders analytical category proposed by Elias and Scotson (2000), the dynamics of the relationship between university students and the government are examined through *Jornal do Brasil*'s representations in order to apprehend their specific features within a context marked by power imbalance.

The Dynamics of Stigmatization and the Struggle for the Domination of Space

Since 1964, *Jornal do Brasil* repeatedly emphasized the authoritarian posture and the inability of the then Minister of Education, Flávio Suplicy de Lacerda, to negotiate with students and to address educational problems. This tension stemmed from the fact that the characteristics of both the ministry and the regime conflicted with the claim-making nature of the student movements, which remained aligned with practices and conceptions developed in the early 1960s—a period marked, according to Sanfelice (2007), by the emergence of the popular masses and their agendas.

The students' negotiation strategies were grounded in mass mobilizations, a form of action that consolidated after the end of Getúlio Vargas's dictatorship and gained strength during the government of João Goulart.

This type of pressure, which became increasingly frequent, came into conflict with the dictatorship's discourse centered on the defense of unity, order, and purported popular support. In this context, attempts at conciliation became even more difficult, as a segment of the protesting students demanded an end to the dictatorial regime and encouraged the broader population to mobilize against the government.

Throughout much of Castello Branco's government, both the Minister of Education and the administration itself showed little willingness to adopt flexible positions that might foster dialogue and negotiation, opting instead for an approach grounded in repression and the disregard of the political demands and mobilizations of opposition students. Within this context of deadlock, the editorials sought to underscore the need for the government to draw distinctions among university students.

Students who aligned themselves with the government's ideas or refrained from positioning themselves in opposition to it were labeled—and also self-identified—as 'authentic' or 'democratic' students. These students did not confront the civil–military dictatorship, did not participate in left-wing organizations, and avoided involvement in political conflicts, restricting their activities to academic matters. According to the government, there was room for dialogue with such students, who accepted the imposed frameworks, although, in practice, this 'dialogue' assumed the form of a monologue, confined to a minority and yielding no concrete outcomes capable of addressing the broader demands of the student community.

By contrast, the outsiders were students who, following the Goulart government, lost their positions of prestige and were marginalized from participation in national public life. This exclusion was justified by accusations that they used public resources for communist indoctrination and propaganda, as well as for fostering the breakdown of hierarchy and the spread of disorder (*Revolução e educação*, 1964; *Estudantes sem bandeira*, 1966).

From 1966 onward, in the face of the expansion of street demonstrations and the occupation of university buildings in various regions of the country, Minister Moniz de Aragão began to adopt a discourse of openness to dialogue, including attempts to negotiate with more insubordinate student groups and leaders—the outsiders. However, the government's inflexible posture, which had already refused to heed student demands in 1964, continued to reveal its unwillingness to accept pressure and its rejection of demands considered essential by these students, such as the repeal of the Suplicy Law and the cessation of student arrests. Combined with the ongoing use of police violence, surveillance, and the repressive actions of the DOPS, these factors prevented such initiatives from culminating in conciliatory agreements and perpetuated the cycle of protest and repression.

The editorials sought to emphasize the differentiation among university students, separating them into outsiders and 'established' groups. To reinforce this distinction, they reaffirmed the stigmatization of a segment of the student body, in alignment with the stance adopted by the authorities of the civil-military dictatorship. According to Elias and Scotson (2000), stigmatization intensifies when an unstable balance of power threatens the lifestyle and values of the established group.

Stigmatization operates as a mechanism through which negative attributes, such as disorder and unreliability, are ascribed to outsiders in order to devalue them, thereby contributing to the creation and maintenance of inequalities and to the control of positions of power. In this sense, it is essential to underscore the contempt directed toward these groups. The effectiveness of stigmas is directly related to the degree of social legitimation enjoyed by established groups and to the limited capacity for reaction among outsiders. Ultimately, this practice serves to facilitate the exclusion of outsiders from positions with greater potential for influence.

The editorials argued that the government could not pursue a policy that threatened all students and therefore needed to differentiate among them. They maintained that the majority consisted of what were termed the ‘studious youth’, students of ‘good standing’, those who enjoyed the ‘esteem of society’. Moreover, these students were portrayed as victims of other students characterized as “[...] opportunists, [...] a mafia of intimidation, coercion, and terror within universities [...]”, who prevented the “[...] true students [...]” from studying in an orderly manner—a practice that, according to the newspaper, represented the “[...] beginning of all civilized action” (*Perspectivas Sombrias*, 1965, p. 6).

Thus, individuals belonging to the established group were perceived—and perceived themselves—as the ‘minority of the best’, believing that their superior power reflected a higher intrinsic human value. On the basis of this presumed superiority, they sought to exclude the opposing group and to avoid social contact with outsiders, who were defined as the ‘minority of the worst’, those who do not share, and often challenge, the values of the established group, for whom unquestionability is essential to cohesion and the maintenance of power (Elias & Scotson, 2000).

It is necessary to highlight that a substantial proportion of students originated from the middle classes, within which there were sectors that supported both the coup and the civil–military dictatorship. In this regard, Napolitano (2017), in his analysis of the positions adopted by major newspapers, observes that the student question was a particularly sensitive issue for the middle-class readership of these outlets. *Jornal do Brasil*, for instance, while defending the protests of surplus youths seeking access to universities, simultaneously associated a significant portion of student demonstrations with disorder and subversion. Nevertheless, the stances of the mainstream press were not homogeneous, as evidenced by *Correio da Manhã*, which expressed full support for student protests, and *O Estado de S. Paulo (Estadão)*, which adopted a critical and hostile position toward them (Valle, 2008).

Meanwhile, *Jornal do Brasil*, as noted, adopted a differentiated approach, avoiding sweeping generalizations. Editorial representations came to divide university students into two groups: a ‘majority’, composed of those who shared the social codes of the established group, and a ‘minority’, formed by anomic individuals (the outsiders) who rejected the imposed rules. Nevertheless, the opinions expressed in these editorials suggested that both groups should remain confined to the boundaries of educational institutions, focused on demands for improvements within the university. They were thus assigned the role of agents oriented toward economic and moral development and deliberately distanced themselves from broader social problems and from the spheres of political decision-making.

Students identified as the ‘minority’ were accused of appropriating ‘legitimate demands’ of an educational nature in order to transform the ‘majority’ of students into a ‘mass to be manipulated’, mobilized for political purposes and power struggles. According to the newspaper, the apparent success of this ‘minority’ in mobilizing the student body was attributed to the persistence of structural problems within universities, characterized by deterioration and conservatism, which rendered young people more susceptible to mobilization (*Incompetência subversiva*, 1966). This line of argument reinforced the notion that youth rebellion stemmed from idleness and from the absence of educational activities capable of keeping students engaged within educational institutions.

Despite constituting a minority and privileged group, with access to resources that enabled the continuation of schooling, university students were composed of diverse subjects and occupied the position of outsiders in relation to the State. Many had lost positions of influence or autonomy, while others, despite the power associated with their middle-class origins, were highly dependent on the government to maintain or consolidate their presence within the university environment. Moreover, they were subject to constant coercion exercised through the legal monopoly of violence controlled by the civil–military dictatorship.

President Costa e Silva, concerned with public popularity, assumed power with promises of openness and tolerance, despite being supported by leaders of the military right (Motta, 2014). The Ministry of Education was entrusted to the jurist Tarso Dutra. In the March 1967 editorials *Solução Imediata* and *Solução Racional*,

the president's commitment to resolving, in the short term, the problem of surplus students, those who had passed entrance examinations but were unable to enroll due to insufficient capacity, was emphasized.

The President decreed the enrollment of all surplus students; however, universities claimed a lack of budgetary resources to accommodate them (Motta, 2014). Still addressing the issue of surplus students, the April 1967 editorials *Cruzada Nacional*, *Educação e Liberdade*, *Nome em Cruz*, and *Participação Estudantil* proposed a national educational campaign that would rely on the participation and collaboration of the productive and business classes to address educational problems.

Even after the dictatorial government signaled an attempt at rapprochement by forwarding studies aimed at modernizing universities, students returned to the streets of Rio de Janeiro (*Abertura*, 1966). Although the new administration gestured toward dialogue with students, the concealment of the content of the agreements between the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) triggered anti-imperialist and nationalist protests. The Minister of Education reaffirmed that he would not withdraw from the agreements and stated to students that 'the entire country may go on strike, even with support from other countries'. Opposition students who contested the agreements were characterized by the newspaper as "[...] activist minorities [...]", and their position was described as "[...] exaggerated, [...] senseless [...]" and as "[...] political hysteria" (*O complexo*, 1967, p. 6).

In May 1967, student mobilizations resumed. The June 1967 editorials *A Universidade*, *Terra de ninguém*, and *Espírito universitário* highlighted clashes between students and the police in the streets of several cities across the country. These events were downplayed by being portrayed as practices that were "[...] monotonous, [...] futile, [...] tedious, [...] not serious [...]" and "[...] not student-like" (*Os falsos pretextos*, 1967, p. 6).

The image of 'undisciplined' and 'disorderly' students is contrasted with that of students portrayed as victims whose rights were violated because they were prevented from studying as a result of the protests. This dynamic of stigmatization sought to paralyze the actions of outsiders by devaluing them as individuals and delegitimizing their claims, thereby creating a favorable environment for the production of doubt, opposition, and division within the student body.

The editorials also sought, through processes of differentiation, to employ stigmatization as a means of separating the established from the outsiders, an action that would effectively weaken the student movement by fostering internal divisions. Within the established-outsiders relationship, outsiders are constructed as anomic actors, defined by their alleged disregard for norms, and contact with them is portrayed as exposing members of the established group to an 'anomic infection', thereby rendering them individuals of lesser value. This perceived contamination was understood as potentially undermining social status and leading to exclusion from the established group. Such an argument functions to encourage the "[...] avoidance of any closer social contact with members of the outsider group" (Elias & Scotson, 2000, p. 26).

In *Formas mais altas* (1967), there is an emphasis on the notion that violence, albeit exercised to differing degrees, was shared by both the dictatorship and the students, suggesting that it constituted an element inherent to the communicative relationship within this figuration. In *Agitação e desmoralização* (1967, p. 6), the violence and disorder allegedly generated by student protests are further underscored: 'Students protest, hold marches, erect barricades, and confront the police'. Similarly, in *Caso de polícia* (1967), the newspaper explicitly called for police repression against students in Guanabara, who were accused of acts of vandalism during demonstrations against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the MEC/USAID agreements.

In October 1967, in response to the concentration of students in front of the Ministry of Education (MEC), the newspaper adopted an unequivocal stance: "[...] we have attacked in these columns the student demonstrations of disorder and defiance of authority" (*Desafio e Impunidade*, 1967, p. 6). In this editorial, the occupation of the streets is depicted through images of immobilized vehicles, shouting, jeering, speeches, barricades, physical clashes, and an unpoliced city. The article also describes banners and placards bearing slogans opposing the payment of tuition fees and the MEC-USAID agreements.

In 1968, there was a significant increase in the number of editorials devoted to education, with some days seeing the publication of up to three texts exclusively on the subject. This emphasis and continuity of the educational campaign in *Jornal do Brasil* accompanied the intensification of student mobilizations. This escalation of demonstrations, perceived as a threat to the established order, was accused of showing disregard for private property, the economy, freedom of movement, and workers.

On March 30, 1968, the editorials *A Morte* (1968), *Inércia* (1968), and *A Exploração* (1968) examined the student mobilizations and the death of Edson Luís de Lima Souto, a student who was shot in the heart by the

Military Police during a public demonstration demanding fair pricing and improvements at the student restaurant known as Calabouço, in Rio de Janeiro.

The editorial highlights a statement by General Niemeyer, head of the executive police: “The youths had greater ‘firepower’ than the police” (*A Morte*, 1968, p. 6, author’s emphasis). It also asserts that the students had only stones with which to respond to the beatings inflicted by the Military Police, who could have employed non-lethal crowd-control measures, such as stun grenades, water cannons, and tear gas, to prevent Edson’s death (*A Morte*, 1968, p. 6).

At certain moments, such as in the case of the student’s death, when society was moved by the state’s violence, the editorials condemned police brutality. However, as seen, *Jornal do Brasil* often expressed support for the use of police violence, calling for forceful actions from both the government and the police to contain popular pressure movements that questioned the values and practices of the established groups and voiced their social discontent.

In an effort to discredit student mobilizations, *Jornal do Brasil* accused them of being not genuinely student-related but rather political in nature. To substantiate this claim, the newspaper pointed to slogans displayed on students’ placards that denounced the Vietnam War, the death of Che Guevara, wage policy, and the dictatorship established in Brazil (*Inércia*, 1968).

Protests related to political demands were understood as a violation of established norms, since students were allowed to articulate only educational claims. This restriction was linked to the unreality of the social myth that delimited students’ spheres of action. In practice, political and educational demands were intertwined within universities. The student movement itself gained historical relevance precisely through its appropriation of broader social and national demands.

For established groups, adherence to rules is synonymous with group survival itself, and the mere fact that other groups disregard them is perceived as an attack that must be countered. The political slogans displayed on placards undermined the image of the civil–military dictatorship and of the group that sustained it, insofar as acknowledging their existence would have implied admitting that the country was living under a dictatorship, an admission that would threaten their group self-esteem, given their self-definition as democratic. This discomfort experienced by the established groups corresponds to what Elias and Scotson (2000, p. 37) describe as “[...] counter-stigmatization [...]” carried out by outsiders, and its operation suggests that relations of force were not fixed but subject to change.

Thus, outsider students were perceived as a threat because they did not adhere to the imposed norms and taboos; yet, as a small group, they were not seen as capable of removing the dictatorship from its position of power. Even so, they were able to damage the “[...] ideal image of the ‘we’ [...]” and the “[...] group cohesion [...]” of the established groups through the alleged spread of anomic contamination, which, in turn, affected the “[...] group opinion [...]”—that is, the consciousness of the established group, which becomes destabilized when the “[...] belief in the group’s special charisma [...]” is shaken by the threat of a decline in its power (Elias & Scotson, 2000, pp. 44–45).

The April 1968 editorials *Defesa da ordem*, *Do protesto à desordem*, *Não à desordem*, *Sim à educação*, *Foco de agitação*, and *Educação como jogo* portrayed students engaged in protests through highly pejorative representations, characterizing them as ‘adventurous factions’, ‘fanatics’, ‘conspirators’, and ‘intolerant’. In these texts, student actions were framed as forms of ‘urban guerrilla’, ‘rebellion’, or ‘mass movements that dissolve into disorder’. Such representations ultimately led the editorials to assert that any measure was justified in the pursuit of restoring and maintaining order.

The social representations conveyed in the editorials criticized outsider students not only for their political participation but also for their alleged use of violence or for creating situations marked by violence. The stigmatization imposed on student mobilizations, intended to fragment the student body, failed to produce the anticipated paralyzing effects. In response, the editorials promoted the perception that an environment was emerging that threatened values such as consensus and order, pillars of the social codes and beliefs of the established group. In light of this assessment, they called for repressive measures against student mobilizations (*Foco de Agitação*, 1968).

The editorials of *Jornal do Brasil* deployed increasingly aggressive stigmatizing narratives against outsider students, with the aim of eroding their social support and casting them under suspicion as threats to public order. This escalation in hostility reflected the growing discontent of liberal and conservative sectors in the face of a context of sustained mobilization, leading to the defense of state authoritarianism as a strategy to silence these actors and to restore an appearance of normality.

Once again, on April 4, 1968, *Jornal do Brasil* devoted three editorials to addressing education: *Os estudantes*, *O governo*, and *Os políticos*. The first emphasized the need for universities to punish students identified as ‘agents of disorder’. The second underscored that the ‘authoritarian constitutional government’ possessed the force necessary to maintain control and to condemn ‘rowdy’ students. The third accused Congress of being ineffective in the face of the conflict.

Jornal do Brasil defended state violence in response to protests that clashed with the police, disrupted urban life and economic activity, and intensified feelings of resentment among the population (*O caminho do caos*, 1968; *Omissão*, 1968; *Joio e trigo*, 1968; *Brasil Parado*, 1968). To reinforce its argument regarding the need to control the situation, the newspaper compared the scenario of 1968 to that of 1964.

This position suggests that the intensification of state authoritarianism reverberated throughout society and that, although violence was generally condemned, it was simultaneously demanded in moments perceived as crises. In the face of mass mobilizations, *Jornal do Brasil*, as a representative of business interests and a member of the elite, defended the coercion of social movements through authoritarian measures involving the use of police force or military intervention, as it had done in 1964.

In response to government accusations that attributed the crisis to exaggerated or fabricated narratives in the press, *Jornal do Brasil* urged the president to travel to Rio de Janeiro to personally verify that popular discontent was a ‘fact’ rather than an alarmist media invention (*Brasil parado*, 1968). Confronted with what it described as a ‘dramatic’ situation, the newspaper emphasized that the nation clamored for authority, security, development, and, above all, ‘order’, so that the country could work and produce (*Omissão*, 1968).

This stance emphasizes the omission of the Costa e Silva government in the face of the crisis. Such a characterization of immobilism and presidential hesitation in responding to events was also highlighted by other major newspapers, such as *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Correio da Manhã* (Martins Filho, 1996).

The Costa e Silva government, which assumed the presidency with rhetoric centered on democratic transition and promises of freedom, sustained an atmosphere of optimism only briefly. In 1968, declared opposition to the government intensified, accompanied by the expansion of oppositional mobilizations—such as the *Frente Ampla*, workers’ movements, peasant leagues, artists, journalists, and members of the clergy—which attested to the growing unpopularity of the civil–military dictatorship’s administration.

By the end of June 1968, the wave of student mobilizations had spread throughout the country. Despite continuing to detain students, government authorities made tentative gestures toward conciliation, as evidenced by the authorization of peaceful marches, the creation of a Working Group to study University Reform, and the allocation of funds to certain universities (*Suprema Urgência*, 1968).

In the so-called peaceful marches, adult sectors also took part, and the Military Police remained in their barracks. In São Paulo, a march of this kind took place and was described as ‘almost peaceful’. State governments transferred responsibility for the organization and security of these demonstrations to their own organizers (*Omissão*, 1968). The continuation of the marches required greater self-restraint on the part of both demonstrators and authorities, with the aim of containing violent impulses and avoiding social disorder. Such self-restraint also sought to reinforce the legitimacy of both sides and, for students, to transform the demonstrations into a resource of power within schooled figurations. Nevertheless, the very persistence of the marches became, in itself, a source of discomfort and a further stimulus for tension.

Jornal do Brasil acknowledged that the student movement succeeded in sensitizing the population of Guanabara during the first peaceful march, which “[...] paraded with discipline throughout the city center without infringing upon rights or engaging in vandalism” (*Erosão da Autoridade*, 1968, p. 6). However, the repeated occurrence of similar marches soon became a source of discomfort and came to be described as detrimental to the country’s development.

Whether peaceful or violent, and whether framed around educational or political demands, the persistence of student mobilization ceased to be accepted by established groups such as *Jornal do Brasil*, insofar as it expressed the tensions and risks inherent in a struggle for power in which outsiders sought to attain positions of leadership.

This concern is made explicit in the editorial *A Sombra do passado* (1968), which warned of a possible reconfiguration of state hierarchies by claiming that students had abandoned their studies in an attempt to supplant the authorities in addressing social dysfunctions, seeking support from other sectors dissatisfied since 1964 in order to assume positions of leadership. The struggle for spaces of power is further evidenced in the editorial *Ao Futuro presidente* (1968, p. 6), which stated ironically: “We have a government in the schools and students governing.”

The continuity of public mobilizations, even in the face of attempts at prohibition, revealed a struggle for spaces of power in which outsiders sought to express their dissatisfaction with restrictions on freedom and power, as well as to mobilize society against the civil-military dictatorship. Perceiving these acts of direct confrontation as a threat, the regime decided to ban student marches in July 1968 (*O direito dos outros*, 1968).

In Guanabara, the Armed Forces were deployed at strategic points to deter students (*Trinta mil fantasmas*, 1968); nevertheless, mobilizations in the streets of Rio de Janeiro persisted. In *Corda esticada* (1968, p. 6), the newspaper emphasized the proliferation of “[...] radical student leaders [...]”, now labeled as ‘leftists’—leaders who, according to the periodical, sought to transform the political regime rather than educational practices and who purportedly represented “[...] less than 10% [...]” of the student population. By contrast, *Jornal do Brasil* claimed that the university mass, composed of “[...] more than 200,000 members [...]”, was anti-leftist and opposed to any form of radicalization (*Brasil parado*, 1968, p. 6).

On this issue, Valle (2008) argues that, from 1966 onward, there was a strengthening of left-wing leadership within student demands. By 1968, left-wing leaders had begun to diverge between those who advocated a broader political struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism and those who favored action focused on specific issues within universities. Despite these divergences, there was a shared consensus regarding the need for confrontation, with the aim of exposing the dictatorial character of the regime. Students were aware that the student movement alone would not have sufficient strength to overthrow the civil-military dictatorship, but that it could contribute to articulating a broader popular movement capable of achieving this objective.

The editorials *Limites da tolerância* (1968) and *Antes do pior* (1968) classified radical students from both the right and the left as ‘dictatorial angels’. Confrontations between these groups had already occurred within universities prior to the civil-military dictatorship (Motta, 2014) and subsequently spilled over into the streets. After four months of intense protest mobilizations, described by *Jornal do Brasil* as ‘disorder’, the newspaper emphasized an escalation of violence, evidenced by slogans displayed during marches, such as “[...] an organized people first, and then an armed one, will overthrow the dictatorship [...]” and “[...] an armed people will overthrow the dictatorship” (*Limites da tolerância*, 1968, p. 6). In light of this scenario, the newspaper called for an end to tolerance toward the protests.

The newspaper went on to show that violence and radicalism persisted not only among students, but also in the interactions between the police and students. In the face of bomb explosions, invasions, robberies, fires, shootings, deaths, and injuries, *Jornal do Brasil* stated: “The adoption of violence as an end—since as a means it leads to nothing constructive—is accelerating in a country that is averse to intolerance and totalitarian practices” (*Impunidade*, 1968, p. 6). It thus appears contradictory for the newspaper to criticize violence while simultaneously advocating the use of force to prevent marches from continuing.

There were moments of tension in which the civil-military dictatorship hesitated to resort to, or to intensify, the use of physical force. From mid-1968 onward, however, repression became the primary instrument shaping its relationship with opposition students, manifesting itself in the persecution of student leaders and in the prohibition and violent suppression of mobilizations—practices already in place prior to the promulgation of Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5). This strategy proved decisive in the exhaustion of the mass student movement, which lost momentum in 1968 and would only reemerge in 1979 (Martins Filho, 2007).

The strength of student pressure cannot be disregarded, particularly in light of the mobilizations against the MEC/USAID Agreements, the regular charging of tuition fees at universities, and the impetus given to University Reform. According to Motta (2014), however, such pressure produced concrete measures only after the weakening of street-level student conflict. For the author, the government exhibited a conciliatory posture that became more pronounced when contestation remained confined to the university sphere and did not extend into broader public spaces, such as the streets.

The conciliatory approach was unable to consolidate itself in the face of student protests that expanded into the streets, defying prohibitions and securing the support of popular sectors. In the early years of the civil-military dictatorship, the relationship between students and authorities was marked by distance, aversion to contact, intolerance, and a desire to eliminate the oppositional group. These characteristics of the established-outsiders dynamic hindered the construction of negotiations during the crisis, as conflicts were confronted through pressure, threat, and violence within a context dominated by inflexible actors.

Ironically, for a conciliatory policy to become viable within this dictatorial context, a high degree of state coercion was required. Within university figurations, this dynamic contributed to the emergence of an opposition compelled to develop a heightened level of self-restraint. Such self-restraint proved essential both

for preserving their positions and for avoiding direct confrontations that could provoke repression and compromise the performance of their academic functions within the university setting.

This dynamic became more pronounced after 1969, under the aegis of Institutional Act No. 5, with the silencing imposed on the student movement and the implementation of university reforms. Relations between many university actors and the government increasingly prioritized the defense of academic interests and sheer survival, often at the expense of overt political and ideological opposition. However, as Motta (2014) underscores, this conciliatory posture did not imply adherence to the civil–military dictatorship, but rather a form of accommodation sustained by so-called ‘modernizing actions’, a more tolerant stance toward university professors, and the selective acceptance of demands advanced by the academic left.

In explaining the reasons for the enactment of Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5), the Minister of the Army, General Lira Tavares, stated that its purpose was to ensure the continuity of the ‘Revolution’, which aimed at national reconstruction and required a “[...] climate of order, the strengthening of authority, and the relentless fight against subversion, which is responsible for the negative factors that must be eliminated, as an indispensable conciliation so that the Revolution may proceed with its great program of achievements” (*Defesa da democracia...*, 1968).

This lack of order, in practice, encompassed expressions of dissatisfaction that proliferated among various social groups unwilling to accept the loss of positions of power threatened by the militarization of the State. Opposition was not voiced by students alone; Congress also sought to preserve a remnant of its prerogatives by refusing to submit fully to military impositions. Politicians from the MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement) intensified their opposition, and growing demands for the abolition of the Institutional Acts increased pressure from sectors within the armed forces that favored the adoption of repressive measures to eliminate this confrontational stance. As such, the crisis, which also embodied the hopes of segments of society for a democratic return, was abruptly interrupted by the enactment of AI-5.

As noted, the government denied the existence of a student crisis (*Limites da tolerância*, 1968), a narrative that persisted until the final week preceding the promulgation of AI-5. This position, however, was sharply criticized in the editorial *Anel de vidro* (1968, p. 6), which condemned the government’s attempt to erase events, asserting that “[...] a vigorous eraser was passed over the marches, the violent clashes between the police and students [...] as if there had been no blood, no broken heads, and no deaths. Nor, likewise, are there any imprisoned students, on the verge of being released on the 12th.”

In addition to criticizing the government’s forgetfulness or denial regarding the clashes waged against students, *Jornal do Brasil* denounced the repressive consequences of these actions, which remained visible within society. The civil–military dictatorship denied the existence of conflicts with students and of attacks directed against them because it could not acknowledge the emergence of a scenario of power imbalance that would expose the lack of social consensus surrounding the new regime, the presence of popular and parliamentary opposition, and a loss of control—conditions that ran counter to the ideal of legitimacy it sought to sustain. Moreover, this landscape of protest challenged core values such as order, discipline, normality, hierarchy, and control.

Final Considerations

Since 1964, *Jornal do Brasil* defended the existence of press freedom, denied the presence of censorship (*Revelações do Óbvio*, 1964), and rejected the characterization of the regime as a dictatorship (*Limites da Tolerância*, 1968). In these initial moments, the newspaper did not acknowledge its belonging to a group that had collaborated in the establishment of a civil–military dictatorship that distanced the country from the democratic models of developed nations. Instead, it chose to reaffirm a social myth centered on the realization of a ‘Revolution’ purportedly aimed at saving the nation from communism and acting in the name of democracy.

The persistence of social injustices, particularly in the educational sphere, reveals the endurance of a social habitus marked by the neglect of education and by differentiation through schooling, even amid a process of expanding access to school figurations. The continued presence of illiteracy, low levels of schooling, and the difficulties in confronting these problems served to demystify the discourses that justified the dictatorship’s exceptional powers as a resource capable of implementing rapid and substantive change.

An education marked by deprivation is incapable of guaranteeing even minimal basic structures that would enable differentiated integration within the schooling process. Such marginalization is detrimental to the

educational rationality shaped by society, as it is dysfunctional and destabilizing, that is, it fosters conflict. This occurs because the strength of the schooling process is sustained by the cultivation of sentiments such as hope, which provide moments of stability essential to governability. The absence of this sentiment can generate heightened social destabilization through dissatisfaction and demotivation. Although committed to defending the values of established groups, *Jornal do Brasil's* editorials nonetheless opened space for criticism of the civil-military dictatorship and its members, as well as of students, politicians, and business leaders, for cultivating a social habitus that devalues education and for failing to grasp its central role in the country's development.

Jornal do Brasil's opposition to educational omissions was articulated cautiously and tended to emphasize negative emotions, as evidenced in the titles of its editorials. These emotions functioned to express the persistence of educational deficiencies, which the newspaper associated with national underdevelopment and a lack of cultural formation. Within these emotional representations, formal education was portrayed as a social symbol of shame, guilt, and inferiority. The educational field and its demands thus became an authorized and legitimate space for criticism of the civil-military dictatorship, mobilized by students, journalists, politicians, and other social actors alike.

The exacerbation of authoritarianism becomes particularly evident within university figurations, whose ties to public power involved a lower degree of dependence when compared to professors and other public servants, against whom demonstrations of force had been explicit since the outset of the civil-military dictatorship. University students were characterized by having attained a privileged social position within the schooled figuration, and the majority came from families capable of ensuring access to secondary education, although individuals from popular classes were also present. Prior to the civil-military coup, students benefited from the backing and support of the Goulart government; under the dictatorship, however, they became outsiders as they lost autonomy—that is, they were stripped of formal positions of power and either marginalized or compelled to conform through strategies of depoliticization.

However, the civil-military dictatorship's initial repression against students created a negative image of the government and helped to organize and generate social support for students, resulting in polarized social positions and difficulties in conducting negotiations. These expressions of dissatisfaction point to the regime's inefficiency in legitimizing itself and imposing its values of unity, hierarchy, order, and social homogeneity. This climate of evident power imbalance also troubled *Jornal do Brasil*, which became one of the agents in the process of stigmatization that sustained and constructed social myths aimed at containing outsiders. To this end, the newspaper endeavored to draw a distinction between opposition students, who engaged in protest demonstrations, and those who did not express political discontent, instead concentrating on academic activities within universities.

Despite acknowledging the civil-military dictatorship's negligence in the face of evident educational shortcomings, *Jornal do Brasil* belonged to the established group and, even without occupying a direct decision-making position, shared and disseminated its values, while also seeking to impose political agendas and orientations through its editorial campaigns. In this vein, the newspaper accused student mobilizations of instrumentalizing educational demands in order to mobilize society and pursue political objectives aimed at challenging the government. The scenario of constant student protests was thus portrayed as a social and economic threat requiring containment. To this end, the periodical called for the application of authority to reestablish order—or at least the appearance of 'normality'—at any cost, thereby urging the civil-military dictatorship to employ force to prevent outsiders from occupying public space and transforming it into a resource of power for social pressure.

Data Availability

The data generated by the study are presented throughout the body of the article, including in Figure 2, as well as in the transcriptions and analyses developed across the text. The primary sources used in this research are available in the Brazilian Digital Newspaper Library (*Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira*), a platform of the National Library Foundation, accessible at <https://bdigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>.

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Note:

The authors declare that they are responsible for the conception, analysis, and interpretation of the data, as well as for drafting and critically revising the manuscript, and for approving the final published version.

Associate Editor in charge:

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Evaluation rounds:

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