

Cadernos de História da Educação, v.19, n.3, p.764-782, set./dez. 2020 ISSN: 1982-7806 (On Line)

https://doi.org/10.14393/che-v19n3-2020-7

PAPERS

The two "Brazils": the rural and the urban in publications and researches the Brazilian Centre for Educational Research publications (1956-1964)²

Os dois Brasis: o rural e o urbano nas publicações e pesquisas do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais (1956-1964)

Los dos Brasis: el rural y el urbano en las publicaciones y pesquisas del Centro Brasileño de Investigaciones Educativas (1956-1964)

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Abstract

The present article has as its study object the publications and research developed by the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (CBPE) - from 1956 to 1964 - that had as its focus the relations between Education and Society in a plot that led to the collation between the "rural world" and the "urban world" in a historical, educational and sociological perspective. It is a historical and documentary research with contributions from Cultural History regarding CBPE printed material as a strategy of institutional legitimation in the field of research regarding the mentioned time frame. The purpose is based on the understanding of the research methodology used by CBPE, also in the field work carried out by the researchers in the construction of the final research reports and in the examination of such reports. The sources used to support this thesis are the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais (Education and Social Sciences Journal), the CBPE's Monthly Bulletin and the books published by the institution. Thus, we have the following problematic: as results and unfolding actions of the research, has the institution maintained the traditional and dichotomous positioning of an urban world as a sign of progress and a rural world as a synonym for retrocess, or opened space for contemplation and plural pedagogical actions in line with a less classificatory view, thus focusing on possible dialogues between the rural and the urban?

Keywords: History of Education. Publications of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research. Ministry of Education and Culture, 1956-1964.

¹ Jacques Lambert's book title published in 1959 by the CBPE. This is volume 1 of the Education and Society Series.

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Resumo

O presente artigo tem como objeto de estudo as publicações e pesquisas desenvolvidas pelo Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais (CBPE) - no período de 1956 a 1964 - que tiveram como centralidade as relações entre Educação e Sociedade numa trama que conduziu ao cotejamento entre o "mundo rural" e o "mundo urbano" numa perspectiva histórica, educacional e sociológica. Trata-se de uma pesquisa histórica e documental com aportes da História Cultural no que tange aos impressos do CBPE como estratégia de legitimação institucional no campo da pesquisa no arco de tempo em tela. Os objetivos estão assentados na compreensão da metodologia de pesquisa utilizada pelo CBPE, no trabalho de campo realizado pelos/as pesquisadores/as na construção dos relatórios finais de pesquisa e no exame destes relatórios. As fontes utilizadas para a sustentação desta tese são a Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, o Boletim Mensal do CBPE e os livros publicados pela instituição. Desta forma, temos a seguinte problematização: como resultados e ações de desdobramentos das pesquisas, a instituição manteve-se no posicionamento tradicional e dicotômico de um mundo urbano como signo de progresso e um mundo rural como sinônimo de atraso ou abriu espaço para um pensamento e ações pedagógicas plurais em consonância com um olhar menos classificatório e mais preocupado com os possíveis diálogos entre o rural e o urbano?

Palavras-chave: História da Educação. Publicações do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1956-1964.

Resumen

El presente artículo tiene como objeto de estúdio las publicaciones e investigaciones desarroladas por el Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais (CBPE), en el período entre 1956 y 1964, que se centraron en las relaciones entte Educación y Sociedade em uma trama que generó comparaciones entre el "mundo rural" y el "mundourbano", desde uma perspectiva histórica, educativa e sociológica. Se trata de uma investigación histórica y documental com aportes de la Historia Cultural em lo que se refere a las publicaiones del CBPE como estrategia de legitimación institucional en el período em cuestión de la metodologia de investigación utilizada por el CBPE, en el trabajo de campo realizadopor los/las investigadores/as en la construcción de los informes finales de investigación y en el exame de los mismos. Las fuentes utilizadas para la fundamentación de estas tesis son la Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, el Boletim Mensal do CBPE y los libros publicados por la instituición. Así, presentamos la siguiente problematización: ?como resultados y acciones de desdoblamientos de las investigaciones, la instituición se mantuvo en una posición tradicional y dicotómico de un mundo urbano como signo de progresso y de un mundo rural como sinónimo de atraso o abrió espacio para un pensamento y para acciones pedagógicas plurales en consonancia con una mirada menos clkasificatoria y más preocupada con los posibles diálogos entre lo rural y lo urbano?

Palabras clave: Historia de la Educación. Publicaciones del Centro Brasileño de Investigaciones Educativas. Ministerio de la Educación y Cultura, 1956-1964.

Reiceved: 2019/11/10 **Approved:** 2020/02/14

A brief introduction

Before entering into the development of this work, it is necessary to broaden understanding - beyond the summary - of the choices made by the author with regard to the investigative problem, the theoretical and methodological framework, as well as the organization defined for this article.

As for the research problem, that is, the results and actions of the research carried out by CBPE on the rural and urban universe in the 1950s and 1960s in Brazil, it comes from two different directions.

In a first standpoint, Jacques Lambert's book published in 1959 by CBPE with the title 'Os dois Brasis', the other publications of the Education and Society (Educação e Sociedade) Series and the analysis of research reports and thesis produced by the institution aimed at the discussion on the concept of progress and backwardness in the economic, social and educational field, including the issue of regional and national as a possibility of articulation.

In another direction, the perception of a gap to be filled - a gap that is part of any research activity as it is always moving - in relation to previous works that had analyzed CBPE's role differently. In that regard, there's the example of the book 'Why don't we read Anísio Teixeira?', organized by Ana Waleska Mendonça and Zaia Brandão (1997), which carries out a relevant historiographical study to avoid the neglect of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (CBPE) and its proposal for reconstructing a partnership between educators and social scientists. Also in the same direction, the doctoral thesis "Brazil as a laboratory: education and social sciences in the Brazilian Center for Educational Research' project" (1950-1960) by Libania Nacif Xavier (1999), that made advances for the organization and in the Centre's publications³. The theoretical framework, in addition to Mendonca, Brandão and Xavier in the field of History of Education, is based on Chartier's Study (1990) on the materiality of printed material and Certeau's work (1994) when addressing strategies and tactics used by subjects in their sociability networks.

Thus, the methodology used for this paper is found in documentary and historical research, especially regarding the cultural history that values varied sources such as publications (periodicals, bulletins, magazines). Such objects, previously considered bygone, went through a process that paid attention to aspects previously disregarded in the procedure of historical investigation. In this way, new objects were born that have in their materiality and structure points marking the centrality operated by this perspective (CHARTIER, 1990).

In addition, the possibility of knowing which strategies Teixeira and his collaborators used to achieve their goals within the beforehand mentioned institution is intriguing. A strategy that, Certeau's words (2004, p. 99), presents itself as "[...] the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated [...]". Thus, Certeau explains strategy as "[...] a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats can be managed [...], every "strategic" rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from as "environment" [...].

Regarding the organization of the article, at first, there is the historical contextualization of the period of creation and performance of CBPE in the 1950s and 1960s in order to facilitate the understanding of the institution's genesis, that took place in 1955, with details of the organizational structure and the Center's publications. After that, we shall discuss the different publications (newsletters and magazines) and their use as a strategy to legitimize the curricular interventions sought by CBPE. Next, we analyze the books and teaching guides prepared with

³ There are numerous surveys that discuss the role of the Regional Educational Research Centers within the CBPE. See: Meucci (2015); Santos (2001) and Xavier (2007).

various themes and, finally, we examine researches focused exclusively on the rural and urban in Brazil. In this last point lies the heart of this article.

Thus, in the item 'CBPE research' we dealt with primary sources and sought to question them regarding their relevance to the objectives contained in the Center's Program of Activities and the criteria for selecting the research. In addition, two surveys - 'The educational situation of Pernambuco' and 'Cities-Laboratory' - were chosen for a thorough examination of their reports and recommendations so that they were compared with what was expressed in other publications of the Center in search of consistency between the proclaimed values and the actual values.

It is worth adding that the final considerations attempt to answer the following problematization: as results and actions of research development, did the institution remain in the traditional and dichotomous positioning of an urban world as a sign of progress and a rural world as a synonym for retrogress, or opened space for a more plural assessment and also pedagogical actions, in line with a less classificatory look and more concerned with the possible dialogues between the rural and the urban?

In addition, the aforementioned considerations inform about the internal crisis experienced by the institution that caused the interruption of several researches in the 1960s.

1. The 1950s and 1960s: some observations

Understanding the dynamics of the 1950s and 1960s requires us to dig deeper into two distinct and complementary dimensions of this historical moment: the first dimension refers to the inherent forms of the process of organizing society, eich are articulated and expressed in the consolidation of the Brazilian State, in an attempt to identify what kind of State conceived and implemented CBPE and what conjuncture of interests and political forces were in a competitive situation; while the second dimension aims to situate the economic-productive matrices present at the time of the institution's creation, which influenced its emergence.

Stage to four distinct and - at the same time - complementary governments regarding the treatment and significance of state bureaucracy: the government of Getúlio Vargas (1951-1954), Juscelino Kubitschek (1956 -1961), the Jânio Quadros government (1961) and João Goulart's (1961-1964) reflected the type of State that was been consolidated in Brazil, which refers to the long transition process that characterized the development of industrial capitalism in the country⁴.

Over these years, economic growth models based on an accelerated industrialization centered on the Executive Branch were consolidated, which triggered the growth of the public sector and diversified its internal activities, fulfilling the demands of an expanding urbanindustrial society and accelerating institutional transformations, establishing a power structure more adequate to the trends of the new economic-social configuration and more complex than the previous one (GOUVÊA, 2001).

Among the profound social transformations triggered by the industrialization process, let us highlight the progressive change of the power structure that ends up transforming an ineffective, poorly prepared and corrupt public administration, into a political-administrative machine centered mainly on efficiency.

However, despite the necessity of transformation, it is evident that the new state machine faced multiple difficulties when trying to neutralize patrimonialism, nepotism and personal domination, historical underpinnings of social behavior in Brazil. Even with these problems, within the scope of the new state machine that was created, Ministries, superintendencies, autarchies, institutes, public companies, mixed economy, information services and data processing were established. According to Ianni (1986, p. 19), the new model of State came to have

⁴ For the historical context of this period, see: Fausto (2012). Specifically, chapter 8.

organizations, techniques and personnel (administrative, bureaucratic, technical, political, etc.) "indispensable to the execution of its activities" configuring itself "as a state apparatus that gradually incorporates technocratic and scientific thinking, to better perform its functions".

Still in the set of new characteristics assumed by the power, an effective and prolonged hegemony of the State stands out through the executive power that, in the new structuring of forces, acquired autonomy, starting to decide on the constitutional bases, financial resources, organizational conditions of the economic model adopted and even to dispose of specialized personnel to act as necessary, in an evident atrophy of the legislative power.

Throughout the period of its composition, the new Brazilian capitalist State had a modernizing nature that was expressed in a contradictory way: the centralization of political and economic life and the discipline subjected to productive factors in the hands of an interventionist state action coexisted with a conservative character present in the political system, to be constantly intermediated by strong State ideologies. Having assumed prominent roles, these State ideologies had the function of neutralizing the latent tensions, constituting itself in instruments to legitimize the nation's broad project.

In this contradictory context that started to accompany the serious problems resulting from the rapid industrial growth, the problematic educational issue of the country is inserted; rational and practical measures were demanded to solve the inadequacy of the educational system in the face of the new emerging economic and social order.

Following this reasoning, it is interesting to point out that, amongst the various institutions created in expectation to solve the educational question in the outlined panorama, is the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (CBPE)⁵.

2. The creation of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (CBPE)

The Brazilian Educational Research Center and the Regional Educational Research Centers⁶ were created by Decree no. 38,460, of December 28, 1955 and ended up subsuming other Campaigns functions, given that said Decree transferred the activities carried out by the Didactic Book and Teaching Manuals Campaign (CALDEME) and by the High and Elementary School Inquiry and Survey Campaign (CILEME) within the scope of the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (INEP) for the Regional Educational Research Centers. Centers that, according to Freitas (1999, p.67)

> were related to the broad and multifaceted intellectual effort with which the approximation between planning and regional issues, local knowledge and national issue, scientific procedures and case studies were intertwined.

CBPE had in its basic structure the Directorate of Programs, Educational Studies and Research Divisions: Social Studies and Research, Documentation and Pedagogical Information; and the Division for Improvement of Teaching, in addition to the Executive Secretariat and the Administrative Service. The Regional Centers - located in São Paulo, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul and Pernambuco - should have an organizational structure identical to that of CBPE - which was not confirmed during the structuring process of each center (GOUVÊA, 2008).

In structuring the CBPE, we wish to highlight the Pedagogical Information and Documentation Division (DDIP), which had, among other activities: the preparation of

⁵ For more information on the CBPE, see: Xavier (1999) and Gouvêa (2008).

⁶ For information on the Regional Centers of São Paulo, Minas Gerais e Recife, see: Santos (2001); Xavier (2007) and Meucci (2015).

journals and all kinds of printed material that would contribute to the studies of national professorship and the updating of different Brazilian educational institutions, in a process that embodied the print as an acting network through the strategies of institutional articulation, intervention and legitimation under the angle of a determined group of power with their respective disagreements and dissensions (CERTEAU, 1994).

CBPE, in just over a year, had a magazine and a newsletter with a detail that we consider relevant: in clear disagreement with the determinations of the Consultative Committee, the CBPE Information Bulletin published news from the institution and the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais reflected in the 'CBPE News' section information about the Regional Research Centers, that is, the two publications disseminated the same news. This duplication also demonstrates the burning role of the print media in terms of making it institutional.

The existence of two official publications demanded an intense work by the *DDIP*, which was already responsible for elaborating the 'Bibliography of Education in Brazil' journal. We must add that the increase in publications is related to the need for institutional internal and external control. We understand that the changes made have shown that the institution had, therefore, in its editorial project the activation of three strategies (GOUVÊA, 2009).

A legitimation strategy by the triplication of possibilities to affirm the importance of the institution and to consecrate the memory and ideas of the group that commanded it, even if for that to happen, it needed to resort to foreign theoretical matrices regarding education and its relationship with research and with the field of Social Sciences.

An articulation strategy for occupying the spaces of debate whatever they were - via printed materials, congresses, exchanges inside or outside Brazil and via the corridors and backstage of national politics.

The third strategy, the intervention strategy, opened by the previous strategies with the intention of reforming state and municipal education systems, interfering in the discussions for the formulation of the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law and using the funds from the Ministry of Education - mainly those destined to the construction of school buildings of the National Fund for Primary Education - created by Decree-Law no. 8,585, of January 8, 1946 for the construction of a specific educational and architectural model of a school.

Thus, the idea emerged that there was a network of printed materials at the service of the legitimacy of CBPE. A network that, through the multiplication of these materials, sought to consolidate the project of the group that held institutional power and preached a pedagogical ideal that among others tried to establish itself as hegemonic.

The first phase of the CBPE print network (1957-1960) highlighted the national and international agreements and partnerships for the survival of CBPE's project.

At the national level, agreements were made with universities, research institutions or state education departments for the existence of Regional Research Centers with successes and failures, but placing in the educational scenario the possibility of regional research and surveys that offered subsidies for the organization or reorganization of state and municipal education networks.

At the international level, agreements were signed with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) so that CBPE could be created and receive technical cooperation from experts from the renowned institution.

3. Publicated print as legitimizing strategy of CBPE's curricular interventions

The launching of two different printed materials demanded an increase in qualified personnel and in expenses, among other aspects that are challenging for an institution still looking for better structuring. However, this measure was part of a set of strategies aimed at legitimizing CBPE's curricular and educational management interventions in the internal field

(within the scope of the Ministry of Education) and in the external field vis-à-vis the various instances of the educational system, institutions of research from different areas and, obviously, to the set of education professionals.

Legitimation would only occur as long as it was accompanied by action and intervention strategies. Action through courses, lectures, seminars, scholarships and trips that provided the necessary space for appropriate interventions.

Despite the prominent role of the CBPE Monthly Bulletin in the list of publications released by the institution, the space in this article does not allow an approach to the two publications on screen. The priority fell on the Educação e Ciências Sociais journal, given its prominence in the dissemination of partial or final research reports that met the central interests of this work.

It is therefore necessary to provide the reader basic information about the mentioned periodical. The Educação e Ciências Sociais magazine had its first issue published in March 1956 with a total of eighty-one pages every four months. Regarding the number of pages, the periodical reached its peak in 1957 with an average of three hundred and twenty-two pages per copy. The publication of the magazine ended in 1962, in its twenty-first issue - referring to the months of September-December.

I think that the observations about the inflections in the scope of *INEP* - from Teixeira's administration - have evidenced that gradually the interests in the curricular changes and in preparing teachers guided by research have placed CBPE in the center of the necessary actions for the success of reaching such interests. In this respect, the institutional editorial project revealed the activation of three strategies: The legitimation strategy through to the duplication of possibilities to affirm the importance of the institution and to consecrate the memory and ideas of the group that commanded it, even if using foreign theoretical matrices regarding Education and its relationship with research and the field of Social Sciences; An articulation strategy for occupying the spaces for debate - whatever they may be - through printed matter, congresses, exchanges and via the corridors and backstage of national politics; The intervention strategy as a corollary of the previous strategies in a perspective of reforming state and municipal systems, not only with regard to the structuring of regulatory frameworks or refinement of the management apparatus, but also producing school manuals and books specifically for professors who aimed to inculcate the existence/possibility of building exemplary school curriculum.

A network in action supported by a political-pedagogical project that had in the printed materials the necessary support for its achievement or, at least its dissemination, of the desired intentions: the legitimation of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research and, specifically with regard to this article, the legitimation of certain ways of thinking and making textbooks, school manuals and study books for professors as a form of exemplary intervention in curricular practices and in the practices of teachers aiming to the achieve the understanding/modification of the rural world (synonym for delay) under the lens of the urban world (attestation of progress) in a process of articulation between Education and Society via the conduct of research and surveys carried out by educators, sociologists and anthropologists linked to CBPE.

4. *CBPE* publications

From the purposes and objectives of CBPE already mentioned in this article, I wish to resume the function of preparing source books and texts, preparing teaching materials, special studies on school administration, curriculum, educational psychology, philosophy of education; school measures and any other material that contributed to the improvement of national teaching.

Even before the creation of CBPE, the process of preparing teaching guides, texts and support material for professors was under the responsibility of the Textbook and Teaching Manuals Campaign (CALDEME), which had its work started in 1952, being incorporated to

CBPE in 1955. CBPE published ten series of multidisciplinary studies⁷.

In the direct interest of the proposed theme, some works from Series I (Teaching Guides), III (Source Books), IV (Curriculum, Programs and Methods), VI (Society and Education) and IX (Bibliographic Surveys) will be analyzed. Such sets enabled fruitful dialogues between historians and educators in the process of elaborating the works that served more immediately for contact at the institution and the possibility of changing the work developed in schools (XAVIER, 2004).

In view of the space provided for the article, we will not address all the works published by each Series. However, we will present a table with the set of titles in each Series in order to establish an effective understanding of the set of publications.

4.1- The Teaching Guides Series

Table 01 - Works published by the Teaching Guides Series (Primary School and Secondary School)

Title	Authorship	Year
Language in Elementary School	Various - Federal District's Department of Education - 1st edition - between 1934 and 1936.	1955
Mathematics in Elementary School	Various - Federal District's Department of Education - 1st edition - between 1934 and 1936.	
Sciences in Elementary School	Various - Federal District's Department of Education - 1st edition - between 1934 and 1936.	1955
Social Sciences in Elementary School	Various - Federal District's Department of Education - 1st edition - between 1934 and 1936.	1955
Kids games in Elementary School	Various - Federal District's Department of Education - 1st edition - between 1934 and 1936.	1955
Music for Elementary School	Music and Art Education Service of the Department of Complementary Education of the Federal District's General Secretariat of Education and Culture	1955
General History (Antiquity)	Delgado de Carvalho	1956
General History (Middle Age) - 2 Tomes	Delgado de Carvalho	1959
Primary School Recreation Games	E. B. Medeiros	1959
Botany in Secondary School	Alairc Schiltz	1959
Biology in Secondary School	Oswaldo Frota Pessoa	1960
The presence of Latin - 3 Tomes	Vandik Nóbrega	1962
Active Method in Practical French	Raymond Van Der Heagen	1962
Teaching Mathematics to Children	Various – Improvement of Teaching Division (DAM/CBPE)	1963
Introduction to Plane Geometry Course	Luc N. H. Bunt	1963
Social Studies in Primary School	Josephina de Castro e Silva Gaudenzi	1964
General History (Contemporary)	Delgado de Carvalho	1966

Source: Table elaborated by the article's author, based on the information contained in the document Espaço Anísio Teixeira - Contextualized Bibliographic References Catalog (XAVIER, 2004, p. 29-40).

⁷ For the complete record of all the works published by CBPE from 1955 to 1964, see Xavier (2004).

The Teaching Guides were designed based on the urgent need for assistance to professors, but said assistance was at a crossroads on methods: to carry out training courses for teachers or start developing teaching guides for their guidance. The second possibility proved to be the most effective and financially viable, besides the fact that - believed the proponents of this proposal - the elaboration of guides for the orientation of each and every teacher in primary and secondary education would be welcomed by all experts in educational matters as a far-reaching measure. The continuity of the text referring to the purposes and objectives of the CBPE allows us to follow the role that said guides would have in relation to textbooks because

> teachers' guides or manuals, in order to achieve full results, must have an influence on the elaboration of textbooks. It is in such books that the guidance contained reveals that, with honorable exceptions, the didactic book is among us in the cultural stage where the essential objective in teaching was to memorize classifications [...] (Studies and educational research in the Ministry of Education and Culture, Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, n.1, 1956, p. 28).

Therefore, the professionals invited to prepare the material for this series were tasked with thinking about the changes in course in the composition of textbooks in Brazil. For this, more than competence, two other indispensable qualifications would be needed: a sure conviction of the evils arising among us from verbal teaching and an enthusiasm for the advantages of a radical change in that area, that would lead them to dedicate themselves to the painful task of preparing the manuals, with sacrifice, partial as it may be, of other professional activities.

4.2- The Source Books Series

Table 02 - Works published by the Livros Fonte Series

Title	Authorship	Year
Brazil in Brazilian Thinking	Djacyr Menezes	1957
What should be read to understand Brazil	Nelson Werneck Sodré	1957
Sociological Panorama of Brazil	Carneiro Leão	1958
Elementary School Theory and Practice	João Roberto Moreira	1960

Source: Table elaborated by the article's author, based on the information contained in the document Espaço Anísio Teixeira - Contextualized Bibliographic References Catalog (XAVIER, 2004, p. 30-43).

The Series was intended to provide scholars, in general, and educators and teachers, in particular, with basic material for understanding the different aspects of Brazilian reality. From the series, I wish to highlight the book published in 1960: 'What should be read to understand Brazil' by Nélson Werneck Sodré.

An anthology organized in three parts: the first, 'historical development', with its two hundred pages begins in 15th century Europe and ends with the Brazilian Revolution located by the author in the middle of the 20th century; the seventy-six pages dedicated to 'special studies' contain preliminary information and an extensive list of main sources and subsidiary sources on different fields of knowledge, including: historical, social, economic, anthropological and educational studies; the last part of the seventy-four-page essay focuses on Brazilian Culture containing analysis and bibliographic references related to folklore, the arts, science, literature, the press and customs. The book included the indication of 546 main sources and 1,105 subsidiaries for studies and research. Evidently, it draws attention to the imposing and directive title of the work, which - however - does not invalidate the contributions made and serves as an understanding of the institutional agenda and objectives of CBPE in the sense of institutional legitimation.

4.3- The Curriculum, Programs and Methods Series

Table 03 - Works published by the Curriculum, Programs and Methods Serie

Title	Authorship	Year
A quarter of a century of History Programs and Compendiums for Secondary Education in Brazil (1931-1959)	Guy de Hollanda	1957
Analysis of Geography Programs and Textbooks for Secondary School	James B. Vieira Fonseca	1957
The Modern Secondary School	Lauro de Oliveira Lima	1962

Source: Table elaborated by the article's author, based on the information contained in the document Espaco Anísio Teixeira - Contextualized Bibliographic References Catalog (XAVIER, 2004, p. 30-45).

The Series met the purposes and objectives established in the Organization Plan of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research and Regional Centers related to topic 1.23 which contained the following guidelines:

> In the light of the institutional policy that may result from anthroposocial research and from educational research verifications: a) to elaborate studies, recommendations and suggestions for the educational reconstruction of each region of the country [...] b) to elaborate, based on the verified facts and inspired by the policy adopted, textbooks on school administration, curriculum building, philosophy of education, school measures, teaching training, etc. (Educational studies and research in the Ministry of Education and Culture, Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, n.1, 1956, p. 50).

Thus, the book 'A quarter of a century of History Programs and Compendiums for Secondary Education - 1931/1956' with the signature of Guy de Hollanda, professor at the National Faculty of Philosophy, was published in 1957 with a total of 292 pages, and represented a balance of the curricula practiced, programs used and reference methods for the discipline History, fulfilling the objectives outlined for the series. Meanwhile, Guy de Hollanda belonging to the CBPE staff and considered the institution's History specialist, surpassed these milestones and elaborated a study concerning the stereotypes and values in these History compendiums and their imbrications with the individual, group or class behavior patterns.

4.4. The Society and Education Series

Table 04 - Works published by the Society and Education Series

Title	Authorship	Year
The two 'Brazils'	Jacques Lambert	1959
The Technological Era and Education	Luiz Reissig	1959
Cultural Regions of Brazil	M. Diegues Júnior	1960
Minors in rural areas	Clóvis Caldeira	1960

Immigration, urbanization and industrialization	M. Diegues Júnior	1964
Agrarian geography in Brazil	Olavo Valverde	1964
Tomorrow's professors	Aparecida Joly Gouveia	1965

Source: Table elaborated by the article's author, based on the information contained in the document Espaço Anísio Teixeira - Contextualized Bibliographic References Catalog (XAVIER, 2004, p. 31-50).

The Society and Education series (Series VI) proposed

the understanding of Brazilian reality, seen in what is permanent and transitory, in its historical constants as well as in the multiple manifestations of its development, in what is attractive and positive as much as in its problems. In short, the *Sociedade e Educação* series was planned as a progressive presentation of subsidies both for the synchronic and transversal description of the national society, in its different historical moments, and for the analysis, always in update, of its adjustment and readjustment to the internal and external conditions on which they operate (LAMBERT, 1959, p.6).

'A German-Brazilian community' was written by Úrsula Albersheim and published in 1962. The work presents the study of a community in the Itajaí Valley, Santa Catarina, with the main objective of analyzing the assimilation and integration processes of populations of German origin to Brazilian society. The book was divided into eight chapters in a total of 222 pages that analyze the history of the region, the relations between the city and the countryside, its demographic and economic structure, social organization, school network and the complex experience of assimilation. The appendix includes the battery of forms applied to the community and a repertoire of photos of the studied community.

4.5. The Bibliographic Survey Series

The book 'Study Sources of Education in Brazil - Bahia' edited in 1959 and authored by Luís Henrique Dias Tavares was the only completed project in the Series IX - Bibliographic Surveys. The series had the objective of mapping bibliographic sources in the Education area of all states and territories in Brazil. Subsequently, all the material compiled provided the basis for a historic and educational project that served as a mainstay for researchers and teachers in terms of collating works and establishing the evolution of education in our country.

5. CBPE research

The principles contained in the *CBPE* Activities Program's guidance for the years 1956 and 1957 help us understanding the directions defined for research within the institution. They are:

1. The distinguishing feature of the Center is the importance it gives to the potential contribution of social sciences to the solution of educational problems in Brazil. 2. Only the aspects of research in the field of social sciences that make a contribution in this regard should be encouraged by the center. Likewise, educational investigations encouraged by the Center must take special account of social aspects and applications. 3. The Center's research program should not spread across many different fields; on the contrary, it must be unified and integrated, focusing on a most important theme or topic. 4. In

exceptional conditions, projects that don't fit the main theme can be initiated, if considered as a contribution to the general purposes of the Center. 5. Within the main theme's framework, the research projects to be undertaken may include some that require a long time (long term, one to two years) to be completed, but an effort should be made to reach an agreement on some projects whose results are ready within a relatively short period (in the short term, six months to a year) (CBPE Program Orientation for 1956 and 1957. Education and Social Sciences. vol. I, n. 3, ten. p. 5, 1956).

The central theme of the Center's research can be examined from the following problematization: does the Brazilian educational system, observed from the point of view of organization, content and method, satisfy the demands for change and the needs felt by the Brazilian people?

The Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais was responsible for the dissemination of the partial or final reports of CBPE's research, which included multidisciplinary teams in their execution. The scope of this article does not allow forays into all multidisciplinary research promoted by CBPE and published in the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais.

The criterion for the selection of researches - which I consider dialogues between Social Sciences and Education - is based on the theoretical references used by the researchers and not only in the academic position. Thus, for example, I understand that a researcher specialized in Pedagogy who has used bibliographic references in the History area, in addition to strengthening his work, has made possible a colloquium with researchers from other areas of knowledge in a multidisciplinary proposal.

Two surveys were chosen for a more precise detail of what I am considering a fruitful dialogue and a breakdown of disciplinary boundaries or fields of study: 'The educational situation in Pernambuco' and 'Cities-Laboratory'.

The first had, in bibliographic research, a multidisciplinary key for understanding the limits of establishing only the educators' view in order to map the conditions of a federation's state. In this way, the long process of establishing the research extrapolated its focus onto history, economics, demography, culture, and, above all, the contributions of sociology.

'The educational situation in Pernambuco' under the responsibility of the researcher: J. Roberto Moreira - Bachelor in Pedagogy - presented four partial research reports that occupied 141 pages of the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais. In the first report (August 1956) the researcher justified his working hypotheses and looked at the cultural aspects of the Recife area. The fundamental references found in the text that represent bridges for multidisciplinary dialogue are the books: 'Geography and History of Pernambuco' by Hilton Sette and Manuel C. de Andrade; 'The city of Recife' by Josué de Castro and 'Practical, Historical and Sentimental Guide to the City of Recife' by Gilberto Freyre.

The excerpt from the 1st partial research report published in the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, n. 2, August, 1956, p. 107-138 highlighted the following aspects:

> It appears that Recife is no longer a simple "polis" capital of a state, but it also cannot yet be considered a "metropolis" in the socio-economic and cultural sense of the word. It is in a frank process of metropolization. On the other hand, the historical conditions of their formation, to which Gilberto Freyre's studies apply so well on the urbanization process, constituted by the transition from the organization "casa grande-senzala" to that of "sobrados e mocambos", create cultural and social conditions of mobility in the Recife area, which,

associated with the metropolization process, make the existing school education system, instead of solving problems, further aggravate them.

The second report (December 1956) brought studies related to aspects of the educational situation in Pernambuco with an emphasis on economic infrastructure, in the comparative study of the correlation between investment in education and its results, in the situation of the population in relation to basic cultural techniques, including reading and writing. The researcher emphasized the position of secondary and higher education with the use and interpretation of statistical tables. The consulted bibliography by Moreira is basically formed by documents from the IBGE, namely: 'Agricultural statistics' (1950); 'State of Pernambuco' (1952); 'Literacy in the state of Pernambuco' (1953) and 'Anuário Estatístico do Brasil' (1955). The 2nd partial research report - Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, n. December 3, 1956, p. 21-75 states that:

> It is a poor state, with a dense population, without sufficient productive means to guarantee a reasonable standard, struggling with the greatest difficulties in the sector of education, and technological and cultural development. The economic and cultural distances between its different social classes are such that the State is very much a miniature of Brazilian contradictions. Therefore, due to its own internal conditions. the recovery of Pernambuco and the entire Northeast region, in the sense of a more accelerated and equitable or fair development, is a task that seems to escape the possibilities of the State itself and its people. This verification, which seems evident to us, should indicate that Brazil needs to be involved in planning the economic, cultural and educational development of an area that, being the most demographically dense, is also the most underprivileged within the national territory.

In the third report - dated March 1957 - the researcher proposed an analysis of the historical and economic conditions of Pernambuco, having as approach axes the geographical position and the climate, slavery and technology, production, the colonial regime of mercantilism and its correlation with the landlordism and closing the report with the correlations of culture with development. The works that made possible a greater dialogue were: 'Brazilian Social History' by Pedro Calmon, 'Dutch Civilization in Brazil' by José Honório Rodrigues and Joaquim Ribeiro, in addition to the books by Gilberto Freyre 'Casa grande e senzala' and 'Sobrados e Mocambos'.

Excerpt from the 3rd partial research report - Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, n.4, March, 1957, p. 227-255:

> In a State, in which basic structure is of this type, culture, in its anthropological sense, is not very progressive and not very extensive. It takes on intellectualist or narrow humanism aspects in the cities, as a decorative element of the elites and, due to a false collective interpretation of the phenomenon of social ascension, it is considered as a primordial condition, almost the only and first cause of such ascension. However, it doesn't affect the countryside populations, mainly the considerable proportion of the landless and not even the lower classes of urban populations, who are left to obscurantism and the fatalism of a vegetative life. [...] We see no other reason for belief in the value of intellectualist education itself, as practiced in colonial

Brazil as in independent Brazil, than that of seeing that education as a characteristic of high social position [...].

The regional and cultural aspects of Pernambuco and its coastal and inland areas set the tone for the fourth partial research report presented in August 1957. The text sought to locate the geographical areas of Pernambuco and, through the existing differences, propose specific interventions for each region not only in the educational field. An intervention was also made in the economic field and technological resources also made available. The following works also composed an intense colloquium: 'The natural regions of Pernambuco' by Vasconcelos Sobrinho; 'The other northeast' by Djacir Menezes and 'Population and sugar in northeast Brazil' by Manuel Diégues Jr.

Excerpt from the 4th partial research report - Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, n. 5, August, 1957, p. 49-79:

It was already said, however, that education, in itself, oblivious to other measures that must or are already being planned, won't perform the miracle of recovery of the Northeast semi-arid areas, where the population lives with disabilities or almost the absence of modern technological resources. Education will be an important mean of successfully implementing recovery plans in these areas. There is no doubt about that. But it is necessary, we repeat, for it to act based on the execution of such plans.

The research was completed and published in 1959 in the 'Regional Development Studies' Series by the Higher Education Personnel Improvement Campaign (*CAPES*), an institution also run by Anísio Teixeira and his collaborators.

The 'Cities-Laboratory' survey was the one that demanded the largest financial investment from *CBPE*. Initiated in May 1959, the research lasted three years and carried out an intense number of trips by researchers to representative cities under the anthroposocial perspective of all regions of the country.

The first project to establish a laboratory area for research related to education was written in 1957 by Oracy Nogueira. The researcher had previously been working on the relations between the socialization process and the structure of a community in the Itapetininga municipality, state of São Paulo. The definition of a laboratory area in the institution's ideas suggested the need for a permanent field of research to clarify and solve educational problems, so that the results of successive investigations not only add up to each other, but complement each other like a superimposed map formed by layers coming from the different views of specialists.

A field of experimentation for initiatives aimed at giving greater efficiency to the country's educational system at its different school levels and a permanent field of demonstration and training for researchers and teaching and technical staff to be formed or influenced by CBPE. Furthermore, the chosen area would have an intensive, systematic and continuous performance, with an experimental character, on problems that it shares with a broader (regional or national) area, aiming, mostly, at obtaining results that could be applied in other similar regions of the country.

The first cities chosen for the laboratory were Leopodina and Cataguases in the state of Minas Gerais, and the work on the preliminary survey of socioeconomic and cultural conditions was under the responsibility of the research students of the CBPE Social Researchers Improvement Course, with the general orientation of Nogueira and Darcy Ribeiro.

The research's original concept was changed, according to the excerpt extracted from the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais, given that

The Program for Research in Laboratory Cities, in its first formulation, aimed to take municipalities that face common educational problems common to each of the most different regions of Brazil, to constitute them in study laboratories and, later, educational experimentation [...]. The nomination fell on the municipalities of Leopoldina and Cataguases, which together express the current socio-cultural conditions for the municipalities in the interior of the Center-South Region and are quite accessible to our CBPE crew, installed in Rio de Janeiro. The Leopoldina and Cataguases studies aimed to formulate a methodological orientation that, once fixed, could be applied in other regions of the country, as the Regional Educational Research Centers, in Bahia, Recife, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre and of São Paulo, establish their laboratory cities. The Laboratory-Cities program was in full swing when the National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy was created, through a budget law for the year 1958, with the possibility of combining the two projects in order to 1) ensure the Research Program in Laboratory Cities, the necessary financial resources [...]; 2) guarantee to the National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy the collaboration of a team of social researchers [from CBPE] that would lend their work a pioneering character in Brazil, of educational experimentation associated with socio-anthropological research [...]. (1958, No. 8, pages 13 and 14).

In realistic terms, the Laboratory-City research program was subsumed by the National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy (CNEA), directed by J. Roberto Moreira, who had belonged to the CBPE management staff and was removed from his duties at the beginning of 1958 for extreme disagreements with Darcy Ribeiro and Anísio Teixeira on the latter's stay at the head of *INEP* and, consequently, of *CBPE* itself.

It is clear, therefore, that Moreira had the management function in all matters related to the aforementioned research program and complete control over the necessary financial resources. This situation implied the enlargement of the municipalities served and a complete change in the guidelines of the original plans that proposed a qualitative work because CBPE itself did not have enough staff to significantly increase the laboratory areas.

Thus, with the urgency to tackle illiteracy, the CNEA drew up an ambitious work program that elevated the cities of Timbaúba (Pernambuco), Catalão (Goiás), Santarém (Pará) to Laboratory-Cities, all inserted in 1958. The 1959 plans then indicated the cities of Itaituba (Pará), Picuí (Paraíba), Júlio de Castilhos (Rio Grande do Sul), Ibirama (Santa Catarina), Rosário do Oeste (Mato Grosso) and Cianorte (Paraná).

The follow-up of the partial research reports indicates which projects actually started their actions until February 1960, on pages 139 and 140 of the Revista Educação e Ciências Sociais.

> DEPS will present until the end of this year [1958] the set of thesis that compose the research program in laboratory cities and that concern the municipalities of: Leopoldina-Cataguases, by Oracy Nogueira; Santarém-Itaituba, by Klaas Woortmann and Roberto Décio de Las Casas; Júlio de Castilhos, by Rudolf Lenhard; Ibirama, by Úrsula Albersheim; Catalão, by Fernando Altenfelder Silva and, lastly, Timbaúba, by Levy Porfirio Cruz. The studies on Timbaúba, Catalão, Leopoldina-Cataguases and Júlio de Castilhos are in an advanced stage

of writing: researcher Úrsula Albersheim has been finalizing the tasks of investigating the data she collected in Ibirama; researcher Klaas Woortmann returned from the field and has already started his activities at *CBPE*. Awaiting the arrival of Roberto Décio de Las Casas, who, alongside fellow researcher Klaas Woortmann, will begin the elaboration of the work under his responsibility. The Division coordinator will be responsible for synthesizing these thesis.

Final considerations

At this point, we return to our initial problematization: did the institution, as results and actions of unfolding research, remain in the traditional and dichotomous positioning of an urban world as a sign of progress and a rural world as a synonym for delay, or did it open space for a plural pedagogical thinking and actions, in line with a less classificatory look and more concerned with the possible dialogues between the rural and the urban?

In a balance of the analyzed publications and research, we can affirm that the researchers did not engage in the confrontation between Rural and Urban as synonyms of delay or progress. That is to say, contrary to the views present at the time, the *CBPE* research team took the comparison between the rural and the urban world to another direction: what are the possibilities and what stages are necessary for a given rural community to reach a position closer to urban community.

The researches carried out and the books published by the *Sociedade e Educação* series were guided by an understanding of the complexity and diversity of the rural world, which in the process of national developmental policies was thought out as simple and unique. Therefore, they expressed the challenge of understanding how the relations - within the same community - of rural aspects with urban aspects were and, from this point on, establish the dialogue between the rural world and the urban world without imposed hierarchies.

Thus, it is another key to reading the rural universe. The interpretation of this same universe as a transition phase towards progress without the positivist character of mandatory change, but a change caused by the planned actions arising from research and studies by public institutions at all levels of power.

More than that, an attempt to overlap two maps. An educational map and a sociological one made by the divisions of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (*CBPE*). The overlapping of such maps would point out the most burning needs of the communities studied, such as: the absence of public power in the areas of education, health, housing, transportation, working conditions and permanence in these same communities, avoiding the exodus towards to urban areas.

The Regional Centers for Educational Research, previously mentioned, made a significant contribution so that such results could be achieved given that their creation in the CBPE structure had as main objectives: "(...) to know the country's cultural situation, in their origins and trends, related to each region; (...) formulating an institutional policy, especially with reference to education, capable of guiding a development program for each region (...)" (Organization Plan of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research and Regional Centers, 1956).

There were failures. Not all researchers completed their work. Some works were considered inconsistent for publication and - certainly - the vicissitudes of the political and economic areas interfered in the pace of the works' preparation, at an institutional level. As an

example, it's worth remembering that the Educação e Ciências Sociais magazine ended its activities in 1962, at a period marked by an upward spiral of inflation. Although we have not found any documents to confirm this assumption, it seems significant that the Monthly Bulletin of the Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais (*CBPE*) has not offered any

explanations about the suspension of the journal's activities.

Finally, amid strategies, memories, intellectuals and sociability networks, the research and publications of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research are revealed as valuable sources for the historiography of Brazilian education in the study field of the History of Educational Institutions and Research present in the 1950s and 1960s that thought of plural Brazil and tried to understand the national through the regional, in an exercise of dialogue with the different sectors of our society.

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