

**HISTORY OF READING: READERS TEACHERS, BOOK CIRCULATION POLICIES  
AND REVERBERATIONS IN TEACHING**

**HISTÓRIA DA LEITURA: PROFESSORES LEITORES, POLÍTICAS DE  
CIRCULAÇÃO DO LIVRO E AS REVERBERAÇÕES NA DOCÊNCIA**

**HISTORIA DE LA LECTURA: PROFESORES LECTORES, POLÍTICAS DE  
CIRCULACIÓN DEL LIBRO Y LAS REVERBERACIONES EN LA DOCENCIA**

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper examines the reflections of Roger Chartier's studies on the history of reading. If the story of reading is the story of its readers, investigating teachers and their ways of making a reading universe can lead us to a more elaborate understanding of how readers teachers build a reading environment in their daily pedagogical practices. This study aims to analyze the relationship between the cultural capital and the reading education of public-school teachers in Teresina-PI, more specifically in the Municipal School Professor Valdemar Sandes. In this regard, fragments of the life history reported by the researched teachers were investigated, as well as their itineraries of reading formation and their unfolding into the personal and professional lives of the subjects. Therefore, the methodology of oral history was used, making the construction of data from narrative interviews in which the question of reading was focused as a cultural practice of these teachers. As the conceptual elucidations were theoretically located, the fragments of these narratives were studied and *a posteriori* an analysis of the sayings of the informants was made. In the first moment, a discussion on reading and the construction of its legitimacy as a symbolic cultural practice was introduced, inferring about the policies of circulation of the book and, later, dialogue was held with the studies on teacher formation, *habitus* and cultural capital through biographical narratives. These discussions are based on the contributions of cultural history (CHARTIER, 1999) and the theory of social structures, or praxeology, proposed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, focusing mainly on the concepts of cultural capital (BOURDIEU, 1975; 1989; 1990; 1998; 1999; 2007). Thus, it is concluded that cultural capital is every resource or power that manifests itself in a social activity referring to a symbolic capital that in relation to teacher formation and reading practices presents a plural itinerary. It was also verified that the subjects present similarities in their life and formation paths, since they are inserted in the less favored classes of society and these also present dissonant aspects characterized by their ways of interacting with culture.

**KEYWORDS:** Teacher formation. Reading. Cultural capital.

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**RESUMO:** *O presente artigo perscruta os reflexos dos estudos preconizados por Roger Chartier nas investigações acerca da história da leitura. Se a história da leitura é a história dos seus leitores, investigar professores e seus modos de fabricação de um universo leitor pode nos levar a uma compreensão mais elaborada de como os professores leitores constroem uma ambiência de leitura em suas práticas pedagógicas cotidianas. Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar a relação entre o capital cultural e a formação leitora de professores da rede pública em Teresina-PI, mais especificamente na Escola Municipal Professor Valdemar Sandes. Nesse sentido investigou-se, a partir de fragmentos da história de vida relatada pelos professores pesquisados, seus itinerários de formação leitora e seus desdobramentos para a vida pessoal e profissional dos sujeitos. Para tanto, utilizou-se a metodologia da história oral, fazendo a construção de dados a partir de entrevistas narrativas nas quais foi enfocada a questão da leitura como prática cultural dos referidos professores. Na medida em que se foi situando teoricamente as elucidações conceituais, estudou-se os fragmentos destas narrativas e a posteriori foi feita uma análise dos ditos dos informantes. No primeiro momento, introduziu-se uma discussão sobre a leitura e a construção da legitimidade desta como uma prática cultural simbólica inferindo sobre as políticas de circulação do livro e, posteriormente, dialogou-se com os estudos sobre formação docente, habitus e capital cultural de professores através das narrativas biográficas. Estas discussões estão fundamentadas nas contribuições da história cultural (CHARTIER, 1999) e na teoria das estruturas sociais, ou praxiologia, proposta pelo sociólogo francês Pierre Bourdieu, centrando-se principalmente nos conceitos de capital cultural (BOURDIEU, 1975; 1989; 1990; 1998; 1999; 2007). Desta forma, conclui-se que o capital cultural é todo recurso ou poder que se manifesta em uma atividade social referindo-se a um capital simbólico que no tocante à formação de professores e às práticas leitoras apresenta um itinerário plural. Também se verificou que os sujeitos apresentam semelhanças em seus percursos de vida e formação, pois estão inseridos nas classes menos favorecidas da sociedade e estes também apresentam aspectos dissonantes caracterizados pelos seus modos de interagir com a cultura.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Formação de professores. Leitura. Capital cultural.*

**RESUMEN:** *Este artículo examina los efectos de los estudios realizados por Roger Chartier en las investigaciones acerca de la historia de la lectura. Si la historia de la lectura es la historia de sus lectores, investigar profesores y sus modos de fabricación de un universo lector nos puede llevar a una comprensión más elaborada de cómo los profesores lectores construyen una ambientación de lectura en sus prácticas pedagógicas cotidianas. Este estudio tiene por objeto analizar la relación entre el capital cultural y la formación lectora del profesorado de la red pública en Teresina-PI, más bien en la Escuela Municipal Professor Valdemar Sandes. En este sentido, se investigó a partir de fragmentos de la historia de vida relatada por los profesores participantes de la investigación, sus itinerarios de formación lectora y sus repercusiones en la vida personal y profesional de los sujetos. Para ello, se utilizó la metodología de la historia oral, haciendo la construcción de datos a partir de entrevistas narrativas en las cuales se enfocó la cuestión de la lectura como práctica cultural de dichos profesores. A la medida que se situó teóricamente las elucidaciones conceptuales, se estudió los fragmentos de estas narrativas y a posteriori se realizó un análisis de las palabras de los informantes. En el primer momento, se introdujo una discusión sobre la lectura y la construcción de la legitimidad como una práctica cultural simbólica inferiendo sobre las políticas de circulación del libro y, posteriormente, se dialogó con los estudios sobre formación docente, habitus y capital cultural del profesorado a través de las narrativas biográficas. Estas discusiones están basadas en las contribuciones de la historia cultural (CHARTIER, 1999) y en*

*la teoría de las estructuras sociales, o praxiología, propuesta por el sociólogo francés Pierre Bourdieu, se centrando principalmente en los conceptos de capital cultural (BOURDIEU, 1975; 1989; 1990; 1998; 1999; 2007). De esta forma, se concluye que el capital cultural es todo recurso o poder que se manifiesta en una actividad social, refiriéndose a un capital simbólico en lo que respecta a la formación del profesorado y a las prácticas lectoras, presenta un recorrido plural. También se verificó que los sujetos presentan semejanzas en sus trayectorias de vida y formación, ya que están insertados en las clases menos favorecidas de la sociedad y estos también presentan aspectos disonantes caracterizados por sus modos de interactuar con la cultura.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Formación del profesorado. Lectura Capital cultural.

## Introduction

Amid a literate society, marked by the imbrications of a graphocentric culture, by the shadows of the experiences with the letters, by the words, by the expressions of a registered communication and by the multifaceted supports of writing, it is initially faced with one of the biggest problems identified Brazilian school reality: reading. Thus, the issue of reading is situated in a historical, political, social, and cultural plot.

With the school's democratization speeches that marked especially the 1980s and 1990s in Brazil, educational policies have focused on actions for the problem of learning to read and write. This problem is presented as the major generator of inequalities at school, since it is pointed out as the explanation for school failure.

In view of this, the question of reading nowadays has been denaturalized, breaking the supposedly natural barrier and presenting itself as a complex tangle of sayings that gain legitimacy as a social practice. Official statistics point to the problem of reading as a social cause, since it is in the popular strata, in public school reality, that the disparities between the reader and non-reader universe are most strongly indicated.

Reading, as a creative cultural practice, redesigns school education, leading a process in which countless other social actors are recreated that capture the scene and reinvent what is presented as the main one. However, several studies, in different areas of knowledge, have put into question the reading formation both from the teaching and student perspective.

Thinking about school education and its social actors in its multiple faces is to highlight the questions that have intensified over decades. We live in a moment marked by rearrangements that investigate reinterpretations and perceptions, as evidenced by the consensus of scientists of a certain time regarding what are the significant issues and which explanations and theories are acceptable, thus drawing attention to the type reading we do of

social realities (ALBUQUERQUE, 1993). In this sense, the following questions are proposed: what kind of speeches are legitimized? What types of authoritarian pedagogical practices have been agreed upon in the school reality? How do public book circulation policies influence the manufacture of the reader? Questions of this nature drive the effervescence of explanatory searches. Research is a starting point for thinking about social reality.

The construction of the guidance for this research started from the assumption that there is a legitimate discourse about reading and its acquisition as a cultural practice in school, as well as the need to understand the constitution of the reader habitus and the implications of cultural capital in teacher education. So, what discourse legitimizes reading practices at school? How to think about teacher formation from this perspective? What relationship can be established between cultural capital and teacher reading formation?

Research in the field of reading, growing in Brazil, has raised and promoted a wide theoretical debate on the educational context and embraced the challenge of qualitatively involving the subjects in thinking critically about their realities and daily lives.

Contextually, the history of reading is involved in social, cultural, historical and pedagogical peculiarities. The intention is crossed by the episteme of curiosity, by the seduction by the theme and by the search to share knowledge about the world of reading and about reading the world in a connection that goes from the itinerary of social life to the school backstage. For this purpose, teachers from the aforementioned school were interviewed, supported by a qualitative research, based on oral history procedures, using the biographical narrative interview as a method of data collection.

Understanding the reader's training and the daily arts of teachers will allow us to enter a plural stage where they act together and get closer in relation to reading life paths, woven by experiences, with the marks of objectivity and subjectivity.

History of reading: reader teachers, book circulation policies and reverberations in teaching as the theme of this research, dealt with an analysis of cultural practices and reading training for teachers in the Teresina-Piauí municipal public network.

This research is part of the vast field of study of teacher education. For that, it was situated in the theoretical field of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach (1974,1982); Jean-Claude Passeron (1974) who understand education as reproducing the structure of society, that is, its social inequalities; Bernard Lahire (2002); Roger Chartier (1999) who studies reading and its historicity as a cultural practice; and the discussion of the concept of strategy in Michel de Certeau (1996) and Antonio Nóvoa (2002) who studies the formation of teachers and their life stories.

Therefore, deepening these fundamentals through research, more specifically, means taking trajectories as the focus of investigations, shifting the eye to reading and establishing a relationship that can be of determination or not, through the path of teacher education, their biographies their daily reading practices, since between the formation and the practices there are the strategies put into action. These strategies can be put into action by the teachers' relationship and the initial academic experience, or the continuing education itself.

Analyzing the itinerary of the reading formation of teachers from the municipal public school system of Teresina-Piauí constituted the general objective of this research that was dismembered specifically in analyzing the relationship between cultural capital and the reading formation of teachers of the Municipal School Professor Valdemar Sandes and identifying in the biography of the teachers surveyed, the itineraries of reading and their consequences.

It is believed, therefore, that this research points out relevant study possibilities that can instigate the analysis of literate culture in the school universe by the teaching *habitus* and by the pedagogical practice of the teacher.

### **Reading: Cultural Capital and Teacher Formation**

In Brazil, the issue formation of readers is a historical debt present in official republican speeches and in public policy proposals as a necessary practice for the exercise of democracy. This issue seems to denounce, at the same time, both a non-reading reality and an alleged political concern with reader formation.

Considering the mechanisms of reproduction of social inequality denounced by Bourdieu and Passeron in the 1970s, we will contextually understand the advent of a graphocentric society, based on the experience with letters, typical of Western civilization, as an exclusionary advent since its genesis.

The History of reading allows us to think about its action in the continuities and changes of time. The ways of knowing reading promote a critical awareness so that from the problems of the present we can know, with points of view anchored in a rigorous study, the past.

We will now weave some elucidations about reading in Brazil, a country with a large geographical dimension, with roots in a slavery and exclusionary society where the question of reading is, above all, political. Public education policies in Brazil about reading are grounded in an area of inequality that ranges from the printed material market to incentive reading policies.

In Brazil, the systematization of the school space with axiological bases of knowledge, ideological character, ordering of values, was intrinsically related to the attributions of teaching, and specifically teaching to read.

Once reading is historically contextualized, we show that the cultural practices of reading are inscribed and dated in time, revealing that reading is a social construction immersed in a relationship of sense of daily action and the “arts of doing” of each social agent, circumscribed both in a collective and individual setting.

In this perspective, Bernard Lahire (2002) explores the concept of a plural actor that, once placed, simultaneously or successively, within a plurality of non-homogeneous, or even contradictory social worlds, would constitute a stock of schemes of actions or non-homogeneous habits, unified and, consequently, would have heterogeneous practices that would vary according to the social context. “A plural actor is a product of the experience of socialization in multiple and heterogeneous social contexts” (LAHIRE, 2002, p. 31, our translation). Thus, each actor constitutes his repertoire of schemes of action (of habit), which Lahire calls a synthesis of social experiences incorporated throughout socialization.

For Lahire (2002), practice is always the meeting point of individual past experiences that have been incorporated in the form of schemes of action, habits, ways of seeing, feeling, saying and doing and a present social situation.

Thus, “The education system is one of the mechanisms by which social structures are perpetuated” (BOURDIEU, 2002, p. 14, our translation). This perception introduces in a conceptual way the analysis of the impact of social origin and cultural experiences in the action of the social actors present in the school routine. The school is a space for the reproduction of social relations. There is a constitutive correspondence in the teacher's identity and pedagogical practice, between his social and cultural context, his meanings, motivations, expressions, and tastes.

For such an understanding, the concept of *habitus*, or the “system of durable dispositions that express, in the form of systematic preference, comes into play, the objective needs of which it is the product” (ORTIZ, 1983, p. 82, our translation). In this perspective, the pedagogical practice of teachers, weaving an educational dialogue, says a lot about the practice of Bourdieu's concept. These practices involve dialogical practices, highlighting the context and culture, being then ensured between the individual's actions, since

the practices that *habitus* produces (as a principle generated by strategies that make it possible to face unpredictable and constantly renewed situations) are determined by the implicit anticipation of their consequences, that is, by the

past conditions of production of their production principle so that they tend to reproduce the objective structures of which they are ultimately the product (BOURDIEU, 1994, p. 61, our translation).

Thus, education is understood as reproducing the structure of society and consequently social inequalities. School work from this point of view aims to confirm the pre-existing *habitus* or replace it with another one more consistent with cultural arbitrary. The *habitus* is then a product of the material conditions of existence, characteristic of a class condition that, in turn, is defined by the position of the agent in the social space. *Habitus* produces practices that, in order to be explained, need us to place in relation to

the objective structure that defines the social conditions of production of the *habitus* (which engendered these practices) with the conditions of the exercise of that *habitus*, that is, with the conjuncture that, except for radical transformation, represents a particular state of that structure (BOURDIEU, 1964, p. 65, our translation).

The reading process for Bourdieu is established in an understanding of symbolic dispute for the legitimate nominations of power and value of the speech. For this author, reading needs to be understood not only as a linguistic competence, but as a symbolic capital in the sense that language must be understood as praxis, therefore, necessarily referring to the situations that give it meaning and that condition its expression. To the extent that every act of cultural production implies the affirmation of its claim to cultural legitimacy, that is, the struggle for the monopoly of the legitimate manipulation of a certain kind of symbolic goods, conflict is established in the communication process, a conflict that occurs the existence of different principles of legitimation that are at stake. The fundamental dispute is therefore related to the symbolic power of establishing distinctions.

Thinking about the problem of reading today is an exercise, a challenge that insists on sniffing through history. Reading is currently much discussed in the school backstage, there are those who point it out as indicative of school failure, or as a necessary cultural practice for the development of autonomy, or as an essential element of learning aimed at exercising citizenship and even those who say that sees no way out, because the fault for the absence of reading is prior to school.

### **Teachers' narratives: reading tricks invented in everyday life**

In order to understand the reading practices of teachers, we chose a locus and a methodological strategy that we believe gives an account of our objectives that focus on the

analysis of the reading practices of teachers. The school chosen was based on a criterion referring to the reader habitus, the name of the school was given in honor of a Piauí journalist in love with reading, whose personal library was donated to public collections. As subjects of this research, we have six Portuguese language teachers from that school who accepted the invitation for a dialogue about their reader formation and their current contacts with reading.

We used the input of oral history as a methodology. What you are takes a lifetime to build. The recording of oral testimony allows us to look at the history recreated through the informants' reminiscence, it is a systematization that allows us to shed light on time and on this plurality of elements that intertwine during a whole life, a life that apprehends the reality and is given by the representation we make of it, where the reflection on reality is measured by values, concepts and aspirations that integrate the collection of our memory singularly constituted in the collective process of our history.

In this sense, the individual's speech is a privileged place that allows us to focus on perceptions, experiences, considering the representative character of an era, watching over individual experience and opening gaps for an objective bias in subjective magnitude. The pretension is the subtlety of the gaze, it is historicity even in naivety, it is the gaping of speech, it is the lost look of silence, it is the search in memory, it is the remembrance of time absent steep part of the present, it is arranging the words that will provide others with a plurisingular look at the past or the lens of acceptance and questioning of an era permeated by actions, constructions, representations and feelings.

When invited to talk about their reading experiences:

*We live a literate culture, we depend directly or indirectly on it. It is interesting after readers, to think about how this process took place, all teachers should do this exercise, who knows how they would better understand reading, reading as a cultural and social process (Fragments of the speech of one of the informants, our translation).*

In a society marked by literate culture, as evidenced in the above fragment, we are undoubtedly at the mercy of a great legacy, reading in the present needs to be seen by the past, this past weaved every day as an element of memory in which, on account we understand what we were and how we are. Individuals are producers of History, thus, the history of reading is produced by readers and is also produced by those who have access to it, by those who recognize it and do not have access to it and by those who, even having access, refuse it.

When thinking about the role of the family in the constitution of the reader *habitus*, one of the subjects of the research evidenced: “*The family has a prominent role as a social*



*institution if it supports it, recognizes the place of reading and if it does not support it gives scope for reproduction of non-reading”* (Fragments of the speech of one of the informants, our translation).

We have identified in this fragment that the social situations in which we live are true “activators” of summaries of embodied experiences, which are our schemes of action or our habits. We are thus heavily dependent on those social contexts that take certain experiences from us and leave others in a gestation state. "Changing context is changing the forces that act on us" (LAHIRE, 2002, p. 59, our translation). Under this logic, the family occupies a privileged place in the formation of the reader *habitus*.

When mentioning the school as the locus of reading formation:

*In today's world, school is the space par excellence for reading formation. Many years are spent in this space, even those who do not have access to it recognize this. Another important thing is the role of the teacher and his pedagogical practice, usually the student is very inspired by the figure of the teacher* (Fragments of the speech of one of the informants, our translation).

In this speech, the reading of social actors must be understood not only as an intellectual operation, but as a relationship of symbolic strength, which is based on a relationship of authority - a belief necessarily referred to the conditions of the speeches, more precisely to the structure of the market in which they are referred to (BOURDIEU, 1987, p. 161). In this way, “the science of discourses considers the conditions for establishing communication, because the conditions of production. The production is commanded by the structure of the market” (BOURDIEU, 1987, p. 161-162, our translation).

It is also worth noting the idea that "proponents of social studies will have to build their pedagogical models on a theoretical structure that places schools in a socio-political context... these proponents will have to understand the school as an agent of socialization" (GIROUX, 1997, p. 56, our translation).

Such perception by Giroux fits here with the intention of presenting the reinterpretation of the school space as a macro view to support the view of pedagogical practice, which is not a mere concretization of recipes, didactic models or conscious schemes of action, it is an action directed by the *habitus* of the teacher that are schemes of thoughts, action that underpin the countless micro decisions made in the classroom (PERRENOUD, 1997).

When referring to institutionalized cultural capital and its relationship with reading:

*Diplomas, universities, courses and continuing education are too important, whether we like these spaces or not, we are obliged to read, after all it is a*

*condition to be there. I just wonder sometimes if the official character of it does not make one act more out of obligation than out of pleasure... The education secretariat's formation courses, for example, people do much more out of obligation than out of the need for formation* (Fragments of the speech of one of the informants, our translation).

At this point, we observe the clash between the legitimation of reading as capital and the symbolic practices of its appropriation. When relating the materialized cultural capital and access to symbolic goods:

*Access to the library is something new for the popular strata... Books I always wished to have them, but money that was good I did not have to acquire them... The greatest contact was through the school, how happy is the one who can have a textbook distribution program or reading incentive, these actions are extremely important for public schools* (Fragments of the speech of one of the informants, our translation).

This speech presents the implicit discussions of cultural capital in relation to access to symbolic goods, economic capital when associating the acquisition with money and social capital when recognizing the legitimacy of reading as a symbolic asset.

And, finally, when mentioning the taste for reading, we can have multiple lines:

*"I like to read, but I don't have a reading habit" or "I feel something different because I'm a reader, I insist on walking with books so that they identify me as such" or "Reading, for me, is a necessity" or "For me, reading feeds the soul... but I have to be inspired it's not all the time" or "Reading is necessary for a social life and for participation in society as a citizen" or "Reading is important, but not everything in this life"* (Fragments of the statements of all informants, our translation).

This plurality of sayings highlights the reader *habitus* as a system of dispositions, actions, and perceptions that individuals acquire over time in their social experiences, both in the material, corporeal, symbolic and cultural dimensions. Thus, the agent who reads does not only seek to be understood, but to be obeyed, believed, and recognized, hence the statement that: "language is not only an instrument of communication or even knowledge, but an instrument of power" (BOURDIEU, 1987, p. 161, our translation).

## Considerations

The findings of this research pointed to a reading of new provisions of cultural capital, signaling the relationship that is established between the objectivity and subjectivity of the teachers surveyed. When, through their biographical trajectories, teachers narrate their experiences with reading, one can observe the role of the school environment in the formation

of institutionalized cultural capital, the role of the family environment that recognizes the habit of reading and the role of the family environment which encourages this practice as a competence and as a symbolic value.

In the trajectories of teachers, the importance of the public school is pointed out, which, assisted by programs to encourage reading and distribution of textbooks, gives a new stimulus to reader formation. Accordingly, all teachers, when reporting their formative experiences, demonstrated that the demands of literate culture drive the need for reading, which often displaces the discussion of the pleasure of reading to the obligation to read.

Also, in the life stories of these teachers, the socialization networks of readers from the same community are seen as a strategic element in the formation of the reader *habitus*. Such observation was detected when they referred to a group study with colleagues, with common tastes and objectives in which the selection will be made by affinities.

This socialization network was also observed, continued information, here referred to actions induced by the State's formation policies, because, in their narratives, teachers point out this dimension of institutionalized capital as the type of capital in which you are more appropriated by the normative requirements than by the formative initiative.

One of the most thought-provoking findings was evident in all narrative interviews when thinking of the book as printed material, a canon of reading representation. With regard to the acquisition of books, there was a desire to have them, the difficulty of resources to acquire them, the inaccessibility of libraries, the misappropriation of public collections, the cult of books as an object and their itinerary exposure as symbolic demonstration of materialized capital.

This research opened up a range that enabled a multiplicity of views on reading, the constitution of *habitus* and the new dispositions of cultural capital.

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