

Bourdieu and Brazil: the outline of an academic genealogy¹

Bourdieu e o Brasil: esboço de uma genealogia acadêmica

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ABSTRACT

The diffusion and appropriation of Pierre Bourdieu's work in Brazil has been consolidated as an object of study in the last two decades within the Social Sciences. Therefore, this article joins this line of analysis, with the scope limited to Brazilian researchers who acted as disseminators of Bourdieu's ideas and work between the 1960s and 1990s, from direct and indirect contact with the French sociologist. To understand the role of these then young researchers in the dissemination of Bourdieusian thought in Brazil, we developed an outline of Bourdieu's academic genealogy in Brazil from data extracted from the Lattes and Acácia platforms, from interviews and reports of experiences published in the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil (Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, CPDOC) and in scientific journals, as well as from direct contact with the mapped subjects. The results point to the existence of a scientific dissemination that occurred not only through the translation of Bourdieu's original work into Portuguese and the publication of articles and collections about his work, but also through the circulation of his ideas through courses, lectures and supervisions, so that these interlocutors assumed a central position in the consolidation of this author in the Brazilian academic field.

Keywords: Pierre Bourdieu; Sociology of Education; Academic Field.

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RESUMO

A difusão e apropriação do pensamento de Pierre Bourdieu no Brasil tem se consolidado como objeto de estudo nas duas últimas décadas no interior das Ciências Sociais. O presente artigo junta-se, pois, a esta frente de análise, com o escopo circunscrito aos pesquisadores brasileiros que atuaram como divulgadores das ideias e das obras de Bourdieu entre as décadas de 1960 e 1990, a partir de contato direto e indireto com o sociólogo francês. Com o objetivo de compreender o papel desses então jovens investigadores na difusão do pensamento bourdieusiano no Brasil, construímos um esboço da genealogia acadêmica de Bourdieu no Brasil a partir de dados extraídos das plataformas Lattes e Acácia, de entrevistas e relatos de experiências publicados no Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC) e em periódicos científicos, bem como de contato direto com os sujeitos mapeados. Os resultados apontam para a existência de uma divulgação científica que ocorreu não apenas através da tradução de trabalhos originais de Bourdieu para o português e da publicação de artigos e coletâneas sobre sua obra, como também através da circulação de suas ideias por meio de cursos, palestras e orientações, de modo que esses interlocutores assumiram uma posição central na consolidação deste autor no campo acadêmico brasileiro.

Palavras-chave: Pierre Bourdieu; Sociologia da Educação; Campo Acadêmico.

Introduction

The reception, presence and uses of Bourdieusian thought in Brazil have been objectified in recent years in a more systematic way, either by its theoretical and conceptual heritage (VASCONCELOS, 2002), either due to a specific field, such as Sociology of Education (NOGUEIRA; NOGUEIRA, 2002; OLIVEIRA; SILVA, 2021), or even due to the dialogue with other thinkers (ANJOS, 2004; BENDER; COELHO, 2018) or the contemporary uses of its theoretical-methodological constructs (PIOTTO; NOGUEIRA, 2021). Therefore, we stand in this line of thinking about Bourdieu and, more specifically, about the decisive processes for the circulation of his ideas in Brazil. Recent studies have already shown how the translation of his works into Portuguese and their publication in Brazil, as well as the circulation of Brazilian researchers in French universities were crucial for his insertion and subsequent consolidation as one of the most cited references in studies in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences today (BASTOS *et al.*, 2006; BORTOLUCI; JACKSON; PINHEIRO FILHO, 2015). It leaves us, then, to interrogate the agents and relationships that underpinned these processes.

Rocha and Peters (2020) explain that

Between the 1960s and 1970s, Bourdieu began to set in motion a real program of internationalization of his work, by establishing partnerships with authors from the American continent. It is then worth pointing out the semiperipheral position that Brazil occupies in this story. On the one hand, Brazilian researchers established a regular and long-lasting cooperation with the French author, with

no comparable case among the other Latin American countries (ROCHA; PETERS, 2020, p. 2).

This panorama of internationalization of his work, in the connection with Brazil, coincided with the military dictatorship scenario (1964-1985), the reform and expansion of postgraduate studies and the movements of Brazilian researchers as a result of such expansion, and also the need to go into exile due to the persecutions in the dictatorship. In this context, direct or indirect contact with Pierre Bourdieu - as advisees, students in his seminars, interlocutors, or even as advisees of his peers - led the Brazilian master's and doctoral students who were studying in France to act as disseminators of his ideas and work. This is the gateway to our research, which has as its object of study the genealogy of Bourdieu in Brazil linked to the dissemination of his ideas and work, with the general objective of understanding the role of these then young Brazilian researchers in the dissemination of Bourdieusian thought in Brazil.

Based on the Academic Genealogy (CRONIN; SUGIMOTO, 2014), we conducted a mapping of Brazilian researchers who had direct or indirect contact with Pierre Bourdieu during their stays in France, during their master's or doctoral studies, between the 1960s and 1990s, and who played and still play the role of disseminators of the thought of this French sociologist in Brazil. Thus, we built an outline of a qualitative genealogy based on data from the Lattes and Acácia platforms, interviews and reports of experiences published in the Brazilian Contemporary History Research and Documentation Center (*Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, CPDOC*) and in scientific journals, as well as direct contact with the mapped subjects. Our genealogy takes into account the type of connection with Bourdieu, the role in the dissemination of his work, and the academic descent through the supervision of the Brazilian researchers when they were working in postgraduate programs in the country.

This article is composed of three sections: the first one deals with the relations between Brazil and France in the processes of consolidation of the Brazilian Social Sciences; the second one focuses on the formation of disciples and disseminators of Bourdieusian thought from the circulation of Brazilian master's and doctoral students in Pierre Bourdieu's academic circles; and the third section, finally, brings an unfolding of this debate based on the actions of these disseminators in Brazil.

Consolidation of the Social Sciences in Brazil and dialogues with France

The dissemination of sociological ideas occurred very quickly in Brazil, since, as early as the nineteenth century, some sociology chairs were created in secondary education institutions in the country (OLIVEIRA, 2013; BODART; CIGALES, 2021). This means that, almost concomitantly with the emergence of this subject in France and the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago - which are

considered pioneering experiences in this field - experiences emerged that, although incipient, demonstrated the reach and interest of sociological theories among Brazilian intellectuals.

The transition from the 19th to the 20th century, marked, in Brazil, by the end of slavery (1888) and of the Empire (1889), and later by the advent of the New Republic (1930), proved to be especially fruitful for the emergence of an interpretative effort of Brazilian society that aimed to be based on new scientific foundations. Meucci (2011), when analyzing sociology textbooks produced between the 1920s and 1940s in Brazil, notes an important presence of authors such as Durkheim and Le Play, thus indicating a strong presence of ideas coming from French authors among Brazilian intellectuals, who at that time were attempting to perform the first sociology syntheses in Brazil.

It is also necessary to mention the creation of the first Social Science courses in Brazil starting in the 1930s². It is a fact that, since the 19th century, Law Schools had been granting degrees in the area of “legal and social sciences”; however, the creation of the first Social Sciences courses marked the beginning of the process of academic autonomy of areas such as Anthropology, Political Science, and Sociology. In this context of new courses, we must highlight the relationship that the University of São Paulo (USP) established with France, especially from what became known as the «French mission», consisting of French professors who became the first full professors of this institution³. Although this model was not adopted by all the institutions that, at that time, created the first Social Sciences courses, it is relevant to consider that USP found unique conditions for the autonomization of this field (MICELI, 1989), in such a way that its development also had impacts on the other institutions.

We could state, therefore, that at that time - in the process of formation of the Brazilian Social Sciences field - there was an intense circulation of agents linked to the French Social Sciences field, not only through the presence of researchers from that country, but also through the translation of works, and especially the circulation of

² The first social science courses created in Brazil were from Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (1933), Universidade de São Paulo (University of São Paulo) (1934), Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras do Paraná (1938), and Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Bahia (1941).

³ This “mission” started as early as 1934, when Émile Coornaert (history), Pierre Deffontaines (geography), Robert Garric (French literature), Paul-Arbousse Bastide (sociology), Étienne Borne (philosophy and psychology), and Michel Berveiller (Greek and Latin literature) arrived - only Berveiller and Arbousse-Bastide renewed their contracts with the university the following year. In 1935, Fernand Braudel (history), Pierre Hourcade (French literature), Pierre Monbeig (geography), Claude Lévi-Strauss (second chair of sociology), and Jean Maugué (philosophy) arrived. Monbeig and Maugué remained in the country until 1944 and 1947, respectively. After 1938, a new group of professors arrived, consisting of Jean Gagé (replacing Braudel), Alfred Bonzon (French literature), Paul Hugon (economics), and Roger Bastide (replacing Lévi-Strauss).

ideas, both in higher education and in secondary education, if we consider that, between 1925 and 1942, Sociology was also present in this educational level.

Although the titles of masters and doctors in Social Sciences have been granted in Brazilian institutions since the 1940s, it was only with the University Reform of 1968 that the first *stricto sensu* courses appeared in the country. Amidst this process, many Brazilian professors received funding to carry out their postgraduate studies abroad, which was also made possible by the creation, in 1951, of the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior* (CAPES), the main agency responsible for funding this type of training.

In this context of a strong presence of French sociology in the Brazilian academic field, France has become one of the main destinations for the training of Brazilian researchers. This education trend is noticeable if we analyze the profile of level 1A fellows of the *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* (CNPq), who are now at the top of the academic hierarchy, because, in this group, France and the United States were the main education destinations abroad, and when we analyze only the 1A fellows in the area of Sociology, France alone was the main education destination of these researchers⁴. Notably, in later generations, there was a growing movement of nationalization of doctoral training (LIMA, 2019), which reflects the very expansion of postgraduate education in Brazil. However, we can infer that researchers who studied in French institutions continued to dialogue with authors from that country, and to continuously introduce them into course programs in Brazil.

What we aim to demonstrate in this section is that the dialogue with French Sociology is part of the academic field of Brazilian Social Sciences, so that the dialogues and appropriations of Bourdieu's work in Brazil are part of a broader spectrum of the relations of Brazilian researchers with French Sociology.

Brazilian researchers in France and their contact with Bourdieu and his disciples

The French-Brazilian dialogue in the Social Sciences gained, therefore, contradictory dimensions due to the dictatorial scenario of the 1960s in Brazil, a period that enabled two complementary movements that ended up catalyzing this dialogue: the development of postgraduate studies in Brazil and the departure of intellectuals from the country in exile (ROCHA, 2022b). The postgraduate programs demanded more and more qualified doctors, and training in large foreign centers proved to be a fundamental strategy for the autonomization of the Brazilian scientific field. In an interview, Carlos Benedito Martins

⁴ Among the CNPq level 1A researchers in Sociology who pursued a doctoral degree abroad, five studied in France, two in the United States, one in Germany, one in Canada and one in Mexico (OLIVEIRA at al., 2022).

reports, for example, how, right after defending his Master's dissertation, his advisor, Maria Andrea Loyola, said "you are going to France. Go and work with Bourdieu's people" (OLIVEIRA, 2019) - this account dates back to the late 1970s, which shows how pursuing a PhD in France was an intended path for social scientists in Brazil.

Bortoluci, Jackson and Pinheiro Filho (2015), when dealing with the introduction of Pierre Bourdieu's thought in Brazil in the three phases of development of the Social Sciences in the country advocated by Jackson and Blanco (2014), show that it was within the military dictatorship that we had the first movements of reception of Bourdieusian ideas⁵. For these authors, it is precisely the international circulation of young Brazilian researchers that would play a crucial role in the diffusion of Bourdieu's work, since these young social scientists at the beginning of their careers started to mediate new perspectives that were bubbling up in the countries where they were pursuing their master's and doctorate degrees at the time. Therefore, the education of these young researchers is linked to the renovation of the Brazilian Social Sciences, while we are looking at processes that would prove to be fundamental for the place that certain authors would come to occupy in the Brazilian scientific field.

Not many Brazilians had an advisor-advisee relationship with Pierre Bourdieu; however, the multiplicity of ways in which direct and indirect contact was established with the groups with which Bourdieu shared the coordination of research and production became notorious. Besides direct supervision, we are talking about spectators of his courses and seminars, correspondents, publications in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, dialogues for the translation of his work to publish in Brazil, as well as supervision by professors who were Bourdieu's disciples in France. Thus, between 1960 and 1990, these dialogues were responsible for consolidating strong representatives of Bourdieusian sociology in Brazil, in a generation of social scientists, which saw these efforts continuing in increasingly bifurcated research networks - that continue until today - and in the relationships with the new generations that would become students and advisees of this generation of Bourdieu's disseminators in Brazil.

An example of these bifurcations can be seen in Michael Pollak's arrival in Brazil in the late 1980s. A PhD advisee of Pierre Bourdieu at *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, and a contemporary of Sergio Miceli in Bourdieu's group of advisees, Michael Pollak was in Brazil in 1987 as a visiting professor at CPDOC and at the Post-Graduate Program in Social Anthropology (*Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social*, PPGAS) of the National Museum of Brazil, where he dialogued with researchers such as Alzira Alves de Abreu and Aspásia Camargo (POLLAK, 1992).

⁵ It is worth noting that the Brazilian social sciences are a rather atypical case if we compare it to what occurred in other Latin American countries that also went through dictatorial experiences, since there was an increase in the number of undergraduate and graduate courses in the area during this period (LIMA, 2019).

Recently, the reverberations of these academic networks can be expressed through the pathways of Benoit Charles Marie Etienne De Lestoile in Brazil. Professor Benoit was Pierre Bourdieu's master's advisee at *Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS) between 1990 and 1991, and has been a Visiting Professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (*Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*, UFRJ) on two occasions - 1994 and 2010-2011 - with a scholarship from the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (*Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico*, CNPq). In addition, he worked as a co-supervisor for the PhD in Social Anthropology at UFRJ (2013-2016).

It was based on the understanding of the multiple elements that contributed to the dissemination of Bourdieu's work in Brazil that we delimited the paths for mapping the professors and researchers who acted, in the time frame of our study, as interlocutors of Bourdieu or of his peers in France and as disseminators when they returned to the country. Thus, from a survey in the Platforms Acácia/Genealogia Acadêmica do Brasil⁶ and Lattes⁷, it was possible to identify the academic descendants of Bourdieu in Brazil and advance in the mapping of researchers who have established direct or indirect connections with Bourdieu in the meantime. It was also necessary to use the interviews granted and published in CPDOC's webpage⁸ by these social scientists of the first generation of disseminators and, as a last resort, to directly contact the mapped teachers by email to confirm some information. The result of the mapping and selection of the agents is summarized in Table 1.

Our time frame enabled the mapping of nine professors/researchers, five men and four women. Six of them established, at some point in their studies, direct contact with Pierre Bourdieu: three as advisees (Aspásia Brasileiro Alcantara de Camargo in her Master's studies, Roberto Grün in the Doctoral Internship, and Sergio Miceli Pessôa De Barros in his PhD studies), and three as direct interlocutors (Maria Alice Nogueira, Renato Ortiz and Moacir Gracindo Soares Palmeira) - the latter was also a student of Bourdieu's seminars at EHESS. It is also noteworthy that they have reached prestigious positions in the academic hierarchy, as professors in relevant institutions in the Brazilian academic field, as well as having prominent positions with funding agencies and scientific associations.

⁶ <http://plataforma-acacia.org/>

⁷ <https://lattes.cnpq.br/>

⁸ <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/acervo/historia-oral/entrevistas-para-download>

TABLE 1 - Teachers/researchers selected due to direct/indirect contact with Pierre Bourdieu - Genealogy.

Brazilian professor/researcher	Connection with Pierre Bourdieu		Dissemination role(s)	Academic Descent in Brazil - supervision
	Direct	Indirect		
Moacir Gracindo Soares Palmeira	Corresponded with Bourdieu	Attended Bourdieu's seminars in France on erudite and popular culture (EHESS, 1966)	Advisor, research projects on rural Sociology, publications, lectures	22 MSc and 24 PhD supervisions completed (UFRJ) and 2 Post-Doc supervisions in progress (UFRJ)
Aspásia Brasileiro Alcantara de Carmargo	Bourdieu's Master's advisee (Université de Paris II, 1967-1869)	-----	Advisor, political life in Brazil	2 Master's supervisions completed (FGV)
Renato Ortiz	Corresponded with Bourdieu	Jean-Claude Passeron's student (1970-1975)	Advisor, research projects with Bourdieusian references, publications, organization of works, interviews, lectures	39 MSc, 24 PhD and 7 Post-Doc supervisions concluded (Unicamp) and 1 PhD and 1 Post-Doc supervision in progress (Unicamp)
Sergio Miceli Pessoa De Barros	Bourdieu's PhD advisee (EHESS, 1974-1978)	-----	Advisor, research projects with Bourdieusian references, publications, lectures, interviews, introductions, prefaces, and translations of Bourdieu's work in Brazil	14 MSc and 35 PhD supervisions concluded (Unicamp and USP) and 9 PhD supervisions in progress (USP)
Carlos Benedito Martins	-----	Viviane Isambert Jamati's PhD advisee (Université Paris Descartes, 1981-1986); Attended Bourdieu's seminars and research group	Advisor, research projects on Education, publications, lectures, interviews, and mini-courses	10 MSc, 9 PhD and 1 Post-Doc supervisions concluded (UnB) and 2 MSc, 1 PhD and 2 Post-Doc supervisions in progress (UnB)

Brazilian professor/researcher	Connection with Pierre Bourdieu		Dissemination role(s)	Academic Descent in Brazil - supervision
	Direct	Indirect		
Roberto Grün	Supervised by Bourdieu during a Sandwich Doctorate (EHESS, 1988-1989)	Sergio Miceli Pessôa De Barros's PhD advisee (Unicamp, 1986-1990)	Advisor, research projects with Bourdieusian references in Economic Sociology, publications	21 MSc and 17 PhD supervisions concluded (UFS-Car) and 2 MSc and 2 PhD supervisions in progress (UFABC and UFSCAR)
Maria Alice Nogueira	Corresponded with Bourdieu	Viviane Isambert Jamati's PhD advisee (Université Paris Descartes, 1975-1986);	Advisor, research projects on Education, publications, lectures, translations, interviews	28 MSc and 18 PhD supervisions concluded (UFMG) and 1 MSc and 2 PhD supervisions in progress (UFMG)
Ione Ribeiro Valle	-----	Attended Bourdieu's courses at the <i>Collège de France</i> (1998-2000)	Advisor, research projects on Education, publications, lectures, translations, interviews	26 MSc and 17 PhD supervisions concluded (UFSC)
Ana Maria Fonseca de Almeida	-----	Monique de Saint-Martin's Master's advisee (EHESS, 1996-1997)	Advisor, research projects with Bourdieusian references, publications, interviews	15 MSc, 8 PhD and 3 Post-Doc supervisions concluded (Unicamp) and 3 PhD and 3 Post-Doc supervisions in progress (Unicamp)

SOURCE: The authors (2022), based on data from the Lattes, Acacia, and CPDOC Platforms, and email confirmations.

It is important to mention that there was an important network of researchers in Brazil that maintained contact with Bourdieu. Rocha (2022a), in seeking to map these agents, indicates the relevance of Brazilian researchers in the international collaboration network that Bourdieu had with the Americas, with a prominent place in Latin America. Also, according to the author, there were two groups that maintained more intense contact: the one in São Paulo led by Sérgio Miceli, and the one in Rio de Janeiro led by Moacir Palmeira. Notably, in this network, there were other relevant agents, such as José Sérgio Leite Lopes, Lygia Sigaud (1945-2009), Maria Andrea Loyola, among others. However, the focus of our article is on people who had contact with Bourdieu during their *stricto sensu* education process, thus constituting a group of “former students” in the broadest sense of the term. Our argument is that the routinization of sociological knowledge through teaching played a central role in the dissemination of Bourdieu’s thought in Brazil, notwithstanding the relevance of the network of researchers who did not necessarily experience this occasion.

About this interlocution, Palmeira says that when he went to France to defend his doctoral thesis:

[...] Bourdieu called me to stay for another month or two at the *Centre*, which was then the *Centre de Sociologie Européenne*, there hadn’t been a split yet. And then, anyway, he gave me, like, a scholarship and I stayed for about, I don’t know if it was one or two months, it was great, really, I stayed there. Then, in 1976, I went back for the Congress of Americanists and I was already late for the Congress and then he called me again, I stayed, I don’t know, one of the times I stayed for a month, the other for two months. And then, well, we corresponded with each other, and then, we started wanting to bring him to Brazil, but then he was, I used to say he was our Frank Sinatra, so it seemed [laughs], so this relationship was maintained (PALMEIRA, 2019, p. 58).

Sergio Miceli and Moacir Palmeira, thus, represent the first wave of dissemination of Bourdieu’s work in Brazil, and here the Getúlio Vargas Foundation and the National Museum of Brazil should be considered privileged spaces for this dissemination (ROCHA, 2022b). Roberto Grün’s contact with Bourdieu, during his PhD internship in the academic year 1988/1989, for example, expresses well how Sergio Miceli established a lasting relationship with Bourdieu and made it possible for other researchers to join this network (ROCHA, 2022b).

Sergio Miceli was also responsible for the organization of Bourdieu’s first major collection published outside France: *A economia das trocas simbólicas* (The Economy of Symbolic Exchanges), published in 1974, whose presentation written by Miceli (“*A força do sentido*”) is considered one of the main presentations of Bourdieu’s work in Brazil. According to Miceli, his contact with Bourdieu’s work preceded the supervision process:

We had this study group at PUC. And then, once... We read *Les Temps Modernes*, that sort of thing. There was a special issue on the problems of structuralism. Structuralism was very popular, we read all about structuralism - Levi Strauss, *La pensée sauvage*, it was all an obsession. And there was an article by Bourdieu called *Intellectual Field and Creative Project*. I read it and I was fascinated. I told the group: "Look, guys, let's make a seminar about the text, because this guy, really, he... He has a route for the sociology of culture, different from the traditional thing." So, we discussed the text and I started to look at what I had of him - books that he had published. So, I read: *Reproduction, The Inheritors...* After I read two or three, I said, "Who knows, we could make a selection of this guy who is so cool." Then I wrote to him, and he sent me the things I didn't know and said, "Think about what you think will work best in Brazil, and then you make the proposal." We correspond with each other. Then, I made a proposal. He said, "Oh, okay. This proposal is fine, but I think you should include this and remove this." He made a few considerations, and I did it. Finally, we settled it. I distributed the translation, worked on some of the texts, and that introduction. I invested, madly, in that translation. And I think that the introduction was what really got to him. (...) That is what got to him, because it was his first collection... No, there was one, months before, in Germany, but a small one. This was his first important collection (BARROS, 2012, p. 7-8).

Therefore, we can see that, contrary to what one might assume, Bourdieu's work already had some presence in Brazil when some of his Brazilian students decided to pursue their education in France, thus indicating that the pathways of these students both reflect the gradual introduction of Bourdieu's work in Brazil and also deepen it. Something similar also occurred with Martins, who had an intense contact with Bourdieu's work before going to France, according to him: "Andreia had just arrived from France and gave me Bourdieu's work. I started reading Bourdieu's stuff back then. So, it was a very good time. So, I wrote a more qualitative thesis and all" (MARTINS, 2015, p. 5).

The case of Aspásia Brasileiro Alcantara de Camargo is particularly unique, since she did her master's studies with Bourdieu and her doctorate with Alain Touraine, considered to be one of Bourdieu's intellectual opponents in the French academic field. According to his account: "And when this phase was over, I went straight to Touraine, I don't even know why. I think it's because Touraine was the one who knew Latin America the most" (CAMARGO, 2012, p. 23). In fact, unlike Bourdieu, who had few supervision experiences in Latin America, Alain Touraine established numerous partnerships with researchers in the region, in addition to having supervised nine doctoral theses on Brazil (MENDES, 2019). Likewise, it is noteworthy that Moacir Palmeira was supervised by François Bourricaud, a notorious critic of Pierre Bourdieu's work.

Then, there are five more professors who established, in the analyzed period, indirect connections with Pierre Bourdieu: 3 as advisees of Bourdieu's interlocutors in France

(Ana Maria Fonseca de Almeida was an advisee of Monique de Saint-Martin, Maria Alice Nogueira and Carlos Benedito Martins were advisees of Viviane Isambert-Jamati) – Martins also attended Bourdieu’s seminars –; 1 as a student of Bourdieu’s main interlocutor in France (Renato Ortiz was Passeron’s student in the 1970s); and 1 who attended his courses at the *Collège de France* (Ione Valle attended the course on Manet between 1998 and 2000). Martins, despite having been supervised by Isambert-Jamati, emphasizes the active dialogue with Saint-Martin in the process of developing his thesis (OLIVEIRA, 2019), moreover, in his master’s studies, he was supervised by Maria Andrea Loyola, who was one of Bourdieu’s most active interlocutors in Brazil (ROCHA, 2022a; 2022b), which shows how these agents circulated intensely in different circles that gravitated around Bourdieu. It is important to remember that Isambert-Jamati, who also supervised Maria Alice Nogueira, was a key figure in the process of consolidation of Sociology of Education in France (PEYRONIE, 2019), besides having collaborated with Bourdieu, in 1967, in the organization of a special issue in the *Revue Française de Sociologie*. In the case of Ione Valle, it should be noted that she also studied for her doctorate in France and became a relevant interpreter of Bourdieu’s work in the field of Sociology of Education, besides translating his work into Portuguese.

In 1983, Renato Ortiz organized the volume on Pierre Bourdieu for the collection “*Grandes cientistas sociais*” (Great social scientists), which was one of the collections with the greatest impact on the dissemination of Social Science authors in Brazil, in this period.

This initial constellation of Bourdieu’s Academic Genealogy in Brazil already gives us clues as to how the work of these Brazilian researchers served as a channel for the dissemination of Bourdieusian thought in our territory. Besides the elements already established in specialized literature – such as translations and publications of Bourdieu’s work in Brazil –, Table 1 also reveals how the dissemination of Bourdieu ended up being present in the daily professional life of these professors, in their productions, publications, lectures, courses, and master’s and doctorate supervisions (in the latter, we can see a continuity of the genealogy that goes back to Bourdieu’s connection with the Brazilian scientific field). So, we will now explore these experiences and their impact on the consolidation of Bourdieusian thought in Brazil.

Disseminators of Bourdieusian thought in Brazil

The nine professors we analyzed here have, since the 1960s, mediated Bourdieusian thought with the Brazilian people by means of: research projects, productions and publications that are based on these references; lectures, courses and mini-courses on related themes; translations and organizations of articles and works by Bourdieu in Brazil; as well as master’s, doctoral and post-doctoral supervisions. This profusion of practices is indicative of the many paths that marked the introduction and consolidation

of Bourdieu's ideas in the tropics. Based on the experiences of the Brazilian disseminators with Bourdieu and his French interlocutors, it is possible to understand their starting points in the process of appropriating his theories and constructs and later on in the mediation itself with the Brazilian scenario.

Moacir Palmeira attended Bourdieu's seminars, and researchers such as Jean-Claude Passeron, Luc Boltanski, Jean-Claude Chamboredon, Monique De Saint Martin, Madeleine Lemaire, among others, worked there as assistants. In the same type of experience, we have Renato Ortiz, who was a student of Passeron, and who states the following about that period of his education: "[...] if you have good professors, it is a gift [...] because what is at stake is not only what is being said explicitly, but what is implicit, the way it is said" (ORTIZ, 2010, p. 14). All the professors analyzed in this research had experiences as students/disciples, either directly with Bourdieu or with his most important interlocutors at the time and, therefore, the teaching and learning processes in the internationalized education of these teachers were crucial to the paths their careers took.

Carlos Benedito Martins, in turn, reveals how this network of Bourdieu's interlocutors was marked by a collaborative and dialogical work, in which several scholars would meet to discuss the work in progress, when he tells us that, besides his participation in the *séminaire fermé*, he ended up getting close to both Bourdieu and Monique de Saint-Martin, as well as Viviane Isambert Jamati (the latter, his advisor)⁹.

At the time when the investigated teachers were developing their dissertations or theses with Bourdieu's group, it is possible to glimpse the following research areas:

Education is a central theme when we look at the works that were supervised by the French interlocutors, while Bourdieu himself was more directly involved in works that dealt with the intellectual and economic fields. However, it is important to mention that there was a strong interest in Bourdieu's work on education; it is no coincidence that *A Reprodução* (Reproduction) was his first work translated into Portuguese, only five years after its publication in France. Even though it was a translation that did not have a proper presentation of the work, it contrasted significantly with other works that were gaining visibility in the educational field in the same period, which made visible the more engaged and transforming role of education, following the path of what was being produced by Paulo Freire.

⁹ "[...] Monique introduced me in Bourdieu's group. I mean, I was an advisee of Viviane Isambert Jamati; but, actually, Monique was the one who supervised me in my thesis, Monique together with Bourdieu" (OLIVEIRA; MARTINS, 2019, p. 18).

TABLE 2 - Dissertations and theses of the professors/researchers selected due to direct/indirect contact with pierre Bourdieu - Genealogy.

Brazilian professor/researcher	Work		Supervisor	Title
	Dissertation	Thesis		
Moacir Gracindo Soares Palmeira	Did not write a dissertation or thesis under the supervision of Bourdieu or one of his research group colleagues			
Aspásia Brasileiro Alcantara de Camargo	X		Pierre Bourdieu	Undisclosed
Renato Ortiz	Did not write a dissertation or thesis under the supervision of Bourdieu or one of his research group colleagues			
Sergio Miceli Pessôa De Barros		X	Pierre Bourdieu	Les Intellectuels et le Pouvoir au Brésil (1920-1945)
Carlos Benedito Martins		X	Viviane Isambert-Jamati	Le Nouvel Enseignement Supérieur Privé au Brésil
Roberto Grün	X		Pierre Bourdieu	Les cadres et la société brésilienne
Maria Alice Nogueira		X	Viviane Isambert-Jamati	Education, savoir, production chez Marx et Engels
Ione Ribeiro Valle	Did not write a dissertation or thesis under the supervision of Bourdieu or one of his research group colleagues			
Ana Maria Fonseca de Almeida	X		Monique de Saint Martin	Le système scolaire, la production et le maintien des différences sociales: les écoles d'élite à São Paulo

SOURCE: The authors (2022), based on data from the Lattes Platform.

It is also worth mentioning the role that Monique de Saint-Martin had as the main mediator of Bourdieu's research group with Brazilian researchers (ROCHA, 2022a), so that, with education as her main research focus, and having actively participated in the group of researchers who contributed with Bourdieu in this field (ALMEIDA *et al.*, 2015), it was expected that her work also impacted the agenda of young researchers who aimed to dialogue with this French group.

Isambert-Jamati also had a relevant role, considering that she was a key figure in receiving Brazilian students who went to France to pursue doctoral studies in the field of Educational Sciences (NOGUEIRA, 2011). Carlos Benedito Martins and Maria Alice Nogueira finished their theses at around the same time, and started to impact more decisively the Sociology of Education in Brazil since the late 1980s - it is not a coincidence that both contributed to the special issue "*Contribuições Das Ciências Humanas Para A Educação: A Sociologia*" (Contribution of the Social Sciences to Education: Sociology) of the journal *Em Aberto*, in 1990, directly dialoguing with Bourdieu's work. They published in this dossier the following articles: "*A sociologia da educação do final dos anos 60/início dos anos 70: o nascimento do paradigma da reprodução*" (The sociology of education of the late 1960s/early 1970s: the beginning of the reproduction paradigm) (NOGUEIRA, 1990) and "*A pluralidade dos mundos e das condutas sociais: a contribuição de Bourdieu para a sociologia da educação*" (The plurality of social worlds and conducts: the contribution of Bourdieu to the sociology of education) (MARTINS, 1990). It is worth noting that both played key roles in the institutionalization of Sociology of Education in Brazil. On the one hand, Martins was head of the Work Group (WG) "*Educação e Sociedade*" (Education and Society) of the *Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais* (ANPOCS) and, on the other hand, Nogueira was one of the founders of the WG "*Sociologia da Educação*" (Sociology of Education) at the *Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação* (ANPED), and both helped consolidate research lines in Sociology of Education in their respective graduate programs, which are some of the few programs in the areas of Sociology and Education with specific lines in Sociology of Education (OLIVEIRA; SILVA, 2020).

Maria Alice Nogueira, despite not having attended Bourdieu's courses during her doctoral studies, had *The Inheritors and Reproduction* as one of the mandatory readings in this period, although she highlights the even more decisive impact of *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, published in 1970 by Louis Althusser and *L'école capitaliste en France*, published in 1971 by Christian Baudelot and Roger Establet (OLIVEIRA; SILVA; VALLE, 2021). She played a central role in disseminating the author in the Brazilian educational field, especially since the 1990s, consolidating this position with the organization, together with Afrânio Catani, of the collection *Escritos de Educação*, originally published in 1998 (PONTES, 2022). To organize this work, she came into direct contact with the author, exchanging correspondence with him,

thus becoming an important mediator in this field.

Also in the field of education, Ione Valle initially followed a common educational path among Sociology of Education agents in Brazil, alternating between Education and the Social Sciences (OLIVEIRA; SILVA, 2020), as she graduated in Pedagogy and obtained a Master's degree in Social Sciences, thus consolidating her insertion in Sociology of Education during her doctorate at the University René Descartes, Paris V, under Gabriel Langoüet's supervision. Besides making Bourdieu increasingly central in her own work and considering him as central to the field of Education (VALLE, 2007), she has been an active translator of his work, mainly since the 2010s, having translated *Homo Academicus* (2011), *The Inheritors* (2014) and more recently, with Charles Soulié, organized the collection *Pierre Bourdieu: uma sociologia ambiciosa da educação* (Pierre Bourdieu: an ambitious sociology of education) (VALLE; SOULIÉ, 2019), with texts published in Portuguese for the first time.

The scope of these works has placed Brazilian professors and disseminators of Bourdieusian thought in a dialogical path with the thought of this sociologist and his French disciples, which became an unavoidable bridge between Brazil and France and, more specifically, between Bourdieusian theories and the Brazilian reality.

For Rocha and Peters (2020, p. 7-8),

The fact that Miceli was the only Latin American to have his thesis supervised by Bourdieu gave him a privileged and early place in the network, at a time when the French sociologist still had time available for an intense interlocution with his collaborators. This proximity also lasted due to the many publications taken on by the Brazilian, which is evident in the letters they exchanged in the 1970s and 1980s. Participation in the collaborative network centered around Bourdieu in the 1970s, especially from the organizational initiatives of Monique de Saint Martin, conferred an expressive social and symbolic capital. However, he needed to be converted in the terms of the field of Brazilian sociology to render the prestige of mediator of the Frenchman's work in Brazil.

Thus, by promoting a transfer of ideas from one national field to the other (BOURDIEU, 2002), these Brazilian disseminators traced a path of legitimization not only of Bourdieu's thought in Brazil, but also of the consecration of their voices as heirs of this tradition in tropical lands. We should consider that, while Bourdieu was a little-known author in Brazil during the 1960s and 1970s, during the 1980s he consolidated himself as one of the main sociologists in the academic world, which involves other instances of intellectual recognition, such as his admission to the *Collège de France* in 1981 (OLIVEIRA; SILVA, 2022).

Again, Moacir Palmeira was supervised by one of the critics of Bourdieu's work; however, he even states that the theoretical formulations of Bourdieu and Althusser were the main theoretical references for his thesis (LOPES, 2013). Moreover, this did not prevent him from translating Bourdieu's first text into Portuguese, the article *O*

Campo Intelectual e Projeto Criador (Intellectual field and creative project), present in the collection *Problemas do Estruturalismo* (Problems of Structuralism) (POUILLON *et al.*, 1968).

Thinking about the continuity of this dissemination movement in Brazil, we have as one of the most important elements - and generally ignored by the specialized literature - the descent of this generation of first disseminators. We are talking about their work as master's, doctoral and post-doctoral advisors. Together, the nine professors analyzed add up to 371 completed and ongoing supervisions, and, although we are not able to assess to what extent there are traces of Bourdieusian references in all these works, it is possible to suggest a continuity in terms of this referential by means of the master's and doctoral students who are supervised by the generation of the first disseminators. This certainly contributes to the place Bourdieu currently occupies in the Human and Social Sciences in Brazil.

Thus, we understand that the process of internationalization of Bourdieusian thought, in the Brazilian case, necessarily goes through the pathways of researchers who studied in the decades from 1960 to 1990, who work with Bourdieu and his interlocutors, as well as the work developed by such researchers when they returned to their country of origin. From the translations and publications of Bourdieu's work in the country, to the supervisions they later started to carry out in graduate programs, we have a scenario in which the French-Brazilian dialogue enabled by this group contributed concomitantly to the consolidation of Bourdieu in Latin America and in Brazil, and to the consolidation of these professors in the Brazilian scientific field.

Final Considerations

The aim of this article was to understand the role of the then young Brazilian researchers, who were in France and had a direct or indirect connection with Pierre Bourdieu between the 1960s and 1990s, in the dissemination of Bourdieusian thought in Brazil. To this end, we built an outline of Bourdieu's academic genealogy in Brazil, which demonstrated the potential of this technique in the exercise of reconstructing the academic ties that were responsible for the consolidation of the circulation of the French sociologist's ideas and work in Brazil. Subverting the quantitative character of academic genealogies, we followed a qualitative path, which aimed at determining the direct and indirect connections and, above all, how these connections were responsible for the direction of the academic careers of the Brazilian master's or doctoral students who, in this process, became disseminators of Bourdieu in Brazil.

The nine professors analyzed established direct and indirect relationships with Bourdieu and his French interlocutors by means of master's or doctoral supervision, participation in his seminars, and direct correspondence. Their experiences constituted important links with French sociology in the analyzed period and, in particular, with Bourdieusian thought - including two researchers who, even though they were later

supervised by professors notably critical of Bourdieu's work, continued to dialogue with his referential. Thus, the genealogy we outlined allowed us to understand that the role they played, as disseminators of Bourdieu in Brazil, was marked by the experiences and dialogues they consolidated in France and, above all, by the work they began to develop when they returned to their home country, since their research activities, supervision, production and publication were linked, at different levels, to the task of continuing the debate based on the Bourdieusian perspective.

Therefore, the results corroborate the understanding that the consolidation of Bourdieu in the Brazilian Human and Social Sciences cannot be attributed solely to the processes of translation of his work in Brazil. In addition, therefore, it is necessary to incorporate an analysis of the daily work of his disseminators in the academic field. From supervisions to publications, including courses, interviews, and lectures, we are facing a group of disseminators who have performed this function through all of their actions inside the academy.

It is also important to mention that France remains an important place for the academic education of Brazilian researchers (SILVA; LOPES, 2021), many of whom have dialogued with researchers who continue to discuss Bourdieu's work in France and produce research based on this theoretical reference. Thus, the formation of cadres of Brazilian researchers abroad focused on Bourdieusian theory persists, as a kind of reverberation of the first wave of its disseminators in Brazil. Furthermore, some of Bourdieu's works have only been translated later, such as *The Inheritors*, published in Portuguese 50 years after its original version in French, and others that remain unpublished in Brazil, and which have been the object of reflection by Brazilian researchers. With this in mind, the academic genealogy studies of this first generation of Bourdieu's disseminators - and also of later generations - have the potential to deepen the paths that made possible the consolidation of the Bourdieusian legacy in Brazil.

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