

CENSORSHIP IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND ITS IMPACTS ON TEACHING PRACTICE: WHAT EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION TEACHERS SAY



<https://doi.org/10.56238/arev6n4-213>

Submitted on: 11/13/2024

Publication date: 12/13/2024

Camila Souza Petrovitch¹, Mônica Correia Baptista², Lais Caroline A. Bitencourt³ and Alessandra Latalisa de Sá⁴.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this article is to analyze the constraints and confrontations that occur in the pedagogical routine, through testimonies of early childhood education teachers in relation to censorship practices for books intended for children under six years old. . After a brief contextualization of the censorship of children's books in Brazil, interviews were conducted with fifteen early childhood education teachers, eight from private schools and seven from public schools. The collective interviews followed a semi-structured script organized into items that sought to trace the personal and professional profile of the interviewees and obtain reflections on the concepts of control and censorship. The data obtained showed that censorship stems from the teachers' fear of the repercussions that media cases have promoted, especially in relation to families. Regardless of the authorship of the act of censorship, the alleged need to protect the little ones is what drives the intention and practice of restricting the arrival of children's books to their recipient.

Keywords: Censorship, Early Childhood Education, Children's Literature.

¹ Master in Education

Fae/UFMG

Email: camilasp@hotmai.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-3456-1012

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/1991582378599343>

² Dr. in Education

Fae/UFMG

E-mail: monicacb.ufmg@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-6645-0114

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/3951926269873970>

³ Dr. in Education

FaE/UFMG

E-mail: laiscarolineabit@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8862-1490

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/0891096322097747>

⁴ Dr. in Education

FaE/UFMG

E-mail: docalatalisa@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8959-5941

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/8846124779490487>

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the issue of censorship of children's literature books, through data obtained in an investigation that aimed to understand the impact of censorship on teaching practice, analyzing constraints and confrontations that occur in the pedagogical routine.

Constraints and confrontations that occur in the pedagogical daily life of early childhood education teachers about acts of restriction and discourses about the need to control children's access to certain works of children's literature were analyzed. The data are analyzed from the concepts of censorship, regulation and control of literature (DARNTON, 2014; ALMEIDA, 2013; LIMA, 2007) and were produced from documentary analysis of censorship records and collective interviews with teachers of children from zero to six years old. We present reflections, in particular, on the acts of restriction and the discourses about the need to control children's access to certain books. The available literature on the subject informs us about the urgency of reflection, especially due to the increasingly rapid circulation of information, through digital means, as well as the arrival of the so-called "conservative wave" (ALMEIDA, 2019) that emphasizes the alleged effects of literary texts on the conformation of children's character and behaviors.

Although the scope of censorship cases has expanded in contemporary times, this is not a recent practice. As Báez (2004) notes, acts of censorship have occurred since books have existed. Regardless of whether censorship is exercised by the State, the family, the school or the Church, what moves these acts is an alleged need for protection, combined with the tendency to control children and their childhoods. For Macleod (1983), the State and other institutions, based on a conception that the child is intellectually dependent, upon discovering the high potential of influence on society that children's literature has, began to dispute its dominance.

In Brazil, censorship of books dates back to the early post-colonization years. Carneiro (2002) mentions in his work an index of forbidden books published in 1559, revealing a Brazilian censorious "traditionality", an expression coined by Stephanou (2001). Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the implementation of the Royal Press in 1808, children's literature expanded in the country, enabling the first publications of books for children (LAJOLO, ZILBERMAN, 2007). From the demand for school materials, "they began to produce children's books that had a certain address: the student body of the schools equally claimed to be necessary for the consolidation of the project of a modern

Brazil" (p. 27). Brazilian children's literature was born committed to a schooled bias, whose purpose was to form the character of children. In this school model, all artistic manifestations aimed at children should be based on ethical, moral and so-called "good manners" formation.

Currently, critics, authors and researchers oppose the "schooling" notion of literature and begin to reaffirm their commitment to the constitution of a critical literary reader, "who knows how to choose his readings, who appreciates verbal constructions and meanings of an artistic nature, who makes this part of his actions and pleasures." (PAULINO, 2004, p. 56). From this perspective, a literary education is one that goes beyond the instructional and pedagogical content that guided the first years of literary production aimed at childhood. When conceived as art, the aesthetic aspects of the book object are valued, as well as the metaphor and the symbolic as essential elements of good literature for children. This conception of the book as art, specifically in the case of early childhood education, requires that the initial and continuing training of teachers ensure them the theoretical and practical knowledge indispensable for the adequate selection of works and an organization of reading spaces and times that takes into account the specificities of early childhood. But, above all, considering the fundamental role that the school plays in the formation of the literary reader, the ability of teachers to carry out qualified mediations of children's books with children becomes an essential requirement.

Thus, the role of adults in ensuring children's access to children's books is decisive. Such choices can be based on a conception that understands the child as a limited and incapable being and justify their choices as measures to protect child innocence. From this perspective, aspects such as fragility, weakness, purity and incapacity are highlighted (PERES, 1997), instead of the potential for understanding, interpreting and constructing plural meanings of the children, anchored in their experiences, interests and desires. By the hands of the censors, topics are considered taboo and words or images are considered inappropriate for children.

For Colomer (2007), early childhood education institutions are privileged spaces to ensure access to children's books for children under six years of age. Therefore, teachers are responsible for strengthening the link between the book object and the little reader. From this perspective, we focus the discussions in this article on the following questions: how are the readings to be shared with the children selected? What conceptions sustain the choices? Is there censorship in the moments of choosing and selecting works? Do the

probable cases of censorship that arise affect the processes of choosing works in educational institutions?

CONCEPTIONS OF CHILD, CHILDHOOD AND CENSORSHIP

The conception of books intended for children not only influences but also determines the attitude of adults in relation to their circulation among the child population. The role of literature is to contribute to the expansion of children's aesthetic experiences, far beyond an education concerned with transmitting strictly school content or conforming children's attitudes according to moral values. With the same notion about literary training, Graça Paulino (2004) asserts that the objective of working with literature should be to form a critical literary reader, "[...] who knows how to choose his readings, who appreciates constructions and verbal meanings of an artistic nature, who makes this part of his doings and pleasures." (PAULINO, 2004, p. 56). From this perspective, the work with the literary text requires conceiving it as art, and as such, the aesthetic treatment given to language, metaphor, humor, and the symbolic are essential elements. Thus, the instructional and pedagogical content that characterizes other practices present in school institutions is overcome.

Currently, some ideas that restrict children's literature stand out. Its use to teach behaviors and values considered "appropriate" by the population ends up exerting a certain regulation on what should be offered to children, imposing restrictions on the work as a whole, or cuts, exclusions, and substitutions of texts, in an attempt to control the meanings constructed by children.

Reflections on working with children's literature require a debate on the conceptions of children in order to know the recipients of these books and what views they have of them. According to Maria Zélia Versiani Machado (2012), "[...] to understand this literature, it is necessary to keep in mind a notion of a child who lives the fullness of his condition, without placing as a counterpoint to this condition what he will be one day in the future" (MACHADO, 2012, p. 20).

The divergence about the conception of child is identified by Peter Hunt (2010) in the relationship between the authors of children's literature, committed to the idea of literature as art, and the different agents and sectors of society that try to prevent the circulation of literature books among children. For this author, distinct notions of child and childhood result in the following clash: "[...] a writer who feels free to write whatever he wants and a

society that feels that children need to be protected from such authors, an opposition that has been among us since the beginning of books for children" (HUNT, 2010, p. 203).

Also according to Hunt, the conception of children's book authors seeks to break with an idea still present in contemporary Western society that children's literature has the role of forming children in conformity with and obedient to values, norms and rules established by the adult world. On the contrary, these authors perceive children as subjects of rights, who actively participate in social life and, therefore, are producers of culture. The child is seen, in this conception, as someone who interacts with cultural objects and, from this interaction, constructs particular meanings, being influenced and influencing the process of production of human cultures. It is with this notion of a desiring, critical and singular child that the authors of quality books seem to dialogue.

Regarding the practices of censorship of children's literature, it is noted in research on the subject the absence of consensus among researchers regarding the acts that in some way try (and in some circumstances even to) prevent or limit children's access to children's books. Luiz Costa Lima (2007) uses the term control to characterize the cases. Michel Foucault (2014) uses the term exclusion. Peter Hunt (2010), Robert Darnton (2014), Maria Luiza Carneiro (2002) and Perry Nodelman (2020) use the term censorship in their research related to literature.

In this research, we used the term control to designate any action that, in some way, material or symbolic, imposed restrictions, constraints and restrictions on children's access to children's books. Within this larger group, we differentiate two forms of control, based on the justifications for which they are executed: censorship and regulation. Censorship refers to acts that aim to prevent the circulation of a work in order to serve the interests of specific groups, disregarding the right of expression, thus characterizing itself as an unconstitutional action. On the other hand, the term regulation was used to designate cases of restriction that aimed to guarantee the constitutional rights infringed by some publication.

We assume that every publication aimed at children is, in some way, controlled: the adult author imposes his ideology on the child through what he writes, from what he deems to be interesting. Responsible family members, teachers and other mediators, when they select a book, or hide it on the shelf, are also exercising the role of control, which may or may not be interesting for the subjective formation of the reader, depending on the conception of child defended.

In order to better understand the social, political and historical context to analyze the control cases found, common categories were created among them, namely: author, type of institution, character, form and justification for the control act, which will be better developed in the next topic.

INVESTIGATIVE PROCESSES

To understand the relationship between acts of control of children's books and the pedagogical practices developed by Early Childhood Education teachers, in the formation of children as readers of literature, a qualitative master's research was carried out. The data were produced from two instruments: application of a form and semi-structured collective interviews (SANTOS, SILVA, JESUS, 2016). The data analysis was based on the technique of documentary analysis (BARDIN, 1977).

To conceptualize the acts of censorship of children's literature that occurred in Brazil, a historical survey was carried out with searches on different digital platforms in order to find records of control of children's literature books. With the documents collected, we carried out an analysis based on the classification criteria developed in the research with contributions from Fromming (2014) and Carneiro (2002):

1. Agent – person or institution that carried out the act;
2. Institution – class of institution responsible for the act, which can be: family, governmental, editorial, religious, media, investment or school;
3. Character – nature of the act: religious/intolerant, good customs/morality, sexual expression, death, disgust/disgust violence, ideology, politics, racial/racist character, social class, gender, aura or quality/bad;
4. Justification – it can be regulation, if the act exercised is within constitutional precepts that proclaim the right to difference, the recognition of equal rights, to human dignity; or censorship, when the act violates the constitutional precepts listed above;

In order to know the conceptions of Early Childhood Education teachers about control and to understand the relationship between the cases that occurred and occur in Brazil and the practices of selection and mediation of readings, forms were applied to fifteen teachers and four collective interviews were held with four groups. Three groups were formed by four teachers and one group by three teachers. The discussions were

organized into four main blocks. The first block dealt with the selection of books. The second, issues related to censorship. The third discussed the themes considered in the choices. In the fourth block, the reading of two books of children's literature served as a motto for the discussions.

The teachers were selected based on two criteria: a) teachers who, with frequency and competence recognized by peers, developed learning situations with a view to the formation of the literature reader and b) we observed the guarantee of a quantitative balance between teachers from the private and public education networks.

CENSORSHIP AND THE IMPACT ON TEACHING PRACTICE

A survey of the documents that prove the forms of control found through searches in the web spaces (newspaper library and websites) and in scientific articles was carried out. The material was explored in order to allow the analysis of the texts themselves to indicate "the connections between the different variables" (BARDIN, 1970, p. 125), based on the deductive process and the construction of new hypotheses.

33 cases of censorship and regulation of children's literature books were registered in Brazil, which were gathered and analyzed by criteria that explained the context in which the practice of restriction was inserted. The data recorded allowed the elaboration of a historical review of acts of control in children's literature in Brazil.

The results of the form and the interviews contributed to knowing the teachers' perception of censorship. The form aimed to establish the professional profile of the teachers, identifying their training path and knowing some of their conceptions about children's literature. From the answers, we sought to establish relationships between these elements: the profile, the training and the conceptions. The group of participants was made up entirely of women, predominantly aged between 40 and 50 years, who had graduated from higher education for more than a decade, all of whom had taken different continuing education courses. Most of them had more than fifteen years of teaching in early childhood education and worked in two shifts at the school. In order to maintain the anonymity of the teachers, but to associate the answers of the same interviewee, we chose to refer them with fictitious names. The interviewees were designated as follows: Group 1: Ana, Bruna, Clara, Daniela; Group 2: Elisa, Fernanda, Gabriela, Heloísa; Group 3: Isabela, Júlia, Kátia, Luisa; Group 4: Maria, Natalia, Olivia.

After the interviews were conducted, the first movement was transcription, which implies "preserving as much information as possible, both linguistic (recording the totality of signifiers) and paralinguistic (noting silences, onomatopoeia, disturbances of words and emotional aspects such as laughter, ironic tone, etc.)" (BARDIN, 1977, p. 220). With the transcribed material, we began the analysis in order to understand and evaluate, transversally, the "frequency of the themes extracted from the set of discourses, considered segmentable and comparable data". (p. 220), and analysis of the enunciation, contemplating the dynamics of the discourse, the style and the recurrences of the themes.

For this article, we will present an excerpt of these results from the teachers' statements.

CASES OF CENSORSHIP RECORDED IN THE INTERVIEWS

The interviewees revealed that their selection from the school's collection happens mainly based on the themes of the narratives. It is important to emphasize that, in their answers, it was not possible to observe a pattern or marked difference in their choices in relation to the profile of the teachers - age, path, administrative category, etc. They argued that, as the books that come to them already meet quality criteria, on a daily basis they employ other criteria to select the works that will be read. Among the main selection criteria adopted, the following stand out: the classic authors, the children's relationship with the book, the ethnic-racial representativeness, the relationship of the illustrations with the verbal text, the quality of the images, the unpublished reading for the class, the choice of a specific situation/certain subject and, finally, the presence of classic tales.

In the second block of interviews with the teachers, "Censorship", 17 cases of control in children's literature were reported. Seeking to understand the content of the reported cases, we proposed to analyze the cases as we did with the episodes found in documents: author of the act, type of institution, character and justification. In this block, the questions were directed in order to know the criteria that the teachers use when they are faced with situations in which they need to choose books to be shared with the children.

Control cases reported in the interviews

	Work	Author of the work	Agent	Institution	Character	Administrative category of the institution
1	Witch, Witch come to my party	Pat Ludlow	Parents of a child in the class	Family	Religious - presence of witches	Particular
2	Witch, Witch come to my party	Pat Ludlow	Father of a child in the class	Family	Moral - "ugly" illustrations	Public
3	Hansel and Gretel	Tatiana is a little girl.	Parents of a child in the class	Family	Aura, child abandonment	Particular
4	Giraffe has stiff neck	Guilherme Domenichelli	Parents of a class	Family	Gender, homoaffective relationships	Particular
5	It is necessary to release Gaspar	Geoffroy de Pennart	Parents of a child in the class	Family	Gender, gender equality	Particular
6	Little Red Riding Hood	Charles Perrault and the Brothers Grimm	Parents of a child in the class	Family	Violence, death of the wolf	Particular
7	Caindo fulô	Popular repertoire	School coordination	School	Racial Religious, music of African culture	Public
8	João pricks the stick, Maria moves angu, Teresa sets the table to hunt for the armadillo	Popular repertoire	School coordination	School	Sexual expression, repulsion to the words <i>dick</i> and <i>dick</i>	Public
9	Folklore - Headless Mule	Popular repertoire	School coordination	School	Religious, involvement of priests in the transformation of the mule	Public
10	Collection: What Fits in My World	Different authors	School coordination	School	Morals, moralizing books	Particular
11	Peter and Moon	Odilon Moraes	School teachers	School	Death, relationship with grief	Public

12	Letter to boys and girls in times of Covid-19	Mônica Correia Baptista et a	Parents of a class	Family	Death, presentation of Covid-19	Public
13	There and here	Odilon Moraes e Carolina Moreyra	School teachers	School	Morale, separation	Public
14	Rose	Odilon Moraes	School coordination	School	Morals, father-son relationship	Particular
	Anger	José Carlos Lollo e Blandina Franco			Morale, exacerbated feelings	
	One day, a river	André Neves			Moral, environmental crime	
	Fox	Margareth Wild			Morals, selfishness	
	The duck, death and the tulip	Wolf Elrbrunch			Death, relationship with grief	
	Grandpa's umbrella	Carolina Moreyra			Death, relationship with grief	
	Nuno, and the invisible things	André Neves			Morals, feelings	
	You can cry heart but stay whole	Glenn Ringtved			Death, relationship with grief	
15	Grandpa's umbrella	Carolina Moreyra	Parents of a child in the class	Family	Death, relationship with grief	Particular
16	The family book	Todd Park	Parents of a class	Family	Gender, homoaffactive relationships	Particular
17	Children like you	Anabel Kinderley	Parents of a class	Family	Gender, homoaffactive relationships	Particular

Source: Elaborated by the author, 2023.

The first case mentioned in the interviews happened with the work "Witch, Witch, come to my party", by Pat Ludlow. The book, published in 1991, having arrived in Brazil in

2002, has become a classic among very young children with its mesmerizing illustrations of the mystical figures of the fantasy world.

Such illustrations are often a reason for strangeness among adults, perhaps because they do not fit into stereotypes or because they highlight, in realistic images full of details, the fear that many of the characters arouse. With this justification, two families from a private school sought out the teacher to prevent their son from having access to the book that was part of the collection: "Because of the fear, because of the impact of those images, in her son's life, you know, what that would bring to her..." (Ana).

One of these families justified it with the premise that the work hurt particular religious beliefs by presenting figures such as the witch and the wolf. From the conversation with the families, the teacher made the choice not to read the book in the collective when the children of these families were present, in addition to not offering it as an option to take home.

The book "Witch, Witch come to my party" was also mentioned by another public school teacher (Júlia). In this case, the father of a child questioned the use of a "horrible" work, referring to the illustrations in the book that for him were frightening for children. The teacher justified her choice and said that she would not stop reading it to the children.

For this argument of the teacher, we asked whether the teacher from the private school system would have the same condition to maintain her choice, considering the difference in the labor relationship. It is also interesting to think about whether it would not be an opportunity to talk and form families as good reading mediators at times like this, instead of simply reaffirming their reading.

The next recorded case happened in a private school from the pressure of family members of a child in the class who did not want her to have access to the work "Hansel and Gretel", by Tatiana Belinky. According to the family, the book presents a story "heavy for the child, where the child was abandoned in the forest, and that there, she had not liked this indication that had been made, right?" (Ana). According to the teacher, based on the family's formal complaint, a conversation was held with the management and coordination so that the school could justify its choices:

"[...] We were able to show the importance of this literature in the lives of children even with images that brought these elements of fear, right? The families accepted, but asked me to be careful that these books were not in the hands of their children. That they could not choose this book. So, at the time of selection, there, of the choice that is made by the children, I had to take these books so that they had to choose between the other selected titles."

In this case, the school assumed this function of training families as mediators with a shared work, despite giving in on an aspect that was not to leave the book to be chosen by the children.

The book *Giraffe has a stiff neck?*, by Guilherme Domenichelli, was the next target recorded. In the work, different curiosities about the animal world are revealed, such as, for example, "Does an elephant drink water through its trunk? Do lions have stingers with venom on the tip of their tails? Can anteaters suck our brains?" (PANDA BOOKS, 2022). One of the curiosities revealed in the book concerns the sexuality of some animals that relate to similar animals of the same sex, such as dolphins. This fact caused great discomfort among the families who demanded the removal of the book from the collection by the school.

The next case recorded, in the interviews, happened with the book *"It is necessary to release Gaspar!"*, by Geoffroy de Pennart. The book tells the story of a goat who gets stuck in the pantry and needs help to get out. In a private school, the family sought out the teacher to question the female presence in the work so that all the characters who occupied a prominent place and consequently tried to save Gaspar were men. The regulation proposed by the families was based on a feminist justification for gender equality. Even with the complaint, the teacher did not stop reading the work claiming that within a diverse collection, other works revealed the strongest female position.

At the same school, a case was recorded applied by another family in relation to the well-known story *"Little Red Riding Hood"*, both in Charles Perrault's version and in that of the Brothers Grimm. The father questioned the teacher's choice to use such a "violent" story to develop a project with the children, referring to the mistreatment directed at the wolf. The conversation with the teacher took place after the end of the project, that is, it did not interfere in the choice of the book and, therefore, it was not a question of reading or not the work to the children. The teacher said that even after the conversations and her defense of the classic tales, the father remained uncomfortable with the choice and did not relax his position.

The next case was in relation to a cultural production that is an expression of Brazilian oral literature. The song *"Tá cair fulô"*, known in the popular repertoire, was restricted by the coordination of a public school. According to the report of the interviewed teacher, they associated the music "with terreiros de macumba and candomblé", expressions of Afro-Brazilian culture, insinuating that the use of music in a school event

would displease families. The teacher then looked for another work to present.

Another case recorded in the interviews happened in a public school with a legend: "João stings the stick, Maria moves angu, Teresa sets the table to hunt the armadillo". According to the teacher, the school coordination "barred" the legend because of the words "pica" and "caçada". The teacher argued:

"The legend is part of it, it is within the collection of books that were selected by the city hall. The meaning of these two words that you are saying that there is a problem, we can go to Aurélio. You will see that there is not... there may be something pejorative that was created by common sense, but it does not bring a problem to the legend" (Helena).

The coordination did not impose itself and the text remained in the para-house and did not cause any strangeness in the families as expected by the school.

The next recorded act took place in a public school, but not to a specific work, but to a general theme of literature. According to the teacher, the school coordination vetoed a project on Folklore. The justification presented was that the story of the Headless Mule - related to involvement with priests - would cause a disagreement with the families of the children in a school where most followed the evangelical religion.

In a private school, the collection "What fits in my world", by various authors, and other books with moral themes, were removed from the collection. The collection presents in its works themes such as: understanding, gratitude, prudence, dedication, optimism, sensitivity, fraternity, forgiveness, serenity, discipline, among others. The school coordination indicated that it preferred that the teachers did not read books that presented moralizing messages. The books were therefore removed from the school.

The work "Pedro e Lua", by Odilon Moraes, was also impeded in a public school. According to the interviewed teacher, her fellow teachers questioned the use of the work because it refers to the theme of death. In the narrative, Pedro creates a beautiful relationship with a turtle that dies after years together. The teachers showed indignation towards the book and indicated the direction of not reading the work to the children.

The next case recorded from the interviews was with the work Letter to boys and girls in time of Covid-19, by Mônica Baptista and 11 nationally renowned illustrators. During the period of the Covid-19 pandemic, family members of children from a public school manifested on the class's Whatsapp positioning themselves against the reading of the book, which expressed the conditions and consequences imposed by the pandemic. Parents indicated that they would not like to discuss such a real topic to promote the

protection of children in relation to a negative situation. The teachers took a firm stand and maintained the circulation of the book in the school.

The book *Lá e aqui*, by Odilon Moraes and Carolina Moreyra, was also targeted in the same public school. From the choice of the interviewed teacher, other teachers sought to reproach her for addressing a theme that according to them was "too heavy" for the children. The work narrates, from the perspective of a child, the divorce of his parents.

The next recorded case was in relation to a theme, and not to a specific work. The interviewed teacher reported that when she was admitted to the private school, she received a list of books with delicate themes that should not be part of the classroom library. The school justified that the parents would not have the necessary skills to mediate the works and therefore, the books should not be sent home. The books included in the list were: "Rosa", by Odilon Moraes, narrates the distance between a father and a son; "Anger", by Blandina Franco and José Carlos Lollo, tells the destructive power that this feeling can achieve; "One day, a river", by André Neves, a tribute to the Doce River, destroyed in 2015 by an environmental crime; "Fox", by Margaret Wild, a story that involves feelings of envy, betrayal and jealousy; "The duck, death and the tulip", by Wolf Erlbruch, about the relationship with grief; "Grandpa's Umbrella", by Carolina Moreyra, narrates the bond between a granddaughter and her grandfather and the memories left by him; "Nuno and the invisible things", by André Neves, narrates the poetic ways that a boy has to see the world; "You can cry heart, but stay whole", by Glenn Ringtved, tells about the farewell of his grandchildren to the dying grandmother.

The work *Grandpa's Umbrella*, by author Carolina Moreyra, was also restricted by a private school mother. The book tells the story of the relationship between a granddaughter and her grandfather, who passes away and leaves the umbrella as a souvenir for her. The justification presented by the family was that the work was too sad to be read with the child who, like the mother, was very moved when reading. The teacher invited the mother to a conversation in order to clarify her choice and the importance of literature to expand dialogues about death. Finally, the mother reassured herself and did not veto the reading.

The next case of censorship happened with the work "The Family Book", by Todd Park. According to the teacher interviewed, a group of families came to the school questioning the way in which the work presents family configurations. Mixing animal characters with humans, with colors that extrapolate reality, the author shows different groups and family organizations, creating counterpoints (with many people x lonely, in a big

house x a small house, etc.). The pages that raised the complaints presented families with two mothers or with two fathers, and another with adopted puppies. The teacher said that the school tried to justify itself, but the pressure was too great, culminating in the exclusion of the book from the school's collection.

At the same school, another book was curtailed with the same justification. "Children Like You", by Anabel Kinderley, was criticized by families for presenting different family backgrounds and structures, something that according to them is not suitable for children. The non-fictional work presents different children around the world, their favorite games, their routine and also their families. The book was also removed from the school's collection.

In total, there were 17 cases registered, two of which refer to the same work (Witch, witch come to my party). Of the 17 cases, 11 perpetrators were registered; three cases were authored by the popular repertoire and three authors were repeated. Regarding the perpetrators of the acts, three main groups were registered: family members of school children (10), school coordination (5) and group of teachers (2). The three groups are part of two institutions, the first, the Family, and the last two, the School. Regarding the character of the acts, four cases were classified as Gender, three Religious, three by Moral, three by Death, one by Aura, one by Violence, one by Sexual Expression and one by Racial character. One case admitted racial and religious character at the same time.

No cases of regulation were recorded in the interviews. Of the 17 cases of censorship recorded, ten took place in private schools and seven in public schools.

We also observed in the teachers' statements another element that contributes to the discussion. Regarding the differences between public and private schools, some teachers made comments based on their perceptions.

Bruna says, "(the public school) is more from the periphery like this, we don't have much of this questioning (in relation to the censorship of books)". Helena corroborates by complementing the point of view: "In private schools, we are more pruned in relation to this issue of paying for our choices." Maria also expresses in relation to the private school in which she works: "There is a rigidity of the public, the public that seeks the school in which I work is a very similar, privileged public".

Even with a greater number of control cases in private schools and the comments expressed by some of the teachers interviewed, it is not possible to affirm a direct relationship that there are more impediments in these schools.

Following the justifications of the teachers, it was possible to understand that the control promoted by the schools has behind it a fear and a respective adaptation to the beliefs of some families: heteronormative, white and of the Christian religion. In other words, as much as the school is the one who executes the censorship, the pressure caused by families seems to us to be the real vector behind the cases. The teachers, in their reports, find themselves in uncomfortable situations, seeking to position themselves between the studies and the theories that support them versus respect for personal beliefs and the wishes of each family. In this aspect, would it be possible to follow a self-censorship in the choice of works to be read in the face of a probable censorship of delicate themes?

CONCLUSION

In view of the course of censorship of children's literature in Brazil, we observe that for some segments of society it is not only a matter of allowing, indicating or not the reading of a book, but of demanding its withdrawal from circulation or preventing the access of readers in a given context. In relation to children, especially those from zero to six years old, the adult determines what they should or should not be allowed to access, based on their conceptions of childhood, literature and education.

In the testimonies, it became evident that the teachers' knowledge of literature and the mastery of quality criteria of works is fundamental for an autonomous practice, which contributes to the guarantee of young children's right to literature. However, even though they had a good education and even though they had extensive experience, the interviewees often acted in the sense of restricting the reading of a certain book, either because they were instructed to do so or because they anticipated problems that they would experience with their families.

The debate about the selection of books for children is quite complex, especially considering the fact that childhood requires adults to play their role in protection. It is on this thin limit between the obligation to ensure the child's safety and, at the same time, confidence in his inventive capacity, in his creative power, in his intelligence, that the selection of books must focus. Although complex, the debate should not be exempt from the necessary guarantee that children will see their experiences in the world expanded. To this end, it is important to affirm the commitment to an education for freedom, which is predisposed to take the necessary risks to foster creative minds, capable of questioning and seeking new knowledge.

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