



Secondary Education Student Press as a Source for History of Education: Potential and Challenges in Building a Repertoire about the South of Mato Grosso (Brazil)¹

Impressos estudantis secundaristas como fonte para a História da Educação: potencialidades e desafios no processo de produção de um repertório sobre o Sul de Mato Grosso (Brasil)

Prensa del estudiante de secundaria como fuente para la Historia de la Educación: potencialidades y desafíos en el proceso de producción de un repertorio sobre el Sur de Mato Grosso (Brasil)

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Abstract

This article presents methodological reflections resulting from the experience of building a repertoire of periodical student press as a potential source for research of History of Education, based on the procedures used to locate and analyze 10 secondary education student publications that were produced in the south of Mato Grosso from 1934 to 1998. The analysis of their material elements allowed some interpretive conjectures about the repertoire in question. The thematic categories we defined were: student culture; secondary school institution; feminism/women; and cinema and education. It is worth noting that, as a source, these student press periodicals allow many other sources. The long period covered by the repertoire has the advantage of allowing investigations on what changed or remained unchanged with regard to the production of such periodicals and the topics they address.

Keywords: Repertoire of sources. Secondary Education. Student Press.

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Resumo

Apresenta reflexões metodológicas decorrentes da experiência de repertoriar a imprensa periódica estudantil, como fonte potencial de pesquisas para a História da Educação, a partir dos procedimentos de localização e da análise de 10 impressos estudantis de nível secundário, produzidos no sul de Mato Grosso, entre 1934 a 1998. A análise dos elementos materiais de produção permitiu algumas conjecturas interpretativas sobre o repertório em questão. Como categorias temáticas levantamos: Cultura estudantil; instituição escolar secundária; feminismo/mulher; e cinema e educação, cientes de que os impressos, como fonte, permitem muitas outras. O largo tempo que abrange esse repertório apresenta a vantagem de poder investigar as mudanças e as permanências em torno da produção e das temáticas elencadas nos referidos impressos.

Palavras-chave: Repertório de fontes. Ensino Secundário. Imprensa estudantil.

Resumen

Presenta reflexiones metodológicas fruto de la experiencia de hacer un repertorio de la prensa periódica estudiantil, como fuente potencial de investigación para la Historia de la Educación, a partir de los procedimientos de localización y análisis de 10 prensas de estudiantes de secundaria, producidos en el sur de Mato Grosso, entre 1934 y 1998. El análisis de los elementos materiales de la producción permitió algunas conjeturas interpretativas sobre el repertorio en cuestión. Como categorías temáticas definimos: Cultura estudiantil; institución de educación secundaria; feminismo / mujeres; y cine y educación, conscientes de que la prensa, como fuente, permite muchas otras. El largo tiempo que abarca este repertorio tiene la ventaja de poder indagar cambios y permanencias en torno a la producción y a los temas enumerados en la referida prensa.

Palabras clave: Repertorio de fuentes. Escuela secundaria. Prensa estudiantil.

Introduction

This article presents the first technical operation of the historian, i.e., producing documents and creating a collection, as Certeau (2011[1975]) points out. Therefore, it aims to provide reflections of a methodological nature arising from the experience of organizing, listing and building a repertoire of sources that potentially contribute to research in the field of History of Education, but which are not available in major digital collections, such being the case with student press publications. In addition, based on the located periodicals, the article aims to identify the potential for analysis provided by the publications with regard to the study of how secondary education was constituted in Brazil and, particularly, in the south of the state of Mato Grosso.

We consider that analyzing the student press, which is situated in the set of publications that we call the educational periodical press, can contribute to understanding, in particular, the history of secondary education based on elements such as school culture, pedagogical practices, day-to-day school life and students' representations regarding education and the context they are situated in, since, as Caspard (1993, p. 93) points out, the analysis of the "education press"² allows writing the history of education in a way that is "less centered on the role of the State or of prominent pedagogues, and more focused on the wealth of local, institutional, ideological, social-professional initiatives and also on addressing expectations", understanding that "unlike books, periodical press is an interactive medium in whose direction readers participate in one way or another, whether by writing to it, subscribing it or discontinuing their subscription".

Thus, the student press can be understood as a set of printed publications that have characteristics in common and in whose production and circulation processes students play the main role while also being their target audience. As Amaral (2002, p. 124) points out, in these student publications "one can see values, customs and interests that guided young students' relationships, as well as their appropriations of the school culture from the school they attended". Analyzing them "allows contact with textual contents and devices that characterize students' reading practices", thus translating "a certain conduct and a desirable (and sometimes undesirable) behavior on the part of the various educational institutions".

Therefore, we can say that, in the south of Mato Grosso³, secondary education student press, understood as press by and for secondary students, emerged as the first secondary schools were gradually established. In 1925, Colégio Dom Bosco, created by the Instituto Pestalozzi, was the first school to provide secondary education at the *ginásial*⁴ level in the city of Campo Grande, now the capital of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul⁵. In 1939, the first public *ginásio* was established. It was the third secondary school in the state of Mato Grosso (OLIVEIRA; GONÇALVES, 2009). In 1940, there were only three official *ginásios* under federal inspection, which were located in Mato Grosso's three largest cities: Cuiabá, Corumbá and Campo Grande (MATO GROSSO, Relatório..., 1940). Private secondary schools, particularly denominational

² In organizing the French analytical repertoire, Caspard (1981) defines the term "education press" so as to comprehend the whole set of publications concerning school education, produced by and/or intended for teachers, students and/or their families. The author warns that the term pedagogical press, for example, can be understood as circumscribed to pedagogy or pedagogical theories, therefore being intended for teachers, and restricted only to a part of what education press comprehends.

³ By south of Mato Grosso we understand the geographical region that now corresponds to the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, which was created in 1977 by the Complementary Law n.31 of October 11. Therefore, the term south of Mato Grosso comprehends the southern portion of the old state of Mato Grosso in the period before the state was divided.

⁴ Note of translation: *Ginásial* is the adjective derived from *Ginásio* (noun). In the following paragraphs, the authors explain these and other terms pertaining to education levels.

⁵ In 1933, Mato Grosso had 2,580 students enrolled, approximately 83% of whom in primary education, whereas 10% were enrolled in *Ginásio*, 4% in *Normal* and 3% in *comercial*, according to Rocha (2010).

ones, gradually emerged at the same time as public ones. In fact, such private schools account for much of the student press we had access to.

The situation in Mato Grosso with regard to the offer of secondary education was very similar to that in the rest of the country. Dallabrida (2012, p. 170) says, for example, that in the 1950s, secondary education in the city of Florianópolis was “formed by three schools, two of which were Catholic, private and distinct as to gender, and one was public, free and co-educational”. In his analysis of the *O Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, Bontempi Jr (2012, p. 143) says that secondary education was presented in that publication as the most “serious and grave of all educational problems” in the Brazilian system. In 1961, as the co-rapporteur⁶ for secondary education, Jayme Abreu said that “the key problem in the overall educational question of our time is that of secondary or post-primary education” (ABREU, 1961, p. 8).

The Francisco Campos Reform of 1931 established for the first time the “homogenization” of secondary education in Brazil, and in the 1940s, the systematic expansion of this education level began with the creation of *ginásios* in the states’ capitals, according to the Law on Secondary Education (LOES) of 1942⁷. In this context, secondary education is understood as post-primary education, and was organized in two cycles (a first four-year cycle called *ginasial*⁸ and a second three-year cycle called *colegial*, which could be of two types: *clássico* or *científico*), with a curriculum that was characterized by an encyclopedic predominance that emphasized general culture and humanism. The LOES itself expressly said, in its article 23, that this education level should focus on preparing the country’s “leading individualities” (BRASIL, 1942). In this context, the government allocated scarce funds to the creation of secondary schools and let the private sector, particularly the Catholic Church, in charge of meeting this demand, thus increasing elitism in this education level, as shown by Dallabrida (2012), among others.

The 1950s were a period of actions related to Brazilian secondary education, such as the creation of rules on the operation of national secondary schools, including the Law 1,920 of July 25, 1953 (BRASIL, 1953), which, besides establishing the Secondary Education Directorate⁹, determined that the various middle school programs were equivalent for purposes of enrollment in the secondary cycle and in higher education, which, in a way, represented an important measure towards making the former universal. However, as Abreu (1955, p. 37) pointed out, based on statistics of 1954, while enrollments in secondary education increased by 490% from 1933 to 1953, this level was still marked by scantiness, “except for the appearances of legal formalism, which is the usual way of counterfeiting arising from unrealistic legal abstraction”. To Nunes (2000, p.35), secondary education “became a challenge to educators in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, due to the transformation it went through, including in terms of curriculum, as it became universal; such transformations implied posing deep questions with regard to its educational role”.¹⁰

⁶ Jayme Abreu was the invited rapporteur for the subject of “Secondary Education in General” at the “Regional Meetings of Brazilian Educators” (6th Region), which were held by public and private entities such as MEC and CNI. His text was published in the *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, in 1961.

⁷ Enacted on April 9, 1942, during the administration of the then Minister of Education and Health Gustavo Capanema, the Law on Secondary Education became also known as the Capanema Reform (BRASIL, 1942).

⁸ Entrance from primary education into this first cycle required passing the *exame de admissão* (or admission exam) to *ginásio*.

⁹ The Campaign for the Improvement and Expansion of Secondary Education (CADES) was created by this Directorate (Decree 34,638 of November 17, 1953) in order to qualify and certify lay teachers in this education level during school holidays. Four years later, the CADES creates the *Escola Secundária* magazine, which focused on didactical issues, with reports on experiences in different disciplines in both cycles of secondary education.

¹⁰ With the end of the Vargas era (1930-1945), the Law on Secondary Education (1942) goes through a period of debates around the purpose of this education level. We can say that the LOES had two stages, one from 1942 to 1945, dedicated to meeting the Law’s elitist goal, and a second stage, a period of readaptation, with a “tangle of ordinances and directives”, involving adaptation to changes in the Brazilian sociocultural structure, as Braghini

The National Education Guidelines and Framework Law 4,024 of 1961 established equivalence between the secondary education as defined by the LOES and vocational and *normal*¹¹ programs, thus creating the *ensino médio*, which represented another step towards universal secondary education. In turn, the Law 5,692 of 1971 established new guidelines for the new division it created, i.e., *1º* and *2º Graus*. As mentioned earlier, from 1931 to 1971, secondary education was organized in two cycles (“*ginásio*” and “*colégio*”¹²), and entrance into secondary education required passing the *exame de admissão*. The Law 5,692 of 1971 grouped primary education and *ginásio* together in the same stage and called it *1º Grau*, eliminating the *exame de admissão*. In this new division, secondary education corresponded to *2º Grau*.

With the return of democracy in the country in 1985 and the enactment of the current National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB 9,394 of 1996), secondary education becomes the last stage of Basic Education (which also includes early childhood and primary education), a level that is both mandatory and free. This is a new way of looking at secondary education, i.e., as the basis for young people’s education, and no longer an education level restricted to a social class or just a step on the ladder to higher education.

The effort to summarize in this article the history of secondary education in Brazil mainly by reviewing its legal frameworks, even at the risk of oversimplification, is justified as a way of showing that changes in the form and goals of this education level marked, in each period, definitions about the possible secondary student, which therefore influences the analysis of secondary education student press over history.

Thus, in order to locate and identify the secondary education student press that was produced and circulated in the south of Mato Grosso since the emergence of the first schools as one of the possible paths to understand secondary education in the state, we searched the collection available in the Federal University of Grande Dourados’ (UFGD) Center for Regional Documents (CDR) and then sought studies of history of education that had educational periodical press as their source. Such procedures resulted, after a great effort to interpret the available data, in the presentation and analysis of 10 student periodicals as potential sources for history of education in the south of Mato Grosso from 1934 to 1998.

Search Procedures: Locating, Identifying, Selecting and Accessing

Starting from the motivation to create a catalogue of the educational periodical press that was produced and circulated in the south of Mato Grosso in the 20th century¹³, and based on Certeau’s (2011 [1975], p.75) affirmation that “‘going to the archives’ is the statement of a tacit law of history”, we began our search for documents available in collections at the Center for Regional Documents (CDR)¹⁴, considering that:

(2005, p.6) pointed out. This second stage lasts until 1961, with the enactment of the LDB 4,024/1961, after 11 years of discussions in Congress.

¹¹ Note of translation: *Normal* designates secondary-level programs that trained elementary teachers. Later in the same paragraph, the authors mention *ensino médio*, which was the new generic term for secondary education, comprehending all of its types, including *normal*. The authors then refer to *1º* and *2º Graus*, which can be translated as 1st and 2nd Levels, corresponding to primary and secondary education, respectively.

¹² With regard to this terminology, it is worth remembering, in line with Dallabrida (2012), that the secondary schools that succeeded in implementing both cycles created by the Capanema Reform (LOES) acquired the status of “*colégio*”, while schools that offered only the first cycle of secondary education were considered as “*ginásios*”.

¹³ This intention resulted in the final report of a postdoctoral residency in the Graduate Program in Education with the Group for Research on History of Education (GEPHE) and the Group for Research on Written Culture in the Federal University of Minas Gerais.

¹⁴ The Center for Regional Documents was created in the 1980s by faculty at the School of Humanities of the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul in Dourados, today the Federal University of Grande Dourados. For more information, visit: <https://www.ufgd.edu.br/setor/cdr/index>. Retrieved on August 4, 2020.

Despite what beginners seem to sometimes imagine, documents do not appear, here or there, as the effect of some mysterious decree of the gods. Their presence or absence in such and such an archive, in such and such a library, on such and such a ground derives from human causes that by no means escape analysis, and the problems posed by their transmission, far from being limited to technical exercise, touch the innermost of life of the past, since what is thus in question is nothing less than the transmission of memory through generations (BLOCH, 2002 [1941-42], p. 83).

Pondering that the documents archived at the CDR went through selection and identification processes according to the original purposes of this institution, which is dedicated to producing and gathering collections of documents pertaining to regional studies, we referred to the following collections: “Periódicos Mato-Grossenses (microfilmes)”; “Jornais e Boletins”; “Revistas”; “Documentos Originais”; and “‘Lourival Alves da Silva’ - Lista de jornais impressos e digitalizados (Ponta Porã e Aral Moreira)”.

By producing a “new cultural distribution” of the documents taken from the “usage world” (CERTEAU, 2011 [1975], 69), our first selection resulted in 33 publications that we denominated, by their title and classification in the archive, as student periodical press of both secondary and higher education. A second, more rigorous and precise selection observed that some titles, such as *O Caderno* [The Notebook], though the name referred to a school object, was actually a publication of general circulation self-denominated “the only magazine in [the city of] Aquidauana”. This selection reduced to 18 the number of student periodicals located at the CDR (two from the 1930s, one from the 1960s, two published in the 1970s, seven in the 1980s, six in the 1990s).

In our search for student press strictly pertaining to secondary education at the CDR’s archive, we found that the earliest publications were of such type. The first periodical we located was the *Vida Escolar* newspaper, with copies from 1934 to 1937. The *Civilização* magazine (about culture and education, also of 1934), which had been initially selected, was eliminated as it showed no direct connection with any school or group of students¹⁵. The second student periodical we located from this decade was *Ecos Juvenis* (1936, 1939), by female students who attended the Colégio Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora. The CDR’s collection has no student periodical published in the 1940s or 1950s, and the next occurrence is a school newspaper titled *O ABC – Grêmio Estudantil Coelho Neto* (1961, 1962, 1968) from the Colégio Osvaldo Cruz in Dourados. For the 1970s, we located the *O grito do estudante* newspaper (1974)¹⁶, from the Colégio Estadual Presidente Vargas. For the 1980s and 1990s, issues of higher education student periodicals are more numerous in the collection, but we located three secondary education-based periodicals: *Voz do estudante: órgão oficial informativo e cultural da União Douradense de Estudantes* (1983, 1991); and two apparently short-lived newspapers, one titled *Futrica*, and the other, *Jornal O Interação – Grêmio Estudantil gestão Renovação*, both from the Escola Estadual Reis Veloso.

After excluding higher education-based publications and others which, by close examination, were found to be unrelated to education despite their titles, we arrived at seven secondary education periodicals. In the chart below we present, by title, school, city of origin

¹⁵ The *Civilização* magazine was managed by the physician Peri Alves Campus, who also published the *Folha da Serra* magazine from 1931 to 1940, in the city of Campo Grande.

¹⁶ The first higher education student periodical appears in 1977 and is titled *Pizão – Boletim Informativo do Diretório Acadêmico Pedro Pedrossian* (published by engineering students at the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul).

and year, the secondary education student periodicals located and selected from the CDR's collection for the period from 1934 to 1998

Chart 1 – Secondary education student periodicals from the CDR's collection

Title	School/City	Year of circulation (available issues)	Number of pages (per issue)
<i>Vida Escolar – órgão dos estudantes de Campo Grande/ Colégio Visconde de Taunay</i>	Colégio Visconde de Taunay/ Internato Osvaldo Cruz/ Campo Grande	1934, 1935 1935, 1936 e 1937 ¹⁷	4 pages (18 pages 1937)
<i>Ecos Juvenis – órgão das alunas do Colégio N. S. Auxiliadora</i>	Colégio Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora / Campo Grande	1936, 1939 ¹⁸	22 pages
<i>ABC O ABC Grêmio Estudantil Coelho Neto</i>	Colégio Osvaldo Cruz de Dourados/ Dourados	1961, 1962, 1968 ¹⁹	6 pages
<i>O grito do estudante</i>	Colégio Estadual Presidente Vargas/ Dourados	1974 ²⁰ (6 issues available)	14 pages (12 a 16)
<i>Voz do estudante – Órgão oficial informativo e cultural da UDE</i>	UDE (União Douradense dos Estudantes) Dourados	1983, 1991 ²¹	8 pages
<i>Futrica</i>	Escola Estadual Reis Veloso /Dourados	1998 ²²	2 pages
<i>Jornal O interação – Grêmio Estudantil gestão Renovação</i>	Escola Reis Veloso /Dourados	1998 ²³	4 pages

Source: Prepared by the authors based on search of the sources materially available at the CDR

Based on the chart above, we can see that the seven publications available in the CDR's collection were linked to four private schools, from 1934 to 1968; two public schools, from 1974 to 1998; and one student association, the Dourados Student Union (UDE), in 1983 and 1991. The earliest publications were produced in Campo Grande, and the most recent ones, in the city of Dourados.

Our explanatory hypotheses for such observations – in addition to considering the CDR's framework, routine and archive organization criteria, as highlighted by Marc Bloch (2002/[1941-1942]) – are, to some extent, the very organization of secondary education, which,

¹⁷ The issues available in the CDR's collection are: Year 1, No. 1, May/1934; Year 1, No. 2, Jun./1934; Year 1, No. 3, Jun./1934; Year 1, No. 5, Jul./1934; Year 1, No. 8, Sep./1934; Year 1, No. 9, Sep./1934; Year 2, No. 11, Nov./1934; Year 2, No. 13, May/1935; Year 2, No. 14, May/1935; Year 2, No. 16, Jul./1935; Year 2, No. 18-19, ago./1935; No. 20, Nov./1935; Year 3, No. 22, Jun./1936; Year 4, No. 28, Jun./1937.

¹⁸ The issues available in the CDR's collection are: 1936; and Year 6, No. 29, Oct./1939.

¹⁹ The issues available in the CDR's collection are: No. 2, May 1961; No. 6, 1961; No. 6, Oct. 1961; No. 8, Mar. 1962; No. 9, 1962; No. 10, May 1962. *O ABC Literário* (new version): No. 1, 1968; No. 2, 1968; No. 3, May 1968, No. 4, 1968; No. 5, Aug. 1968; No. 6, Sep. 1968 (4 pages on average)

²⁰ The issues available in the CDR's collection are all of Year 1 (1974): No. 1, June; No. 2, August; No. 3, September, No. 4 also of September; No. 5, October, No. 6, November.

²¹ The issues available in the CDR's collection are: Year 1, No. 02 (10/1983); Year 11, No. 004 (05.02.1991).

²² The issue available in the CDR's collection is: year 1, No. 4, May 26, 1998.

²³ The issue available in the CDR's collection is: No. 1, 1998.

until the 1970s, was only guaranteed to a small part of society, mainly by private schools, with a relative expansion of public schools in the following decades. The concentration of publications in the cities of Campo Grande and Dourados can be explained, in turn, because these are the two main cities in the state's south, since the 1930s. It is also worth noting that the Center for Regional Documents (CDR/FCH/UFGD) is located in Dourados.

The quantitative and geographic limitation of the sources located in the CDR's collection led us to search academic studies for more secondary education student publications used in investigations about the south of Mato Grosso, considering that this type of source can also be accessed in school or personal collections, like new "places of memory" (NORA, 1993), in addition to historical archives and collections. Because our purpose was to produce an analytical repertoire, mainly in order to encourage further research, we had to search beyond the archive.

In search of studies and sources about secondary education student press in the south of Mato Grosso, we initially tracked the titles of articles published and available online in the five periodicals that specialize in history of education: *História da Educação* (Online)/ASPHE (RHE – 1997 to mid-2020)²⁴; *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* (RBHE – 2001 to mid-2020)²⁵; *HISTEDBR On-line* (2009 to mid-2020)²⁶; *Cadernos de História da Educação* (CHE – 2002-2020)²⁷; and the *Revista de História e Historiografia da Educação* (RHHE – 2017-2020)²⁸. The descriptors we used for the titles of articles published in these periodicals were the words "imprensa", "impresso", "jornal", "periódico", "revista" and "mato grosso"²⁹, and the quantitative results are shown in Table 1 below:

Table1 –Number of articles found by scientific periodical

Periodicals (search places)	Articles about/with Press	Articles about/with Student Press
RHE	59	16
RBHE	30	2
Rev. HISTEDBR	42	1
CHE	37	1
RHHE	5	1
TOTAL	173	21

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the results of the search in the periodicals

In order to select student press from the articles found in this search procedure, we looked for words in the titles that indicated that the subject was student press – words such as "aluno", "estudante", "escolar", "escola" "colégio"³⁰. Twenty-one articles on this subject, with student press as the source, were found, but none of them referred to Mato Grosso. Thus, the

²⁴ The RHE is a publication of the Rio Grande do Sul Association of Researchers on History of Education (Asphe), with publications since 1997. Available at: <https://seer.ufrgs.br/asphe/issue/archive>. Accessed on August 11, 2020.

²⁵ Available at: <http://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/issue/archive>. Accessed on August 13, 2020.

²⁶ The HISTEDBR On-line, created by the Research Group on History, Society and Education in Brazil – HISTEDBR, was first published in September 2000. However, its online issues are available from March 2009 (v.9, No. 33). Available at: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/histedbr/issue/archive>. Accessed on August 17, 2020.

²⁷ Available at: <http://www.seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/>. Accessed on August 19, 2020.

²⁸ Published by the Anpuh's Research Group on History of Education. Available at: <http://revistas.ufpr.br/rhhe>. Accessed on Jan. 18, 2021.

²⁹ We disregarded studies in which textbooks and other class resources were presented as press material.

³⁰ We excluded, for example, children's sections of newspapers, for although they are intended for a school-aged audience, they are not directly related with schools or education institutions.

search helped understand the state of the question, but it did not help expand the repertoire of sources. Such gaps, in addition to the lack of results, led us to search academic output that was indexed in the Portal of Periodicals of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES)³¹. To that end, in addition to the descriptors “imprensa” and “mato grosso”, we included the keyword “história educação”. As a result, we found 153 items, 66 of which were peer-reviewed. We read the title/keywords/abstracts of each result, but could not find any item that corresponded to our purpose.

Considering that the survey had been insufficient, we sought theses and dissertations defended in Brazil that are available at the Capes Catalogue of Theses and dissertations³² and at the Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD/IBICT)³³, using the descriptors “imprensa” and “mato grosso” for the title, abstract and/or keywords. Considering initially the south and north of pre-division Mato Grosso as the spatial scope, as well as press in the general sense rather than just educational press, we found 11 theses that were defended from 2008 to 2019. Of these, three used educational periodical press as a source: the works by Silva (2019), Nolasco (2015) and Silva (2008). The others used general circulation and/or religious press.

Of these three authors, Silva (2019) and Nolasco (2015) used student press, but only Silva (2019) used publications that were produced/circulated in the south of Mato Grosso. However, the source she used, the *A Vida Escolar* newspaper, was already part of the sources available at the CDR. As for Nolasco’s thesis, although it investigates student press only in Cuiabá, it contains a chart that lists the “Educational periodicals from 1880 to 1959” that circulated in the country (NOLASCO, 2015, chart 13, p. 422-426). With regard to southern Mato Grosso, the chart mentions two publications: *Primícias* (1927, Ginásio Municipal de Campo Grande) and *Vida Escolar* (1934-1935, Colégio Visconde de Taunay)³⁴.

Considering the meager results, we conducted a search in Google Acadêmico³⁵ by means of two procedures: 1) we used the descriptors “jornal escolar”, “mato grosso” and “história da educação”, 2) then we included each of the titles of the publications found in the CDR’s collection as search descriptors. Based on the results, we also considered the bibliographic references in the studies that were found.

Chart 2 below summarizes the results of this search, which considered all types of academic output (articles in annals and journals, book chapters, dissertations and theses). In the left column, we list the secondary education student publications that were cited in the studies we found. In the right column, we list the references to the studies that mentioned or analyzed those student publications. Where the publication was only mentioned in the study, we included the page in which it was mentioned. In turn, the asterisk indicates that the reference was found in the previous search.

³¹ Available at: <https://www.periodicos.capes.gov.br>. Accessed on: Aug 10, 2020.

³² Available at: <https://catalogodeteses.capes.gov.br/catalogo-teses/#/>. Accessed on: May 4, 2020.

³³ Available at: <https://bdtd.ibict.br/vufind/>. Accessed on: May 6, 2020.

³⁴ In this search, we noted the absence of research conducted by the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UFMS), although this university has a well-established graduate program in Education, which was founded in 1988. Based on our experience from previous searches and on our contact with research conducted at this university, we infer that perhaps the works that used some type of periodical press as a source did not indicate it in their titles, abstracts or keywords. The same explanation applies to state and private universities in the states of Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul, which, despite having graduation programs in education, did not appear in our results either.

³⁵ Website available at: <https://scholar.google.com.br/scholar?q=>. Accessed on: Sep. 2, 2020.

Chart 2 – Secondary student publications found in our searches

Student publication school (city, decade)	Research that cites/analyzes this student publication
<i>O Eco do Collegio</i> Colégio Salesiano Santa Teresa (Corumbá, 1920)	Stella Oliveira (2014, p. 120)
<i>Primícias</i> Ginásio Municipal de Campo Grande (Campo Grande, 1927)	Nolasco (2015, p. 423)
<i>Vida Escolar – órgão dos estudantes de Campo Grande</i> Colégio Visconde de Taunay (Campo Grande, 1934, 1935, 1936)	Silva; Moreira (2015) Sá; Moreira (2017) Silva (2019) * Nolasco (2015, p 423)
<i>Ecos Juvenis – órgão das alunas do Colégio N. S. Auxiliadora</i> (Campo Grande, 1936, 1939)	Trubiliano (2007) Trubiliano; Martins (2010) Ortiz (2014); Souza (1999).
<i>O Ginásio</i> Colegio Dom Bosco (Campo Grande, 1943) [1937 a 1940]	Castro (2014)
<i>Jornal A Penna</i> Colégio Estadual Campo-grandense (Campo Grande, 1966) [1944?]	Oliveira; Paes (2013, p. 11) Rosa (1990)
<i>O ABC - Grêmio Estudantil Coelho Neto</i> Colégio Osvaldo Cruz de Dourados (Dourados, 1961, 1962, 1968)	Moreira; Passone Rodrigues (2017) Aguiar; Assis (2018, 2019)
<i>O Grito do estudante</i> Colégio Estadual Presidente Vargas (Dourados, 1974)	Marques; Irala (2017)
<i>Voz do estudante – Órgão oficial informativo e cultural da União Douradense dos Estudantes - UDE</i> (Dourados, 1983, 1991)	-
<i>Jornal Enfoque Joaquim Murtinho</i> Colégio Joaquim Murtinho (Campo Grande, 1986)	Oliveira; Rodríguez (2006, p. 6) Oliveira; Rodríguez (2008, p. 8)
<i>Futrica</i> Escola Estadual Reis Veloso (Dourados, 1998)	-
<i>Jornal O interação - Grêmio Estudantil gestão Renovação</i> Escola Reis Veloso (Dourados, 1998)	-

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the student press search results.

Chart 2 shows a quantitative, temporal and geographic expansion of sources compared to the first search, which was conducted in the CDR's collection. The earliest occurrence dates from 1920, the city of Corumbá is included, and the set comprises 12 secondary education student newspapers (an additional five publications). In addition, this search found publications that apparently have never appeared in previous research. No reference was found for the *Futrica* and *O Interação* newspapers (both of 1998, from the Escola Estadual Reis Veloso) or for *Voz do estudante: órgão oficial informativo e cultural da UDE* (1983, 1991).

According to Oliveira (2014, p. 120), the Colégio Salesiano Santa Teresa, which was opened in Corumbá in 1899 by Salesian missionaries, started its *ginasial* program in

1916, and created, in 1920, the *O Eco do Collegio* student newspaper. The second student publication would be *Primícias*, “*órgão crítico e noticioso da mocidade*” [youth’s critical newspaper], from the Ginásio Municipal de Campo Grande³⁶, dated 1927, which was cited by Nolasco (2015, p. 423)³⁷. However, we could not find any other reference that indicated any clues as to the location of these student publications. Apart from the few mentions in the studies above, no other work mentions them, according to our search. As for the *Enfoque* newspaper, which is linked to the Grupo Escolar e Escola Normal “Joaquim Murtinho”, in Campo Grande, its year 1, No. 1 issue of June 1986 was mentioned by two studies, but we could not access this source. In sum, these three publications were cited by the researchers (in the pages indicated in Chart 2), but were not analyzed as a source/object of investigation.

In addition to the publications available in the CDR’s collection, we had access to two other publications thanks to researchers who kindly made their personal collections available: it was the case with *Jornal A Penna* (a few pages of an issue of 1944? and a few pages of an issue of 1966)³⁸ and the *O Ginásio* magazine (with a few complete issues of 1937, 1939 and 1940)³⁹. We highlight personal collections as part of the “places of memory” (NORA, 1993). In both cases, the publications were kept as a result of the professional activities of these two people, who, as historians of education, value these publications as historical documents.

Thus, the repertoire of student periodical press in the south of Mato Grosso that was identified, located and accessed through our search procedures finally comprised 10 publications: eight from the CDR (considering a subdivision of the *Vida Escolar* newspaper, linked to two different institutions) and two from personal collections.

Potential and Challenges of the Repertoire on Secondary Education Student Press in the South of Mato Grosso

We present here the repertoire with the 10 secondary education student publications produced and in circulation in southern Mato Grosso which we selected through our search procedures, within the 1934-1998 time frame, highlighting the potential and challenges of this type of source for research of History of Education. The chart below presents the repertoire, including information on the total of issues (51 issues) and total of pages (584 pages), and on the year and school/city of each publication, as well as the collection it is part of:

³⁶ Over the 1930s, Salesian priests took over the management of the Ginásio Municipal de Campo Grande, which was renamed Ginásio Municipal Dom Bosco, and later Colégio Dom Bosco. The documents about this school that are presented in the thesis by Stella Oliveira comprise a report on the “Ginásio Municipal de Campo Grande”, of 1933, and a report on the “Gymnasio Municipal de Campo Grande ‘Dom Bosco’”, of 1935 (Cf. OLIVEIRA, 2014, p. 264).

³⁷ The chart, which is part of Nolasco’s (2015) doctoral thesis, presents student publications by “year of circulation”, “type of periodical”, “education level/school/place” and “researcher or archive”. For the *Primicias* newspaper, the author cites herself in the “researcher or archive” column (NOLASCO, 2013), but we could not find the cited reference. We note that it is the earliest occurrence of a student newspaper located in (pre-division) Mato Grosso by the author.

³⁸ Copies lent by Gilberto Oliveira, to whom we are grateful, in a contact established after we located the work by Oliveira and Paes (2013), cited in Chart 2.

³⁹ Marta Banducci Rahe lent us the originals for photocopy. We thank her for her availability and trust. Our contact was established through a meeting of the research project titled “Secondary Education in Brazil from a Historical and Comparative Perspective (1942-1961)”, CNPq’s Universal Call for Projects 1/2016.

Chart 3 – Located issues of secondary education student publications in the South of Mato Grosso (1934-1998)

Publications	Period	School (City)	Located issues	Pages	Collection
<i>Vida Escolar</i> (14 issues)	1934-1935	Colégio Visconde de Taunay (Campo Grande)	1934, Year 1: No. 1 May-20; No. 2 Jun-3; No. 3 Jun-17; No. 5 Jul-15; No. 6-7 Aug-15; No. 8 Sep-1; No. 9 Sep-23; No. 10 Oct-14; Year 2: No. 11 Nov-14; 1935, Year 2: No. 13 May-15; No. 14 May-31; No. 16 Jul-15; No. 17 Jul-31; No. 18-19 Aug-26	56	CDR
<i>Vida Escolar</i> (3 issues)	1935 to 1937	Internato Osvaldo Cruz (Campo Grande)	1935, Year 2: No. 20 Oct-1; No. 21 Nov-20; 1936, Year 3: No. 22 Jun-13; 1937, Year 4: No. 28 Jun	34	CDR
<i>Ecos Juvenis</i> (2 issues)	1934 to 1950	Colégio N. S. Auxiliadora (Campo Grande)	1936; 1939, Year 6, No. 29 Oct	22	CDR
<i>O Ginásio</i> (8 issues)	1937 to 1940	Colégio Dom Bosco (Campo Grande)	1937, Year II: No. 9 Nov/Dec; 1939, Year II: No. 16 May/Jun; Year 3: No. 19 Oct; Year 3: No. 20 Nov/Dec; 1940, Year 3: No. 21 Feb/Mar; No. 22 Apr/May; Year 4: No. 24 Aug/Sep; No. 25 Oct/Nov	298	Personal
<i>A Pena</i> (2 issues)	1944? 1966	Colégio Estadual Campo-grandense (Campo Grande)	Year II: No. 3 no date (Nov 1944? incomplete) Year IV: no number (Jun 1966, incomplete)	8	Personal
<i>ABC</i> (12 issues)	1961-2 1968	Colégio Osvaldo Cruz de Dourados (Dourados)	<i>O ABC</i> : 1961: No. 2 May; No. 6 no date; No. 6 Oct; 1962: No. 8 Mar; No. 9 no date; No. 10 May. <i>O ABC Literário</i> : No. 1 Mar 1968; No. 2 1968; No. 3 May 1968, No. 4 1968; No. 5 Aug 1968; No. 6, Sep. 1968	56	CDR
<i>O Grito</i> (6 issues)	1974	Colégio Estadual Presidente Vargas (Dourados)	1974, Year 1: No. 1 Jun; No. 2 Aug.; No. 3 Sep.; No 4 also September; No. 5 Oct.; No. 6 Nov.	92	CDR
<i>Voz do Estudante</i> (2 issues)	1983 1991	União Douradense dos Estudantes (Dourados)	1983, Year 1: No. 2 Oct; 1991, Year 11: No. 4 May-2	12	CDR
<i>Futrica</i> (1 issue)	1998	Escola Estadual Reis Veloso (Dourados)	1998, Year 1: No. 4 May-26	2	CDR
<i>Interação</i> (1 issue)	1998	Escola Estadual Reis Veloso (Dourados)	1998: No. 1	4	CDR

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the located publications

Chart 3 shows that three of the located publications include the first issue: *Vida Escolar*, of May 20, 1934; *O ABC Literário*, of March, 1968; and *O Grito do Estudante*, of June, 1974. The first number of a periodical usually explains its goals and the reasons for its creation, and indicates the audience it is intended for, thus helping interpret its content.

For some of the located periodicals, the second or third issue is listed, while for others, not one complete issue was found, as is the case with the *A Penna* newspaper – we had access to only a few pages of two of its issues. Such discrepancies regarding the sequence and number of located issues of each publication, combined with the long period covered by this repertoire, in addition to the changes that some of these publications went through during their life cycle (whether in their form/content/name or the school they are linked to), made it difficult to interpret these documents.

Considering that there is no text outside the support from which it is read, “that there is no understanding about a writing [...] that does not rely on the forms through which it reaches its reader”, as pointed out by Chartier (1990, p. 127), and that in order to analyze a publication and the construction of its meaning, it is necessary to “bring to light the conditions of [its] production”, as Le Goff (1990, p. 525) points out, the chart below summarizes material characteristics that help understand the production and circulation processes and the uses of the student press that forms the repertoire:

Chart 4 – Period, school and material data about the located publications

Publication	Period	Average number of pages	Printing	Distribution (price)	Publication frequency	Size in cm ⁴⁰	Image	Advertisement
<i>Vida Escolar</i>	1934-1935	4	Tipografia Trouy & Cia	Sold (\$300 ⁴¹)	Fortnightly Monthly/ ⁴²	16 x 20	Yes	Yes
<i>Vida Escolar</i>	1935 to 1937	4/18 ⁴³	Tipografia Trouy & Cia	Sold (\$300 ⁴⁴)	Monthly	16 x 20	Yes	Yes
<i>Ecos Juvenis</i>	1934 to 1950	22/40 ⁴⁵	Tipografia Trouy & Cia	Sold (5\$000 ⁴⁶)	Monthly	16 x 20	Yes	Yes
<i>O Ginásio</i>	1937 to 1940	34/50 (37)	Tipografia Trouy and others ⁴⁷	Sold? ⁴⁸	Monthly/Bimonthly	16 x 23	Yes	Yes
<i>A Pena</i>	1944? 1966	8?	-	Free(?)	Monthly?	50 x 30?	Yes	Yes

⁴⁰ These are approximate measures, considering the aspect of some publications, available only in photocopy.

⁴¹ The average price of the annual subscription of *Vida Escolar* was 4\$000, and previous issues cost \$400 reais.

⁴² It was published fortnightly until issue No. 9; then it starts to be published monthly, though on an irregular basis.

⁴³ Issue No. 28 has 28 pages, the others, four pages.

⁴⁴ The average price of the annual subscription of *Vida Escolar* was 4\$000, and previous issues cost \$400 reais. As for Issue No. 28, with a new layout, the periodical's price was not found.

⁴⁵ Trubiliano (2007) says that the *Ecos Juvenis* magazine reached a peak of 40 pages per issue.

⁴⁶ Trubiliano (2007) says that the *Ecos Juvenis* magazine was distributed free of charge until 1937, then began to be sold. Its annual subscription cost 5\$000 in 1937, 7\$000 in 1938, and 10\$000 in 1940. The copies we examined did not show any single-copy price.

⁴⁷ Between issues No. 9, 16, 19, it was printed by Tipografia Trouy (until October 1939); Issue No. 20 was printed by Sociedade Gráfica Matogrossense Ltda; and issues No. 21 to 25 were printed by Papelaria Acadêmica Ltda.

⁴⁸ The *O Ginásio* magazine shows material characteristics that are similar to publications that were sold, but we could not find any mention to price in the analyzed issues.

<i>ABC</i>	1961-2 1968	6	A Folha de Dourados/ Jornal de Dourados ⁴⁹	Free	Monthly?	50 x 30?	Yes	Yes
<i>O Grito</i>	1974	14	Gráfica Progresso ⁵⁰	Free	Monthly	15 x 21	Yes	Yes
<i>Voz do Estudante</i>	1983 1991	6	Gráfica Alvorada (?)	Sold (Cr\$ 50,00 ⁵¹)	Monthly	50 x 30	Yes	Yes
<i>Futrica</i>	1998	2	-	Free	Monthly	30 x 20	Yes	Yes
<i>Interação</i>	1998	4	WoW! Inglês e Informática	Free	One?	30 x 20	Yes	Yes

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the analysis of the located publications

The material elements above allow a few interpretive conjectures about the repertoire in question. They show a first stage of production of these publications with a few characteristics in common. The earliest publications, produced and in circulation in the 1930s, were printed by a printing firm named Tipografia Trouy, in Campo Grande, with more or less the same measures and shape; their circulation was predominantly monthly and they were sold, whether in single copies or through subscription. From the 1960s, in turn, the publications become less homogeneous in material terms, and at some points they are produced and printed with less professional rigor. The question emerges whether the publications' material quality and high-standard printing until this period were associated with their editors' concern that they would reach a wider audience than the school's students. We question whether the visual esthetic appeal in producing these student publications would not be consciously associated with the production of the respective schools' self-image (publicizing their architecture, furniture, faculty, etc.) in a period when secondary education, including in official discourse, was dedicated to educating the elite.

With regard to how these publications were distributed, the earliest ones contained prices that identified the amounts charged for single copies, previous issues and/or (annual) subscription, and explained how to get copies. From the 1940s, publications are created that are distributed free of charge. The exception is the *Voz do Estudante* newspaper, which starts circulating in the 1980s as the publication of a student association (UDE), and was used as a way of raising funds for the association. Free distribution leads us to suppose that the publications were funded by the advertisements they displayed.

Also about the material elements, the publication's size, i.e., its shape, as well as the number of pages, can also provide indications about its "target audience"⁵² and forms of use. In sum, the attention the historian of education gives to student periodicals' material elements takes into account, as Darnton (1990, p. 131) points out, that periodicals "[books] do not merely recount history, they make it", because they are not mere reservoirs of words, they do not only present a history in their pages, but they also constitute and act with and on it. In other words, the elements that form the publication's support resound on what is read from it; such elements point to the conditions of production and consumption at a given historical time.

⁴⁹ The 1968 issues say it was printed by *A Folha de Dourados* (500 copies), and then by *Jornal de Dourados* (1,000 copies). The 1961 and 1962 issues have no information about printing (i.e., firm and number of copies).

⁵⁰ The *O Grito* newspaper says its circulation was 1,200 copies.

⁵¹ The newspaper says in its No. 2, Year 1 (Oct., 1983) that it will charge Cr\$50.00 to fund its following issues, and asks fellow students for collaboration. Issue No. 4, Year 11 (05.02.1991) keeps the same price.

⁵² About target audience, see Eco (1993) and Galvão and Melo (2019).

Still with this purpose, we present below a few data on the identification and production of the periodicals that form the repertoire, concerning the type of publication (newspaper or magazine), the type of school (public or private) they are linked to, their relationship with a student body (student union or student literary club), as well as their authors and editors, considering that the publication can only become a publication within a circuit and within “the relationships established in this circuit between its actors: authors, editors, printers, carriers [...]” (GALVÃO; MELLO, 2019, p. 244).

Chart 5 – Identification and production of the located publications

Publication Data	Vida Escolar ⁵³	Ecos Juvenis	O Ginásio	A Pena	ABC	O Grito	Voz do Estudante	Futrica	Interação
Support	Newspaper *	Magazine	Magazine	Newspaper	Newspaper	Newspaper	Newspaper	Newspaper	Newspaper
School Type	Private	Private	Private	Public	Private	Public	Public	Public	Public
Student Body	Literary club ⁵⁴	Literary club ⁵⁵	Literary club ⁵⁶	Union?/ Literary club ⁵⁷	Union/ Literary club ⁵⁸	Union	UDE ⁵⁹	-	Union
Editors	School managers	School managers	School managers	Students ⁶⁰	Students ⁶¹	Students	Students	Students ⁶²	Students
Authors	Students/ Faculty/ Principals	Students/ Faculty / Principals	Students / Faculty / Principals	Students ⁶³	Students	Students	Students	Students	Students

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the analysis of the located publications

Considering the difficulty classifying the periodicals by type (newspaper, magazine, bulletin, weekly, etc.) due to the lack of a standard, and since the editors and owners used terms interchangeably, we used the designation found in the publications themselves to build Chart 5. Two publications defined themselves as magazines: *Ecos Juvenis* and *O Ginásio*. Both were linked to private schools and to the Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order in Campo Grande, and were intended for boarding and day students. In turn, *Vida Escolar* designates itself a newspaper, but it is cited in another publication as “the *Vida Escolar* magazine of the Ginásio ‘Osvaldo Cruz’” (O GINÁSIO, Year 4, No. 24, Aug./Sep., 1940, p. 19)

⁵³ We present both stages of *Vida Escolar* (linked to both schools) in the same column because we could not find a divergence that would justify their separation in the content of this chart.

⁵⁴ The “Castro Alves” Literary Club was created in 1934 by students at the Colégio Visconde de Taunay (*Vida Escolar*, No. 13, May/1935, p. 2).

⁵⁵ Dom Aquino Literary Club.

⁵⁶ Events held by the D. Bosco literary club were mentioned in the publication, but *O Ginásio* does not present itself as the publication of a club.

⁵⁷ In 1944? as the “Machado de Assis” Student Union, formed by students at the “Ginásio Campo-grandense”, and in 1966 as the Machado de Assis Student Literary and Sports Club.

⁵⁸ The Coelho Neto Student Union (1961 and 1962) and the Osvaldo Cruz Student Union (1968), which managed the *ABC LITERÁRIO: Órgão de Iniciação Literária*.

⁵⁹ The official newspaper of the Dourados Student Union (UDE), a student body created in 1980 as a chapter of the UBES (Brazilian Secondary Education Student Union), which replaced the Dourados Secondary Education Student Association (ADES).

⁶⁰ In the 1944? issue, Eduardo Fraia, a student, is presented as the head of the publication. In 1966, Aurélio Ferreira and Eduardo Velasco de Barros, students, figure as editors.

⁶¹ In 1968 Doratildo Pereira, a student, appears as the editor of the *O ABC Literário* newspaper.

⁶² The editors are Ana Paula and Vladimir, 3rd grade students.

⁶³ We found that in the 1944? issue, the authors are *ginásio* students, and in the 1966 issue, most of the authors are *científico* students.

The self-denominated magazines (*Ecos Juvenis* and *O Ginásio*) and *Vida Escolar* (in its second stage, specifically since its 1937 issue, considering the issues we found) have similar characteristics, such as a greater number of pages and illustrations compared to the other periodicals in the repertoire. In sum, they have the characteristics of a more robust and elaborate publication. In addition, as Martins (2008, p. 46) explains by pointing out that a magazine is different from newspapers in that it has certain distinguishing material elements, such as a cover, we confirm that all three publications can be classified as magazines. The other publications, which define themselves as newspapers, have a layout with the publication's name in the upper part of the first page, followed by content organized in columns still in the first page, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1 – First pages of the student publications that form the repertoire



Source: Extracted from the first issues of the located periodicals, in ascending order of date.

The images in Figure 1, containing the first pages of the first issues we located, show that there was a “cover” in the publications classified as magazines (*Vida Escolar*, *Ecos Juvenis*, *O Ginásio*); they also show the layout of the ones classified as newspapers. Unlike *Vida Escolar* (1937), which honors Henrique Correa (cover image), *Ecos Juvenis* and *O Ginásio* portray, in every issue (that we found), the façade of the school they represent, in what we believe to be a form of advertisement of such “education palaces”, which leads us to the next question, i.e., whether the schools the publications were linked to were public or private.

It is noteworthy that until the 1940s, all periodicals we located were linked to private schools (Colégio Visconde de Taunay; Internato Osvaldo Cruz; Colégio N. S. Auxiliadora; and Colégio Dom Bosco). Our hypothesis is that these publications, which were created and edited by these schools' managers, with texts by students and other authors, worked as advertisements of the respective schools that aimed to keep and increase the number of enrolled students. Thus, even the magazines' covers can provide a starting point for the historian of education to inquire about the breadth of the audience that this periodical student press targeted apart from students themselves.

A characteristic that was common to these secondary education schools was the presence of student-governed “student unions” as part of the school culture⁶⁴. Student press was one of the most expressive activities of the unions. In this repertoire, some of these student bodies defined themselves as “student unions”, and others as “literary clubs”. Such bodies formed, at least in the published discourse, the core of the producers of the secondary education student press in the repertoire in question, with two exceptions (*Voz do Estudante* and *Futrica*). In analyzing student press, the researcher of history of education should inquire about the autonomy that students in the student unions had in producing these periodicals, which can be questioned by analyzing, for example, who the editors were and who wrote the texts that were published⁶⁵. It is pertinent to question whether one can speak of student press autonomy in contexts where the school acts as a means of homogenization and social control over youth. What does a student union mean in contexts of dictatorships, such as the Estado Novo and the military regime⁶⁶? What can be said about autonomy in times when student unions and student periodicals are created to serve the interests of the educational institution rather than students’ interests?

In the progressive education approach to the creation of “school newspapers”, which was systematized by, among others, Casasanta (1939), the production of school newspapers by students is presented as an activity to be introduced in school curricula, with an emphasis on the roles of the student and the teacher in teaching-learning⁶⁷, as Freinet encouraged, since 1924, by presenting the pedagogical, psychological and social advantages of school newspapers (FREINET, 1957, p. 62-65). This pedagogical approach openly proposes that teachers should help and supervise students in producing their newspapers. In this debate, Nolasco (2015, p. 209-210) proposes a terminological distinction between, on the one hand, “student newspapers”, i.e., publications “organized and produced by initiative of students, which might or might not be supported by teachers or collaborators external to the school, but did not depend on the school”, thus suggesting “autonomy to choose topics and determine the final production without depending on adults’ approval”; on the other hand, “school newspapers” would be produced by students “under supervision of school authorities”, with a “concern for students’ education”. With regard to students’ autonomy, even if relative, to create and produce periodical student press, the publications that form the present repertoire would require deeper analysis to be defined as “student publications” or “school publications” according to the distinction proposed by Nolasco. However, we can say that some of the periodicals cannot be classified in either of these positions, because they were not created by initiative of students, nor were they focused on students’ education (as Freinet or Casasanta propose), and they made clear their purpose of publicizing the school they represented. It is the case with *Vida Escolar*, *Ecos Juvenis* and *O Ginásio*.

⁶⁴ About student unions [*grêmios escolares*], see Eliezer Costa (2016), who defines student unions as student associations formed around specific topics/themes, which are organized within the school but outside the classroom environment. According to this author, student unions, which emerged as part of the progressive education movement in Brazil, were dedicated to the sharing of knowledge and internalization of behaviors in line with self-government, thus preparing young people for adulthood. However, student unions may take on different forms, such as literary, musical, pedagogical, arts and sciences clubs, etc., the author explains.

⁶⁵ Eliezer Costa (2016) says that, despite the influence of active pedagogy, student periodicals were under some form of control, as he analyzes, for example, how the circle of students writing in them varied little.

⁶⁶ Note of translation: Estado Novo is the name that designates the authoritarian regime that lasted from 1937 to 1945 in Brazil. In turn, by military regime, the author refers to the Brazilian military rule that lasted from 1964 to 1985.

⁶⁷ Based on authors such as Claparède, Dewey, Ferrière and Lourenço Filho, Casasanta stresses the progressive education spirit that pervades his proposition for work with newspapers in his book *Jornais Escolares*, edited and published by the Companhia Editora Nacional, in 1939.

As the last analytical proposition, we present a few categories regarding the topics addressed by the publications that form this repertoire. The methodology for this consisted in reading the full content of each issue of the periodicals we had access to in order to identify the topics that may be of interest for researchers of history of education. The long period covered by this repertoire has the advantage of allowing investigations on how some of the topics addressed changed or did not change, from the perspective of both students and the schools. Student culture, secondary school institution, feminism/woman, and cinema and education are the categories we initially present, but many others could be created as a result of the research questions proposed by each researcher and the wealth of information provided by the sources.

The thematic category we delimited as “student culture” can be analyzed through students’ denouncements, expectations/desires, idealizations and contradictions regarding the school, education, peers, society and/or politics. This student culture is presented in the periodicals by means of criticism, satire, caricatures, poems, etc., expressing norms of conduct/behaviors/habits and political-ideological-philosophical positions of the students as authors. Out-of-school activities, such as civic celebrations, tours and excursions, picnics, sports championships, scavenger hunts and music festivals, were also included as part of student culture. Such activities speak about student practices that took place beyond the school walls, with students also recognizing themselves as a group from a particular education institution in extracurricular activities. Another example of school culture is the organization of students in student unions and other student associations/movements that express their need to define themselves as a “student class”.

The topic regarding secondary “school institution” was delimited considering the amount of information that these periodicals presented about students’ names, the number of enrolled students, their grades and ranking in exams, names of faculty, the education levels and the regimes of school hours⁶⁸ offered by the schools, the institutions’ infrastructure and accounting data, etc., as well as photographs of school facilities and activities. The publications approach this topic now to highlight values, now to show poor school conditions, depending on each period. Such data can provide contributions to researchers interested in the history of secondary education institutions.

The thematic category of “feminism/woman” is noteworthy as it was controversial from the earliest periodical listed here. The struggle for space, in connection with the gender issue, appears in the periodicals with more or less emphasis, according to the social openness in each period and school (with some institutions being for men or women only). Such topic allows questioning about women’s access to secondary education of all types, i.e., besides *normal*. The presence of women as authors is also a question to be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, in addition to the roles played by women as members of teaching faculty at this education level.

“Cinema and education” was listed as a thematic category in view of how cinema was valued and publicized in schools (film clubs, filmed drama, free educative cinema), appearing in the student publications since the 1930s, probably inspired by the work of Serrano and Venâncio Filho (1930), from an active school perspective, which encourages and explains about the advantages of educative cinema, in addition to the need to control films considered suitable or unsuitable; this topic continues to appear in the most recent periodicals, which highlight the program of films in the city’s movie theater, including reviews.

Chart 6 below summarizes the topics that provide a potential for investigative analyses in the field of History of Education, showing the student periodicals in which such topics can be found.

⁶⁸ Note of translation: Schools in Brazil can have different school hours, e.g., morning only, full time, etc. In addition, many public schools also offer night programs for students who cannot attend classes during the day.

Chart 6 – Identification and production of the located secondary student publications

Publications Contents	Vida Escolar	Vida Escolar	Ecos Juvenis	O Ginásio	A Pena	ABC	O Grito	Voz do Estudante	Futrica	Interação
Year	1934-1935	1936-1937	1936-1939	1937 to 1940	1944-1966	1961/2-1968	1974	1983-1991	1998	1998
Student Culture										
Secondary School Institution										
Cinema/Education										
Feminism/Woman										

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the reading of the periodicals comprising the repertoire

It is worth highlighting the risk of decreasing the potential for analysis that the student periodicals provide as a whole due to our proposing such thematic categories. Topics such as the valuing of Portuguese language in a national border region during the Getulio Vargas administration, which appears in the first four listed periodicals, were not presented as a thematic category. Patriotism and the fight on communism were other topics that stood out to some extent in periods of restricted democracy, as well as religion/faith/God, a topic that appears in all student periodicals until the 1970s. Another topic that was not included in the Chart regards the valuing of scientific contents, which can be found in almost all student periodicals. From this perspective, it is worth questioning about the sciences that were most mentioned and valued in each context, as well as the permanence of other sciences in the long term. Moreover, this set of publications can be analyzed by decade or by specific period, such as the Vargas Era and the military dictatorship, for example.

Final considerations

This first technical operation of historiography in search of secondary student press in the south of Mato Grosso caused us to think of Prost's remark on the pleasure the historian derives from the contact with sources:

I doubt, I admit it, that a historian may not experience a certain emotion from opening archive files or the collection of an old newspaper: those pages that have slept for so long keep the trace of multiple existences, of passions now extinguished, of forgotten conflicts, of unforeseen analyses, of obscure calculations (PROST, 1999 apud ALVES, 2003, p. 2)

We share this emotion of locating, identifying and carefully examining newspapers and magazines of secondary students that were produced in the south of Mato Grosso over the 20th century, and having a glimpse of the world of investigation that is potentially opened from the analysis of these records of the past. As Alves (2003, p.2) reminds us, “the dilemmas posed by research routine cannot dissipate the charm involved in a journey into the past”.

The exercise presented here comprises the first stage of historical research, as Certeau (2011[1975]) reminds us, the stage of producing documents and creating a collection, and the first challenge is to define the set of this collection. The 10 publications we located are part of modern Western writing, comprehending discourses, practices and

representations by/about secondary education students in the south of Mato Grosso during the 20th century. Knowing the different terminologies in use, we chose the term “student periodical press” to define the set, taking into account the space of production and the target audience of these publications.

Despite the various limitations mentioned earlier in the description of this repertoire, we believe in its potential for writing the history of education, since it comprises student periodical press as a source for the history of student writing, the history of institutions, of secondary education, of school and out-of-school practices and routines, considering, in line with Jouhaud (2019, p. 450), that the act of the author/editor (student, teacher, principal) in writing/publishing “points to (or assumes) trust in the power of what is written”.

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