

DIVERSITIES, PRESS AND HISTORY(IES): SPEECHES FROM A TIME THAT STILL REMAIN (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS – 1950-1960)

DIVERSIDADES, IMPRENSA E HISTÓRIA(S): DISCURSOS DE UM TEMPO QUE AINDA PERMANECEM (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS – 1950-1960)

DIVERSIDADES, PRENSA Y HISTORIA(S): DISCURSOS DE UNA ÉPOCA QUÉ AÚN PERDURA (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS - 1950-1960)

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ABSTRACT: The perspectives of writing this paper are in line with the initial proposal in the sense of discussing themes related to diversities, memories, and production of multiple meanings, establishing a thematic scale based on the printed and periodic documentation, with a focus related to the subject. Thus, the paper aims to highlight elements of the research with the *Jornal das Moças* magazine, in the editions that circulated between 1950 and 1960, totaling 557 editions. Three sections of the publication were examined *Jornal da Mulher*, *Evangelho para as Mães*, and *Carnet das Jovens*, seeking to understand the representation and treatment forms attributed to women in the period. Although with a remarkably conservative tone, texts in the publication follow the social changes that favored the female condition in the period. However, it maintains as a principle the reinforcement of women role based on the assumptions of colonialism and patriarchy, mainly related to the women's place in the family and as administrator of their homes.

KEYWORDS: Periodic press. History of women. Female condition.

RESUMO: *As perspectivas de escrita deste artigo vão ao encontro da proposta geradora no sentido de discutir temas relacionados a diversidades, memórias e produção de sentidos múltiplos, estabelecendo uma escala temática com foco nas relações do tema, a partir da documentação de natureza impressa e periódica. Assim, o artigo tem como objetivo evidenciar elementos da pesquisa com a revista *Jornal das Moças*, nas edições que circularam entre os anos de 1950 e 1960, perfazendo um total de 557 edições. Foram examinadas 3 seções da publicação, *Jornal da Mulher*, *Evangelho para as Mães* e *Carnet das Jovens*, buscando perceber as formas de representação e tratamento atribuídas às mulheres no período. Os textos da publicação, embora com tom notadamente conservador, acompanham as mudanças sociais que favoreceram a condição feminina no período, no entanto, mantêm, como princípio, reforçar o papel da mulher com base nos pressupostos do colonialismo e patriarcado, relacionados sobretudo ao lugar da mulher na família e como administradora do lar.*

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PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Imprensa periódica. História das mulheres. Condição feminina.*

RESUMEN: *Las perspectivas de redacción de este artículo están en línea con la propuesta generadora en el sentido de discutir temas relacionados con las diversidades, memorias y producción de significados múltiples, estableciendo una escala temática con enfoque en las relaciones del sujeto, a partir de la documentación impresa y periódica. Por lo tanto, este trabajo pretende destacar elementos de la investigación con la revista *Jornal das Moças*, en las ediciones que circularon entre los años 1950 y 1960, totalizando 557 ejemplares. Se examinarán tres apartados de la publicación, *Jornal da Mulher*, *Evangelho para mães* y *Carnet das Jovens*, con intención de comprender las formas de representación y trato atribuidas a las mujeres en estos periodos. Los textos de la publicación, aunque con un tono marcadamente conservador, siguen los cambios sociales que favorecieron la condición femenina en la época, mujer en la familia y como administradora del hogar.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Historia de la mujer. Condición femenina.*

The press and the ways of being and doing in everyday life

In Brazil of the nineteen nineties, notably at various times in the first half, we can identify the increase of press devices with a discourse supposedly aimed at the female audience, however, studies show that a significant part of the authorship of the texts brings a male writing, counting, in rare publications, with female authorship texts, or composition of women in the set of permanent collaborators.

Some explanatory hypotheses for this phenomenon go through several instances, especially if we take the perspective of the historical constitution of Brazil, in which models of European coloniality have formatted customs, values, social and cultural practices, significantly marking the ways of being and doing of the Brazilian nation, in its vast territorial dimension. Memories, subjectivities, representations are key concepts that have been greatly assisting the understanding of these approaches, enabling the unveiling of silenced subjects and contexts opposing versions produced in a unilateral way (TEDESCHI, 2012).

In order to understand this phenomenon historically, it is assumed that the press has contributed to the dissemination of values and practices, at times that circulated, sometimes highlighting the condition of subjugation of women, sometimes giving visibility to initiatives, protagonism, also forging models of conduct and forms of socially accepted behavior (PINTO; SAMPAIO; SOUSA, 2020).

In order to highlight such clashes, this article presents part of the study that has been conducted with the *Jornal das Moças* magazine, which since its inception, in 1914, is associated, in our analysis, with the maintenance of a certain social order, electing religion and female morality as founding principles, perpetuating, supposedly, the influence of patriarchy as a form of organization of society.

When explaining the research methodology, it is imperative to highlight the several restructuring processes, given the scenario in which the contemporary world is inserted, since the beginning of 2020, affected by the pandemic caused by the SARS-COV-19 virus, which significantly changed ways of living, being, living together, relating, and breathing nowadays.

Historical research in archives, collections, and documentary storage spaces have been significantly affected: the digital world has shown itself to be powerful, at the same time that it has weakened human relations, which have become mediated by screens, in their various dimensions of size, quality, and access mediated by computer networks (Internet) and the most varied virtual communication supports (social networks, platforms, and applications). It should be noted that research with printed materials is in a moment of revisionism, given by questioning the conditions of preservation, digitization and maintenance of original documents, and with the *Jornal das Moças* magazine it was no different. The conduct of the research in a presential way became mediated by databases, collections provided in the Hemerotecas, virtual/digital libraries, and many hours of learning in the mediation of resources that would make it possible to handle digital files in a way that they would become accessible to historical research, from which follow the reflections mediated by the documents examined.

These aspects result in some limitations for the examination of the magazine: the understanding of its organization, size and physical characteristics (materiality), as well as the examination of the images (photographs), because many are with compromised visualization, stained, or reproduced only in black and gray scales, when it is already known that the magazine circulated in color format (from the forties) for some years. In an attempt to obtain the color copies, contact was made with the collection of the Paraná Public Library and the Public Archive of the State of São Paulo, however, in both institutions the magazine collections are not digitalized and, due to the pandemic, it was not possible to visit them *in loco*.

Thus, the documental corpus that supports this article was collected by accessing the databases of the National Library's Hemeroteca sector, whose selected issues meet the time frames established for the research - the period between 1950 and 1960. This decade was

marked by major transformations, mainly as a result of the post-war period, the opening of the market and the possibility of new access to culture, innovation, education, and political and social changes. From the restructuring of the economic model there was a large migration movement from the interior to the capital cities, in which people sought an opportunity for employment; this displacement and the need for active labor, among other factors, promoted the opening for women to occupy jobs.

It should be noted that women have always developed labor activities, even if they had no formal remuneration, however, working conditions were different from men, but in view of the changes that occurred there was an immediate need for hiring; women who were not previously inserted in those spaces see this demand as an opportunity. The fifties of the 20th century, known as the golden years (PINSKY, 2014), were a period of changes and transformations in women's lives, which were previously subordinated to the private space. The magazine, although markedly conservative, presents significant examples of these transformations.

The documental corpus of this study is composed of 557 copies, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1 – Mapping the copies of the publication in circulation between the years 1950-1960

Year	Number of issues
1950	37
1951	51
1952	52
1953	53
1954	52
1955	52
1956	45
1957	52
1958	58
1959	53
1960	52
Total	557

Source: *Jornal das Moças: Illustrated Fortnightly Magazine (1950-1960)*

Regarding the materiality of the publication, the consulted collection lacks few issues from the years when the magazine was in circulation; the quality of the material compromises the closer examination of the photographs; there are issues without cover, for lack of

digitization, since in contact with the Hemeroteca Nacional, via e-mail, it was learned that many covers were lost over time, for issues related to conservation.

In time, we must clarify the nomenclature of the magazine *Jornal das Moças*, which presents a duplicity of typographic descriptors in its title - magazine and newspaper. To this end, the studies of Ana Luiza Martins (2008) accommodate the explanation for the use of this typography, which generated misunderstandings and difficulties in differentiating them. It is known that the nomenclature newspaper was used in order to generate income: the characteristics of both are very close, the magazine stands out for generally having covers, not having loose sheets and being organized in more spaced editions: weekly, biweekly, monthly or annually. As Martins (2008, p. 73) points out:

Other publications, despite the maintenance of the newspaper format, have always been traditionally referred to as magazines, either by the varied informative character of their content, including illustration, or, according to the definition of their owners, in order to value the publication, qualifying it in relation to the newspaper.

The magazine *Jornal das Moças* consists of an illustrated section with a life cycle that began in May 1914, remaining in circulation until December 1961, produced and edited in the city of Rio de Janeiro, at the publishing house Empreza *Jornal das Moças* - Menezes, Filho & C. Ltda. The studies identified so far use the publication to understand the years between the 1920s and 1940s, which largely contributes to the relevance of this research, since there is already a certain pattern of discourse built, which can be considered model for certain social practices in relation to women (ALBUQUERQUE, 2016; ALMEIDA, 2008; ALVES; CAETANO; FREITAS, 2016; SILVA; SOARES, 2013).

Figure 1 – Cover of *Jornal das Moças*- year 1914 (illustrative)



Source: *Jornal das Moças* (1914)

The magazine circulated, therefore, for forty-seven years, crossing, in a perennial and continuous way, important moments in the history of Brazil and consequently, in the history of women, influencing behaviors and mentalities (ALBUQUERQUE, 2016). *Jornal das Moças* was an effective fighter against the dissolution of the home. With biweekly periodicity, it reached the newsstands for sale on Wednesdays, with slogan "magazine made exclusively for the woman at home" (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, issue 1863, 1951, p. 10), directed by Álvaro Menezes and Agostinho Menezes, founders of the publication, also acting as directors and editors. The examination of the publication provides elements to affirm that there were other forms of distribution; inside it contained recipes, beauty tips, suggestions for the organization of daily domestic life, fashion, behaviors, and numerous advertisements for make-up, clothes, stores, medicines, personal hygiene products, among other topics, supposedly of female interest.

Figure 2 – Cover of *Jornal das Moças* – year 1950 (illustrative)



Source: *Jornal das Moças* (1950).

Through the texts, it is possible to observe a positioning in relation to the role of women in society, very close to a supposed conservatism, formative, from the perspective of editors: "*Jornal das Moças* created in Brazil a standard type of magazine for women at home", "*Jornal das Moças* is the magazine one hundred percent family", "*Jornal das Moças* is the magazine for women at home and in society" (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1953). The writing condition of the texts, to a great extent, reveals expectations as to what is expected from women, however, in a very subtle way, it is possible to identify, in other texts of the same publication, some discomforts that will intensify in relation to the feminine condition in Brazilian society, as the years of publication go by: it is clear that the texts show some satisfaction in receiving the title or occupying the position of queen of the home, however,

some feminist demands are little by little gaining space for discussion in the pages of the publication, as it will be shown later.

When working with printed matter it is necessary to understand to whom it was addressed, that is, who would be the privileged reading public, collaborators, editors, as well as the disseminations therein, historical, political, and economic contexts that may directly influence the writings, in synthesis, it is necessary to pay attention to the material aspects of its source (CHARTIER, 1990, 2002). The written texts, or their absence, make effective the understanding about the ways in which silencing and resistance were present: What did the editors/writers/collaborators think for women? How did they qualify the forms of social treatment? What representations does the magazine legitimize about women, standards of beauty, behavior, sociabilities? Through the periodical press, that is, a serial documentation, it is possible to identify constitutive aspects of being a woman, the oppression experienced in daily life, its subversion, understand its strength, forms of confinement of women in the private environment, subjected to responsibilities and domestic chores, not possible to capture in another documental typology. In the magazine we can follow the dissemination of the myth of femininity, maternity and marriage as an ideal to be reached by those who longed for a happy and full life.

Between subjectivities and being a woman: Worldviews and female representations

Women's education has gone through various moments throughout recorded and unrecorded histories. According to Rosemberg (2020):

[...] the formal and public education of women have been disrupted along this bumpy course: the sexual segregation of schools, prohibiting mixed education; the idea that the education of girls and young women should be more restricted than that of boys and young men due to their fragile health, limited intelligence and focus on their "mission" as mothers; the impediment to the continuity of secondary and higher education for young Brazilian women.

In the mid-1950s, the author indicates that about 66.7% of the country's female inhabitants were among the illiterate, while men made up the approximate total of 31.3%. In the 1960s, the data already began to favor women, who reached 57.3% literate and men 53.2% (ROSEMBERG, 2020, p. 334). While formal education represented numerous benefits in the lives of women, including their emancipation, the discourse that permeates the pages of the magazine remains that "educated women are better mothers". Rosemberg (2020, p. 338):

[...] Differentiated education was advocated, because women were considered less intelligent and more fragile than men. Home Economics was included in the curriculum, because "the woman is queen of the home". The mixed school was criticized for being "promiscuous". The formation of female teachers was stimulated because they, "true mothers", have "a vocation for the priesthood" that is teaching. Differentiated education was opposed, with the argument that it served to relegate women's labor to the "reserve army", making them occupy positions with lower pay than those occupied by men in the labor market. The expansion of education for girls and young women was advocated, because "educated women postpone the first pregnancy, space out childbirths, take better care of their children, prevent the reproduction of the vicious circle of poverty," and because "their children are better educated [...]".

The school and educational institutions were also responsible for controlling women's education, especially Christian schools and women's colleges, in which the teaching was different from what was offered to boys, receiving the basics of mathematical knowledge: for women it was enough to know how to read, write, tell stories and a general form of the country and world history and, mainly, to know how to have a good conversation. Education being something that transcends formal institutions, time and space, the texts of the magazine assert that women need: "To be a little educated. To know well, at least the rudiments of arithmetic and reading. The woman is the first functionary of the Family State, for she is in charge of the important function of expenditure, out of whose anarchy so many revolutions burst." (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1914, p. 13 apud ALBUQUERQUE, 2015).

With the opening of the labor market and the female emancipation it became frequent women acting in administrative fields, health, education and commerce (PINSKY, 2014). With the professional qualification it became increasingly common the female presence in public spaces and in the occupation of important positions, however, the wage gap was still a reality. In the late 1950s the magazine signals for this debate, without, however, promoting any kind of confrontation:

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT

The International Labor Organization has just published information on the efforts made by the governments, employers and employees of 22 countries and 9 non-metropolitan territories to have women benefit from the principle of "equal pay for equal work".

The authors of this movement have shown that if this discrimination has not disappeared, at least some progress has been made, thanks to various government measures supported by employers, unions and women's organizations.

In New Zealand, for example, there is a steady decrease in the existing imbalance between the wages paid to women and men. In Japan, women employed in the traffic service of the Tokyo police earn the same salary as

men and are entitled to an identical system of salary increases. In Mexico, on the other hand, salaries are calculated without any consideration of gender. (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1959, p. 21).

Jornal das Moças when presented articles about female emancipation, it brought examples of changes in women's lives, however, it presented examples from the United States or Europe: was it a veiled intention to present possibilities, or to show that the country would be very far from conquering this level of equality? The idea that women would be independent created a certain fear, due to a "supposed" loss of femininity, one of the myths driven by the conservatism of religious matrix, given by the valorization of chastity for women, sexual morality, monogamy, with differentiated forms of tolerance for men and women; legislation recognizes male labor as the main source of resources for the domestic unit. According to the magazine, married women with children who took care of the home and maintained their femininity earned the title of "queen of the home": the configuration of femininity was directly linked to what was understood as feminine functions, i.e., customs that were believed to be women's virtues.

The international feminism gained prominence and brought new scope to women's lives, as well as the reaffirmation of the secular state (NICHNIG, 2013).

To shield the female thought from these influences, the magazine, in general, reaffirmed stereotypes of mother, wife, aligned by the care with the body and physical health, fostered by the patriarchal society. Such stereotypes are, according to Chartier (2002), representations forged from ways of thinking and acting. The press reproduces representations in such an elucidative way that, besides making the female readers feel contemplated in its texts, it awakens others who, little by little, will accept the external representations as belonging to the feminine condition: this type of mechanism Chartier (1990, 2002) qualifies as a machine to manufacture respect and submission.

The magazine seeks to approach its audience through the forms of treatment in which it addresses women, qualifying them as socially accepted subjects, at various times, throughout the years of its circulation. An example is the use of expressions such as "patrician" and "Brazilian woman", in 1914; readers, ladies, wives, young women, ladies, housewives, missus, family girls and frivolous girls, in 1950. Flirtation, courtship, engagement, and marriage are recurrent themes in the magazine, and among them there was a very strong presence of how each of these processes should be, the limits that were accepted and recommended so that the woman would never shed her image of purity and honor to the home. There is a relationship of fidelity that should be respected in the marital relationship,

even if it is not reciprocal. Carla Pinsky (2014) comments that self-denial is part of feminine love, the representation of women as a lovable, romantic and dreamy being was advocated in *Jornal das Moças*. After all, women live for love, as long as that love is within the traditional boundaries of female morality, "with regard to love, the woman is considered superior to the man because she has a greater capacity to love, and the text understands love as sacrifice, donation "transmission of life" and fidelity" (PINSKY, 2014, p. 77).

Figure 3 – Perfect wife³



Source: *Jornal das Moças* (1950)

The notion of the "perfect wife" is masterfully described in the excerpt presented in Figure 3. The text suggests ways of wives' behavior, aiming at the condition of perfection. The way the text is organized suggests the similarity with religious commandments, to be followed to the letter: the wife should accept her husband as he is; the woman should always be available to her husband and not neglect beauty care. According to Pinsky (2014), according to the mentality of the decade, the woman needs to love and make herself loved, because this is her destiny and full realization, even if this requires sacrifices, unlike men: this difference is explained from the different "nature" of the sexes.

Between gaps, portals and expectations: Context and welcoming diversity.

Following the previous approach, throughout the 1950s it is understood that *Jornal das Moças* aimed to be a vehicle for the dissemination of moral, religious, and cultural values, understood as necessary and formative to the life of Brazilian women, readers or not.

³ Translator's note: The page headline reads: Decalogue of the perfect wife

Identified with the basic notions of the model of society based on patriarchy, the product of a historical development, a significant part of the texts examined are close to the male predominance in the decisions about the ways of being and living socially, influencing the conduct of women and their choices. It is, therefore, a movement that conceives, in the perspective defended by Heleieth Saffioti (2001, p. 55):

[...] the sexual difference is converted into a political difference, expressing itself either in freedom or in subjection, within the relations between men and women there are two poles of power, but this relation is unequal, and this difference is perceived between public and private spaces. Since patriarchy is a form of expression of political power, this approach meets the maxim bequeathed by radical feminism: "the personal is political."

Studies point out that the social structures, aligned to the thought based on patriarchy, configure forms of submission, physical and symbolic violence and feminine oppression, corroborating their silencing, for many times understanding that these are codes historically accepted by the society in which they are inserted, as observed in relation to the themes of marriage, heteronormative, sexual orientation, among others. For not being such evident themes in the public scene of the 1950s, the magazine did not approach themes that could raise some kind of contradiction: the focus was centered on the future and already consolidated housewives, on the happiness brought about by marriage, on the importance of maintaining the family unit, under any hypothesis, and on the celebration of motherhood. The internal organization of the publication reflects the thematic choices, when observed the sections, so its speech was about the full realization that marriage would bring her and the fulfillment of her duty as a mother. We can identify the self-referential approaches in the very titles of the columns and sections, as follows: *Jornal da Mulher*, “*Carnet*” *das Jovens* and *Evangelho das Mães*, *Trocas e Traços*, *Radioatividades*, *Pausa para Meditação*, *Sugestões para o Lar*, *Pausa para Meditação*, *Os Grandes Inventores*, *Galeria dos artigos de rádio*, *Fora da Tela*.

Chart 2 – Mapping of the columns with the highest incidence of publication (1950-1960)

Columns	Incidence	Issues in which they were found
<i>Jornal da Mulher</i>	557	1950 (37); 1951 (51); 1952(52);1953(53);1954(52);1955(52);1956(45);1957(52);1958(58);1959(53);1960(52)
<i>Evangelho das Mães</i>	88	1950 (12); 1951 (11); 1952(0);1953(0);1954(4);1955(11);1956(0);1957(5);1958(1);1959(15);1960(29)
“ <i>Carnet</i> ” <i>das</i>	79	1950(21);1951(31);1952(13);1953(10);1954(4);1955(0);1956(0);1957(0);1958(0);1959(0);1960(0)

Source: *Jornal das Moças: Illustrated Fortnightly Magazine* (1950-1960)

However, in a more detailed examination of loose texts, without authorship, not always published in prominent spaces, it is possible to identify gaps and openings in the discourse promulgated by the publication, which accompanies the social changes that have been taking place in the 1950s, welcomes the theme related to the placement of women in the labor market, seeking to tangent the consequences of this historical fact, such as financial independence and moral, intellectual and family emancipation. The emancipation of women was treated in a very subtle way in the magazine, when the feminine presence in public spaces becomes a reality, the magazine then adopts the discourse that this was the new reality of its readers, however, reinforcing the basic principles for the moral and family building, i.e., they could not leave aside their femininity or their family to put ahead their personal desires. The following excerpt materializes some of the assumptions of the publication:

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

Women have been seeking emancipation by all means at their disposal, some of which are offensive to their femininity.

She has not wanted to resign herself to a passive role, and has chosen to launch herself in search of adventures in occupations previously only destined for the strong sex, thus seeking to penetrate the field of the struggle to meet the material needs of life.

It was not only the spiritual that moved her, and in most cases she made this decision for natural reasons, for the satisfaction of being enough for herself, believing that in this way she would have the same value as men and also proceed as they do, doing whatever she wanted.

Taking such an attitude, women longed to acquire whatever their imagination thought best, without having to resort to men, and for this they invaded factories, offices, commerce, banks, etc.

Thus they achieved their purposes, and went even further, requesting an independence emanating from their work and from new customs acquired with the position that money earned them, not earned with alms or attention, but as a reward for their efforts, their work, their intelligence. It is evident that women, in becoming equal to men, have elevated themselves with respect to their social condition, but they have lost a lot in their femininity.

The field of evolution has undergone too many changes in a relatively short period of time. If special circumstances caused women to occupy positions left by men during the war, or to work only in industries connected with it, after everything had normalized, they did not decide to return to their former occupations, abandoning the services of the home to enjoy an economic freedom. They decided to fight for life on an equal plane. Soon there were thousands of women who were admitted into almost every sector of work, adding to the crisis of occupations, of luxury, of amusements, and of vanity. We should look with sympathy upon the woman who has incorporated herself into all activities. We should not underestimate her tenacity and her vehement desire to prosper, to secure her future, independent of marriage, which was considered an exclusive career for the female sex.

[...]

If this transformation had not taken place, what would become of the spinsters, obliged to be a heavy burden for their families, suffering humiliation.

Thanks to emancipation, the future does not frighten them and they are masters of their destiny because they know that, by fighting, they will be able to be independent. However, this emancipation has forced men to treat them as equal competitors in the fight for life, and this makes them lose their femininity (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1954, p. 62).

The female participation in public spaces marks the insertion of themes and problems that could be read and discussed by women in the local press; the incentive to study became part of everyday life and even changed the thinking for the next generations, because they saw through it one of the best opportunities for personal development. Issues considered taboo, such as a free body and the possibility of divorce, were gradually occupying the pages of the publication, demonstrating the attention to the issues of its time, even if in disagreement with the founding principles of the editorial team. In contemporary terms, it is possible to see the perennial themes that the magazine feared to disclose or face, many of which are already an effective part of the social behavior of the population, but many others still remain treated with reservations and prejudice, showing that there is still much to be conquered in the field of social equity. A good example is the following excerpt, referring to the entry of women into the labor market, the achievement of the female vote, and other agendas legitimized by the feminist movement in the 1960s.

TODAY'S WOMAN CAN OVERCOME MAN

Undoubtedly, women from all latitudes of this planet have been conquering, on a daily basis, their "place in the sun. The great social cataclysms caused by the two world wars have meant that the "fair sex" has, almost without transition, been able to compete with men in all human activities in the fields of industry, trade, farming, science, the arts, literature, the judiciary, and so on.

The time of the suffragists in London, who, risking their own freedom and sometimes entering into serious conflicts with the severe Scotland Yard, "horrified" the bourgeoisie of the time, fought for the rights of equality between the two sexes, is long gone.

Today, women tend to be placed on a higher plane than men. At least when it comes to jobs, be they public or private, women keep the right of leadership. Even because, as a great French industrialist once argued, "it is much nicer to dictate a letter to a pretty face than to a face with an unshaven beard [...]" (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1958, p. 42).

The sexist and conservative tone permeates the writing of the text, however, there is no denying that the professional and social places were also occupied by women, and the magazine does not hesitate to signal such context, but with reservations: the woman could

work outside the home, she should not, however, neglect her appearance in the domestic forum, in order not to cause supposed betrayal of her husband (justified by her absence in the domestic environment and the lack of fulfillment of her duties as a wife), being necessary, as pointed out in the texts, whenever possible to be well groomed, perfumed, not abandoning the care with the appearance and femininity.

These rough edges in the approaches suggest an uncomfortable position, however, necessary for the magazine, which could not deny the achievements aimed at in the period, at the risk of losing the "sympathy" of the readers, and with it, financial resources for its maintenance. The strategies, in the Certeauian approach, explain the manifest position of the magazine, of maintaining contents that met the editorial assumptions of the publication, but inserting themes that were under discussion in the context (CAMPOS, 2010). The entry into the labor market did not reduce the journey of domestic action of women, on the contrary, it made them double or triple and intensely tiring. In one edition, this agenda gets a male note, registering, through a transcribed text, the opinion of men about the idea of helping them or not in domestic chores, being the subject of humorists:

THE HELP OF HUSBANDS IN HOUSE CHORES

The collaboration of husbands in household chores has been the subject of many humorists and, on the other hand, the topic of lively polemics by the most varied women's organizations in various parts of the world, especially in the United States.

Just recently, official statistics revealed, for example, that 53% of American husbands are happy to help their wives wash and dry the dishes; 33% declared themselves openly opposed to this system of enslavement, while 14% stated that they wash and dry the dishes, put on the apron and become a "housewife" just so they can "live in peace"? These 14% represent the strong sex tempered by complexes or terror of the "noodle shovel"! (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1959, p. 24-25).

In issue 2335, from 1960, the magazine presents texts that highlight the importance of women's education, given by formal institutions, notably schools, however, all the knowledge acquired should be used for the common good and progress of the nation, for the benefit of everyone around them, children, husbands and family, benefiting society as a whole. It would therefore be unacceptable, from the perspective defended by the publication, to have high rates of women without access to education and girls who are still illiterate.

The approaches of the publication, as previously mentioned, follow the agendas of its time, signalize the perception of the editorial group on burning issues, urgent agendas, and denote a certain sensitivity to address problems that permeate the female emancipation and

the figure of the modern woman, who starts to have financial independence and intellectual training, However, the exercise of domestic duties was something that should be prior to her professional will, "even exercising a tiring routine in their work, women should not leave aside their domestic duties and in countries like the United States and China this has been a reality" (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1960c, p. 28). Fearing to assume such a position, the magazine uses foreign experiences to legitimize certain behaviors, as shown in the following excerpt:

FIRST OF ALL THEY ARE WOMEN!

The modern woman has begun to take an active part in public life and the struggle for the vote has taught her to organize herself to obtain the abolition of some remaining disabilities. However, their political evolution has in no way detracted from the matters of special concern to women: the care of the home, motherhood, the welfare of the family, the education of children. For they are women first and foremost, a situation that no career or profession can surpass (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1960b, p. 21).

Women would be allowed to have titles, professions, occupy public positions, without neglecting attention and care for the home, prioritizing domestic chores. Marks of patriarchy, which materialize in the pages of the publication, which recognizes the position achieved by women, who should not compare themselves to men but collaborate with them, not losing their feminine essence, as the excerpt points out: "even when she gives proof of superiority in an activity that men previously believed that only they would be able to perform it, it is because, even there, the woman does not stop acting like a woman, thinking like a woman, feeling like a woman. (JORNAL DAS MOÇAS, 1960c, p. 29).

Jornal das Moças welcomed the demands of the context of the final years of the 1950s, as the texts of the publication show: they recognized the woman who occupied the public space, studied, sought to expand the domestic tasks towards professionalization and stratifying the spaces authorized by society for her performance. Nevertheless, when they entered these spaces, they did not receive recognition and appreciation similar to men when performing their functions, being subjected to depreciative provocations.

Emancipation was a conquest, but also a threat to conservative customs, therefore conferring paradoxes and contradictions to women's life, in a scenario marked by the conservatism of colonial heritage.

By way of concluding remarks: discourses of the past that compose practices of the present

Studies about the aspects of diversity in the theoretical and methodological perspective of women's history that address the cultural and social impacts of the fifties, mediated by documentation on the periodical press, made it possible to understand nuances and approaches veiled by documents of another nature, which indicate agendas and agendas in circulation, in the constitution of women as subjects of history, even if with a denied or silenced protagonism. When examining the discourses of *Jornal das Moças*, it is undeniable to identify some permanences of the past in the contemporary world. It is not intended, with this assertion, to affirm that there were no changes or ruptures with the historical-social dynamic established in the 1950s, in association with the present times. On the other hand, after 70 years of published speeches, we notice, notably, that many differences have not been equated, many issues still remain as nebulous and women's achievements are still denaturalized by certain social groups.

The examination of the selected issues and sections throughout the 1950s indicated the mark of discourses anchored in the dissemination of pre-established social places for women and men, of which the publication was tributary, i.e., they followed in their texts contents that helped the circulation of ways of being and living that reflected the values set in society, inherited from colonialism and patriarchy, as pointed out by the studies of Helieth Saffioti (2011) and others. As the demands for vindication gained space and publicity, as well as the political movement orchestrated by social movements led by women, the publication, subtly, added to its texts the agendas that began to integrate the national scene, so as not to walk completely against the transformations of the modern world.

With the economic and industrial development registered in Brazil in the 1950s, technology became an ally to the economy, and material demands significantly expanded their reach, reflected in several aspects of human life; the massive entry of women into the labor market follows the changes and takes advantage of the opportunities created by this economic scenario, supposedly favorable. The presence of women in public spaces becomes a reality, including the encouragement to study at levels higher than elementary school.

The representations of the modern woman are based on the conformation of a subject prepared to dedicate herself exclusively to the home. The contents of the publication constantly reinforce the family's well-being, tips on cooking, embroidery, fashion, and behavior, delimiting that her place was within the private sphere, but reaching different levels

by the end of the decade. From 1955 on, there was a change in its discourse when women began to enter the public space, the job market, and to seek professional training.

As the years go by, it becomes clear that the presence of women in the public space is a path with no return! One can notice, finally, dissonant positions in the magazine in its discourse about the place of women, sometimes defending their achievements, other times marking the retreat in moral practices and family maintenance. Attentive to the changes in the reality of its readership, the magazine continued with its main subjects related to what were understood as pertinent themes to the feminine universe, such as fashion, cooking, and behavior, thus remaining the initial tone of the publication: before a woman could be a good professional, she should be a good mother and housewife. The representation of women changes, but the editorial profile of the magazine in the late fifties, even though it follows the social changes, remains faithful to the assumption based on conservatism, which assigns different places and rights to men and women. Therefore, the importance of understanding these aspects through History, searching for elements to overcome them, is reinforced.

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