

THE UNIVERSE OF WOMEN IN THE MAGAZINE A VIDA MODERNA (SÃO PAULO - 1907-1926): AN ANALYSIS OF THE FEMINIST THEMES

O UNIVERSO DAS MULHERES NA REVISTA A VIDA MODERNA (SÃO PAULO - 1907-1926): UMA ANÁLISE DA TEMÁTICA FEMINISTA

EL UNIVERSO DE LAS MUJERES EN LA REVISTA A VIDA MODERNA (SÃO PAULO - 1907-1926): UN ANÁLISIS DE LA TEMÁTICA FEMINISTA



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ABSTRACT: This study investigates the potentiality of the not declaredly pedagogical or academic press for the field of History of Education, particularly for researches focused on the themes of female education – education herein understood in the broad sense, as an instance of culture that guides values and world views. The magazine *A Vida Moderna*, an important periodical in the state of São Paulo which was published during the first three decades of the 20th century in the state capital and countryside, was taken as a research source, and texts and images aimed at female reading were analyzed based on theoretical references of Cultural History and the foundations of Mikhail Bakhtin’s language theory. In the analysis, the emphasis is placed on the representations of feminism at that time.

KEYWORDS: Press. History of Education. Female education.

RESUMO: *Este estudo investiga as potencialidades da imprensa não declaradamente pedagógica ou escolar para o campo da História da Educação, em especial para as pesquisas que recaem sobre a temática da educação feminina, educação aqui entendida em sentido lato, como uma instância da cultura que orienta os valores e as visões de mundo. Tomamos como fonte de pesquisa a revista A Vida Moderna, importante periódico paulista que circulou durante as três primeiras décadas do século XX na capital e no interior do Estado, e analisamos textos e imagens voltados para a leitura feminina a partir dos referenciais teóricos da História Cultural e dos fundamentos da teoria da linguagem de Mikhail Bakhtin. A ênfase no exame se dá nas representações acerca do feminismo de então.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Imprensa. História da Educação. Educação feminina.*

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RESUMEN: *Este estudio investiga las potencialidades de la prensa no declaradamente pedagógica o escolar para el campo de la Historia de la Educación, en especial para las investigaciones que recaen sobre la temática de la educación femenina, educación aquí entendida en sentido amplio, como una instancia de la cultura que orienta los valores y las visiones de mundo. Tomamos como fuente de investigación la revista A Vida Moderna, un importante periódico paulista que circuló durante las tres primeras décadas del siglo XX en la capital y en el interior del Estado, y analizamos textos e imágenes direccionados a la lectura femenina a partir de los referentes teóricos de la Historia Cultural y de los fundamentos de la teoría del lenguaje de Mikhail Bakhtin. El énfasis en el examen se da en las representaciones sobre el feminismo del momento.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Prensa. Historia de la Educación. Educación femenina.*

Press and education

The idea that the non-pedagogical press also plays an educational role in society has been confirmed by numerous researchers of the History of Education in Brazil (ARAÚJO, 2002; CAMPOS, 2009, 2012, 2015; FARIA FILHO, 2002; GONÇALVES NETO, 2002).

The works of Robert Darnton¹ and Roger Chartier² on the history of the book and reading practices and the categories of analysis formulated from these research objects are evidences of the pedagogical role of the printed – even those not strictly pedagogical, in the most common sense of the term – and the press, and it may be considered naïve some notion that take them by transparent information vehicles, neutral, disinterested in the political, economic and cultural issues of society. These authors have even shown that the influence of texts on people is independent of their reading, simply a relationship, an interaction with them by other means, which may include oral exposure, a debate, a scenic representation or even a listening to speak.

From this understanding, we broaden the notion of the concept of education and the objects of the History of Education. These are not restricted to the school and everything that revolves around them, such as the agents involved – teachers, students, employees in general – physical structure, teaching materials, pedagogical forms, educational legislation, etc. | 3

The concept of education that we adopt is broad, differs from education or schooling. We take it here as an instance of culture that guides values and worldviews. And, in this way, we assume the understanding that the press as well as other means of expression related or not to it – advertising, photography, illustrations, literature, cinema – are configured as educational spaces through which people construct, in a dialogical way, their conceptions of the world, their references of action in reality, their values.

Theoretical instruments

To guide our analyses, we chose the concepts developed in the field of Cultural History, in particular by Roger Chartier, and Bakhtinian language theory, which can, in our view, consistently problematize our object of study.

Cultural History has as main objective to identify the modes of cultural construction of a given social reality and the ways in which it is represented and apprehended socially

1 Cf. Darnton (1990, 2014).

2 Cf. Chartier (2001, 2003).

(CHARTIER, 2002)³. To achieve this goal, Chartier develops three important concepts: representation, appropriation and practices.

The concept of representation concerns the way in which various social groups, through classifications and delimitations, configure their worldviews, build meanings for their practices and actions, which will engender a clash, since social representations are never neutral, but expressions of values and power of the divergent groups that make up a society. This representation of one another and the other appears in cultural practices, discursive practices that are understood both as a translation of the interests of the various social actors and as a description of society according to meanings attributed by these same agents.

Appropriation refers to the various modalities of interpretation of cultural practices (texts, images, rituals, etc.) which people are subject to according to various ways of being in the world: classes, groups, stages. In this sense, the text-reader relationship is by no means transparent, as if the text contained a meaning in itself, was socially and historically displaced from the reader, a shallow touch of knowledge. On the contrary, this relationship articulates the ideas that the text is a social and historically constructed product, as well as the reader, which is configured from the representations of the social world in which it operates. In this work, therefore, the concept of appropriation seeks to understand the possibilities of reading cultural practices typical of the beginning of the 20th century, in São Paulo, that is, texts and images published in journals, specifically, in the revised format. | 4

Finally, the concept of practice concerns the articulation of various spheres of life in society – political, social, economic, discursive – which historically produces social structures and their representations. The representation, in turn, engenders new or confirms established social practices, which will be appropriated and again represented by the various groups. Practices configure identities, hierarchies, ordering, etc.

Thus, the conceptual triad formulated by Roger Chartier – representation, appropriation and practice – helps this study in understanding that the cultural practices of the subjects – here, specifically, the journal texts, the images present in it, the practices of reading journals in the selected space-time-cut – are revealing and, simultaneously, formators of values, worldviews and social identities. As well as reveal the clashes around varied interests of social groups. That

3 The Cultural History proposed by Roger Chartier is based on three fundamental concepts: representation, practice and appropriation. It encompasses the understanding of society not only from the point of view of hierarchical social relations in the economic and political fields, but also in the symbolic field, proper to culture. Therefore, through the analysis of the discursive practices of a society, we can more comprehensively understand the meanings constructed and data to be seen by the various groups that integrate it on itself and about others; we can envision the mechanisms and strategies of domination.

is, practices are expressions of culture and at the same time conformers of culture.

Our purpose is to contribute to the field of The History of Education through this approach of the printed as educational instances, conforming of worldviews, of values that guide the practices of the subjects in the daily life of history; spaces in which multiple and varied enunciative voices intersect, vying for the game of discursive hegemony.

From the philosophy of Bakhtinian language, we use the concept of dialogism. According to Bakhtin (2011, p. 261, our translation), "all the various fields of human activity are linked to the use of language". Hence one of the fundamental assumptions of his philosophy of language, namely that the real and concrete way of functioning of language takes place through the utterance.

The utterance has its own constitutive characteristics. Every utterance is authorial and has a recipient; it is the replica of a dialogue, so it contains a finish that allows a response; is dialogical; is axiological (BAKHTIN, 2011; FIORIN, 2006).

As a result of the first, the second assumption is assumed. This means: if the means by which men interact with reality is the utterance/discourse, and if the discourse is constitutively dialogical, then the social relations themselves are dialogical, they are constructed dialogically. The dialog of discourse exists as a phenomenon of culture because no individual interacts alone, directly with reality. The discourses of individuals – but not only of them, also the discourses that present themselves as collective stems such as science, the state, companies and other institutions – are crossed by the discourses of others, whether their contemporaries or their ancestors. Sometimes, even, the two-time instances merge in the discursive construction of the subjects.

It is in this sense, therefore, that the discourse always presents itself as a replica to other discourses. This character of language and social relations is designated the concept of dialogism. Thus, we can better understand the relationships established between the subjects of this social practice that constitutes the writing, publication and consumption - say practice of reading - of texts and images in magazines at the beginning of the twentieth century, in Brazil. Through this lens we can see subjects not completely controlled, submitted and seduced by speeches. On the contrary, subjects who also negotiate, wish, reject, demand, that do not allow themselves to be so easily encased. We speak of subjects who respond to discourses of which they are targets in the field of science, of religion, market or any other.

The magazine

Vida Moderna has recognized its importance in the illustrated printed medium of the First Republic as confirmed by the works of Martins (2001), Cruz (2013), Moraes (2007), Souza (2019) and the work of Affonso A. de Freitas, *The periodic press of São Paulo: from its beginnings in 1823 to 1914*, published in 1915, which is an important source for the study of São Paulo periodic.

Our access to the sources was through consultation with the digitized and hosted copies on the websites of the National Digital Library and the Public Archive of the State of São Paulo. The choice of numbers for analysis (133, 137, 350, 418, 427, 432, 436, 437, 441 and 475) was guided by what we call the "universe of women in the journal", that is, the set of subjects that had women as the theme, filtered by the focus on the feminist theme. Thus, we were able to analyze and understand the representations about feminism at that time in the journal.

*Vida Moderna*⁴ was a magazine of the segment "varieties", published in São Paulo between the years 1907 and 1929. Previously focused on the sports theme and for an eminently male audience, the fortnightly magazine *Sportman*, by deliberation of its directors, came to be called, from its number 25, *Vida Moderna*. The journal gradually undergoes a graphic, thematic and advertising reformulation, seeking to reach new commercial horizons, implementing distribution strategies and thus achieving a greater number of readers and advertisers.

The "variety magazines", also called "illustrated magazines", were characterized by the approach of diverse themes, considered "light": social life of salons, soirees, public tours, outdoor amusements, clubs, cinema, theatrical and dance shows, literature, fashion and customs criticism and the large number of advertisements for products and services of Brazilian and foreign companies. Another distinctive feature of the journals of this segment was the abundant use of photographic reproduction. Photography was the great novelty of the periodism of the beginning of the century, the fetish of editors and readers. It was used to give visibility to public, civic, social events, political gatherings, sports competitions, etc. The registration of military parades, diplomatic visits, arrival, to the city of São Paulo, of some personality of the political or artistic world always constituted an opportunity to demonstrate, through images, the stage of development of the city, the state and the magazine itself. (MARTINS, 2001; COEHN, 2015;

4 Founded as *Sportman* in 1906 by Luiz Couto and owned and directed by Artur Reis Teixeira, it *Vida Moderna* in 1907. Acquired by Amâncio dos Santos in 1910 or 1911, it had several writing directors: Amadeu Amaral, Gelasius Pepper – which would find, in 1914, *The Cicada*, main competitor of *Vida Moderna* –, Garcia Redondo, co-owner of the magazine until his death in 1916. Armando Mondego takes over his direction and remains so until the last number to which we had access, 518, of 12/08/1926. For more information about the magazine, cf. Moraes (2007) and Souza (2019).

CRUZ, 2015).

Vida Moderna was owned by the Empresa d'A Vida Moderna, whose office was located, in the first decade of the 20th century, in Praça Antônio Prado, a place also chosen to locate the offices of the magazines *São Paulo Magazine*, *Lua* and the influential newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, a fact that may be indicative of the economic power of the publishing company of the magazine (MARTINS, 2001). Martins (2001) presents a list of the typographies of São Paulo and the journals to which they provided graphic services. *Vida Moderna* is not present, which may be another indication that the Company of *Vida Moderna* itself printed the copies of the magazine.

According to Cruz (2013), the journal was considered an important undertaking in the São Paulo press, reaching the magazine of the largest circulation during much of the 1920s. According to Martins (2001, p. 342, our translation), "one of the most important journals of the period". Its target audience consisted mainly of elite families⁵ and the middle classes⁶ of São Paulo⁷, which identified with the values defended by the magazine – a work ethic and capitalist individualism nascent and, at the same time, the identity of São Paulo – values with meanings brought and re-meant by the great economic growth of the state of São Paulo in those years, as well as its prestigious position in the national political scenario.⁸ | 7

Like other São Paulo magazines such as *São Paulo Magazine*, *O Pirralho* and *A Cigarra*, *Vida Moderna* presented avant-garde graphic treatment: multicolored cover, frequent and abundant use of images, especially photographic, innovation and dazzle of the time (MARTINS, 2001). Contemporary to the magazine, Freitas declared (1915, p. 704, our translation): "finely written and profusely illustrated the photogravure is today one of the best made and popular magazines of S. Paulo".

A copy of *Vida Moderna* measured 19cm wide x 28cm high and was, on average, 30 pages in Couche paper, unnumbered. Special editions could reach 100 pages. The internal diagramming could bring, in the same number, texts arranged in two, three or four columns. With colorful covers, internal content in up to three colors abundantly illustrated and abundant use of photographs, the magazine had a biweekly publication from 1907 to 1912. Later, from 1912 to 1914 it began to leave weekly and did so until 1915, when it returned to being a

5 By upper class, we understand, in São Paulo, the portion of the population composed of traditional families linked to large rural property, commerce and incipient industrialization. Cf. Costa, E. (1987).

6 By middle classes, we understand a portion of the urban population composed of liberal professionals, small entrepreneurs, public servants with higher education, small merchants, office employees. Cf. Saes (1984) and Costa, E. (1987).

7 About working-class women, cf. Chalhoub (2012); Soihet (2004); Moura (1982) and Pena (1981).

8 On the construction of São Paulo's identity, cf. Ferreira (2002).

fortnightly magazine, maintaining this periodicity until its last year of existence, 1929.⁹¹⁰

The number of sections was impermanent. They could appear and disappear from one number to another without notice. The most frequent topics were sports, social life and civic parties, criticism of customs and cultural life. Political issues were sometimes dealt with in the opening texts, chronicles or special stories about characters in state politics.

A brief characterization of the most frequent sections can be done as follows: "Filigrees" is a column that discusses art and customs in the city of São Paulo. It presents critical comments on the behavior of men and women in the general public space, parties, theaters, concerts, etc.; "Elegancias", signed by "Madam X" - its real identity is not known - discusses aspects of fashion, approves and disapproves of ways of dressing and behaving, discusses aspects of the artistic world referring to what it considers high culture, referenced in classical ideals; "Azulejos" is a literary column and has varied columnists, bringing original texts and sometimes translations; "From the salon to the little room" is a column that aims to provide, in addition to culinary recipes, practical advice for housewives: remove from clothes fat stains, produce handmade perfumes, prepared against hair loss; "Cine-revista" is the column dedicated to news from the world of cinema. It gives special prominence to the great stars of American cinema, bringing information about films, personal and professional life of actors and actresses; "Sports" is a column dedicated to comments on football matches, canoeing, horse riding, horse racing, aviation, among others¹¹; "The literary moment" is not signed and presents poems and their authors; "About literature" is a column in which the author and his work are discussed and presented. | 8

The universe of women in *Vida Moderna*

In this topic, we will discuss the representations about feminism in the journal and analyze a case in which text and image, in the diagrammatic set of the page, produce a paradoxical effect, revealing the porosity of the meanings of a text, evidencing the dialogical character of every utterance. Thus, we intend to elucidate our hypothesis that the non-pedagogical periodic press, in particular and in an exemplary way, the journal *A Vida Moderna*, operated as an educational space for values and the world view, that is, a formative and reinforcing instrument of representations about feminism among women of the elite and urban

9 In the edition in which the change in periodicity is announced, there is no information on the reasons for this.

10 On the closure of the journal's activities, cf. Souza (2019).

11 On the use of pseudonyms by women in the press, cf. Person (2005).

middle classes of São Paulo in that context.

The debate about the social roles of women in public and private spaces was burning at the beginning of the 20th century. Among them, the departure of women from the elite and the middle classes from the private space of the home, the only one they occupied until that historical moment. Increasingly, especially in large cities, the women of the middle-class elite studied and worked outside the home, built a professional career, wandered through the city center of São Paulo (BESSE, 1999).

The subjects considered, at the time, typically feminine, since there were no specific sections to deal with the universe of women, went through all *Vida Moderna*: fashion, beauty, behavior, conjugal and family life, culinary recipes, home care, children. "Filigrees", a conservative profile column on behavior, extolled the ways and customs of the past, to the detriment of the present, evaluated as a time of degeneration. The female was a constant object of surveillance and prescription of specialists in the medical and legal field, religious and the media. The normative discourses addressed to women gain strength due to those socioeconomic and political transformations to which we refer, since contemporaries feared a social disorganization motivated by the absence of women in the home and by competition with men in the labor market and in public life (BESSE, 1999; CAULFIELD, 2000; COSTA, J.; 1983; CUNHA, 2006; FREIRE, 2008). In *Vida Moderna*, therefore, a column that deals with behavior could not be stolen from prescribing them to the female public. In our research, we identified the columns "Elegancias", "Filigrees" and "From the hall to the kitchen" as the privileged spaces of enunciation of normative discourses for women.

The theme feminism was present in the public discussions of the early twentieth century, in Brazil, although the term translates distinct meanings according to the bearer of discourse. At the same time that it carried a sense of modernity, progress, women's political rights and, even of fad, the term feminism, according to Besse (1999, p. 214, our translation), was trivialized by the press in its meaning of "fundamental transformation of consciousness".

In the first decades of the 20th century, it was difficult to define feminism and establish its clear delimitations. Under the nickname of feminist were people who defended flags if not completely opposed, at least clearly different. Analyzing social chronicles and readers' letters, published in 1920 and 1921, in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, Sevckenko (1992) realizes that one of the current meanings of feminism was associated with the adoption of new behaviors such as the shortening of skirts and uses of short hair and cigarettes.

Feminists could be the ones who advocated women's political participation and vote, as well as greater participation in the labor market; it could be those who preached that true

feminism was the one that preserved the natural roles of women, their feminine essence, and that protected her from demoralizing modernity. It could also be those young women who cared about walking in fashion or always well-adorned. Anarchists, who advocated female emancipation and rejected the denomination because they considered it a concession to the bourgeois political-economic system, to which they fought, were also called feminists by the press (BESSE, 1999; CAMPOS, 2009).

There is also such conceptual variation in *Vida Moderna*. The words feminism and feminist are used with more than one meaning, as we refer to above. It cannot therefore be affirmed that the magazine had a position on feminism without the term itself being defined. Our methodological procedure was to consider as a feminist theme those meanings that involve women in questions about political rights, occupation of public space in the labor market and intellectual life and behavior. Thus, once the feminism of the journal is defined, it can be understood that there was room for contemporary discussions about the role of women in the new era of modernity and progress that the twentieth century had inaugurated. Still, it was not an editorial position, but individual position of each columnist or collaborator.

The words written about Marise, pseudonym of the gaúcho writer Maria Luiza Duclos, allow us to understand the advances and limits in the process of autonomy of women in the middle and upper classes in the analyzed context. The article about Marise highlights a complimentary passage about her, from a text published in a Porto Alegre magazine called *Iris*, entitled "Woman and her moral and intellectual mission", in which the author declares: | 10

I have always given the greatest appreciation to the intervention of women in the moral preparation of a people. Ella more than man can lead to the intimate of education from home to social meetings, his powerful influx of improvement. The cooperation of my distinct Patricia, has in the letters a high relief in our collective environment (our translation).

The importance of the presence of women in the public space, in this case, the world of letters, is not underestimated. It is attributed to a specific and proper task, which man could not accomplish with the same effectiveness: moral education. In fact, primary teaching was one of the main occupations of middle-class women and "in 1920, 75% of primary teachers in the city of São Paulo and 81% of those in the city of Rio de Janeiro were women" (BESSE, 1999, p. 163, our translation). The female presence in the labor market, in political and intellectual life, however, should not separate women from what was considered their natural mission. That is, even in the public space, women should watch over their essence and their new occupations

should not erase their femininity or their social roles.¹²

In 1912, issue number 137, in an article entitled "Good humor", presents the fact that a newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, "took the high political report to one of its editors, to entrust it to a woman". The tone is light, as the title suggests, and journalist Virginia Lent is praised for the insight with which she conducted the interview with a general. Two sentences, however, the one that opens and the one that closes the article, are revealing a context in which, gradually, women held functions before only due to men: "Feminism advances [...] Save yourself who can!"

In a short note, in issue 133 of September 5, 1912, comments are read about two international cases in which women appear practicing profession and occupying spaces that were not traditionally their own. The call for comments is curious: its layout suggests a banner with the sayings "Feminism triumphs". The note informs us that, in the United States, they were being initiated in construction; in Uruguay, a woman wins, through competition, the chair of Roman Law at the University of Montevideo and suffers, therefore, resistance from students, who threaten to renounce classes. Soon after, there is an opinionated text on the Uruguayan case, lamenting the attitude of the students of Montevideo towards the appointment of professor "Doctor Matilde Luisa", declaring it irrational, contrary to the progress of the times of then, "of achievements and lights". The author also highlights the intellectual merits of the teacher, considering her "a lady of high intellectual value" and, in resorting to her background, informs us that she was "the first woman to provide services to her father, in diplomacy, occupying with brilliance, an advisory position at the embassy of Uruguay in Paris".

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The discourse of the *Vida Moderna* on feminism was not homogeneous, but permeated by nuances. The text on the case of the Uruguayan teacher begins by presenting a seemingly inexorable and immemorial truth: "A woman's first obligation is to be beautiful". During the reading, it is perceived that it is a criticism of the prejudiced attitude of Uruguayan students and not beauty councils. The irony in the use of the phrase made as the opening of the text serves to build the meaning of criticism, but it does not cease to reveal one of the social assumptions that conformed the being a woman in that context.

On the other hand, what can demonstrate the contrasts within the journal's writing on the subject, in 1919, in issue number 350, columnist Bruno Ferraz is completely opposed to the

12 By social roles we understand the specific ways of relating socially, since social roles determine the social expectations of the behaviors of individuals. Every social role is linked to a position of *status*. By *status* we understand social positions related to degrees of prestige, privilege, power and responsibilities. On this subject, cf. Goffman (2014).

institution of Women's Day and considers feminism "a complete, whole and full subversion of society", a revolution "fearful and horrible" because it intends to give autonomy to women. The different ways of treating the theme feminism by the magazine also puts us in the face of the complexity of a time when traditional values changed.

The idea that feminism, when developing as an organized movement in Brazil, would represent a subversion of society does not cease to make sense. A society organized based on patriarchal social relations has seen, since the end of the 19th century, the revolutions with economic, political and social transformations, of which feminist demands were only part of a modernization process. It is therefore understandable the alarm made by the columnist, if we consider that, three years after his condemnation of the idea of creating Women's Day, *Vida Moderna* would publish, in issue 441, a complimentary article in which feminism was related to the struggle of women for the conquest of "rights and duties equal to those of man". Similarly, in 1924, issue 475, a note proclaimed as "a high achievement of feminism" the fact that it had been approved, in the "Chamber of the Commons", as women's right in England, the application for divorce according to the same criteria already allowed for men.

In 1921, in the column "Elegancias", Madam X, in a text entitled "Feminism", praised Bertha Lutz's¹³ performance in favor of women's suffrage, praising her cause and declaring her support.

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Gentle reader, feminism is a fact. Although it seems in the eyes of our comrades a utopia, it is but a reality. So far in our beloved Brazil, it's already triumphing. Just to pay attention to this energetic and valuable spirit of Bertha Lutz, to see that there is in fact a force that knows how to lead from loser and to blows of energy, for Victoria, the political rights of Brazilian women. We think she's right to convince the clear, prepared spirits to follow her on her noble mission. You guys. Men (not all) in most of them have difficulties in providing the political right to women, alleging their lack of preparation [...]. One cannot even understand how difficult it is to legislate about it. [...] (our translation)

We noticed, in this passage, that by feminism a certain feminine, valuable and energetic spirit was understood, applied to build the progress of Brazilian civilization. It is interesting to note the metaphor of war/struggle to refer to Lutz's work in the Brazilian Federation for Female Progress. This treatment is unusual, because women were linked to images linked to the private world, care, beauty and grace, etc. (BUITONI, 2009). However, terms such as energetic,

13 Bertha Lutz (1894-1976) was born in São Paulo, graduated in biology and was the second woman to enter public service in Brazil. She engaged in campaigns in favor of recognizing women's political rights, was one of the founders of the Brazilian Federation for Women's Progress in 1922.

energy, values, strength, blows and victory present a renewed reading of the attitudes and behaviors of women in that beginning of the century. But there would be limitations, certainly. When we write the story under the guidance of the lenses of the contemporary, we prevent ourselves from seeing the possible horizons of a certain historical time.

In issue 427, in another text entitled "Feminism", Madam X gives prominence to a Spanish writer, considered the "lawyer of women" in his country. On the other hand, it regrets that Brazil maintains a lagging position in relation to the female presence in public life. It criticizes the social prejudices they seek to "crush her with this false compliment that she is the Angel of the Home". It also presents a criticism of Brazilian intellectuals who did not seriously address the female question:

They think that the role of women is only to adorn themselves, and to be coquette to be pleasant to them [...] nor can they have the right they have earned the weight of honor and distinction: *The right to vote!* [...] Only the woman can't speak out. You have to stand aside, quietly [...] it is not fashionable *for* Women to vote [...] It may be that with the rush of *civilization*, feminism will become a reality here in the land of palm trees... Don't our people see what has been done and are doing for the emancipation of women in North America and old Europe? Can't you see?... I think here in fact what there is a certain little fear [...] ¹⁴ (our translation).

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Madam X seems to understand feminism as a movement for the conquest of female emancipation, taken as the realization of women's political rights and education for their intellectual growth, as suggested by other parts of the text. It acknowledges, in a sarcastic tone, that the reluctance towards greater female participation in the public sphere was perhaps evidence of male fear. Fear of competition and loss of power. In the final excerpts, the columnist's argument assumes a connotation that approximates the meaning of women's emancipation to that of their integration into the public sphere in the role of auxiliary of man.

[...] It leaves the foolish vanity of money, and be vanity for what can be more justifiably, by strength and preparation, by work, helping man to win in the toil, nobly beautiful, to raise his land, so that she shines in the sky of the Cruise as a star of first greatness (our translation).

The role of women in the effort to expand Brazilian civilization would be to assist man, who, in fact, was imbued with a public and governing spirit, leadership capacity and work necessary for the country's progress. They were therefore reserved for a subordinate role, although flattered as essential. Her role in the public space would be a mere extension of her

14 Griffins of the original.

functions in the private sphere, determined by her vaunting feminine nature.

Let's look at the debate in the "Filigrees" column about feminism and the female vote. In 1922, a student at the Law School of Largo de São Francisco, Diva Nazário¹⁵, decided to apply for her electoral enlistment to participate in the upcoming elections. In the face of the judge's denial, she appeals. After the final denial of her request, she campaigned in favor of the female vote, making her case public¹⁶. In 1923, she published the book *Voto Feminino e Feminismo: um anno de feminismo entre nós*¹⁷, in which she compiled her articles, replicas and rejoinders on the subject, in addition to presenting the discussion of the female vote on the occasion of the Constituent Assembly and the way the Brazilian press treated the subject. She writes to the magazine's newsroom after having her request for electoral enlistment denied, requesting support for her cause. She receives another negative, this time, from columnist Lellis Vieira, who exposes her in the column, using "twig", according to Nazário herself. She sends a new letter, of which we do not know the content, because it is not published by the magazine. In issue 433, a note is addressed to Diva Nazário, a mention of the unpublished letter. She wanted to continue that debate.

The magazine then publishes, in issue 437, Nazário's rejoinder and, also, the opinion of a reader, Moacyr Diniz, who wants to be discussed, demonstrating how the theme of women's political rights aroused passions. In her text, the author counters Vieira's arguments, arguments that, she writes herself, fail to seriously treat the subject to assume a "burlesque tone". He states, for example, that men would be harmed in their attention to the presence of women at the ballot box; that women, seductive by nature, would make the dispute for votes somewhat unfair; that their children would be left without the necessary care if their mothers took care of politics. Below the rejoinder, the text of the reader Moacyr Diniz is published, entitled "For our sex...", which comes out in defense of patriarchal authority, the idea of a male essence and another, feminine. It also criticizes the entry of women into the university, arguing that the public space is hegemonically occupied by men. Feminism, he writes, causes a woman to move away from femininity, making her an "angry woman." In Nazário's 1923 book, she presents only Vieira's text and his. She doesn't comment on Mr Diniz's opinion.

Our last analysis will fall on an unusual verb-visual formation, a seemingly pointless

15 Regina Cecilia Maria Diva Nolf Nazário (1897-1966) was a Brazilian suffragist and feminist. She graduated in Law from the Law School of Largo de São Francisco and served as the general secretariat of the Paulista Alliance for Women's Suffrage.

16 The attempt at electoral enlistment was based on an inaccuracy of Article 70 of the 1891 Constitution, which did not express the prohibition on female voting. Cf. Vote (2000, p. 427-436).

17 Cf. Nazário (1923).

conjunction of text and image, which produces an effect of paradoxical meaning, if we consider it from the point of view of the horizon of possibilities available to women of the early twentieth century in São Paulo. That is, the apparent contradiction between what was the desirable behavior and the behavior that was verified. The document we will analyze below does not mention the word feminism, does not directly address the theme of female emancipation or anything like that. However, the effect produced by the combination of texts and image is the possibility of a reading of normative discourses about the social roles of women.

The verbo-visual formation referred to is found in the column "From the hall to the kitchen", signed by Madam X, and had as its motto, as described above, practical advice for the day to day domestic. It is important to highlight, as already mentioned in a note, that the true identity of Madam X is not known, nor even if it was a writer or writer. Such information is not trivial if we consider that the tone of the discourse, in columns aimed at women, was often used in order to give rise to an effect of intimacy, friendship and counseling. Therefore, a discursive tone that suggests a horizontal relationship between interlocutors, a very common approach, and, in fact, constant in the textual treatment of women's magazines (BUITONI, 2009).

On August 10, 1922, issue number 436, the column presented an unusual layout. It was a photograph of the aviator Anésia Pinheiro Machado, considered one of the pioneers of women's aviation in Brazil¹⁸. The instigating thing is to note, in addition to the photo and the legend – which themselves are out of tone from the usual female representation, the private space, the sentimentality, the kindness among other stereotypes – the space in which the image was placed, inadvertently, perhaps.

Inadvertently or not, the irony of having recipes for cakes, puddings and advice to "clean knives" and "conserve the shine of oiled carpets", the photograph of a woman who chose not to follow, apparently, the most common path to her congeners is curious. "From the lounge to the little room" was a section that used to stamp, in the center of the page, photographs unrelated to the theme of the column. This was frequent throughout the magazine. In other editions, for example, it is common images of children, parties, political gatherings. In issue 436, the photograph published was that of an aviator woman, dressed as such and in pose in front of an aircraft.

Sports practice, at the beginning of the 20th century, with physical education,

18 Anésia Pinheiro Machado was the second Brazilian to obtain the *brevê*, a document that authorizes the carrier to fly airplanes. She was also a member representative of the Liga Paulista para o Progresso Feminino, which was part of the Brazilian Federation for Women's Progress. To learn more about the trajectory of Anésia Pinheiro Machado, cf. Embraer Historic Center (2020).

constituted "hygiene measures aimed at combating the idleness and worldly habits of youth" and, as well as social behaviors, followed rules of application guided by the sexual division of society (SCHPUN, 1999, p. 34, our translation). Thus, according to an essentialist discourse, which evoked a masculine and another, feminine nature, there were more or less recommended sports for men and women. Citing an article by Fernando de Azevedo in the sports newspaper, (1999) relates to women practices such as gymnastics, classical dance, walking or running and swimming. For men, best practices were athletics and competition sports in general. It is therefore expressive that a young woman who followed a very unusual trajectory in her time, dedicating herself to aviation, is highlighted. It is even more unusual for this highlight to be conferred in a female column of domestic practical advice.

Back to the column "From the hall to the kitchen", we noticed the irony in the occasional encounter between the name of the section and the photograph selected for this edition. The name of the section delimits the appropriate places for women, suggests the spaces made to its supposed and touted nature, as well wanted by some columnists and readers of *Vida Moderna*. The ballroom, social and charity dances were the public space for them. There, they could exercise and demonstrate their supposedly natural gifts: grace, sympathy, sweetness, beauty, kindness, humility. From the public - the lounge - to the private - the kitchen - the woman is in her house, where she is "Angel of the home", guardian and lady. As Lellis Vieira said, in the debate with Diva Nazário mentioned above, it is more beautiful and admirable a woman at the "cradle", next to her son, than "next to an electoral ballot box". The house, its organization, maintenance, order and management were the responsibility of the woman. The education of children, the public image of the husband and his professional success, all this passed through the hands of women of the elite and the middle classes, as a responsibility of their social role, linked to their nature of care, grace and organization (BESSE, 1999; COSTA, J.; 1983; CUNHA, 2006; FREIRE, 2008). Progressively, normative discourse also reached poor women in an effort to make them the target of hygienist and eugenicist policies, departing from the process of medicalization and other forms of normalization of daily life (MARQUES, 1994; RAGO, 2014; ROCHA, 2003; WEINJTEIN, 1995).

Figure 1 – Section "From salon to the kitchen" with photograph of young aviator

Conselhos práticos

Para limpar um atore, estende-se e passa-se uma esponja molhada num preparado de um pouquinho de espírito de amoníaco e um pedacinho de sabão dissolvido em meia garrafa de água quente.

Esfrega-se com uma escova macia de unhas e limpa-se com um pano enxuto. Quando quasi enxuto passa-se a ferro rapidamente. Não se precisa tirar-se o atore do rolo que o segura porque assim conserva melhor a sua forma.

Para lavar vellido, preparam-se duas bacias de água tpeida com pó de sabão e aperta-se o fato bem e enxuga-se em água limpa. Não se torce e de, endurece-se na corda para secar, e enquanto secca, toma-se uma escova de roupa e passa-se-lhe em cima uma vez ou outra.

Para limpar as facas de pressão um bom meio é mergulhar uma roilha na água e passá-las no pó de facas e polir então com taso as lâminas vivamente; dá-se o polimento com um jornal. É melhor que esfregar as facas na tábua e toma metade do tempo.

Quando se pregam cortinas no rolo, mette-se o rolo na balnha, depois coloca-se uma tira antes de bater os pregos, isso impedirá a balnha de rasgar-se.

Para conservar o brilho dos tapetes de oleado, lavam-se esses de oito em oito dias com um preparado feito com partes iguaes de água e de leite; e de 20 em 20 dias esfrega-se de leve com um verniz liquido que se prepara derretendo cera em essencia de terobentinas.

Do salão a cozinha

trigo, 1 colherinha de fermento inglês, 1 chieara de nozes picadas e uma de tamaras, 1 chieara de assucar. Bate-se os ovos, acrescenta-se o assucar; pensa-se a farinha de trigo e o fermento inglês, juntamente; acrescentam-se nozes e tamaras. Polvilha-se com canella uma forma untada de manteiga. Assa 30 ou 40 minutos em forno moderado. Experimenta-se com uma palha. Serve-se em taças, com nata batida.

Bolinhos de ouro

Batem-se 115 grammas de manteiga com 115 grammas de assucar. Acrescentam-se dois ovos, um pouco de leite, uma colherada de marmelada ou goiabada, e finalmente meia libra de farinha de trigo a qual se mistura uma colherinha de fermento inglês. Deita-se em forminhas untadas de manteiga e assa 15 minutos em forno esperto.

Urcem cakes de abocolele

Bate-se um ovo ligeiramente, acrescenta-se uma chieara de assucar, uma de leite ou de leite condensado. Pensa-se uma chieara de farinha de trigo, cinco colheres de cacau, uma colherinha de soda de cozinha. Acrescenta-se baunilha e farinha de trigo para engrossar. Assa 20 minutos em forminhas.

Pães de lubé de milho

2 chiearas de fino fobá de milho, 2 chiearas de comlhada, 1 colherinha de fermento inglês, 1 colherinha de assucar, 2 colheres de manteiga, 1 colherinha de sal, 1 ovo.

Misturam-se os ingredientes secos. Acrescenta-se o leite, o ovo bem batido e manteiga derretida. Bate-se muito bem. Assa na forma meia hora.

— AVIAÇÃO —

A destemida aviadora senhorinha Anesla Pinheiro Machado, que tem realisada magnificas tardes de aviação.

Source: Vida Moderna, ed. 436, 10/08/1922

Final considerations

In the midst of everything that was considered proper and specific to the "sex-fragile", the photograph of Anésia Pinheiro Machado, aviator, dressed in character, posing in front of her aircraft, can be read as an example that other ways of being a woman, in Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century, were possible¹⁹. His image, associated with the caption "The fearless aviator lady Anesia Pinheiro Machado, who has realized magnificent aviation afternoons", would allow the female public contesting readings of prescriptive speeches commonly touted in all the magazine's numbers through photographs, texts and advertisements. Anésia Machado had not chosen the salon and the kitchen or, perhaps, not only the salon and the kitchen, but had made choices that pointed to other life trajectories.

Therefore, there is a certain receptivity of *Vida Moderna* to the most expressive female demands of that context. Of the ten editions that we propose to analyze, eight²⁰ approach the feminist theme in a positive way and four²¹, in a negative way²². In the eight positive approaches, there is a favorable position to the demands of political participation, greater occupation of the labor market and formal education, as well as greater freedom of behavior. In the four negative approaches, feminism is treated as a harmful movement, a trend that would | 18
pervert family and society.

In fact, women have become the preferred target audience for behavioral prescriptions throughout the pages of *Vida Moderna*. The naturalization of gender social roles was the basic idea of almost all. On the other hand, the same magazine, through other texts and images of advertisements, illustrations or photographs, ended up disseminating a clearly contesting message of those prescriptions.

The understanding of the dialogical character of every utterance and social relations allows us to conceive that the journal's readers actively appropriated the ideas and representations conveyed there. Such appropriation could be oriented towards anointing the discourses or even subverting them, because the reading concerns a dynamic, active and dialogical social practice. It is from this perspective, because we defend that the press, through varied textual genres, including verb-visuals, has enormous educational potential, strengthening or contesting social roles, cultural practices, pedagogizing the way of being in the world. And, in this way, the magazine's reader-audience took into contact with discussions about feminism,

19 The appropriate class differences were kept, which were not questioned in this article.

20 Editions 133, 137, 418, 427, 436, 437, 441 and 475.

21 Issues 350, 432, 436 and 437.

22 In two editions, 436 and 437, we consider that there are positive and negative approaches to the feminist theme.

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and educated themselves about it, built a worldview structured in values learned and reinforced by the press.

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