



# Media artifacts and cultural pedagogies: a discussion on the cultural arbitrariness of the newspaper *O Tibagi* (1948-1954)

Ana Flávia Braun Vieira\* and Oriomar Skalinski Junior

Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa, Praça Santos Andrade, 01, 84010-330, Ponta Grossa, Paraná, Brasil. \*Author for correspondence. E-mail: [anaf.braun@gmail.com](mailto:anaf.braun@gmail.com)

**ABSTRACT.** Media artifacts play an important educational role by constructing and disseminating representations that act in the constitution of their audience's *habitus*. Regarding newspapers, the cultural arbitrariness found in their publications has the ability to influence the identity and subjective constitution of their readers. Given their educational potential, it is essential to understand how the relationship between journalism and education has been consolidated in different historical and social times. In this sense, this study aimed to identify the characteristics of the cultural pedagogy practiced by *O Tibagi* in the company town of Monte Alegre – PR, observing its elementary aspects, position in the social space and arbitrary cultural forms valued by the newspaper. To this end, the commemorative editions of the newspaper between 1948 and 1954 were analyzed, with an emphasis on the editorial team and collaborators, advertisers and recurring themes of the publication. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the analysis of the sources showed that *O Tibagi*'s commemorative publications were marked by the predominance of advertisements and literary content, while other cultural expressions and themes were overlooked – educating its readers both through what it communicated explicitly and through the silences in its publications. By omitting sensitive topics, such as security and labor issues, the newspaper disseminated an idealized vision of Monte Alegre, promoting a cultural pedagogy that favored business logic and contributed to the maintenance of local 'harmony'. The research on *O Tibagi* demonstrates that newspapers act as pedagogical agents, influencing *habitus* and dispositions by selecting, highlighting or omitting content.

**Keywords:** cultural pedagogy; education; journalism; cultural arbitrariness; Monte Alegre.

## Artefatos midiáticos e pedagogias culturais: uma discussão sobre os arbitrários culturais do jornal *O Tibagi* (1948-1954)

**RESUMO.** Artefatos midiáticos desempenham um importante papel educativo ao construir e difundir representações que atuam na constituição do *habitus* do público. No caso dos jornais, os arbitrários culturais presentes em suas publicações possuem a capacidade de influenciar a constituição identitária e subjetiva de seus leitores. Dado seu potencial educativo, é fundamental compreender como a relação entre jornalismo e educação tem se constituído em diferentes tempos históricos e sociais. Nesse sentido, este trabalho teve como objetivo identificar as características da pedagogia cultural praticada por *O Tibagi* na cidade-empresa de Monte Alegre - PR, observando seus aspectos elementares, posição no espaço social e formas culturais arbitrárias valorizadas pelo jornal. Para tanto, foram analisadas as edições comemorativas do jornal entre os anos de 1948 e 1954, com destaque para os expedientes e colaboradores, anunciantes e temáticas recorrentes de publicação. Com base no referencial teórico de Pierre Bourdieu, a análise das fontes evidenciou que as publicações comemorativas de *O Tibagi* foram marcadas pela predominância de anúncios e conteúdo literário, enquanto outras expressões culturais e temas eram preteridos - formando seus leitores tanto pelo que comunicava explicitamente, quanto pelos silenciamentos em suas publicações. Ao omitir temas sensíveis, como segurança e questões trabalhistas, o jornal difundiu uma visão idealizada de Monte Alegre, promovendo uma pedagogia cultural que favoreceu a lógica empresarial e contribuiu para a manutenção da 'harmonia' local. A pesquisa sobre *O Tibagi* demonstra que jornais atuam como agentes pedagógicos, influenciando *habitus* e disposições ao selecionar, destacar ou omitir conteúdos.

**Palavras chave:** pedagogia cultural; educação; jornalismo; arbitrário cultural; Monte Alegre.

## Artefactos mediáticos y Pedagogías culturales: una discusión sobre la arbitrariedad cultural del periódico *O Tibagi* (1948-1954)

**RESUMEN.** Los artefactos mediáticos desempeñan un importante papel educativo al construir y difundir representaciones que actúan en la constitución del *habitus* del público. En el caso de los periódicos, los factores culturales presentes en sus publicaciones tienen la capacidad de influir en la identidad y

constitución subjetiva de sus lectores. Dado su potencial educativo, resulta fundamental comprender cómo se ha constituido la relación entre periodismo y educación en diferentes momentos históricos y sociales. En este sentido, este trabajo tuvo como objetivo identificar las características de la pedagogía cultural practicada por *O Tibağı* en la ciudad de Monte Alegre - PR, observando sus aspectos elementales, posición en el espacio social y formas culturales arbitrarias valoradas por el periódico. Para ello, se analizaron ediciones conmemorativas del periódico entre 1948 y 1954, destacando los archivos y colaboradores, anunciantes y temas recurrentes de publicación. A partir del marco teórico de Pierre Bourdieu, el análisis de las fuentes mostró que las publicaciones que conmemoran *O Tibağı* estuvieron marcadas por el predominio de anuncios y contenidos literarios, mientras que otras expresiones y temas culturales fueron descuidados, formando a sus lectores tanto a través de lo que comunicaban explícitamente como por los silencios en sus publicaciones. Al omitir temas sensibles, como la seguridad y las cuestiones laborales, el periódico difundió una visión idealizada de Monte Alegre, promoviendo una pedagogía cultural que favorecía la lógica empresarial y contribuía a mantener la ‘armonía’ local. La investigación sobre *O Tibağı* demuestra que los periódicos actúan como agentes pedagógicos, influyendo en los *habitus* y disposiciones a la hora de seleccionar, resaltar u omitir contenidos.

**Palavras chave:** pedagogía cultural; educación; periodismo; arbitraje cultural; Monte Alegre.

Received on September 30, 2024.

Accepted on November 4, 2024.

Published on November 18, 2025.

## Introduction

Following the initial experiences in the family and social closest cycles, school is one of the central institutions in the dissemination of socially recognized knowledge in human education. Those learning processes result in the development of a *habitus*, defined by Bourdieu (2003, p. 57, emphasis added) as “[...] a system of durable and transferable dispositions [...]”, developed based on past experiences, which functions in each new situation as “[...] a ‘matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions’ and makes it possible to accomplish infinitely different tasks thanks to the analogical transfer of schemes [...]”, which were previously acquired. In other words, the way human beings interpret the world and act in it depends from what they learn throughout their lives. Thus, such practical competence, developed in and for action, is in constant transformation after school life and includes learning processes mediated by cultural artifacts (Andrade & Costa, 2015).

Going beyond pedagogies developed in the school environment, Costa and Andrade (2015) explain that any cultural device that transmits attitudes and values can be understood as a ‘cultural pedagogy’ – since cinema, literature, fashion, music and printed newspapers, for example, have strong influence in the “[...] process of shaping subjectivities and identities” (Prates, 2008, p. 111). By means of these cultural artifacts, certain knowledge and behaviors are taught, seeking to guide life in society according to the knowledge circulated. Fischer (1997, p. 61) points out that in this process, media is not only “[...] a vehicle, but is also a producer of knowledge and specialized ways of communicating and producing subjects, thus undertaking a clearly pedagogical function”. By creating patterns and presenting desirable models, media artifacts contribute to the education and production of subjects of a “[...] certain type” (Wortmann et al., 2015, p. 38). Taking that into account, this article understands newspapers as spaces of learning and cultural reference to the readers.

However, such learning and cultural references cannot be seen as neutral or lacking intention. There are content selection processes that build up a specific representation of reality, based on the principles of vision and division adopted by the social group that controls or take part in the newspaper production, as highlighted by Bourdieu (1997). Newspapers do not provide a report of events as they really occurred. In fact, readers are exposed to a particular interpretation, which, throughout prolonged exposure, is incorporated by them as the valid way of interpreting the world they are inserted in. Such a production of meanings and cultural symbols becomes a cultural arbitrary, turning a particular worldview into a universal reading. Therefore, different contents disseminated by newspapers are often linked to the quest for imposing the readers the dominant cultural pattern.

For this reason, seeking to understand how agents interpret the world and build up their identities, influenced by power, economic and symbolic structures, researchers from Human and Social Sciences must be attentive to the existing complex relations between media artifacts, education and the cultural arbitraries that characterize the cultural pedagogies they practice. To achieve that, according to Bourdieu (2011a, p. 15),

to “[...] capture the social world deepest logic [...]”, one has to explore “[...] an empritical reality, which is historically situated and dated [...]” – since the detailed investigation of a concrete reality might promote the understanding of broader issues. Thus, aiming to understand education processes mediated by newspapers, this study focused on *O Tibagi* newspaper as an exemplary case to discuss the impact of journalism in the constitution of their readers’ *habitus*.

In the 1950s, in the company town Monte Alegre<sup>1</sup> – owned by the Klabin paper and pulp factory – *O Tibagi* was the only locally produced newspaper. Founded by Horácio Klabin, the weekly publication was free from economic restrictions: the paper for its production was produced in the family business; its advertisers were the factory’s main suppliers; and its income was destined for local social assistance (Vieira, 2015). Conversely, political issues interfered with its production, since, built with the support of President Getúlio Vargas, the factory and Monte Alegre were conceived as a model for the country (Couto, 2017), and their development was aligned with the political-pedagogical precepts of the government, which included the training of the ‘new worker’<sup>2</sup>. To make this plan a reality, *O Tibagi* was fundamental. From anti-communist publications (*O Tibagi*, 1954a) to warnings about the killing of lost/stray dogs found on the city streets (*O Tibagi*, 1949b), there were several editorial choices that sought to teach readers a vision of how the world worked and how readers should behave in it.

Considering the geographical isolation of Monte Alegre, located approximately 245 km from the capital Curitiba, the newspaper played a fundamental role in shaping the dispositions of the local population, since it was one of the only sources of information about what was happening inside and beyond the city limits. Given its outstanding importance in the organization of the local social world, this work aimed to identify the characteristics of the cultural pedagogy practiced by *O Tibagi* in the company town Monte Alegre. To this end, the commemorative editions of the newspaper between 1948 and 1954 were analyzed<sup>3</sup>, with emphasis on the publication’s staff and contributors, advertisers, and recurring themes. Based on this documentary set and the Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, the elementary characteristics of the newspaper in relation to its social space of circulation and the journalistic field were initially presented; then, its form of internal organization was described; and, finally, the main themes addressed in the publication were analyzed, which represent the arbitrary elements contained in the cultural pedagogy practiced by *O Tibagi*.

The choice of a case study approach is based on Bourdieu (2012, p. 68). For that author, “[...] by delving into the particularity of a particular case [...]”, it is possible “[...] to discover something essential in it”. Therefore, beyond the empirical findings specific to the investigated context, the analysis of this particular publication highlighted the complexity of the relationships between education and journalism, emphasizing the role of cultural pedagogies and cultural arbitrariness – pointing to the silencing that also contributes to the readers’ education and the development of certain dispositions. Based on the theoretical-methodological approach adopted here, we hope to stimulate the development of other studies in the field of Education that seek to understand the dynamics of journalistic practice and its educational role, as well as its influence on the production of subjects and social identities through cultural pedagogies.

## ***O Tibagi* in Monte Alegre and in the journalistic field**

A result of shared interests between President Getúlio Vargas, the governor of Paraná, and businessmen from the Klabin family<sup>4</sup>, the negotiations for the construction of a paper and cellulose factory and a company town in Monte Alegre – PR started in 1934<sup>5</sup>. Related to the New State actions for the modernization of the country, the project promoted occupation and urban-industrial development in the interior of the country

<sup>1</sup> Currently the city of Telêmaco Borba – PR. Up to 1964, the place was part of the municipality of Tibagi – PR. In 1950, the population of the company town was over 12 thousand inhabitants (Carvalho, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> According to Correia (1997), training workers aligned with the urban-industrial production logic was essential for the country’s peaceful trajectory towards the desired progress. The positivation of the act of working was among the actions, anchored in moral and civic issues. Lenharo (1986, p. 87) explained that “The pedagogical action of work guarantees the human being’s moral perfection; it promotes the development of rules of coexistence and brotherhood among individuals”. For this reason, in the context of Monte Alegre, Klabin was seen as “[...] an active school. A school of work” (Fernandes, 1974, p. 125).

<sup>3</sup> Time frame corresponding to the first issue of *O Tibagi*, published on November 23, 1948, and the end of the political relationship between the Klabin family and Vargas, when that president died in 1954. The choice of the first issue and those commemorating the publication’s anniversaries is related to the ‘place of memory’, proposed by Pierre Nora (1993). Those issues, marked by the celebration of events considered significant by the editorial team, work as marks of collective identity, crystallizing memories from the arbitrary elements it put into circulation.

<sup>4</sup> For further information, see Margalho (2008, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Piquet (1998, p. 4, emphasis added) defined company town as “[...] a ‘mini-city’, where a set of community equipment, including houses, small business buildings, school, hospital and leisure areas belong to a company and where the entrance and exit of people is controlled, thus creating a “closed” urban center. This is a space conceived to optimize the factory productivity, which is the main reason of its existence.

and was linked to the import substitution policies. According to Couto (2017, p. 228), for representing a “[...] marriage between public and private interests [...]”, the investment was seen as an exemplary action and became “[...] an almost obsessive priority for Getúlio”. Considered a reference for the country, the city had several attractions – which contributed to the maintenance of qualified technicians and their families, coming from over 30 foreign countries (Fernandes, 1974; Marcovitch, 2005). For workers who came from small farms and neighboring cities, Monte Alegre represented a new life standard: salaries were paid regularly; housing with running water and electricity was offered at affordable prices; there was schooling for the children and medical assistance for the whole family (Vieira, 2015, 2020). However, there were also trade-offs.

Since that kind of urban organization aimed at retaining and controlling workers, keeping productivity as its main objective, the main spheres of life were influenced by actions promoted by the company, according to its political, administrative and economic interests (Correia, 1997). In such “[...] built environment [...]” (Piquet, 1998, p. 14), from 1948 onwards, the production of symbolic capital was mediated by *O Tibagi*. Circulating weekly, the newspaper was ‘a hundred per cent at the service of the community’ (O Tibagi, 1948a, p. 1). Free from economic pressures, the publication income was destined to the ‘good of the population’ and used to improve life conditions in Monte Alegre: “[...] by simply purchasing a copy, the reader will perform an anonymous act of philanthropy, a service that will ultimately benefit them personally” (O Tibagi, 1948b, p. 1)<sup>6</sup>. Founded and directed by Horácio Klabin – who, up to 1952 was the municipal administrative director, the publication was “[...] the result of the enthusiasm of an heterogeneous team, an idealist company owner, a Polish medical doctor, a Brazilian teacher, a poet lawyer, and some passionate amateur journalists” (O Tibagi, 1949a, p. 2). The newspaper self-described as “[...] spokesperson for the paper city, messenger of its news, faithful documentarian of its life, and recorder of its history” (Fernandes, 1956, p. 2).

According to Vieira (2015, p. 72), some functions were created by the newspaper and attributed to itself, as for example “[...] raising the readers’ cultural level; [...] bringing the light of civility to the interior; [...] telling the news, attacking and defending as well as teaching and instructing; [...] being an institution that clarifies facts and the community seeks to know, praise and judge”. As observed in the excerpt, the editorial expected to have a strong pedagogical character. At the same time, the guidance provided by Horácio Klabin excluded sensationalism and, for this reason, there was no police news (Fernandes, 1974). These characteristics indicate that the content presented in *O Tibagi* provided a version of reality crossed by political, economic and administrative interests of those represented by it. Due to these arbitrariness, it is fundamental to reflect upon the type of pedagogy practiced by journalism and the interests benefiting it (Freire-Bezerra, 2020).

Due to the geographical isolation of the company town, the newspaper played a relevant role in the representation of certain reality to its readers – mainly for being one of the few sources of information about the events occurred in Monte Alegre and other locations. Fernandes (1974, p. 126) said that access to the publication “[...] was, for most of the literate workers, the first regular reading after finishing elementary school”<sup>7</sup>. Regarding the relevance of the newspaper in the company town, a retired teacher reported in an interview:

People really read the newspaper, you see... Because *O Tibagi* was a great addition to us. And we got to know a lot of things from the newspaper *O Tibagi*, do you understand? Mainly, we teachers. We received a pile of them, each one would get one and during the break each one had their own *O Tibagi* in hand. Then, we commented... We took advantage of a lot of information, for example, articles to read with the children, you see? From *O Tibagi*. I read the whole of it. I liked everything, because everything that was there was new to us, you see? (Martins, 2014)<sup>8</sup>.

This report allow us to understand that the cultural arbitrariness which circulated in the newspaper not only influenced readers’ thoughts, but were also used as teaching resource in formal education. Therefore, the symbolic capital mediated by *O Tibagi* became perception programs – founded on the authority of the journalistic discourse. According to Barbosa (2007), from the 1950s onwards, the newspapers started to be recognized as legitimate spaces to produce discourses about society. However, the contents that circulated

<sup>6</sup> Based on the excerpt below, we believe that *O Tibagi* was distributed for free to those who worked in the factory: “[...] the newspaper was part of the people. It could be seen under each worker’s arm when they left the factory, where it was distributed, to go home: it was read at the table during lunchtime, in the backyard, in the front veranda, among friends. It was a companion to the workers, it brought them all interesting news every week to inform and distract them” (O Tibagi, 1959, p. 2). Those who did not have a direct link with Klabin could buy the newspaper.

<sup>7</sup> According to Willer (1997), in the 1940s, the illiteracy rate in Monte Alegre reached 30%. For comparison purposes, the national percentage of illiterate individuals in the same period was around 66% of the population (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2022).

<sup>8</sup> This interview is part of the research ‘Para além do papel: análise do discurso fundador da história, memória e identidade da cidade de Telêmaco Borba’ (Going beyond paper: analysis of the discourse founding the history, memory and identity of the Telemaco Borba city), approved in 2014 by the Research Ethics Committee of the State University of Ponta Grossa, with number 31378914.7.0000.0105.

were not the reality of phenomena, but rather biased representations of specific elements of the journalistic field in intersection with broader issues<sup>9</sup>.

The journalistic field is a “[...] microcosm with its own laws, defined both by its position in the world at large and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other such microcosms.” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 55). In Bourdieu’s view (1997, p. 55): “Saying that it has its own laws [...] is to say that what happens in it cannot be understood by looking only at external factors.”. Its autonomy results from the monopoly of large scale information dissemination since “[...] (journalists) can impose on the whole of society their vision of the world, their conception of problems, and their point of view” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 66). However, the journalistic field is under political and economic restrictions – which interfere in decisions about what should become news and how to do it. Such pressures are part of a set of principles and beliefs shared in the field that end up creating “[...] the principle that determines what journalists select within social reality” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 67). These unsaid and naturalized restrictions in the field refer to the principles of common visions and division shared among those that interfere in the newspaper production.

In any symbolic dispute, fields with greater capacity of mobilization and of imposing a worldview tend to be more successful. This occurs because, as observed by Bourdieu (2011b, p. 203), “[...] if the principle of division that I propose is recognized by all, if my *nomos* (direction, government) becomes universal, if the whole world see things the way I see, I will have behind me all the strength of those who share my views”. Therefore, the legitimacy of *O Tibagi* resided exactly in its ability to obtain adhesion from its readers to its narratives. This process can be better understood in the light of Hey’s (2008, p. 224) analyses, which understand symbolic domination as something that reproduces “[...] in the recognition and in the unawareness of the arbitrariness that instituted it and the legitimization of some way of seeing the social world”.

Given that language, and in more general representations, have a “[...] properly symbolic efficacy of reality construction”, which structures the “[...] agents’ perception of the social world, the act of naming contributes to the creation of that world’s structure, in such a way that the deeper it is the more widely recognized it is” (Bourdieu, 2022, p. 81). According to Bourdieu (2022, p. 81), all social agent wants the “[...] power to name and constitute the world by naming it”. In journalism, its actions creating reality are founded in the construction of the ideal of objectivity and neutrality. Such principles seek to “[...] strip language of opinionated elements [...]”, constructing, gradually, “[...] the notion of a neutral journalistic language, raised to the status of science, aligned with the myth of impartiality, neutrality and public service” (Barbosa, 2007, p. 97). Such myth was fundamental “[...] to lend the field an autonomous and recognized place, building up journalism as the only activity able to decipher the world to the reader” (Barbosa, 2007, p. 150). Clothed in an aura of fidelity to the facts, the credibility conferred upon newspaper narratives shaped and crystallized representations of the social world.

Even if it is not possible to identify a journalistic field in Monte Alegre - since *O Tibagi* was the only newspaper produced in the company town -, we can reflect upon its relation with the national/state press. It seems relevant to consider the good relationship between the Klabin and the journalist Assis Chateaubriand, who visited the company town several times (Fernandes, 1974). According to the social writer of that publication,

As Horácio Klabin founder-director of ‘O Tibagi’, has good relationship with the owners of large newspapers in Rio and São Paulo, he manages to get more updated printing plates. ‘O Tibagi’ received illustrations, with photography of international events, and a series of cartoons with the characters ‘Acácio’ and ‘Margarida’, with the drawings of Aplá’s ‘Curiosities’ and the chronicles by Hél, Leo Portela and Al Neto. On the other hand, the Monte Alegre editors contribute with crossword puzzles and riddles, Portuguese and literature courses, women’s sections, local chronicles, and collaborations with writers from Paraná and other states, which are things that Monte Alegre residents usually read and enjoy (Fernandes, 1974, p. 127, emphasis added).

In addition to the information given by Hellê Vellozo Fernandes, some articles from the National and International agencies were also found among the contents published. Furthermore, *O Tibagi* had correspondents spread across various locations. Its agents sent the latest news from Arapoti, Assaí, Castro, Curitiba, Itararé, Jaguariaíva, Lagoa, Ortigueira, Piraí do Sul, Ponta Grossa, Tibagi and Ventania (*O Tibagi*, 1951b, p. 25).

<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu (2012) explained that field is a space of relationships between agents, positioned according to their capital, disputing among themselves to determine what belongs to that social reality and what does not. Such structured spaces own specific power relations and *habitus* that become part of the schemes of perception, interpretation and action of their agents. For configuring practices and representations, the way fields act in the social space contributes to the consolidation of a perception of reality. Fields show distinct levels of autonomy and influence and their strength in the elaboration, imposition and legitimization of a view of the social results from their recognition of such role.

## Basic characteristics of *O Tibagi*

To work with journalistic sources and produce knowledge in Education History from them, there is a series of procedures to be followed. According to Luca (2005), it is necessary to locate the publications in press history; being attentive to material characteristics; grasping the content internal organization; characterizing the iconographic material found; identifying the group responsible for the publication; identifying the main collaborators; identifying the target group; and, finally, analyzing the whole material according to the problem chosen. Following Luca's (2005) methodological guidance, to identify characteristics of the cultural pedagogy practiced by *O Tibagi*, the newspaper will be first situated in press history and then, its basic features will be presented.

In the journalistic practice of the 1950s, the ideals of neutrality and objectivity were fundamental for the autonomization of the journalistic field in relation to the literary one, mainly because it contributed to the self-construction of the legitimacy of this occupation. Supported by those ideals, journalism appeared as means able to interpret and represent the world to readers (Barbosa, 2007). Thus, while the press already enjoyed certain prestige from the beginning of its development in Brazil, from the 1950s onwards: "[...] the journalistic discourse is vested with an aura of fidelity to facts, which gives it considerable symbolic power" (Barbosa, 2007, p. 151). Due to that, newspapers started to be recognized as the legitimate space of production of representations of the social. At the same time, the notion of neutrality – which sought to strip the discourse from its opinion elements feeding the myth of impartiality – contributed to the fact that the content circulating in newspapers was not considered a possible version of reality, a cultural arbitrary, but rather seen as the only possible ways of interpreting the world. In this context, *O Tibagi* developed and built up its action space.

In agreement with discussions of the journalistic field about its autonomization, at the Monte Alegre newspaper, articles about the importance of the press in social life were recurrent. In the first issue of *O Tibagi*, dated November 23, 1948, the press is discussed as follows: it is common knowledge the "[...] role it plays in people's culture, being one of the main vehicles of its progress, to the extent that we can verify the degree of civilization of a country by the proportion of newspapers published in that country" (O Tibagi, 1948a, p. 1). In the 1949 commemorative issue, they once more described their role and space of action:

Giving the news, attacking and defending, 'the newspaper has the great purpose of teaching, instructing and disseminating the land and the people it serves. The newspaper is a need. For those who write, one of the most beautiful ways of lending wings to thoughts; for readers, 'a school whose usefulness is indispensable' (Marenda, 1949, p. 1, emphasis added).

When addressing the importance of the press in general, *O Tibagi* also referred to itself, and self-described as a mediator of local problems, seeking to teach by means of its articles and dispositions suitable to the expectations of the group represented by the newspaper. Apart from Horácio Klabin as founder-director, the editorial board of the newspaper included Cacildo Batista Arpelau as sub-director, João Marenda as editor-in-chief and Hellê Vellozo Fernandes as social writer, alongside some sports writers.

It is worth mentioning how the symbolic power of that editorial board (Figure 1) contributed to position *O Tibagi* as the announcer of local reality. Born in Tibagi, Arpelau was a well-known politician in the municipality – being elected mayor in the 1960s (O Tibagi, 1957); Marenda wrote for the *Jornal do Paraná* when he was invited by Horácio Klabin to work as a typography supervisor. Originating from the Curitiba literary elite and residing in Monte Alegre, Fernandes was famous for her books and since she was 15 years old she had been writing and being published in newspapers from Curitiba. Those capitals were important for the development of the newspaper, but, possibly the symbolic power of Horácio Klabin and the strategies he adopted contributed to position *O Tibagi* as mediator of local issues.

Horácio Klabin arrived to the company town in 1947 to work as the administrative director of the family business and soon became known in Monte Alegre for having promoted a set of innovations for the local community: "The first thing he thought was that the workers had no distractions, so he created the Clube Atlético Monte Alegre (Athletic Club of Monte Alegre) [...]. Next, he thought that to complement sports, there should be something more intellectual, and then, he founded *O Tibagi*" (Centro de Memória Klabin, 1993, p. 10). In addition to being distributed for free to the factory workers, the income resulting from the newspaper sold was employed in local social assistance – thus, setting a relationship of gratitude between his initiatives and the community (Vieira, 2015). Those actions were possible due to the easy access to paper for the press and low economic restrictions imposed to the newspaper.



**Figure 1.** First anniversary of 'O Tibagi'. Newspaper team – edition celebrating the 1<sup>st</sup> year of circulation<sup>10</sup>.

Source: O Tibagi (1949a).

According to Bourdieu (1997, p. 102), “[...] the more subject to market requirements (from readers and advertisers) [...]”, the greater the limitations that tend to homogenize the journalistic activity. Regarding *O Tibagi*, its advertisers were Klabin’s main suppliers – who had the greatest interest in keeping a good relationship with the newspaper director. Most of them were importers and distributors of several products, from oat to margarine, cars and grease. In their publications, they congratulated the newspaper for its anniversary and some took advantage of the occasion to advertise the service they rendered, also informing their telephone number and address.

Although the journalistic activity of *O Tibagi* faced little economic restrictions by the advertisers, it is possible to infer the existence of symbolic advantages resulting from the publication relationship with those businessmen/entrepreneurs. There was a mutual interest in legitimation, thus converting one’s capital into another’s and so on. Around 20% of the advertisements referred to businesses situated in Monte Alegre. Most of them were investments coming from Curitiba (55%), and the remaining ones came from other cities in Paraná and Brazil. Among the most recurrent advertisers were Café Belmont (8 times), Indústrias Alimentícias Abagge Ltda. (8 times), Alfaiataria Paulista (7 times) and Vinho Creosotado (6 times). For *O Tibagi*, the high number of advertisements showed its prestige: “[...] the advertisement part reveals how O TIBAGI is considered, not only in Monte Alegre but in the whole state, and even in other parts of Brazil” (O Tibagi, 1954b, p. 1)<sup>11</sup>.

In regular issues, it was common for the newspaper to circulate on 6 pages, configured as follows: the cover featured international and state news, as well as announcements from Klabin; page 2 contained the social column (sometimes called the *Women’s Page*), where local events, chronicles, excerpts from books and poems were published, in addition to some tips on beauty, gastronomy and/or motherhood; page 3 presented more advertising content; page 4 was a mix of content from international and national agencies and local writers; the same happened on page 5, plus the “City Chronicle”; finally, on page 6 was the sports page, the favorite of the workers (Fernandes, 1974). This characterization fluctuated throughout the period. Because it was a journalistic company whose existence did not directly depend on advertisers, its periodicity fluctuated and the articles were allocated aiming for better layout – and not necessarily the consistency of content on the same pages.

As pointed out by Fernandes (O Tibagi, 1951a, p. 2), the editorial line of the newspaper sought to provide the readers with a mix of newspaper and magazine format:

As a weekly publication, O TIBAGI cannot have the sensationalist character of newspapers, which select events every twenty-four hours and transmit them as current events. We have to perform the dual function of news and magazine,

<sup>10</sup> Seated from left to right: Germano Molke, manager; Cacildo B. Arpelau, deputy director; Greta Rödelheimer Fuchs, collaborator; Dr. Horácio Klabin, director; Hellê V. Fernandes, social writer; J. Marenda, editor-in-chief; Juarez T. Oliveira, sportswriter. Standing in the same order, the assistants: Junior Hugo Rios, Daniel van der Broock, Manoel Saldanha, Alcebiades L. de Oliveira, Izaías R. de Carbalho, Hamilton Santos, Jorge Santos and Avelino dos Santos. (O Tibagi, 1949a).

<sup>11</sup> In quotations, the newspaper’s name appears as it was spelled in the original.



with current and weekly topics. We cannot rehash past events and be forced to reduce the news content; we seek to satisfy the reader with varied reading.

In regular issues of *O Tibagi*, compared to newspapers from the capital, such as *Diário do Paraná*, there were fewer illustrations: one or two per page, most of which came from external printing plates. Images created in-house appeared mostly on the sports page, illustrating the stars of the local team. In commemorative issues, which reached up to 52 pages, illustrations were more frequent, linked to advertisements from various advertisers – following the pattern of few illustrations for locally produced content. In these editions, there was less space for international themes, as the focus was on the history of local development, and a large space was reserved for literature.

## Results and discussions: the cultural pedagogies of *O Tibagi*

Since remaining in Monte Alegre was contingent upon being linked to industry or services related to the maintenance of the company town (Willer, 1997), life in the locality was tied to submission to industrial rules. Even though there was some level of resistance, as Bourdieu (1997, p. 78) pointed out in his studies, “[...] men and women have their responsibility, but they are largely defined in their possibilities and impossibilities by the structure in which they are situated and by the position they occupy in that structure.” Above all, workers who accumulated low levels of capital – which hindered access to information from the outside world – were subject to the monopoly of information exercised by *O Tibagi*. This exclusivity in information for the local population contributed to the formation of the identity and subjectivity of the inhabitants of Monte Alegre.

Considering that “[...] any pedagogical instance that triggers these actions of subjects upon themselves integrates pedagogical devices [...]”, newspapers teach through the representations they convey, and the results of this process have implications “[...] both in the ways people think and act upon themselves and the world around them, as well as in the choices they make and the way they organize their lives” (Wortmann et al., 2015, p. 37). By providing models and ways of being, these are created from a set of specific interests. Through the (arbitrary) content published, periodicals seek to educate and regulate conducts and subjectivities. “It is through the meanings produced by representation that we give meaning to our experience and to what we are” (Woodward, 2007, p.17 as cited in Costa & Andrade, 2015, p. 852), in these terms, based on what was published or left unpublished in newspapers, the readers of *O Tibagi* learned and internalized certain inclinations and preferences.

The selection of themes, mainly in special issues commemorating its anniversary, for example, built up a representation of the reality based on arbitrary principles, characteristic of the vision and division principles shared by the group responsible for the newspaper. The analysis of the publications allowed us to identify the characteristics of the cultural pedagogy practiced by *O Tibagi* in Monte Alegre. Considering the launching issue and those commemorating the publication anniversaries, between 1948 and 1954, we found 230 signed texts, including news, crhicles, reports, excerpts of books and poems. For the purpose of problematization, these were grouped into categories established based on the criterion of ‘most recurrent themes’ and revealed the newspaper’s valorization of certain arbitrary cultural forms. These are: humor (3), social roles (4), Tibagi (4), sports (5), Klabin (5), *O Tibagi* (10), national issues (10), Monte Alegre (16), culture and entertainment (16), news and current events (24), history, literature and poetry (135).

As regards ‘humor’, *O Tibagi* published in three special issues jokes by the ‘Amigo da Onça’, possibly an author from Monte Alegre – maybe somebody in the newspaper staff using a nickname. In one of those jokes, the place called Lagoa, which also belonged to Klabin, was cited. Another joke mentioned a medical doctor called Paulo, and that was the name of the local physician. Despite the references and/or coincidences, most of the jokes referred to foreign countries such as the United States. About this kind of publication, even in weekly issues, there was no fixed space for the publication of jokes. Based on the layout, in most cases where they were published, the jokes seem to have been used to fill space, fitting the page’s design.

In the ‘social roles’ category, the commemorative issues featured four articles focused on so-called ‘feminine’ topics. Regular columns in the weekly issues, such as ‘Have you ever tried this dish?’ and ‘What do you know about men and women?’, appeared only once each in the special anniversary publications. *O Tibagi* also published ‘When a woman gets behind the wheel’ and ‘The age of women’. It is interesting to note that the four texts classified in this category are by foreign authors and were disseminated through news agencies. Specifically regarding ‘What do you know about men and women?’, these publications addressed behaviors



observed in the middle and upper classes of society, reinforcing the role of the man as provider and the woman as responsible for raising children (Mello, 2020).

News articles and signed reports about the municipality of Monte Alegre, included in the *Tibagi* category, were mentioned 4 times in the analyzed issues. When analyzing them, we observed that the stories involving the small town highlight its picturesque and peculiar aspects – such as ‘Pedro Pinheiro – A Hero’, which presented the story of a fearless gold prospector who saved countless lives, in addition to having removed almost two dozen corpses from the waters of the Tibagi River. It is believed that the newspaper used the old city of Tibagi as a comparative reference to the young Monte Alegre, which rapidly grew and brought ‘progress’ to that area. According to Vieira (2015), this strategy allowed them to draw attention to local development, as well as attract workforce and investors.

Sports were all the rage in Monte Alegre. Given the limited number of possible activities – due to work schedules, geographical isolation, and the financial hardships of many residents – sports were highly valued. According to contemporary accounts, watching football was one of the most enjoyable activities in the company town (Vieira, 2020). Since there was a dedicated sports editorial office, few signed articles were published on the subject. Within the time frame of this research, four texts discussed local football (its history, victories, and defeats), and another dealt with Brazilian football in France. The emphasis on local activities is related to Horácio Klabin's investment in the professionalization of the Clube Atlético Monte Alegre team, which competed in many championships against regional teams in the stadium named after its patron (Vieira, 2020).

*Klabin* also used the newspaper to communicate to the population. In addition to job advertisements, articles about paper manufacture and the homage received by a local ‘peasant poet’. Klabin also used some space in the publication to communicate their investments in the school cafeteria at the Manoel Ribas school, and the offer of snacks by the social assistance. Finally, in ‘A little work philosophy (letter to a good friend)’ Karl Zappert, one of the factory directors, addressed Klabin workers, advising them on how to act in delicate situations rather than quitting the job. After a series of examples and advice, he instructed:

Keep up with your hard work and interest, as you have always done, and by doing that, you and our industry, alongside the whole nation will progress, giving the opportunity to every child of our land to improve their life conditions. Let's then continue working for everybody's wellbeing (Zappert, 1953, p. 5).

In this text, Zappert employed a series of arbitrariness about the Monte Alegre population's contribution, as Klabin workers, to the country's progress. The incentive given to the worker's life conditions is also noticeable, thus encouraging him to work more and better. We believe that the publication of this kind of texts – authored by relevant individuals within the factory administration – was used as a strategy to reduce both evasion of workers and/or questioning about the factory and the city management. Since the workforce was scarce at that time, Klabin represented “[...] an active choice. A work school” (Fernandes, 1974, p. 125). Since the factory trained its personnel throughout the activities they developed, it was important to keep them in Monte Alegre and favor the factory production.

Every year, *O Tibagi* used the issue commemorating its anniversary to reinforce its power of representing reality to the Monte Alegre population. Considering the signed articles, 10 references were identified in the newspaper – mainly written by editors and local residents. The content congratulating the newspaper with praising messages included themes such as the creation of the newspaper as a initiative that improved the cultural level of the community; comments on the newspaper achievements over the years, the coverage of important events and the promotion of culture and local development, among others. According to Vieira (2015, p. 92), such discourses had to be confirmed for strategic reasons, since the “[...] flow of people in the city varied according to the company's needs, which made individuals hired by Klabin to enter the town and those dismissed by the company to leave it [...]”, therefore, it was necessary to reinforce the newspaper role in the memory of those who stayed, “[...] and also disseminate it among the new workers in the region”. Thus, *O Tibagi* was described as “[...] a tradition among the people from Monte Alegre [...]” and “[...] indispensable in the households of our city” (*O Tibagi*, 1949a, p. 1).

Some of the ‘national issues’ appeared in the special issues of *O Tibagi*. Besides the presence of themes such as food, economics, and education, texts on health and medicine were the most frequent and consisted of medical recommendations on sanitary care during the summer, especially for children. As a kind of continuation of the hygienist practices of previous decades, the medical discourses published in the newspaper expressed not only sanitary concerns but also social and economic issues that pervaded society at

that time. In those texts, doctors emphasized health as a central element for national development – despite the deficient infrastructure of some neighborhoods in Monte Alegre<sup>12</sup>.

The texts included in the ‘Monte Alegre’ category address aspects specific to local development (past and present). Among the 16 publications, the most frequent and extensive are those authored by Karl Zappert, the factory director, who, in six special issues, told and retold the history of the local emergence, emphasizing Klabin's achievements in promoting civilization in the ‘backlands of Tibagi’. Beyond the history of the factory's industrial development, Marenfis (pseudonym of João Marenfis) identified problems and pointed out solutions in his *Chronicle of the City*, published 5 times in the period selected for this study. For Vieira (2020, p. 199), the pedagogical content of Marenfis's writings “[...] employed a set of knowledge and mediated the possible experiences in the company town [...]”, interfering in local social relations. Whether due to its glorious past or its transforming present, Monte Alegre was considered by Borell du Vernay to be ‘a luminous landmark on the road’, and other texts confirmed this feeling.

Regarding the category ‘culture and entertainment’, the special issues presented 2 cartoons, travel reports, information about the local Catholic church, curiosities and ‘Places – Things and People from Paraná - by Marenfis’. A text about the history of chess by Paulo Rios Fernandes was found in the curiosities. This was the only publication by the medical doctor, who did not publish in the weekly issues – which suggests that the newspaper *O Tibagi* published occasional texts, possibly resulting from personal relationships or close ties between contributors and the editorial team.

Among ‘news and current affairs’, texts about international politics were the most frequent and addressed Eisenhower's actions, the dockworkers' strike, and American's immigration to Paris, among others. Other topics found were related to nationalism and patriotism, international relationships and diplomacy, humanitarian aid and international cooperation, intermediated by international news agencies. Among them, there is an article written in Washington, addressing the progressive abolition of racial prejudice among students in the United States.

Finally, it is worth considering the intense presence of history, literature, and poetry in the newspaper. Among the most frequent contributors, it is possible to highlight great names in literature in Paraná, such as Rodrigo Junior (5), Valfrido Piloto (4), and Helena Kolody (3). Hellê Vellozo Fernandes' good relationship with institutions such as the José de Alencar Academy of Letters, the Espírito Santo Women's Academy of Letters, the Rio Grande do Sul Women's Literary Academy, the Paraná Academy of Letters, the Women's Wing of the Casa Juvenal Galeno, the Euclides da Cunha Cultural Center, and the Paraná Center for Letters contributed to 96 different authors being published in the issues of *O Tibagi* analyzed here – between excerpts from already published works and unpublished texts sent to the newspaper<sup>13</sup>. Regarding these contributions, Fernandes (1958, p. 1) wrote:

[...] We can affirm that we did what we could, not only given our unrestricted collaboration but also by publishing in the pages of ‘O Tibagi’ works by the greatest prose writers and poets of Paraná and Brazil. One of our aims has always been to promote our literature, alongside the work of local social news. The latter was indispensable; the former, the most important. We did not limit ourselves to reviews of the Brazilian literary movement, from colonial times onwards, but sought out the works of contemporaries, in order to offer readers something of current literature. Year after year, we produced better material, greater contributions, and greater improvements. With this spirit, in this guideline [...].

The frequent inclusion of literature and poetry amidst the news is related to its intended audience. Even though it circulated beyond Monte Alegre, in cities where Klabin had representatives, the newspaper was predominantly aimed at the local community. Notes about masses, baptisms, football games, social events at clubs, and Klabin reports were frequent, contributing to local order. Furthermore, although the company town was socially hierarchical according to its relationship with Klabin, the newspaper served different classes for distinct purposes: the upper classes could entertain themselves and elevate their culture even when geographically distant from major centers, while for unskilled workers it served primarily to provide literacy (Centro de Memória Klabin, 1993).

The recurring dissemination of literature and poetry in *O Tibagi* is the materialization of a cultural arbitrariness – since so many other contents ceased to be published in the newspaper in favor of this editorial

<sup>12</sup> According to one of the local medical doctors, Paulo Rios Fernandes, “Harmony was not like the Harmony of these days, which we see as cute, Harmony had some horrible campsites, it was very poor, any person would get some pieces of wood and make a small hut, which was not a house, it was a kind of hut, then, the housing problem was very hard” (Centro de Memória Klabin, 1993, p. 10). In the mid-1940s, malaria was a serious problem to be fought against inside and beyond the limits of Monte Alegre.

<sup>13</sup> In the 1953 issue, there is a special thankful note to Rodrigo Junior for having gathered contributions from several writers, organized and sent to the newspaper *O Tibagi*.

choice. By privileging the publication of literary content, a cultural narrative geared towards the elite was reinforced, legitimizing the worldview of the upper classes and neglecting issues more urgent for workers and the local community. As explained by Bourdieu (1997, p. 23), this type of literary content interests “[...] everyone, and because they take up time-time that could be used to say something else”. In other words, the space occupied by literary texts avoided more critical discussions about the social and economic conditions of the company town, silencing content that could touch on local hierarchies. Thus, the cultural pedagogy employed by *O Tibagi*, while disseminating representations of gender roles and local history – to mention just two examples – promoted a type of social distinction, offering entertainment and cultural elevation to the upper classes, while limiting workers' access to information that might be more relevant to them.

As pointed out by Bourdieu (1997, p. 23-24), in his studies on means of communication, by privileging certain types of information, the newspaper was not used to say other things: “[...] shunts aside relevant news, that is, the information that all citizens ought to have in order to exercise their democratic rights”. Regarding *O Tibagi*, by presenting itself as a vehicle for cultural promotion, claiming its purpose was to “[...] cooperate with and disseminate the highest expressions of culture [...]” (Fernandes, 1962, p. 2), it sought to conceal its role in maintaining local social order while simultaneously dedicating publication space to the city's tensions – for example, the absence of a police page. The silencing of other narratives, especially those more related to the daily lives of workers, represented a form of symbolic control that favored the elites, as it contributed to the maintenance of local hierarchies. This cultural pedagogy expressed representations aligned with the interests of the local dominant class, which, through the (arbitrary) content published in *O Tibagi*, educated and regulated behaviors and subjectivities to maintain Monte Alegre's status as a national example of urban-industrial development.

## Final considerations

Beyond institutionalized school practices, learning processes extend throughout life. This knowledge and these dispositions become part of the *habitus* of individuals, who will position themselves in the social world and act within it based on these references. After school, “[...] the ‘cultural pedagogies’ practiced ‘by’ media artifacts are certainly powerful ways of educating, of shaping subjects tailored to contemporary capitalist societies” (Costa & Andrade, 2015, p. 856, emphasis added). Functioning as a basis for the production of identities and subjectivities, cultural artifacts such as newspapers are responsible for the production and circulation of a set of representations that influence how their readers look at the world, interpret that world, and act within it. In the quest to ‘shape’ subjects, publications can have very diverse effects: “If images produce a pedagogy, a way of teaching about the things of the world, it can be said that they also produce concepts or preconceptions about various social aspects” (Matos & Lopes, 2008, p. 68).

Journalism legitimates the culture of the group it represents and sets a cultural arbitrary: particular perspectives are transformed into universal views – readers are exposed to discourses laden with principles that are not their own without realizing it. Therefore, studying the role of newspapers in constructing representations that disseminated values and ways of being is fundamental to understand the arbitrary elements that constituted social life in a given historical space and time. In this study, the interpretation of the sources revealed that the commemorative publications of *O Tibagi* were characterized by the marked predominance of advertisements in relation to informative content. Regarding the signed publications, the abundance of literary content, although stated as a mission to elevate local culture, was interpreted here as arbitrary, since it selected and highlighted certain cultural expressions to the detriment of others – in addition to occupying spaces that could be used to address critical issues of the local community.

The presence of content produced by international agencies revealed aspects of the representations that were intended to be circulated in Monte Alegre. The expected social roles, especially for women, were those of the elite, with the man being the provider for his wife and dedicated mother of his children. Even though the signed publications on this subject were from international contexts, bringing a supposedly ‘external’ discourse, they were only published because they aligned with the values and expectations of the class represented by the newspaper. When national issues were addressed, they emphasized health-related matters, highlighting social and economic concerns found in the management of Monte Alegre. These publications taught, among other things, behaviors necessary to ward off “[...] the scourge of summer” (Marcola, 1951, p. 9).

Since, in a relational analysis, no culture can be considered superior or inferior to another, throughout its publications, the weekly newspaper legitimized the practices of the dominant classes, producing a ‘legitimate’

culture that readers learned through exposure to its content. As an example, one can cite the narrative about local history, which highlighted Klabin's contributions to its development and corroborated the company's benevolent image in Monte Alegre – reinforcing the symbolic capital that legitimized *O Tibagi* as an enunciator of local reality. This strategy of mutual affirmation, alongside the free distribution of the newspaper and the assistance programs carried out in the company town, contributed to the development of a feeling of gratitude towards the Klabin family (Vieira, 2015). Since remaining in the locality was conditional on work and the newspaper was owned by a Klabin member, incorporating the principles taught there was fundamental for living well in the company town, perhaps even achieving a better position in the factory hierarchy.

Considering that the journalistic practice is configured by dispositions inherent in the field, pervaded by tensions of the broader context, editorial choices and the emphasis given to certain news to the detriment of others and the language used were the ways *O Tibagi* found to build up representations and disseminate cultural arbitrariness. However, going beyond the emphasis on the literate culture, the cultural pedagogy exercised by Horácio Klabin's newspaper was also observed in the silencing of subjects, that is, what was not written. The absence of police news and the emphasis on amenities distracted workers from relevant issues that could have been addressed – which were not brought up because they were not part of the expectations of the dominant group for that place.

Therefore, information about security in Monte Alegre, or themes related to the workers' movement or poverty in some areas of the company town were never mentioned. The newspaper cut of reality showed Monte Alegre as a small paradise where there was employment and better quality of life. Throughout the issues, this specific worldview was incorporated by readers – who, potentially started to identify with that dominant version, for seeing it as the only possible, due to their limitation to access other sources of information. Thus, we understand that one of the strategies to keep 'Harmony'<sup>14</sup> in Monte Alegre was the cultural pedagogy practiced by the newspaper, which by means of its education action, contributed to the incorporation of discourses and practices that favored the entrepreneurial logic.

Based on the analysis carried out, the findings of this research regarding *O Tibagi* in Monte Alegre allowed us to conclude that such results can be broadened into a critical analysis of the relationship between journalism and education. Some aspects to be taken into consideration include: 1) an agent's *habitus* relates to the learning they develop throughout life; in this process, newspapers are cultural artifacts acting as pedagogical devices – not only transmitting information, but also exercising an education role by providing conduct models and ways of being that influence directly how people see themselves and the world around them; 2) a newspaper position in the social space alters its autonomy, and the understanding of this positioning is fundamental to evaluate the characteristics of its cultural pedagogy; 3) to understand the production of arbitrariness that make up such pedagogy, the processes of selection and emphasis on certain content to the detriment of the others must be identified; and 4) apart from what is explicitly communicated, journalism might also play a pedagogical role by omitting relevant topics to the readers.

Thus, analysing critically the role of newspapers as pedagogical devices enables the understanding of how the press contributes to the creation and reproduction of representations (cultural arbitrariness) which shape subjectivities and legitimize certain worldviews. The cultural pedagogy developed by newspapers, as seen in *O Tibagi*, points out the complexity of education mediated in this type of artifact – since both what is said and what is silenced play a relevant role in the information and in the readers' dispositions. Such process, anchored in power relations and specific interests, reveals the importance of studies in the Education field dedicated to the education dynamics embedded in the journalistic practice to broaden the understanding of the pedagogical effects of newspapers and their influence in the production of representations and identities throughout history.

## References

Andrade, P. D., & Costa, M. V. (2015). Usos e possibilidades do conceito de pedagogias culturais nas pesquisas em estudos culturais em educação. *Textura*, 17(34), 48-63.

<http://www.periodicos.ulbra.br/index.php/txra/article/viewFile/1501/1140>

Barbosa, M. (2007). *História cultural da imprensa: Brasil, 1900-2000*. Mauad X.

<sup>14</sup> Permanent title of Lauro Nery's chronicles in *O Tibagi*. About the name choice (which also refers to the first local urban center), published: "It translates accurately the name of this city of workers, aiming at social aspirations, in the current mindset: harmony among employers and employees, and vice-versa, for a more efficient production, contributing to the collective wealth. Harmony is cooperation and understanding by all to achieve the same aim" (Nery, 1948, p. 1).

- Bourdieu, P. (1997). *Sobre a televisão*. Zahar.
- Bourdieu, P. (2003) Esboço de uma teoria da prática. In R. Ortiz, *A sociologia de Pierre\* Bourdieu* (pp. 39-72). Olho d'Água.
- Bourdieu, P. (2011a). Espaço social e espaço simbólico. In P. Bourdieu. *Razões práticas: sobre a teoria da ação* (pp. 13-38). Papirus.
- Bourdieu, P. (2011b). O campo político. *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, 5, 193-216. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-33522011000100008>
- Bourdieu, P. (2012). *O poder simbólico*. Bertrand Brasil.
- Bourdieu, P. (2022). *A economia das trocas linguísticas*. Edusp.
- Carvalho, D. R. (2006). *Telêmaco Borba o município: história política da capital do papel e da madeira*. [s.n.].
- Centro de Memória Klabin. (1993, agosto 29). *Transcrição de entrevista de Hellê Vellozo Fernandes e Paulo Rios Fernandes*. Curitiba.
- Correia, T. B. (1997). *A socialização das cidades empresariais e o desmonte dos requisitos urbanos na vida fabril: tendências recentes no sul do Brasil*. In Anais do 49º Congresso Internacional del Americanistas (ICA). Quito, Ecuador. <https://www.equiponaya.com.ar/congresos/contenido/49CAI/Correia.htm>
- Costa, M. V., & Andrade, P. D. (2015). Na produtiva confluência entre educação e comunicação, as pedagogias culturais contemporâneas. *Perspectiva*, 33(2), 843-862. <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-795X.2015v33n2p843>
- Couto, R. C. (2017). *A saga da família Klabin-Lafer*. Chermont.
- Fernandes, H. V. (1956, novembro 23). Aqui estamos. *O Tibagi*. n. 396, Caderno 1, p. 2.
- Fernandes, H. V. (1958, novembro 30). Apresentação. *O Tibagi*. n. 491, Caderno 2, p. 1.
- Fernandes, H. V. (1962, dezembro 15). Homenagem. *O Tibagi*. n. 682, Caderno 2, p. 2.
- Fernandes, H. V. (1974). *Monte Alegre, Cidade Papel*. Símbolo S.A. Indústrias Gráficas.
- Fischer, R. M. B. (1997). O estatuto pedagógico da mídia: questões de análise. *Educação & Realidade*, 22(22), 59-80. <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/educacaoerealidade/article/view/71363/40517>
- Freire-Bezerra, J. (2020). O diálogo potente no jornalismo: pensando a interatividade em seu viés pedagógico. *Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación*, 7(13), 99-117. <https://doi.org/10.24137/raeic.7.13.5>
- Hey, A. P. (2008). Fronteira viva: o campo acadêmico e o campo político no Brasil. In M. L. N. Azevedo (Org.), *Políticas públicas e educação: debates contemporâneos* (pp. 217-229). Eduem.
- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. (2022). *Censo 2022: Taxa de analfabetismo cai de 9,6% para 7,0% em 12 anos, mas desigualdades persistem*. <https://encurtador.com.br/GK6q4>
- Lenharo, A. (1986). *Sacralização da política*. Papirus.
- Luca, T. R. (2005). História dos, nos e por meio dos periódicos. In C. B. Pinsky (Org.), *Fontes históricas* (pp. 111-153). Contexto.
- Marcola, E. (1951, novembro 23). Crônica Médica – O flagelo do verão – Disenteria bacilar nas crianças. *O Tibagi*, n. 154, Caderno 1, p. 9.
- Marcovitch, J. (2005). *Pioneiros e empreendedores: a saga do desenvolvimento no Brasil*. Universidade de São Paulo.
- Marenda, J. (1949, novembro 23). Um ano vencido! *O Tibagi*, n. 52, Caderno1, p. 1.
- Margalho, M. G. (2008). *Klabin: os empresários, a empresa e as estratégias de construção da hegemonia (1930-1951)* [Master's dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói].
- Margalho, M. G. (2013). Indústrias Klabin do Paraná de Celulose: a sociogênese do projeto político-empresarial (1930-1940). *Revista História & Perspectivas*, 26(48), 99-126. <https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/historiaperspectivas/article/view/23319>
- Martins, V. A. (2014, março 17). *Entrevista oral concedida a Ana Flávia Braun Vieira*. Telêmaco Borba.
- Matos, A. A., & Lopes, M. F. (2008). Corpo e gênero: uma análise da revista TRIP Para Mulher. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 16(01), 61-76. <https://www.scielo.br/j/ref/a/J3Z5m3CyYBTnY3Kz7696L9K/?format=pdf&lang=pt>
- Mello, A. R. (2020). *“Que sabe dos homens e das mulheres”: o ensino de História a partir da representação de gênero na coluna do jornal O Tibagi (1948-1950)* [Master's dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa].
- Nery, L. (1948, novembro 23). Harmonia. *O Tibagi*, n. 1, p. 1.

- Nora, P. (1993). Entre memória e história: a problemática dos lugares. *Projeto História*, 10, 7-28.
- O Tibagi. (1948a, novembro 23). *Cem por Cento, a Serviço da Coletividade*. n. 1, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1948b, novembro 23). *Nossa apresentação*. n. 1, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1949a, novembro 23). *Primeiro Aniversário de "O Tibagi"*. n. 52, Caderno 1, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1949b, setembro 20). *Crônica da Cidade*. n. 43, Caderno 1, p. 3.
- O Tibagi. (1951a, novembro 23). *O TIBAGI – um ano a mais*. n. 154, Caderno 1, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1951b, novembro 23). *São nossos agentes-correspondentes*. n. 154, Caderno 1, p. 25.
- O Tibagi. (1954a, maio 6). *A China detém 32 jornalistas, missionário e estudantes*. n. 271, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1954b, novembro 23). *23 de novembro de 1948 – 23 de novembro de 1954*. n. 203, Caderno 1, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1957, novembro 23). *Nossa Homenagem a Tibagi – Cacildo Batista de Arpelau*. n. 445, Caderno 2, p. 1.
- O Tibagi. (1959, dezembro 23). *1948-1959*. n. 540, Caderno 1, p. 2.
- Piquet, R. (1998). *Cidade-empresa. Presença na paisagem urbana brasileira*. Jorge Zahar.
- Prates, C. J. (2008). *O Complexo W.I.T.C.H. acionando a magia para formar garotinhas nas redes do consumo* [Master's dissertation, Universidade Luterana do Brasil].
- Vieira, A. F. B. (2015). *Análise do discurso fundador de Telêmaco Borba no jornal O Tibagi (1948-1964)* [Master's dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa].
- Vieira, A. F. B. (2020). *Jornalismo e a duração dos processos civilizadores: análise da adequação comportamental e da formação de uma segunda natureza em Monte Alegre – PR (1942-1964)* [Doctorate thesis, Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa].
- Willer, M. R. (1997). *Harmonia: uma utopia urbana para o trabalho* [Master's dissertation, Universidade Federal do Paraná].
- Wortmann, M. L. C., Costa, M. V., & Silveira, R. M. H. (2015). Sobre a emergência e a expansão dos Estudos Culturais em educação no Brasil. *Educação*, 38(01), 32-48. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1981-2582.2015.1.18441>
- Zappert, K. (1953, novembro 23). Um pouco de filosofia do trabalho (Carta a um bom amigo). *O Tibagi*, n. 250, Caderno 3, p. 5.

### INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Ana Flávia Braun Vieira:** PhD in Applied Social Sciences and student in the Education Doctorate Program, State University of Ponta Grossa. Professor in the Education and History Departments in the same institution. Member of the research group “História, intelectuais e educação no Brasil e no contexto internacional” (History, intellectuals, and education in Brazil and in the international context).

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7644-2986>

E-mail: [anaf.braun@gmail.com](mailto:anaf.braun@gmail.com)

**Oriomar Skalinski Junior:** PhD in Education, State University of Maringá. Professor in the Department of Education and in the Education Graduate Program, State University of Ponta Grossa. Coordinator of the group of studies “História, intelectuais e educação no Brasil e no contexto internacional” (History, intellectuals, and education in Brazil and in the international context).

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2660-6839>

E-mail: [jrskalinski@yahoo.com.br](mailto:jrskalinski@yahoo.com.br)

### NOTE:

**Ana Flávia Braun Vieira** and **Oriomar Skalinski Junior** contributed equally to the manuscript's conception, analysis and interpretation of data; writing, critical review of content and approval of the final version to be published.

### Associated Editor in Charge:

Terezinha Oliveira (UEM)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9841-7378>

E-mail: [teleoliv@gmail.com](mailto:teleoliv@gmail.com)

**Evaluation rounds:**

Two invitations; two reviews received.

**Standardization review:**

Adriana Curti Cantadori de Camargo

**Data availability:**

Not applicable.