
The construction of news: the "Revolta das Saias" (Skirt Revolt) coverage and the legitimation of power in Ceará state press (1968)

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Abstract

The article analyzes business press discourse in Fortaleza, Ceará state (Brazil) concerning the "Revolta das Saias," (Skirt Revolt) a student conflict in May 1968 at Justiniano de Serpa State School. The objective was to understand the coverage by the press in Ceará state of the participation of high school students in the student movements of 1968, especially the students of the Justiniano de Serpa State School. Critical Discourse Analysis, according to Norman Fairclough and Teun Van Dijk, investigates the relationship between language, ideology, and hegemony, focusing on social practice and the representational dimension, relating textual elements and discursive practices to the broader historical, social, and political context. In their coverage of the demonstrations, Fortaleza (Ceará capital) newspapers, most of which opposed the government's authoritarianism, legitimized the discourse of social domination and maintenance of the *status quo*, affirming and/or reproducing discourse favorable to the dictatorial ideology.

Keywords: Justiniano de Serpa State School. Student council. Student movement. Military dictatorship. Journalistic discourse.

A construção da notícia: a cobertura da "Revolta das Saias" e a legitimação do poder na imprensa cearense (1968)

Resumo

O artigo analisou discursos da imprensa empresarial de Fortaleza (Brasil) sobre a "Revolta das Saias", conflito estudantil em maio de 1968, no Colégio Estadual

Justiniano de Serpa. O objetivo foi compreender a cobertura da imprensa cearense da participação de secundaristas nos movimentos estudantis de 1968, principalmente das alunas do Colégio Estadual Justiniano de Serpa. A Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD), em Norman Fairclough e Teun Van Dijk, investiga a relação entre linguagem, ideologia e hegemonia, com foco na prática social e na dimensão representacional, relacionando elementos textuais e práticas discursivas com o contexto histórico, social e político mais amplo. Na cobertura jornalística das manifestações, os periódicos fortalezenses, em sua maioria contrários ao autoritarismo do governo, legitimaram o discurso de dominação social e manutenção do *status quo*, afirmando e/ou reproduzindo o discurso favorável à ideologia ditatorial.

Palavras-chave: Escola Estadual Justiniano de Serpa. Grêmio estudantil. Movimento estudantil. Ditadura militar. Discurso jornalístico.

La construcción de la noticia: la cobertura de la "Revolta das Saias" (Revuelta de las Faldas) y la legitimación del poder por la prensa de Ceará (1968)

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Resumo

El artículo analizó los discursos en la prensa de Fortaleza, estado de Ceará (Brasil) sobre la "Revolta das Saias" (Revuelta de las Faldas), un conflicto estudiantil en el Colegio Justiniano de Serpa en mayo de 1968. El objetivo la cobertura de la prensa de Ceará de la participación de los estudiantes de secundaria en los movimientos estudiantiles de 1968, principalmente de las alumnas del Colegio Estatal Justiniano de Serpa. El análisis crítico del discurso (ACD), según Norman Fairclough y Teun Van Dijk, investiga la relación entre lenguaje, ideología y hegemonía, centrándose en la práctica social y la dimensión representacional, relacionando elementos textuales y prácticas discursivas con el contexto histórico, social y político más amplio. En la cobertura periodística de las manifestaciones, los periódicos de Fortaleza, en su mayoría contrarios al autoritarismo del gobierno, legitimaron el discurso de dominación social y mantenimiento del *status quo*, afirmando y/o reproduciendo el discurso favorable a la ideología dictatorial.

Palabras-clave: Escuela Estatal Justiniano de Serpa. Asociación de estudiantes. Movimento estudantil. Dictadura militar. Discurso periodístico.

Introduction

1968 was a global turning point, marked by profound cultural, economic, social, and political transformations (Acevedo-Tarazona, 2004). Brazil had been under an authoritarian regime since 1964 and student mobilizations against authoritarianism and government policy, "especially since 1966" (Germano, 2011), even denounced aspects of educational policy, such as the privatization of education, the lack of funding and the deficit of vacancies in higher education, placed by surpluses.

The Suplicy Law unsuccessfully vetoed, since 1964, political-partisan activities of student organizations, such as the National Union of Students (UNE, acronym in Portuguese) and the State Unions of Students (UEEs, acronym in Portuguese) that acted, despite the condition of illegality. This was until its extinction in February 1968, when Decree-Law 228 began to prohibit "[...] the existence of entities at the state and national level [...]" (Germano, 2011, p. 114), which, in practice, also had no effect. Based in Fortaleza, the Center for Secondary Students of Ceará (CESC, acronym in Portuguese) worked in 1968 in the effective organization of the category of high school students from Ceará, including in the struggles against authoritarianism and for the increase of free and quality public education.

According to Romanelli (1986), the crisis of Brazilian education, after the democratic rupture of 1964, had a social and economic basis. The permanent demand for the development of education was justified due to the growing volume and variety of jobs, which arose from the industrialization process of the country that, since the second half of the 1950s, created its communications, transport and energy infrastructure. In other words, the expanding economic system required the training of human resources with qualification at all levels of qualification and specialization in several areas.

However, the provision of free education would imply public investments and the government's policy of cost containment (Romanelli, 1986) became an obstacle, resulting in a considerable deficit between the supply and demand for higher education. The nation's statistical indices, from 1964 to 1968, point out that "[...] to a demand growth of 120%, the supply responded with a growth of only 52% [...]", Romanelli (1986, p. 207) highlights the high school as "[...] the only privileged level of the school system".

In the dictatorial situation, the country entered into a series of cooperation agreements via the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), an organization for financial aid and foreign assistance with resources from the United States and the counterpart for "[...] a geopolitical alignment with North American neo-capitalism on the continent" (Arapiraca, 1979, p. 171). The set of agreements included those established between the Ministry of Education of Brazil (MEC, acronym in Portuguese) and USAID, known as MEC-USAID agreements. Financial assistance and technical advice to educational agencies, authorities and institutions (Romanelli, 1989) for public education reform reached all levels of education, but prioritized vocational education (Arapiraca, 1971), based on the capitalist mode of production, to the detriment of a formation with more humanistic characteristics.

The tendency to the progressive commodification of education, since the reduction of State investments, opened the doors to a new model of management of the supply of education, that is, "[...] disengagement with the financing of public and free education [...], corruption and privatization of teaching" (Germano, 2011, p. 106).

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The government's educational policy and authoritarianism were rejected and the university category movement suffered harsh repression. Among several truculent actions of the Regime, since 1964, we mention, for example, the intervention in the universities of Pernambuco, Goiás, Rio de Janeiro, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Minas Gerais. The Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters of the University of São Paulo was invaded twice and the University of Brasília went through three invasions, with the arrest of teachers and students. Military police investigations were initiated against teachers and many were dismissed without even being charged against them (Germano, 2011).

In the context of increasing disturbance of public order and the resurgence of institutional violence, in 1968, the high school education system of Ceará began to charge school enrollment fees in state schools in the interior and capital, without, however, providing for the standardization of the process regarding values and destination for the amount collected, intensifying the revolt of high school students who protested against the Military Dictatorship, authoritarianism and educational policies.

In this study, we seek to understand the predominant ideological position in the discourses published in the corporate press of Fortaleza, Northeast Brazil, in journalistic communication on the student protests initiated at Justiniano de Serpa State School, in May 1968. The movement of high school students was related to the expulsion of the president of the student council (afternoon shift), Mirtes Nogueira (from now on, Mirtes), by the director of the school institution, Adísia Sá (from now on, Adísia).

While at Liceu do Ceará State School the board only threatened to expel the leaders of the school opposed to the collection of the enrollment fee, at Justiniano de Serpa State School, the president of the student council of the afternoon shift was expelled when confronting the director about the collection and the destination to be given to the amount collected in the school enrollment fee. Faced with the expulsion of her partner, a group of female students started a campaign for Mirtes readmission and the struggle of the high school students of Justiniano de Serpa State School, former teacher-formation school, was strengthened by the support of the category, represented by the Center for Secondary Students of Ceará (CESC, acronym in Portuguese).

At Justiniano de Serpa State School, students dissatisfied with the expulsion of their partner left the classrooms and organized marches and protest demonstrations in the city, throughout the month of May 1968, with popular and students support from other school institutions. In the form of headlines and reports, the unfolding of the student insurrection frequented the covers and pages of periodicals, at the height of the military government and the intensification of the forces of repression against opponents.

Agreeing with Santos and Costa (2019) and Voitowicz and Schmitt (2018), during the dictatorial regime, the business media was on the side of the establishment, including in relation to the movement of high school students of Justiniano de Serpa State School. Most of the speeches of the hegemonic press affirmed and/or legitimized the narrative of the school principal, to the detriment of the expelled school union student, who could not defend herself, even once, through the press. Likewise, the various students who sympathized with the colleague did not obtain equivalent speech space in the press to expose their version of the conflict and justify the acts of rebellion.

Based on this premise, we question, through the analysis of the journalistic texts, the ideological position of the periodicals in relation to the student crisis in the newspapers *Correio do Ceará*, *Gazeta de Notícias*, *O Povo*, *Tribuna do Ceará* and *Unitário* that circulated in Fortaleza, in 1968, whose editions were in the periodicals library of the State Public Library of Ceará (BECE, acronym in Portuguese). To answer the question, we list the objectives of identifying the newspapers and highlighting texts from the journals, to contextualize the student crisis, problematize journalistic discourses and understand the predominant narrative in the hegemonic press. In addition to this introduction and final considerations, the article addresses the theoretical and methodological assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis, which guide the analysis of the results we discuss below, through discursive representations in periodicals of the business press that circulated in Fortaleza, in May 1968, regarding the unfolding of student protests of high school students, considering the socio-political context of the period.

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Methodology

The historical and cultural construction of the interaction among individuals results from the processes of production and representation of meanings in social events, including discourse. We agree with Fairclough (2001), who considers discourse as a text, interaction, and social practice. Discourse is the social practice of text production, products of discursive activity. Since the text materializes a worldview, it constitutes an object for Critical Discourse Analysis, or Critical Discourse Analysis, or Critical Discourse Studies, according to Van-Dijk (2016). Critical Discourse Analysis is a method of scientific investigation centered on discursive analysis, in which forms of abuse of power and reproduction of social inequalities are legitimized, represented by texts and speeches in different social and political contexts. According to Van-Dijk (2016, p. 204), Critical Discourse Analysis is a "[...] social movement of politically committed discursive analysts [...]", that is, it is a method of critical approach to the ideas of a group, a period, and a historical moment, therefore loaded with ways of representing reality.

The discourse enables the affirmation of a conception of the world and even the realization of this vision, linking to the notion of ideology (Fairclough, 2001), that is, discursive practices are at the heart of the relations of domination producing, reproducing, or transforming reality and/or worldview. In this sense, language materializes discourse, which materializes ideology (social discourse, political discourse), which materializes in actual acts, as stated by Santos and Costa (2019).

The research, carried out in June 2024 at the State Public Library of Ceará hemeroteca, found insertions alluding to the movement of the female students of the Justiniano de Serpa State School, of May 1968, in the newspapers *Correio do Ceará*, *Gazeta de Notícias*, *O Povo*, *Tribuna do Ceará* and *Unitário*.

The methodological analysis began with a sensitive look at the historical materiality of the newspaper (Leite, 2015). The date of birth of the founder and the creation of the newspaper inform data from the social, political, and economic context, as well as traces of subjectivity, such as beliefs, convictions, and interests. In the newspaper masthead, we researched the composition of the editorial team and the social place that the company's management occupies, as well as aspects of circulation, such as the sectors of/for whom the periodical is addressed, the audience for which it is intended and the periodicity of the editions.

In the next step, we analyze the graphic design, the forms of structuring the support and the organization of the texts. We also analyzed the distribution of reports on the student movement, the critical social and political events related to the theme, the graphic layout, and its elements, such as body/color text, composition with visual representations, and the positioning of communication on the cover and in the internal sections. The analysis considers the hierarchical place of the text in the layout, the messages that surround it and the addition of images, in agreement with Niiyama and Rodrigues (2008, p. 3), "[...]no photograph is devoid of intention".

The quantitative study highlights the dimension of the editorial treatment granted to the analyzed theme: the frequency of insertions and the textual volume (photographs and verbal text), both on the cover and inside the newspaper. In this work we seek to quantify the number of times the nominal citation

of Mirtes and Adísia, the protagonists of the movement, occurs, seeking to understand the underlying ideologies (Fairclough, 2001) and the dynamics exercised by power in the context that privileges the discourse of a given actor over another.

We pay attention to the specifics of the headline. To provide the reader with a close visual experience of the original typeface, we chose to write headlines using uppercase, lowercase, and uppercase/lowercase. Press headline/text transcripts are enclosed in quotation marks. We investigate the choice of typeface, its placement on the page and in the headlines. Next, we analyzed the disposition of the complete report, the insertion in the internal sections, the addition of photos, the proximity of the reported topics, and the discursive strategy that reveals the ideological stance of the newspaper. If the printed newspaper progresses as far as circulation, we evaluate the editorial interest in maintaining the communication in subsequent editions, including headlines, and whether it is recurrent, intermittent, or occasional. In addition to volume, we checked for misconceptions, repetitions, punctuations, lexicon, linguistic semantics, prejudices, and labeling.

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The analysis technique categorized in language materiality and elements of ideological, political, and symbolic order interprets the discourse considering the relationship between text and context from the conceptualization proposed in Van-Dijk (2016, p. 206): "[...] power, domination, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, institutions, structure, and social order."

The analysis seeks the meaning, the symbolic content, the effect of journalistic discourse on public opinion and the understanding of the processes related to the construction of the social meaning that is given to the text. In addition, the questioning considers aspects of the historical context in which the newspaper is inserted and the conjuncture in which the theme is presented.

Despite the limits and methodological possibilities (Leite, 2015) of the source and already described, the research recovered journalistic texts from periodicals published in April, May and June 1968 to revisit the social and political situation of the period and understand the student crisis at Justiniano de Serpa State School, in May 1968, as a result of the expulsion of Mirtes by

Adísia, as well as the escalation of student protests, from the perspective and discourse of the printed media.

To facilitate the contextualization of the analyzed periodicals, table 1 summarizes their main characteristics and guidelines.

Table 1 – Profile of Fortaleza newspapers in 1968

Journal (acronym)	Date	Features	Orientation	Political ties	Other Information
Correio do Ceará (CC)	1915-1982	Ceará Agency of Diários Associados	Conservative	Diários Associados by Assis Chateaubriand	Directed by Manuel Eduardo Campos in May 1968.
Gazeta de Notícias (GN)	Founded in 1927, defunct in the 1970s	Morning paper	Less aligned with the establishment	Acquired and extinguished by O Povo.	Founded by Antônio Luís de Drummond Miranda. Directed by Durval Aires de Menezes in May 1968.
O Povo (OP)	1928	Older newspaper, still in circulation, is part of the O Povo Communication Group	Aligned with the military government (pro-authority)	Paulo Sarasate (founder) and J. C. Alencar Araújo (director) supported the military regime.	Oldest periodical in circulation in Ceará. Founded by Demócrito Rocha.
Tribuna do Ceará (TC)	Founded in 1957, defunct in 2001	Linked to Ceará's employer and business interests.	Conservative/moralist (implied by principal)	Linked to "Ceará's employer and business interests".	Founded by José Afonso Sancho. Directed by Pedro Mallmann ("Dom Camilo") in May 1968.
Unitário (UT)	1903	Subtitle: "political newspaper"	Republican and liberal	Diários Associados (like the CC), was an organ of the Republican and Liberal Party.	Founded by João Brígido dos Santos. Directed by Manuel Eduardo Campos in May 1968, the same director of the CC, which was reflected in the similarity of the graphic design project.

Source: elaborated by the authors (2025).

Results and discussion

Founded by Álvaro da Cunha Mendes (Maranguape, Ceará, in 1872), *Correio do Ceará* circulated in the capital until 1982. According to Bezerra (2016), among the journalists who held the position of editor-in-chief at *Correio do Ceará*, is Pedro de Brito Firmeza, state deputy in the elections of 1924, 1927, 1930, and federal deputy, elected in 1934. In May 1968, *Correio do Ceará* was the Ceará organ of Diários Associados, by Rio businessman Assis Chateaubriand, under the direction of journalist Manuel Eduardo Campos.

The morning newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias* was founded in 1927 (Limaverde and Carvalho, 2008) by Antônio Luís de Drummond Miranda. The newspaper faced several crises, until, in 1930, its founder "[...] was murdered in his own work room, in the newspaper's newsroom" (Maia, 2010, p. 22). The diary remained until the 1970s, when the newspaper *O Povo* acquired control, but extinguished it shortly thereafter (Maia, 2010). In May 1968, the newsroom was in charge of the radio broadcaster, novelist and playwright Durval Aires de Menezes, a member of the Ceará Academy of Letters and the University Council of the Federal University of Ceará.

O Povo was founded in January 1928 by Demócrito Rocha, journalist, politician, poet, Freemason, member of the Ceará Academy of Letters and the Ceará Institute. Demócrito Rocha was a federal deputy in the 1930s and one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) in the state, a political party identified as centrist. The newspaper masthead of *O Povo*, in May 1968, mentions as a member Paulo Sarasate, lawyer and journalist, state deputy in 1934 and governor of Ceará between 1955 and 1958, affiliated to the National Renewal Alliance (Arena), a party of political support for the military dictatorship.

Tribuna do Ceará was founded in 1957 by José Afonso Sancho, a member of the Partido da Frente Liberal (PFL) [Liberal Front Party], founded in 1985. The PFL was succeeded by the Democratas (DEM) [Democrats], a center-right political party that, merged with the Partido Social Liberal (PSL), formed União Brasil (UNIÃO) [Brazil Union] (Limaverde; Carvalho, 2008), "[...] linked to Ceará's employer and business interests" (Pontes, 2014, p. 88).

The *Unitário* was founded in 1903 by João Brígido dos Santos, liberal politician, chronicler, journalist, historian, and Freemason. He moved to Fortaleza and was elected provincial deputy in 1864, reelected in 1866 (Bezerra, 2016). João Brígido dos Santos was a monarchist until the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, when he became a liberal and defender of the new regime. He was so politically engaged, that the periodical had the subtitle "political newspaper" (Rios, 2014). In the newspaper's file, in 1968, there is the information "Diários Associados" and the direction of Manuel Eduardo Campos, the same journalist in the direction of *Correio do Ceará* and *Unitário*.

All the periodicals surveyed announced the same cover price for the number of the day, NCr\$ 0.30 (thirty cents of Cruzeiro Novo), a currency that circulated in Brazil between February 13, 1967 and May 14, 1970, from which it appears that they were consumed, in theory, by the same public.

Table 2 – Quantitative statement and the percentage difference, by periodical, of the location of the names Adísia and Mirtes in the editions of the newspaper and the overall total, throughout the month of May

Nominal citations of numbers per periodical	Adísia	Mirtes	Percentage variation
Correio do Ceará (CC)	10	3	70%
Gazeta de Notícias (GN)	8	6	25%
O Povo	36	10	72,2%
Tribuna do Ceará (TC)	29	4	86.2%
Unitário	34	6	82.3%
Grand total	117	29	75.2%

Source: elaborated by the authors (2025).

Table 2 summarizes the quantitative calculation of the citation of the names of Adísia and Mirtes. While the name of the principal of the School appears one hundred and seventeen times, among headlines and reports, the student expelled from the school had the name mentioned twenty-nine times. In the percentage variation of citations, except for *Gazeta de Notícias*, there is a disproportionate treatment of the business press when citing the protagonists

of the crisis. The school authority dominates the discourse, privileged in the number of citations accompanied by its version of the facts, while the expelled, silenced and much less cited student is represented as rebellious, insolent and subversive.

Table 3 – Demonstration of journalistic communication about the developments of the school's student movement, by day, by newspaper, by layout, and the total number of insertions of each newspaper

Date of publication of article in May 1968	Correio do Ceará (CC)	Gazeta de Notícias (GN)	O Povo	Tribuna do Ceará (TC)	Unitário
3		1 st page and article			
5-6		1 st page and article			
7		1 st page and article	Page 6		
10	1 st page with two photos and article	1 st page and article	1 st page with photo and page 6 with photo	1 st page	
11/ 11-12				1 st page and page 2	1 st page and page 8
13	1 st page with matter		1 st page with photo plus page 8		
14		1 st page with two photos / article and page 4			1 st page and page 8 with photo
15			1 st page and page 6	1 st page (title only) and page 2	1 st page and page 8
16	Page 8	1 st page with photo and article	1 st page with photo and page 6 with photo	1 st page (title only) and page 2	1 st page and page 8
17			Page 6	1 st page	1 st page

Source: elaborated by the authors (2025).

Table 3 – Demonstration of journalistic communication about the developments of the school's student movement, by day, by newspaper, by layout, and the total number of insertions of each newspaper

Date of publication of article in May 1968	Correio do Ceará (CC)	Gazeta de Notícias (GN)	O Povo	Tribuna do Ceará (TC)	Unitário
18					1st page and page 8
20			Page 6		
21				1st page	Red letters 1st page and page 8
23					1st page and page 6
25/ 25-26				1st page	1st page and page 8
26/ 26-27	Page 2				
28				1st page (title only) and page 2	
Total days of insertions	4	7	7	8	9
Grand total	35				

Source: elaborated by the authors (2025).

The quantitative visualization of the publications in table 3 points to *Unitário* as the periodical with the most days of news of the protests (nine covers), followed by *Tribuna do Ceará*, with eight covers. Despite having reported in seven of its editions, *O Povo* added five photos. *Gazeta de Notícias* printed headlines with articles on six 1st pages, two with photos, and *Correio do Ceará* limited itself to reporting on two 1st pages, one with two photos and one article in the internal section.

The social and political context of 1968 and the student crisis of Justiniano de Serpa State School in the speeches of the Fortaleza press

The review by Vasconcelos (1998) and Ventura (2018) recalls the social tension in 1968. Student uprisings in Latin America (Acevedo-Tarazona, 2004; 2012; 2015), Europe (Salazar, 2018; Carrilo-Linares, 2008) and Brazil (Sucupira, 2021) challenged authorities and were harshly repressed, relying on the media support of the corporate press.

The *Unitário* published the headline "Govern decide to prohibit street demonstrations" (1968) to contain the agitation of students in Fortaleza, after the tragedy that killed high school student Edson Luís de Lima Souto, murdered by military police in the confrontation between students and police forces on March 28, 1968, in the tragic episode of Calabouço Restaurant, in Rio de Janeiro.

Gazeta de Notícias published the news of the collection of fees in state schools: "Students of State Schools of the Interior Obligated to Pay Fee" (1968, p. 4), referring to the State School of Nova Russas, in the countryside of Ceará. The text mentions the amount of six thousand cruzeiros novos (the currency of the time) "[...] for the preparation of monthly bulletins [...]," in addition to the collection of an additional 1 cruzeiro novo, a high amount, according to the article, adding lack of transparency and illegality of the collection of fees, as the Temístocles de Castro e Silva Law, according to the text, would prohibit any type of payment.

The Fortaleza teachers' strike aimed at the social fabric and the 1st page headline in *Gazeta de Notícias* highlighted the government's proposal to end the crisis "Teachers: Increase Offered Is 'Only' 12%" (May 3, 1968, p. 4). It is observed that the headline expresses value judgment and adds "only" to the message, leaving clues for the analysis of ideological aspects in discursive practice (Fairclough, 2001). On the same 1st page, diagrammed below, there is the headline of the crisis of Justiniano de Serpa State School to the right of the 1st page, that is, in the most privileged visual field: "CESC Protests Against Expulsion of Student in Justiniano de Serpa" (1968).

The cover of *Gazeta de Notícias* on May 3, 1968 highlighted the note of protest of the Center for Secondary Students of Ceará (CESC) against the expulsion of the president of the afternoon shift of the student council of Justiniano de Serpa State School. The headline positioned in the center of the right corner of the cover refers to Mirtes, expelled by Adísia, the director of the institution, and the article presents the students' version, citing the fee collection, the political persecution of the student movement and the episode of Liceu do Ceará, a traditional high school and mixed school (with boys and girls) in the capital, when student leaders were threatened with expulsion for being against charges. The note mentions the collection at Justiniano de Serpa State School, the collection, which would be from student council, and the use of the amount by the director as the trigger for the revolt of the female students, with Mirtes ahead. In the official note of the Center for Secondary Students of Ceará, the high school students exposed their arguments and their worldview, which would be, in practice, a counter-hegemonic discourse, agreeing with Fairclough (2001), seeking to act on reality, mobilize senses and feelings and, eventually, gain popular support.

According to Ridenti (1990, p. 117), "the insurgency of women in the challenge to order, between 1966 and 1968, occurred mainly through the student movement [...]". However, in the conflicts between the high school students and the school management, while the high school leaders who rebelled were spared the maximum punishment, Mirtes, from the Justiniano de Serpa State School, was expelled, the harsh and exemplary punishment, paraphrasing Adichie (2015, p. 50): "Yes, there is a gender problem even today and we have to solve it, we have to improve".

The 1st page of *Gazeta de Notícias* on May 5-6, 1968 accompanies a article with the school principal's reasons for the expulsion of the president of the afternoon shift of student council. *Gazeta de Notícias* stamped: "School Principal: Punishment for Student Was Legal" (1968). The headline, diagrammed at the bottom of the 1st page, accompanies the text in which Adísia defends herself from the accusations without, however, citing her version of the controversy around the financial values at the center of the conflict between student leadership and leadership. The choice to diagram the news at the bottom and to the left of the page raises the interpretation of doubt as to the deliberate

intention of the layout designer to reduce its visibility and , consequently, its symbolic value, demonstrating that the social and cognitive dimension is involved in both production and textual interpretation, according to Fairclough (2001).

The student crisis was advancing and *Gazeta de Notícias* published: "Police avoided Center for Secondary Students of Ceará march against direction of Justiniano de Serpa" (1968), once again evidencing student representation with positive words in relation to students' attitudes. That is, effectively citing that they sought understandings with the management, when Adísia Sá asked them to wait and, soon after, a group of police officers emerged to repress the student meeting, forcing Center for Secondary Students of Ceará leaders to seek legal ways to reintegrate the student leader into the student staff. We infer that, in this report, the *Gazeta de Notícias* newsroom used an impartial discourse, citing the students' effort to end the dispute with "understandings," in addition to the authoritarian and violent counterpart of the director, who affirmed itself as a representative of the establishment.

At a critical juncture, at the height of the military dictatorship, the 1st page of *Correio do Ceará* of May 10, 1968 stamped, despite censorship, subverting the order, the great manifestation that occurred the day before: "Teacher-formation school students make the forbidden march". The headline highlights the disobedience only of high school students of Justiniano de Serpa State School, while the article reports the presence of high school students and other schools. The press coverage occupied half the 1st page of *Correio do Ceará*, with two photos. In one of the images, there is the military force present in the square in front of Justiniano de Serpa State School, with armed men and, in the description, the debut of the arsenal of tear gas bombs. Regarding the highlight of the repressive power of the police apparatus, Soares and Ferreira (2017) explain that the discourse of the corporate media seeks new bonds of effect to act on reality.

○ *Povo* informed the student protest of May 9, 1968, highlighting a photo centered on the 1st page of the May 10, 1968 edition, but with the title, "Student Protests", written in such a discreet typographic font that, in front of the other headlines on the 1st page, it goes almost unnoticed at first sight. The image shows the group of normalistas positioned around the man, identified in the report as an agent of the Political and Social Order Police Station (DOPS,

acronym in Portuguese), an organ of the Military Dictatorship, with the function of ensuring and disciplining the military order in the country.

Faced with the DOPS agent, the students react in an "unfeminine" way, according to the report, which reinforces gender stereotypes, with women limited to the submissive/passive role and unable to act as individuals of political action, minimizing their ability to act and participate in the public sphere and resistance.

Agreeing with Soares and Ferreira (2017, p. 188), "[...] the photographer already has a previously established concept of image for political discourse [...]". The article on page 6 of *O Povo* of May 10, 1968 accompanies an image that shows the police patrol around Justiniano de Serpa State School, next to the image of director Adísia, and the caption: "The military police guarded the building". The article of the report associates the group of female students with agents of patrimonial destruction and threat to social peace, corroborating the words of Pinto-Coelho (2008, p. 6): "[...] more as targets or passive objects of the judicial authorities than as agents of actions".

In the European press, print media "[...] have consistently shown that youth groups tend to be represented negatively and in a stereotypical way [...]" (Pinto-Coelho, 2008, p. 2). But not only in Europe, *O Povo* of May 10, 1968 published the students shouting "down with the dictatorship" and "down with Adísia Sá" being led by "[...] elements of Center for Secondary Students of Ceará [...]". The lexicon used, more common in police reports, is generally associated with individuals who transgress the laws and may have been purposely chosen to promote meaning in that context (Fairclough, 2001).

The *Unitário* of May 11 stamped on the right corner of the cover "School resumes classes and student is transferred" with an article highlighting the expulsion for "disrespect to the authority of the director" and the transfer of Mirtes to "another official establishment". At the top of page 8 of the same edition, the periodical published in capital and magenta letters "Solved crisis of the teacher-formation school with return to classes" (1968, p. 8) and, below, "Choice of beauty pageant Ceará 68 scheduled for June 8", in a black typographic font and with less emphasis, whose respective articles were exchanged, so that, below the news about the crisis of the Justiniano de Serpa State School, the report of the beauty pageant contest was positioned and,

below the news about the beauty pageant contest, there is the article of the student crisis "[...] the students of the teacher-formation school accepted the solution found by the Secretary of Education [...] for the crisis involving the student [...] expelled for disrespecting the authority of the school management [...], the principle of authority and discipline was maintained" (O Unitário, 1968, p. 8). The discourse of the hegemonic press evidenced the inequality in the power relationship, as presupposed in Van-Dijk (2016).

The act of closely positioning the themes "beauty pageant Ceará" and "crisis of the teacher-formation school" touches affections and imaginary by highlighting the representation of the feminine associated with artificial beauty. Although the hegemonic discourse insisted on the end of the student crisis, the following events showed its escalation.

The main headline on the cover "Peace debates begin with Paris on the warpath" (Gazeta de Notícias, May 14, 1968, cover), with great prominence, informs the peace negotiations between the USA and Saigon to the revolutionary May 1968 (Fuentes, 2008), in Paris. In the center of the 1st page and just below this headline, the photograph of the high school students in protests against the expulsion of their partner, next to the denomination, "revolt of the skirts" (Gazeta de Notícias, May 14, 1968, 1st page. Meanwhile, on the same 1st page, a second image of female students from Justiniano de Serpa State School, which, according to the article, were received and heard in the newspaper's newsroom to defend the school principal.

According to Burke (2004, p. 175): "Every image tells a story [...]" and the struggle for justice for the president of the student council (afternoon shift) goes down in history as the "Revolt of the Skirts". By citing the movement in this way, the media creates the image that reduces the legitimacy of the protests to a matter of dress and "inappropriate" behavior. The personification created for the caption of the protest image gives the skirt of the students' school uniform a human behavior, reinforcing the negative stereotyped opinion of the problematic insurrectionists, as opposed to the morning students who supported the principal: the attention of the report and the highlight of the politically correct attitude of the docile students is in the caption "Quiet testimony" (Gazeta de Notícias, May 14, 1968).

The support for the principal came from female students of the morning shift, according to the article, "Antagonistic groups of students held a march yesterday afternoon" (*Gazeta de Notícias*, May 14, 1968, p. 4): "[...] yesterday morning, giving a new dimension to the movement, students of this shift took to the streets in a march, expressing adherence to the behavior of the former principal". The article refers to Adísia Sá's resignation and adds that, in the afternoon, supported by her high school colleagues, the insurgents held a new march that included "[...] the symbolic burial of the resigning principal".

Dourado (2015) focused on the specificity of the educational environment regarding the profile of students of the classes of the morning and afternoon shifts. The author considers the phenomenon from a social and historical perspective and asserts that the school favors the children of influential parents in the choice, including the time to study. Therefore, it is to be assumed that the distinction that the press makes between the "docile" support of the students of the morning shift in the face of the "insurrection" of the female students of the afternoon shift, observed in the 1st page of *Gazeta de Notícias*, is not accidental.

As Dourado (2015) points out, morning shift, in general, are associated with a more privileged socioeconomic profile, while the afternoon shift can accommodate students, for example, surpluses, who enrolled after the vacancies in the morning shift, and/or with greater adaptability difficulties, such as those resistant to waking up earlier or, in this reading, the protesters and subversives who challenged the established order.

19

Final considerations

In the context of confronting the Military Dictatorship and in the face of the protests of female students and students from other school institutions, in May 1968, in Fortaleza, this study analyzed the discursive representations in thirty-five journalistic publications, including 1st pages, images and texts published in the periodicals *Correio do Ceará*, *Gazeta de Notícias*, *O Povo*, *Tribuna do Ceará* and *Unitário*, members of the corporate press of Fortaleza.

The research pointed out that the discursive practice, in all periodicals, notably favored the ideology of the Military Dictatorship, with the legitimation

of school authority. The name Adísia Sá was mentioned one hundred and seventeen times, always accompanied by the principal's version of the school crisis or with the confirmation of her attitude of expelling an adolescent student from the student board. The quantitative research also showed that the image and speech of the school authority obtained a disproportionate insertion, compared to the students, with *O Povo* quoting Adísia thirty-six times and Mirtes, ten and *Tribuna do Ceará*, quoting Adísia twenty-nine times and Mirtes, four. *Gazeta de Notícias* was an exception regarding the balance of treatment, with the name Adísia cited eight times, against 6 citations of Mirtes' name.

The press was also not fair to Mirtes, because none of the periodicals listened to the student or published their version of the crisis. On the contrary, the hegemonic press represented student protests with a language loaded with gender and class prejudices. In accordance with the theoretical and methodological assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis, we observe ideologies of power signaled in texts in the business press that, for the most part, affirmed the establishment, with a bias notably in favor of the attitude of school authority and representing insurgent female students pejoratively, with denominations such as "subversive," "elements" and "ugly."

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With the exception, again, of *Gazeta de Notícias*, in which the research found the counter-hegemonic discourse, through the publication of the facts of the beginning of the student crisis first hand, inaugurating the coverage of the events with the version of the students and with the publication of the official note of the entity of the student representation, prohibited from acting with arguments of the representation of the high school category at the time, and the version of the students.

Before the other periodicals, in 1968, all founded and/or directed by right-wing politicians and/or businessmen, *Gazeta de Notícias*, again, was an exception, under the direction of a "novelist, playwright, and radio broadcaster". Although it followed the other periodicals and published the speeches confirming the legitimation bias of the constituted power, his ideological position was possibly divergent in that authoritarian institutional context in the face of the antagonistic discourses to the *status quo* that were highlighted above.

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Received on: Oct, 7th. 2025
Accepted on January 7. 2026

