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## **RADIO, POPULAR MUSIC AND RADIO MAGAZINES IN BRAZIL: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF “A VOZ DO RÁDIO” (1935) AND “REVISTA DO RÁDIO” (1948)**

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GT Sound Media

**Abstract:** The article intends to present a comparative study between two radio magazines: “A Voz do Rádio”, from 1935 and “Revista do Rádio”, from 1948, based on a survey carried out with the periodicals sector of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. Information was gathered about the relationship established between the publications and the artistic universe of radio, especially in the context of the production and circulation of popular music in these two moments of Brazilian history. We seek to identify the editorial profile of the magazines, the format of articles and sections, circulation and consumption, linguistic style and the changes in treatment observed around references to popular musicality. In this environment in which the print media starts to share and seek to interfere in radio programming, we notice in an emblematic way the gradual incorporation of slang, gimmicks, desires, values and customs identified in urban popular culture, manifesting itself in an incisive way in the phonographic market, in the programming of stations and in the pages of magazines from the 1950s.

**Keywords:** Radio, Brazil, popular music, radio magazines.

In this investigative work, we seek to enter the universe of specialized publications on radio in Brazil, with special attention to productions in the Federal District, from

where, by the way, the main productions and in greater numbers came from <sup>1</sup>. In this scenario of magazines, we seek information on the musical programming of the stations, on the editorial profile of these publications, eventual changes in approaches and edition standards, main sections, information on circulation, prices and interactions between publications and the radio environment.

Among the most important magazines consulted, two distinct phases of production and circulation became visible, demarcated by a first group of copies identified in the titles “A Voz do Rádio” (1935-36) and “Radiocultura” (1928-29), because they are periodicals coordinated by editors and collaborators with strong links with the first experiences of broadcasting and that in the 1930s began to perform governmental functions or opened spaces in their pages for texts by members of the federal government. Such periodicals sought to assert themselves in the radio environment as spokespersons for a supposed national and educational radiophony, as opposed to commercial broadcasts or broadcasts aimed at popular “entertainment”. In addition to these, several titles were launched that reinforce such attempts to format and regulate radiophony under the parameters of literate culture, notably from the Rio-São Paulo axis, such as: O Rádio-1910; Radio Phono – 1929; Radio Jornal – 1931; Radio Magazine – 1933; Radio Time Brazil- 1940.<sup>2</sup>

1 Among the specialized journals located in the Periodicals sector of the National Library, we list the following, according to their availability and consultation: Electron, 1926 (out of consultation); The Radio, 1923-1926 (out of consultation); Revista Radiocultura, 1928-29 (consulted); Radio Phono Magazine, 1929-32 (referred to); A Voz do Radio, 1935-36 (consulted); Radio Paulista, 1927-28 (consulted); Radio Jornal, 1931 (consulted); Comoedia, 1946-47 (consulted); Revista do Radio e TV, 1948-54 (consulted); Radio Visão, 1948 (consulted); Vida Nova Radio, 1945-46 (consulted); Radio and TV album, 1950-59 (consulted); Newsletter of Radio Roquette Pinto, 1952-53 (referred to); Bulletin of Radio Ministry of Education, 1950-52 (consulted); Radiolar, 1950-51 (consulted); Radio Interview Magazine, 1950-52 (consulted); Radio Illustrated, 1954-55 (consulted); Radiolândia Magazine, 1953-54 (consulted).

2 According to Tânia de Luca, “alongside the illustrated magazines (until the 1920s) there was a whole host of publications that tended towards specialization. Thus, there were those dedicated to theater, cinema, humor, sports; others aimed at children, women, especially *Revista Feminina* (SP, 1914), the first major publication in this genre, which circulated for more than twenty years, constituting a clear example of the link between the press, advertising and the press. nascent cosmetics industry; or even those that sought to meet the interests of professional groups, such as doctors, jurists, educators, farmers, etc.” LUCAS, Tania Regina de. *Revista do Brasil: a diagnosis for (N)action*. São Paulo: Editora da Unesp, 1999. p. 58. It is interesting to observe that,

Considering the variety of specialized radio magazines published from 1923 onwards, the conditions of creation, dissemination and sales, their sections of columnists and the trajectory of their editors, we observed that the vast majority of their editors came from the printed editorial universe, still far from a standard and languages more in tune with the radio medium. Especially in the 1920s and 1930s (until the mid-1930s), this specialized press did not have a strong business connection to the broadcasting universe, which placed it much more in the field of evaluations made by printed journalism about radio and its programming, especially musical. In other words, the treatment given to radio by these supposedly “radiophonic” publications endorsed and fed more insistently the nationalizing and disqualifying treatment of the literate elites in relation to popular musicality, which gained more and more space in radio broadcasts in the second half of the 20th century. 1930s, as can be seen in the following excerpt from the Radiocultura magazine:

Editorial: to amateurs in general: We want to see our efforts crowned by the intellectual propaganda of everything that throbs and bears fruit in human intelligence, here, there all over the world, in the unfolding of science, the arts and morals. In this desire, without impregnable frontiers, we are sure of reaching the collimated end, of taking, throughout the great Brazilian interland, what is still unknown to part of its population, useful, healthy and instructive, for living forgotten, forced to inertia, cultivating ignorance and illiteracy, in places where there must be schools, but where in fact only belief exists, for lack of teachers who teach the first letters”<sup>3</sup>

The proliferation of these magazines, in turn, announced the intentions of public

contrary to the increasing insertion of visual advertisements in the magazines known until then, the same was not observed in relation to radio. Both writers of radio magazines and directors of radio societies considered the opening of space for product commercials to be a distortion of the radio’s function, at least until the mid-1930s.

3 Radiocultura Magazine. Monthly Technica Magazine of Radio and Electricity. Year 1, no. 1, June 1928. p. 5.

managers and businessmen in the field to standardize radio programs on a “civilized” and “educated” basis. The strong presence of references around classical music, the reports of broadcasts of concerts and operas by the Municipal Theater by radio stations in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the insistence on the adequacy of the stations to a certain national musical standard, revealed disputes around of the profile of Brazilian musicality to be transmitted by radio. Although differences were observed between some radio newspapers and magazines, these supposed divergences indicate much more a certain “contamination” of radio language on the elitist content of the magazines that must serve as spokespersons for the radio industry, than ideological and cultural conflicts. among its writers and editors.

This profile observed regarding the content and language of the magazines of the first phase – 1923 to 1940 – was extracted from articles and editorials that still pointed to an affirmation of radiophonic language, at a time when radio sets were not yet widely circulated among the segments. population, with experimentation of programs and music producers, testing of singers, adaptation of music broadcasts to the technical equipment available and difficulties of state agencies in enforcing legislation, censorship and control over irradiation.

Clearly perceived in the editorial lines of the magazines mentioned, an insistence on treating the profile of Rádio Sociedade as a broadcasting model to be followed by the other stations. We observed an edition of radio magazines aimed at the so-called “ radioculturists ”, of elite social origin, as if they were pointing out the need to appropriate this new instrument of publicity, formation

of opinions, values, habits and customs by the educated elites of the country. Hence the strong presence of classical and erudite musicality, with popular musical numbers being treated as a concession of space with the literate public, named as “regional music”.

The second moment, between 1940 and the end of the 1950s, can be identified by the profile assumed by the titles “Revista do Rádio”, 1948 and “Radiolândia”, 1953. the genres samba, light foreign music, baião, sertanejo, among other national and foreign variations (rumba, foxtrot, salsa, tango). These magazines began to regularly publish “gossip” about radio artists, narratives about their intimacy, commercial advertisements for products with popular appeal, and above all, abusing photographs and images from the radio universe.

It is a context of consolidation and popularization of radio in the national territory, not only through the acquisition and dissemination of receivers in a broader way, but also through the participation of the popular classes in a more visible way in the format of their programming: popular songs, comedy shows, radio soap operas and auditoriums. The radio left the Rio-São Paulo axis and embarked on pioneering experiences in the interior of the country, as can be seen below:

Editorial – Anna Voigt

If memory does not fail, there are currently only in the capital of the Republic, about eighteen publications on the subject profitable, by various prisms. They never start to drop the columns criticizing this or that program and they even dedicate entire pages to the subject. In fact, there are many readers about radio and this is a simple way to maintain and stabilize sales. There are, and will be even more, many newspapers and specialized magazines. (...) It is necessary, in

order to please, to maintain sales, to be fair and constructive above all. We will meet the readers and work with them side by side. It is also not enough to speak to an audience. But for the people. (...) We will not do a magazine as commentators. Not. As listeners, which we are, nothing more <sup>4</sup>.

Auditoriums, in this sense, became the most characteristic space of this popularization, at least until the beginning of the 1960s.

The publications of this second period, unlike the previous ones, have a much larger circulation and are more affordable. Revista do Rádio e TV, as an example, even remains in second place in terms of national circulation:

Weekly Magazines	Class A: Rich	Middle Class: B	Class C: Poor
O cruzeiro	79.0	72.7	60.9
Revista do Rádio	20.0	18.7	18.2
Grande hotel	20.0	13.5	11.5
Jornal das moças	14.0	11.7	9.3
Manchete	20.0	10.5	6.3
Fon-fon	9.0	8.7	6.8
Revista da semana	10.0	9.7	6.6
Carioca	5.0	4.0	4.1
Cinelândia	2.0	1.5	1.6
Careta	3.0	1.0	1.0

“In any part of Brazil where radio is heard, there will be readers of Revista do Rádio.”<sup>5</sup>

The magazine Radiolar, in turn, points out the dimension of this phase of popularization

<sup>4</sup> Radio Illustrated Magazine . Rio de Janeiro, nº 10, December/1954.

<sup>5</sup> Radio Magazine. Rio de Janeiro, V. VII, n. 225, January 1953.

of radio artists and the role played by radio magazines.

To you, kind reader, Radiolar owes a big thank you! If it weren't for you, reader, reader, if it weren't for your valuable collaboration – making 300,000 copies sold out in just 7 issues in a few hours – Radiolar wouldn't present itself, today, as your magazine, the magazine for everyone who loves radio. Nobody would believe in a large print run. They said that all the radio magazines had failed and that São Paulo was not a market for large print runs. They said that... and much more. (...) <sup>6</sup>

Thus, in this context of proliferation of radio magazines, they seem to suit the listening public, as if the writing of magazines began to incorporate a radio language that was increasingly consolidated in the urban environment.

Revista do Rádio, founded in 1948, circulated weekly in Rio de Janeiro until 1970, when it changed its name to Revista do Rádio e TV. Edited by Anselmo Domingos, it came in second place among the most sold, according to the previous chart from 1954. From a more colloquial language and filled with slang and articles about the intimacy of radio artists, it began to serve a profile of a readership that wanted to recognize their idols through images, at a time when television was still a high-cost domestic device.

The most expressive section of this profile was “Mexericos da Candinha”, bringing radio listeners up to date with the most recent “gossip” in national broadcasting, especially from the artists of Rádio Nacional. The interviews with idols, if on the one hand allowed a closer relationship between idols and fans, brought the lives of artists to a

6 RADIOLAR. Modern Radio Magazine for your home. no. 8, 1950. See also the analysis carried out by Alcir Lenharo about Revista do Rádio and its role in disseminating certain profiles of radio artists, trying to get closer to the taste of listeners through contests, reception of letters from listeners and opening their intimacy to the popular classes. LENHARO, Alcir. *Radio singers* : the trajectory of Nora Ney and Jorge Goulart and the artistic milieu of their time. Campinas, SP : Ed. from UNICAMP, 1995.

7 LENHARO, Alcir. *Radio singers*: the trajectory of Nora Ney and Jorge Goulart and the artistic milieu of their time. Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp, 1995. p. 8.

8 Idem, p. 63.

dominant moral universe at the time, marked by the patriarchal family model, submission of women and consumption of domestic goods produced by the national industry and foreign. According to Alcir Lenharo, the artists functioned as “sensitive antennae of their time”:

The public did not shy away from their idols, whose successes were known on the tip of their tongues, whether romantic or carnival songs, sambas and boleros, baiões or versions; festive auditoriums, fan clubs all over the country, chanchadas on Sundays in cinemas, albums sold in large circulation... and the private lives of artists accompanied and investigated by the pages of specialized magazines and the brown press. <sup>7</sup>

The relationship that develops with the reading public is completely different from that intended by the most elite magazines of the 1920s-30s. It was as if popular culture had finally appropriated mass publications, setting the tone for the language, the arrangement of texts, the material to be published and the musical genres to be revered in the pages of magazines, at a time when the phonographic market started to incorporate a poorer consumer public and more in tune with radio production, as reported by Lenharo :

There are phases, comments Nora Ney, in which everything works out. The tuning with the public happens spontaneously, to the point that it does not require much investment, material or artistic. The compositions arrive at the right time. Even the arrangements come in handy. Nothing goes wrong in the studios. There is a moment when the artist's voice, his style, correspond to what the public wants. At that moment it is as if the artist were in a state of grace. <sup>8</sup>

The magazine **A Voz do Rádio**, on the other hand, sought to continue the publication of articles and news about the operation of stations affiliated to the Confederação Brasileira de Rádio, founded in 1933, until then carried out by the magazine **Syntonía**, also by the same publisher Gilberto Andrade. We notice in its pages strong indications of approximations between the directors of these radio transmitters and the moralizing and civilizing precepts advocated by the bodies responsible for censorship and control of irradiation, especially the Department of Cultural Production and Diffusion, created in 1934 and transformed into the Department of Press and Propaganda in 1939, under the command of Lourival Fontes.

These initiatives of a supposed self-censorship of the radio, promoted by this and other magazines of the period, reveal tensions involving the affirmation of the radiophonic language and the printed literate culture. The contradictions become visible when the magazine's narratives oscillate between the desire to format popular musicality on the radio and the complaints that the stations, especially those from Rio de Janeiro, are indulging in musical programming outside this intended standard.

Attempts to control the radio waves that emerged since the foundation of Rádio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro, in 1923, remained dormant until the mid-1930s, when the old societies and radio clubs that maintained the first stations began to demonstrate the inability to follow this management model. Until then, several leaders of radio broadcasting associations, technicians and intellectuals sought to play a civilizing role in the airwaves, for the "elevation of mass culture".

With an openly educational format and guided by literate culture, the radio must take to homes what schools had enormous difficulty in promoting, in addition to trying

to minimize the ineffectiveness of newspapers and books, given the high rates of illiteracy and to seek the integration of "dispersed" populations in the interior of the country, especially in the countryside. The ideals promoted by Roquette Pinto reaffirmed the intentions of integrating the "literate and professional illiterates" into the nation, seeking to convince the listening public to adopt "civilized" habits and promoting productivity at work, through a new radio education system. to be assumed by the State.

Faced with extremely inefficient literacy and schooling processes, and a worrying expansion of commercial radio, the popular orality present in slang, regional cacoetes, popular songs and rhythms, was treated by these intellectuals as an impediment to the moralization of customs and to the constitution of a national language.

In this movement, however, we are faced with strong signs of lack of harmony between projects and actions to control the radio and popular cultural manifestations in Brazil, especially in the affirmation of the ideal of a "homeland language" and in the absorption of musical genres supposedly suited to the profile of the "Brazilian culture".

The constant concern with the nationalization of the radio, the formation of educational networks and the standardization of programs reveals, in turn, the uncomfortable proliferation of popular music, hitherto treated by magazines as "regional music", as observed in the article "Our popular music", dated 3-28-1935, by Almeida Azevedo. The lamentations surrounding the popularization of samba are accompanied by advice to station managers and governments so that the "true" folklore, represented by Maracatu, could supplant samba in their programming:

With hygiene as a rule, samba could come to serve us as a source of pride, with popular musical expression. But the opposite is seen.

Through the wrong prism of the most erratic patriotism, they make it want to present it everywhere, without taking care of it before making it presentable. Unfortunately, many of our broadcasters are largely to blame for the perversion of musical taste that is noticeable there, unfortunately contributing to the artistic miseducation of popular music. (...) The broadcasters' part is the most important in this case. The radio can, if it wants to, sanitize what goes around with the label of 'our things' and demoralize our culture and good taste.<sup>9</sup>

The contradictions are quite evident: if, on the one hand, the magazine's columnists insist on congratulating the broadcasters for broadcasting classical music and direct transmissions of concerts and operas from the Municipal Theater, or even for the reproduction of erudite records in the studios, the appeals for the confinement of samba the category of undesirable music also become latent. Articles between 1935 and 1936 that present disbelief in a model of educational radio, which must begin with the "purification" of ears and melodic senses nationwide, are increasingly notorious. It seems that the old societies of radiophiles and preponderant amateurs in the 1920 amid-1930s would be witnessing the proliferation of popular musicalities - samba, maxixe, carnival marches, boleros, rumbas, foxtrots - in stations that pressed for new forms of financing and apparently "liberated" from these moralizing precepts.

Between the end of the 1920s and the first years of the 1930s, divergences between the defenders of national broadcasting and pedagogical character for the "masses" and the increasingly successful experiences of commercial radiophony became evident, broadcasting popular music, testing artists and announcers with careers started in circuses and in regions further away from large urban centers. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, these clashes were clearly identified

9 MAGAZINE A Voz do Rádio, 3-28-1935. p. 13.

within the Vargas government itself, around which would be the most efficient bodies and spokespersons to "teach Brazil to Brazilians".

The legislation on broadcasting and the organization of ministries linked to education and communication began to incorporate censorship and, at the same time, sought to create mandatory programs guided by the Educational Broadcasting Service and by the doctrinal propaganda promoted in the Estado Novo by the Department of Press and Advertising.

Therefore, the initiatives of isolation and control of the expansion of commercial radio and the fight against musical genres and popular programs, indicated signs of an uncomfortable plural society, devoid of standard language, and of the affirmation of popular cultures and orality in this same radio environment. A change in the strategy of the hegemonic elites becomes visible in the sense of redirecting projects and regulatory actions from the educational field to the sphere of the federal government, which must be activated to multiply experiences of regional education reforms, demanded by the ideals of Escola Nova, to the field of radiophony. In other words, in view of the difficulties encountered in disciplining schools and teachers, true independent "hives" in the national territory, an attempt was made to incorporate and train speakers, technicians, musicians, singers and listeners.

Music is inserted in a proposal of integral education, as an element for the formation of habits, purification of senses and sensitivities in specific directions, and at the same time differentiated from "popular songs". These must be folkloric images of Brazil, as if they were exotic sounds around popular culture. The SRE documents go further, indicating the type of music to be heard by children, young people and adults, at separate times, supporting initiatives of corporatization

of society through the radio and referring to “popular education” only the rudiments necessary for the poor and illiterate were integrated into civilization and the world of work.

In this sense, official and/or educational broadcasting between the 1920s and 40s, more than disciplining music, sought to produce aesthetic standards that would establish themselves as generators of emotions and visual impressions to convince the population. Its effects must be extended, through the censorship and dissemination of “civilized” music, from schools to the intimate environments of the home, especially with the preparation of public ceremonies with students and workers parading harmoniously before the spectators of the stadiums and streets and the listeners.

From this perspective, the effectiveness of these processes, despite the supremacy of the DIP and Estado Novo propaganda in relation to educational purposes, is not limited to trying to measure the audience or apathy of the public that must imagine itself participating in an organized and full national life. of achievements, but in the institutional network created to classify and censor the uncomfortable popularization of radio culture in the 1940s.

The analysis around the treatment of music by these publications was built from criticisms about popular music, the role to be played and the loss of space by classical music from the mid-1930s, the attempts to affirm a the social role of music, the educational role of radio music, as well as the relationship between music and civics, music and nationalism, music and folklore, popular music.

In general, the magazines and bulletins surveyed reinforce the evidence mentioned here, namely: there is a change in the focus of the literate press around the treatment of popular music, especially samba. From a

10 “The National Program”. Revista A Voz do Rádio. Rio de Janeiro, 11-04-1935.

civilizing vision, directed not only to music but above all to radio stations, the chronicles and comments began to incorporate the phonographic market, articles about releases by popular artists and backstage gossip and intimacies of established artists. This cut in the direction of the gaze of the periodical press, it seems, would have as a striking delimitation the years 1935-1936, when some editors and intellectuals began to integrate governmental bodies, such as MES, INEP, SRE, INCE, DNPDC and DIP. This change of focus coincides with the donation of Rádio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro to the federal government, being handed over to the Ministry of Education and Health in 1936 by the hands of Roquette Pinto.

These initiatives of a supposed self-censorship of the radio, promoted by this and other magazines of the period, reveal tensions involving the affirmation of the radiophonic language and the printed literate culture. Thus, radio magazines were in tune with the initiatives to shape the radio for the transmission of programs following the orientation: “to listeners what they need and not what they want”, in the words of Roquette Pinto, as we observe below. :

The demanding critics cry out investing the “cultural and artistic poverty” of national broadcasting. But, in fact, nobody complains against the licentiousness of the songs, sambas and marches. These lyrics can be futile, meaningless and meaningless, as most of them are. In them, however, it is not common to find attacks The moral. It is possible that the studio directors exercise strict censorship. And they will deserve, therefore, unrestricted applause. Therefore, the inspection will have to be limited to the artistic part and the issue of advertisements.<sup>10</sup>

These insistent evaluations and reprimands to popular musicality until the beginning of the 1940s, began to compose much more of the instruments and governmental bodies



of dissemination and censorship than radio magazines. They are much more the subject of articles in the Revista Cultura Política (Radio Section) and the censorship promoted by the DIP than impressions collected in the mainstream press. These “disagreements” suppose a rearticulation and reaffirmation of “popular music” as “Brazilian music”, since choral singing and classical music already presented themselves as official and civically ritualized resources, in a context in which, in the 1930s and 1930s, 40, the biggest radio hits were being filled by samba and carnival marches.<sup>1142</sup>

This way, the “wild rhythms”, as samba, maxixe and marchinhas were treated by official publications, must be treated by the educational waves in order to gradually cover them with a social and national symbology. The control carried out by the DIP would then be accompanied by corrective actions through the SRE and its school auditions of orpheonic singing and classical music.

The correctional function, however, could not hide the rise and take-up of these rhythms and genres in the radio environment. The idea of music as entertainment, of an explosion of sensuality of men and women confined in slums and hills, of the spontaneous manifestation of uncontrolled, joyful crowds identified by other signs and traditions, seemed to gain more and more listeners every day.

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11 According to Renato Murce, the 1930s were “the ‘golden age’ of Brazilian popular music. Mainly in the carnival genre. (...) Lamartine Babo and Noel Rosa would become the true champions of the music of that period. In addition to those mentioned, they also released: ‘See you tomorrow’, Noel; 1933; ‘Linda Morena’, Lamartine, 1933; ‘The Dew Comes Falling’, Noel and Kid Pepe, 1934; ‘History of Brazil’ Lamartine, 34; ‘Degree ten’, Lamartine to Ari Barroso, 35; ‘Pierrô Apaixonado’, Noel Rosa and Heitor dos Prazeres, 36 and ‘Anthem of Carnival’, Lamartine Babo, 1939. MURCE, Renato. *Radio backstage*. Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 1972. p.33.

12 We can include in this field, the texts presented and discussed in the collection *Theories of the radio*, especially the reflections of: MATTA, Maria Cristina. Radios: memories of reception: approach to the identity of popular sectors. In: MEDITSCH, Eduardo (org.). *Radio theories : texts and contexts* . Florianópolis: Insular, 2005.

13 An approach that Jesús Martín - Barbero uses when analyzing Latin American radio: “(...) to change the place of questions, to make the processes of constitution of the mass researchable beyond the culturalist blackmail that inevitably converts them into processes of degradation. cultural. And for that, investigate them from the mediations and the subjects, that is, from the articulations between communication practices and social movements”. MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. *From means to mediations : communication, culture and hegemony* . Rio de Janeiro: ed. UFRJ, 1997, p. 17.

“Educated music”, like the modinha and the orpheonic song, would teach the population the overall dimension, calm unruly sensations and reflect the spirituality proposed by the radio.

Thus, in addition to the reconstitution of practices of social control, we collected dimensions, in the field of this hegemony, of the tensions between interests and practices of rationalization of national languages and identities and the regional and local radiophonic experiences through the periodical literate press<sup>12</sup>.

Judging by the sources and references already collected, we noticed a vigorous musical and radio experience starting from the interior of Brazil, creating and recreating genres, programs and artistic careers that became notorious in large urban centers and capitals. Revista do Rádio would translate this explosion of the radiophonic universe by publicizing this scenario without the censorship of previous publications.

The research challenge was present when we approached the radiophonic language as a communicative mediation, inquiring about the indications of interference and re-elaboration of the contents and values of the programming by the listeners, considered in their sociocultural plurality, in their different ethnic, social and cultural origins. class and conflicts around the construction of spaces of sociability in the city.<sup>13</sup>

The search for the affirmation of a “listening public” and faithful to certain values and ways of speaking, we believe to be related both to state initiatives of cultural homogenization via the diffusion of national values and legal control over irradiation, as well as to different commercialization strategies. of products, values, habits and radio idols, created by

other “entertainment” stations, the so-called commercial stations. The change in the profile of the magazines that accompanied this production is part of this field of tensions, as it reveals the cultural appropriation and incorporation of national and regional radio by urban popular culture.

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