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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

INEZIL PENNA MARINHO: PLACES AND PRACTICES IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION PUBLICATIONS

INEZIL PENNA MARINHO: LUGARES E PRÁTICAS EM PERIÓDICOS DA EDUCAÇÃO FÍSICA

INEZIL PENNA MARINHO: LUGARES Y PRÁCTICAS EN PERIÓDICOS DE LA EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA

Antonio Sergio Francisco Oliveira[*], Wagner dos Santos[*], Omar Schneider[*], Amarílio Ferreira Neto[*]

Keywords:
History.
Physical Education.
Memory.
Scientific and technical publications.

Abstract: This article examines how places strategically occupied by Inezil Penna Marinho in the political and academic scene influenced his production and his practices of intellectual circulation in publications in 1940-1958. It is based on the Cultural History perspective and its sources include Revista de Educação Física, Educação Physica, Revista Brasileira de Educação Física and Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos. Marinho intentionally produces a series of records that demarcate his actions and works with the purpose of preserving his memory as a monument (LE GOFF, 2003) of Physical Education and Sports in Brazil. The 178 studies mapped show the author's interest in topics of Physical Education (79), History of Physical Education (69), Educational Theory (11), and Others (19).

Palavras chave:
História.
Educação Física.
Memória.
Publicações científicas e técnicas.

Resumo: O trabalho analisa o modo como os lugares ocupados estrategicamente por Inezil Penna Marinho no cenário político e acadêmico influenciaram as trajetórias de sua produção e de suas práticas de circulação intelectual em periódicos nos anos de 1940–1958. Fundamenta-se na perspectiva da História Cultural e tem como fonte a Revista de Educação Física, Educação Physica, Revista Brasileira de Educação Física e Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos. Marinho, de forma intencional, produziu uma série de registros que demarcaram suas ações e produções, com o propósito de preservar sua memória como monumento (LE GOFF, 2003) da Educação Física e dos Esportes no Brasil. A textualidade dos 178 trabalhos mapeados evidenciam o interesse do autor pelas temáticas Educação Física (79), História da Educação Física (69), Teorias Educacionais (11) e Outros (19)

Palabras clave:
Historia de la Educación Física.
Memoria.
Publicaciones científicas y técnicas.

Resumen: El trabajo analiza cómo los lugares ocupados estratégicamente por Inezil Penna Marinho en el escenario político y académico influencian las trayectorias de su producción y de sus prácticas de circulación intelectual en periódicos, en los años de 1940-1958. Se fundamenta en la perspectiva de la Historia Cultural y tiene como fuente: Revista de Educação Física, Educação Physica, Revista Brasileira de Educação Física y Archivos de la Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos. Marinho, de forma intencional, produce una serie de registros que demarcan sus acciones y producciones, con el propósito de preservar su memoria como monumento (LE GOFF, 2003) de la Educación Física y de los Deportes en Brasil. El contexto de los 178 trabajos mapeados evidencia el interés del autor por las temáticas Educación Física (79), Historia de la Educación Física (69), Teorías Educacionales (11) y Otros (19).

[*]Federal University of Espírito Santo.
Vitória, ES, Brazil.
E-mail: drasfo@ig.com.br

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1 INTRODUCTION

The number, diversity and complexity of the topics addressed by Inezil Penna Marinho continue to instigate new research (NASCIMENTO, 1997; MELO, 1998; FERREIRA NETO, 1999; GOELLNER, 2005; 2009). In this case, the study focuses on understanding how Marinho' strategic places in the political and academic scene influenced his production and his publication practices in journals from 1940 to 1958.

The representations circulated by Marinho are not neutral or disinterested; rather, they are intentional practices aimed at preserving his memory as a monument (LE GOFF, 2003) of Education and Sports in Brazil. As stated by Chartier (1988, p. 17), we understand that

> [...] views about the social are by no means neutral discourses; they produce strategies and practices [...] that tend to impose one authority at the expense of others they look down upon, thus legitimizing a reform project or justifying individuals' own choices and behaviors.

Based on the concepts of place (CERTEAU, 2004), memory (LE GOFF, 1998) and representation (CHARTIER, 1988), this text seeks to establish the relationship between Marinho's education, context of activity and academic production in journals.

The journals were selected from Ferreira Neto *et al.*'s (2002) *Catálogo de periódicos de educação física (1930-2000)*. Four specialized publications were chosen for the study: *Revista de Educação Física*, *Educação Physica*, *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física* and *Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos* – which met our goal, considering our periodization.

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Marinho calls himself an important author in Brazilian Physical Education history when he records, in his works (MARINHO, 1943, 1952b, 1953, 1954), the memory of his actions and productions established as monuments (LE GOFF, 2003). In this game of building his own memory, the author intentionally produces a series of records that mark his participation in events, courses, lectures, tributes, titles and scientific productions.

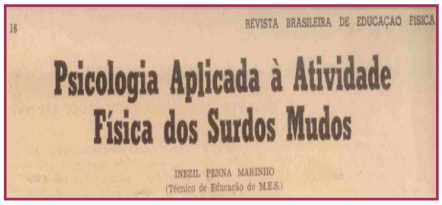
Next, the example of *História da Educação Física e dos Desportos no Brasil* (History of Physical Education and Sports in Brazil), a book published in 1954 (p. 229-231), where Marinho highlights his participation in competitions:

> Professor Inezil Penna Marinho wins: Competition of sentences on Physical Education. Item 2 of the announcement says: sentences shall publicize the benefits of Physical Education and set the value of exercising very high in preparing the whole man – healthy in body and spirit. He wins 1st place with 'Physical Education will make every child a citizen useful to the homeland'; 2nd place with 'It is for the good of all that we want Physical Education for each one'; 3rd place with 'Not only your children's physical completion depends on their Physical Education, but also their moral formation and their intellectual development'; 4th place with 'Physical Education makes individuals useful to themselves and their fellow citizens'; 6th place with 'A child without Physical Education will be a citizen lost to the homeland'; 7th place with 'Great ideas are born from great brains, but to become great deeds, they need strong arms'; 8th place with 'The foundations of a great nation are built on the strength of its people; Physical Education will make Brazil a great nation'. Poster competition for publicizing Physical Education.

The competition's justification is: the posters shall build a favorable environment for exercising and highlight their benefits, so that young people are encouraged to practice them methodically and constantly. Professor Inezil Penna Marinho won 7th place with '*Contribution to the History of Physical Education in Brazil*' and 9th place with '*Specialization – Predominant factor in the technique of Physical Education*'. On October 19, 1942, Inezil Penna Marinho received an award for his monograph '*The opportunity to create the career of Physical Education Technician*', an event that marks his involvement in the advocacy of Physical Education professionals.

To track the modes of creation of places and spaces (CERTEAU, 2004) occupied by Marinho, we should note that studies and analyzes of his works, many of which were published in *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, indicate strategic uses (CERTEAU, 2004) he made of his public office. As an Education Technician with the Ministry of Education and Health, he used the authority that the office gave him to publish and assert his representativeness in the field, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Article published in Revista Brasileira de Educação Física


16 REVISTA BRASILEIRA DE EDUCAÇÃO FISICA

Psicologia Aplicada à Atividade Física dos Surdos Mudos

INEZIL PENNA MARINHO
(Técnico de Educação do M.E.S.)

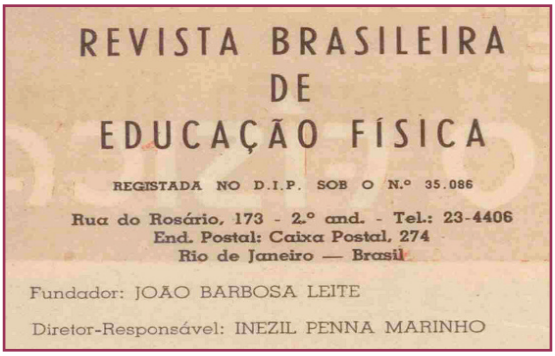
Source: Revista Brasileira de Educação Física, v. 3, no. 32, 1946, p. 16.

That strategy shows that the relationship between his public office and Physical Education forged the ways his articles reached readers. Marinho works with that perspective in order to demarcate his place, since, according to Certeau (2006, p. 67), "[...] it is in terms of this place that methods are established, its topography of interest can be specified, and its dossiers and its interrogation of documents can be organized".

From 1946 on, as can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, Marinho became the director of *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, previously headed by its founder Major João Barbosa Leite, who chose to resign for financial, political and administrative reasons.

Figure 2 – Cover of Revista Brasileira de Educação Física

Figure 3 – Revista Brasileira de Educação Física under the direction of Professor Inezil Penna Marinho


REVISTA BRASILEIRA
DE
EDUCAÇÃO FÍSICA

REGISTADA NO D.I.P. SOB O N.º 35.086

Rua do Rosário, 173 - 2.º and. - Tel.: 23-4406
End. Postal: Caixa Postal, 274
Rio de Janeiro — Brasil

Fundador: JOÃO BARBOSA LEITE

Diretor-Responsável: INEZIL PENNA MARINHO

Source: *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, v. 3, no. 28, p. 1-2, 1946.

According to Marinho, his new venture appears when Brazilian Physical Education underwent "hard attacks" from public administration and needed "[...] all forces still available working for its redemption" (MARINHO, 1946b, p. 3). Thus, *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física* becomes the institution where he occupies his own place (CERTEAU, 2004), keeping his political-pedagogical discourse, since that publication guarantees his voice in the field, because, according to Marinho (1946b, p. 3), the journal had

> [...] reputation and popularity in Brazil's States and Territories, in all the countries of Latin America and the United States, which showed the invaluable service provided to the national cause of Physical Education, both in disseminating news and basic knowledge and in discussing the most relevant issues.

This practice of producing memory of his own place in the field of Physical Education highlights the importance of leaving records to establish authority in the scientific field (BOURDIEU, 1983).

Marinho intended to become a scientific authority with an authoritative voice and legitimacy to speak on behalf of Physical Education, especially with regard to History. The same action is intended to highlight his participation in competitions, to give visibility to his lectures and events, as seen in the fragments below:

> At the invitation of the Students' Union, he holds the following lectures on the microphone of Radio Ministério da Educação: *Which means did our Indians use for their Physical Education?; May Physical Education influence the development of Brazilians' future racial type? The sociological aspect of the problem of species selection in Brazil;* and *Will Modern Civilization be able to give up Physical Education?* On October 5-28, the Ministry of Education and Health's Division of Physical Education, together with the Divisions of Improvement and Selection of the Department of Public Service Administration, promotes a series of lectures to present candidates to Secondary Education Inspector with the essential knowledges for that function, regarding Physical Education. Among the twelve lectures, seven were given by Prof. Inezil Penna Marinho [...] (MARINHO, 1954, p. 179-182).

The quotes highlight how Marinho used the *places* he occupied, such as the Ministry of Education and Health's Division of Physical Education, to be a guest in different events in Brazil and abroad, strengthening his image as an authority in the area while promoting the recognition of his work by his peers.

In Marinho (1954), we also observed his participation, on July 19-31, 1943, in the First Pan American Congress of Physical Education held in Rio de Janeiro, at the initiative of the Ministry of Education and Health's Division of Physical Education. Marinho participates in the organization of the Provisional General Secretariat. Note that he was a permanent employee of that division, where he held the position of Education Technician.

However, his participation did not happen exclusively through technical and administrative activities. He also presented the following works: "On the bio-psycho-social value of game in particular and exercise in general: their influence on building and even changing character" and "The homogeneous group and considerations raised by the problem" (MARINHO, 1954, p. 291).

The texts circulating in that event show the approach advocated by the author, according to which Physical Education is a means to approximate the peoples of the New World in order to form one nation. He points at Physical Education as a way to produce homogenization by building a body pattern while preserving cultural identity. Still, Marinho chooses not to draw a Pan American plan for Physical Education.

> It is impossible, completely unfeasible, if not unacceptable, to want to force any country to adopt a Physical Education plan, albeit under the label of Pan-American, if it does not correspond to or meet the interests and needs of that nation. That would be an attack on its sovereignty, on its freedom to choose and set educational standards that ensure the continuity of its cultural heritage. Therefore, a plan of such magnitude can only arise when all American countries are clearly identified in their ideals, when the interests of each reflect the others', in short, when all the Americas behave like a single nation (MARINHO, 1948a, p. 32-33).

Marinho circulated his ideas by building his identity on a network of physical and legal institutions in Physical Education. On October 15, 1943, with Dr. Paulo Frederico de Araújo Figueiredo, he founded the Society for Research in Problems of Physical Education (Sociedade de Estudos nos Problemas da Educação Física, SEPEF) to study Physical Education and disseminate works related to such studies. In that society, his studies won the first places in the "Competition of Contributions to the National Method of Physical Education" and the "Competition of Works on Physical Education" – both promoted by the Ministry of Education and Health's Division of Physical Education (MARINHO, 1954).

Marinho also emerges as the official authority in Brazilian Physical Education, for example, on December 13-20, 1943 when he represented Brazil at the First Argentinean Congress of Physical Education held in Buenos Aires, with a work on Physical Education's scientific bases: *Scientific Bases of Education in General and Physical Education in Particular* (*Fundamentos científicos da educação em geral e da educação física em particular*, MARINHO, 1954).

Marinho's involvement in Physical Education does not take place only through teaching activities. As an Education Technician, he also produced scientific works. For instance, on June 14, 1944 the Official Gazette published the result of the "1943 Monograph Competition" organized by the Public Service's Administrative Improvement Division. He comes 3rd in the *Personnel* section, with *Physical Improvement of Public Servants and its influence on Public Service Performance (O aperfeiçoamento físico do servidor do Estado e a sua influência no rendimento do serviço public),* written with Paulo F. F. Araújo (MARINHO, 1954).

Still as an Education Technician, his participation used to be requested in events related to Physical Education, given that he was the only expert in the field within the Ministry of Education and Health's Division of Physical Education. Thus, in June 1944, he was appointed by the Minister of Education and Health to conduct research at the Benjamin Constant Institute to discuss the problem of Physical Education of blind children in Brazil. In August 23-30, 1944, he was invited by the Public Service's Administrative Improvement Division to conduct the "Campaign for Physical Improvement of Public Servants". He presented a work plan that culminated in the Olympics among employees from several public agencies (MARINHO, 1954).

As announced, Marinho gave lectures in Brazil and in foreign countries such as Argentina, where he often went to promote the ideas of Brazilian Physical Education. According to his records,

> In the auditorium of the Ministry of Education and Health on May 31, 1944, in the auditorium of Porto Alegre's Institute of Education on June 5, in the auditorium of Curitiba's Teachers School on June 9, at the Hall 4 of São Paulo's Pacaembu Stadium on June 13, and in the auditorium of Vitória's Teacher's School, Prof. Inezil Penna Marinho held conferences on 'The National Method of Physical Education'. The Second Conference of Physical Education Teachers will be held in Buenos Aires on December 11-16, 1944, sponsored by the Association of Physical Education Teachers. Three works by Prof. Inezil Penna Marinho were accepted:

> *'Objectives and characteristics of physical education in secondary education', 'The role of physical education in military preparation' and 'The problem of homogeneous grouping in Brazil'* (respectively, *Objetivos e características da educação física no ensino secundário', 'Papel da educação física na preparação militar'* and *'O problema do grupamento homogêneo no Brasil';* MARINHO, 1954, p. 393).

He announced that he was also appointed, under Ordinance 218 of May 18, 1944 of the National Department of Education, to guide and supervise the School of Physical Education in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the Normal School of Physical Education in the state of Santa Catarina, the School of Physical Education and Sports of Paraná, the School of Physical Education and Sports of the State of São Paulo, and the School of Physical Education of the State of Espírito Santo (MARINHO, 1954).

Considering his educational activities, when he builds his academic production as an Education Technician, his interventions were not restricted to *spaces* and *places* of the Division of Physical Education, and he gradually gained authority in the area. In addition, he was increasingly often invited to give lectures at Brazilian institutions. In his own words:

> On June 22-28, under the auspices of the Brazilian Association of Education, the 9th National Congress of Education will be held in Rio de Janeiro, dedicated to the democratic view that should guide education. Professor Inezil Penna Marinho will present the thesis 'The Democratic Sense of Physical Education' (MARINHO, 1954, p. 440).
>
> On September 13, 1945 the 'Official Gazette' published the following result presented by the judges of 'Competition of Contributions to the National Method of Physical Education': 1st– 'The National Method of Physical Education – Its origin', by Inezil Penna Marinho; 2nd – 'Comparative study between the National Method of Physical Education and the French method', by Inezil Marinho Pena; and 3rd – 'The National Method of Physical Education – Evolution', by Inezil Marinho Pena (MARINHO, 1954, p. 443-444).
>
> On September 28, 1945, the 'Official Gazette' published the following results presented by the judges of 'Competition of works on Physical Education' – Technical Pedagogical Section. 1st place – Inezil Penna Marinho – 'Analysis of Niels Bukh's Gymnastics System'; 2nd place – Inezil Penna Marinho – 'The Place of Physical Education in the Educational Plan'; and 3rd place – Inezil Penna Marinho – 'Analysis of the School Method of Joinville-le Pont'. On November 1, 1945, the 'Official Gazette' published the following results presented by the Jury of the 'Competition of Works on Physical Education'. In the Technical and Pedagogical section, Professor Inezil Penna Marinho wins the 1st place with 'Methodology in Sports Training for Wrestling' and 3rd place with 'Methodology in Sports Training for Doubles Volleyball (MARINHO, 1954. p. 444-445).
>
> On November 8, 1945, the 'Official Gazette' published the results presented by the Jury of the 'Competition of Works on Physical Education' – Technical and Biological Section: 1st place – Inezil Penna Marinho – 'Regime of Physical Activities for blind children'; 3rd place – Inezil Penna Marinho – 'Physical Education for misfits' (MARINHO, 1954, p. 445-446).

Given such information and practices, we believe that Marinho's presence in different *places* and *spaces* of *representation* within the field contributed to his academic and professional education, providing visibility and circulation for his writings on a quest that aimed at establishing his authority in the field of Physical Education.

However, we must emphasize that, to understand that social actor's self-construction and projection in his time, we must consider his strategy, since it enabled

the circulation of his professional experience though articles, books and publications. That was his way of ensuring publicity for his ideas and proposals. This monument-building process is defined by Le Goff (2003, p. 526) as "[...] all that can evoke the past and perpetuate memory [...]". That was the method used by the author to stand out and become a reference in the field.

History studies include Contribution to the History of Physical Education in Brazil (1943), History of Physical Education and Sports in Brazil (1952, 1953 and 1954) and History of Physical Education in Brazil (1984) (respectively *Contribuição para a história da educação física no Brasil*, *História da educação física e dos desportos no Brasil* and *História da educação física no Brasil*).

According to Melo (1998), Marinho's work on Physical Education History – given its orientation, peculiarity and intensity, marks an important time for the topic in Brazil, although his methodological choices and theoretical operations received several criticisms.

Marinho's intellectual production is broad, but its intensity and the forms must be questioned. Interestingly, the author published in different media, such as books, manuals, booklets, magazines. As a tactical action (CERTEAU, 2004) to circulate his production, he also published research at different stages of development, using the following strategy: he would publish an article in a journal and later extend the reflections of that study by publicizing it in other sources, such as congresses, booklets and books.

This *strategy* can be seen, for instance, in his *The Homogeneous Grouping: Considerations around this Problem in Physical Education* (*Grupamento homogêneo: considerações em torno desse problema em educação física*), published in *Revista Educação Physica*, no. 65, 1942, and subsequently in the Proceedings of the Pan American Congress of Physical Education, and again in *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, no. 7, 1944, and *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, Year 2, 1945.

We also observed repetition of works published in different sources. That contributes to increase the author's production quantitatively, making it difficult to analyze the intensity of that publication. So, forms of publicizing change while works remain the same. In this case, we see repeated publication of monographs, essays, conferences, theses for competitions, articles, in sources such as *Revista Educação Física, Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, *Cultura Política*, *Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos*, *Jornal dos Sports*, *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, *Revista do Serviço Público*, *O Jornal – Boletim da Diretoria de Esportes de Minas Gerais*, foreign journals (*Revista de Medicina Aplicada a los Deportes*; *Educación* Física y *Trabajo*, *Nueva Era, Revista Ecuatoriana de Educación* Física, *El Salvador Desportiva*). Examples of that practice can be seen in *The Eternal Problem of Homogeneous Grouping, The Classics and Physical Education* and *Subsidies to the History of Capoeira In Brazil* (respectively *O eterno problema do grupamento homogêneo*, *Os clássicos e a educação física* and *Subsídios para a história da capoeiragem no Brasil*).

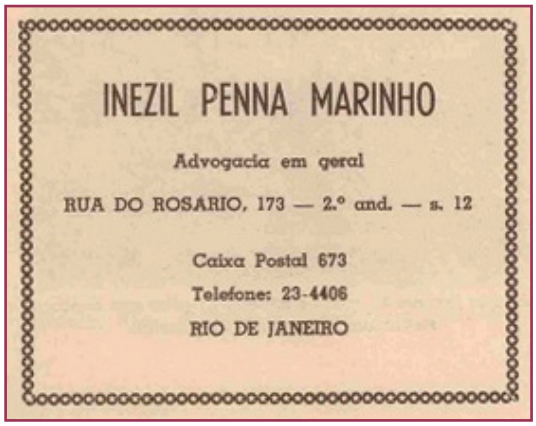
That circulation practice was also shown by Goellner (2005, p. 14), who, while researching in Inezil Penna Marinho's personal collection, came across his 1945 monograph *The Place of Physical Education in the Educational Plan* (*Lugar da educação física no plano*

educacional), which "[...] was split into several texts, book chapters and communications or conferences presented at national and international congresses".

Marinho also made strategic use of his office, particularly in the board of the *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, to promote his work in Law. We find examples in the several volumes and in the same area of the studies he published.

As an example, Figure 4 shows advertising of Marinho's legal services in *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física* (Year III, no. 28, 1946), beside the article named *The Blind and Physical Education (Os cegos e a educação física)* by Professor Armando M. Monti (from Buenos Aires's Roman Rossell Institute), translated by Marinho.

Figure 4 – Advertisement for Inezil Penna Marinho's Law firm



Source: Revista Brasileira de Educação Física, v. 3, no. 28, p. 11, 1946.

Marinho used printed ads because the magazine needed advertisers to meet its financial responsibilities, thus becoming, like other journals "[...] a stand where several products and services are offered to the reading public" (SCHNEIDER, 2010, p. 129).

As shown in Figure 5, Marinho's law firm operated in the same offices as the board of the *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*.

Figure 5 – Address of the *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*

Source: Revista Brasileira de Educação Física, v. 3, no. 28, p. 2, 1946.

According to Marinho (1950), that fact took place during the beginning of his term as a board members, in 1946, when the publication faced all sorts of hardships: "We used one third of a room on Rosario Street, 173, 2nd floor, lent by another friend, Henrique Rodrigues". In the same article, Marinho (1950, p. 3) says he "[...] managed to increase the number of

subscribers and double circulation [...]. However, [he complains that] advertising – the pillar of any publication – was still very low".

Another strategy he employed to gain scientific authority status in the field of Physical Education was using the journal as a means for disseminating and marketing his own books, manuals and booklets (Figure 6).

Figure 6 – Advertising for Inezil Penna Marinho's works

Source: Revista Brasileira de Educação Física, v. 4, no. 38, p. 44, 1947.

By bringing those places together (law firm and journal board), he strengthened the discourse on his political and academic practice and also a space for approaching his representativeness in the fields of Law and Physical Education.

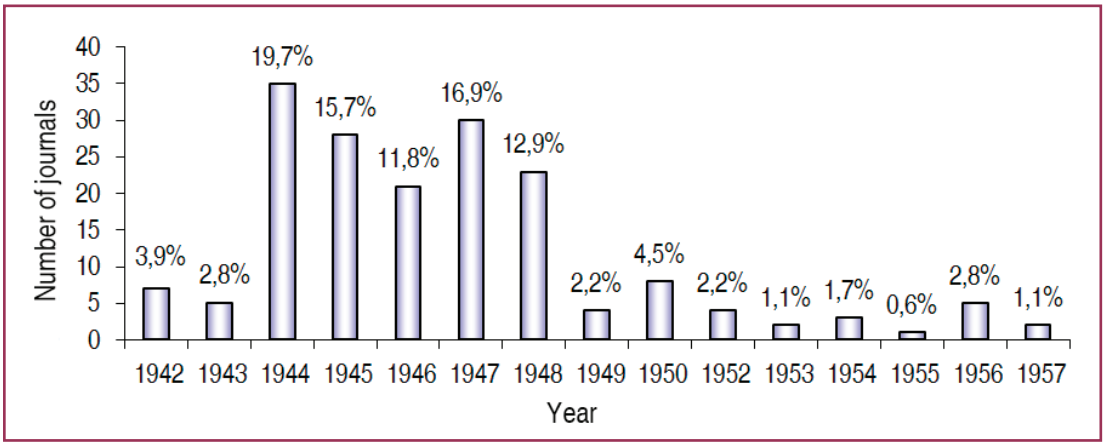
3 INEZIL PENNA MARINHO: PRODUCTION IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION JOURNALS

We mapped 178 works in 1940-1958, in the following journals: *Revista de Educação Física*, *Educação Physica*, *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física* and *Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos*. Based on those articles, we built analytical categories that allowed grouping them according to their specific content:

> **Physical Education** (79 articles): the content focuses on epistemology, educational policy, financial investment, professional development, professional training, prescription of physical exercises, teaching methodology of Physical Education;
>
> **History of Brazilian Physical Education** (69 articles): among these issues, we highlight seminars and lectures, history of personalities, and legislation on Brazilian Physical Education;
>
> **Educational theories** (11 articles): they emphasize the proposals of educational models, seeking to create a Brazilian method of Physical Education, as well as studies related to Psychology, Philosophy and Sociology.
>
> **Other** (19 articles): distinct natures, such as poems and translations.

Chart 1 shows a list of years and numbers for Marinho's publications in all journals covered by our study. The year with most publications was 1944, with 35 works (19.7%), followed by 1947 with 30 works (16.0%).

Chart 1 – Frequency distribution according to year



Source: Authors.

The analysis of Marinho's volume of publications and their long permanence and circulation indicates that he had free transit in journals, mainly in *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, which he headed from 1946 to 1952 as its owner and director-general. Such position in the publishing field shows the strong *symbolic capital* acquired and produced during the first years of his career in Physical Education, even as a result of his role as Technician in Basic Education at the Ministry of Education and Health's Division of Physical Education. As shown above, that office provided him with an opportunity to represent that division in the area of Physical Education, disseminating his ideas in favor of the cause of Physical Education in Brazil and abroad.

Publications in 1944-1948 account for 77% of the total studied. In the journals studied, Marinho started his publications in 1942, with 3.9%, and in 1943, with 2.8%. A period of high productivity, constancy and stability happened in 1944-1948, while his production volume decreased after 1949.

These results prompted us to study the strategic resources of editorial production he used in order to remain in circulation for so long. Therefore, we found indications that the number of pages corresponding to the publications worked as an editorial device according to Chartier (1988). In contrast, that strategy contributed to the regularity that kept Marinho circulating.

The nature of his productions must also be stressed, since he used mainly *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física* to disseminate reports and notices related to congresses, conferences and meetings held in Brazil and abroad.

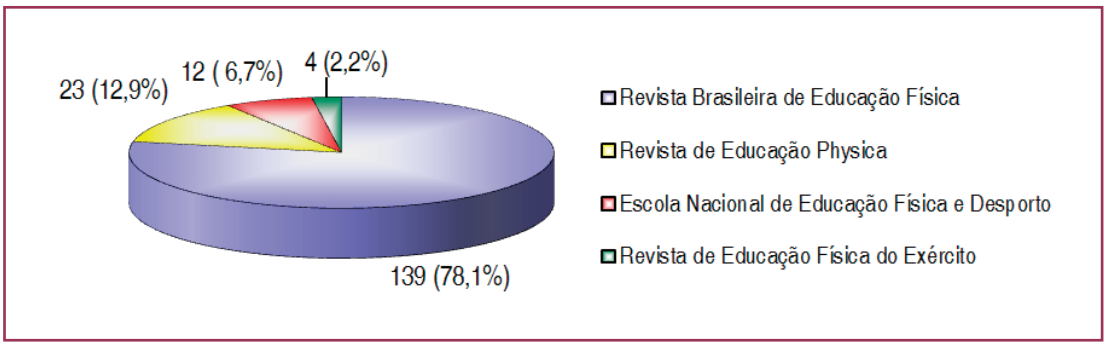
Another strategy he used was dividing texts and presenting them in pieces published over several editions, as well as publishing the same article in different journals, as seen in the previous section.

Publishing on subjects associated not only to Physical Education, but also to Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, Poetry and Translations, contributed to increase Marinho's production.

From the 1950s on, he started publishing less frequently in journals, often focusing on revised texts. Such a maneuver did not prevent his participation in discussions related to Physical Education, since he also focused on other topics.

Chart 2 shows the frequency of works in relation to journals.

Chart 2 – Distribution of frequency according to journal



Source: Authors.

Marinho was the owner and director-general of *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física* and decided what the journal would publish. Another fact to consider is that *Educação Physica* circulated in 1932-1945, and Marinho's publications began to appear in professional journals in the 1940s. Ten editions were released in 1942, six of which contained his articles; five in 1943; nine in 1944; and three in 1945.

Given these figures, we have 23 editions in four years – an average of six per journal, showing a proportionally high rate of intellectual production.

Marinho's participation in the Army's PE journal *Revista de Educação Física do Exército* was shy, given that, in 1942, he published an article listing decrees, ordinances and laws on Physical Education and only in the 1950s he returns with three publications.

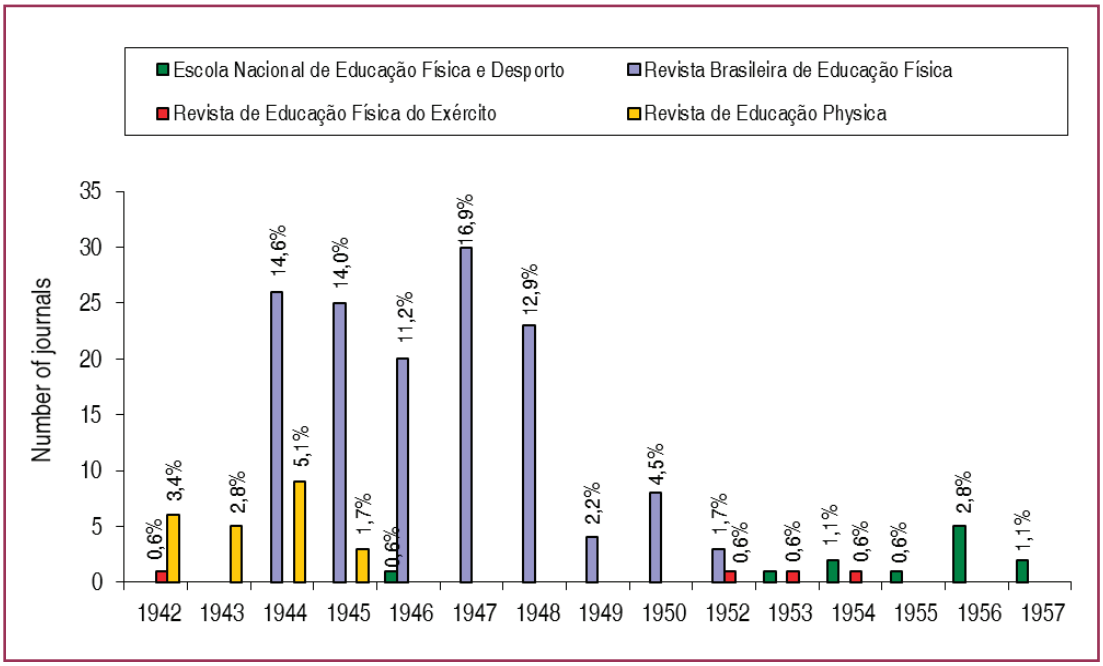
Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos concentrated his 1950s production. The journal disseminated research conducted at the National School of Physical Education and Sports. Marinho started as a professor there precisely in that period, which may have influenced that result.

Chart 3 shows his production according to year and journal. Between 1942 and 1945, 23 (12.9%) works were published in *Educação Physica*. In *Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos*, we found 12 (6.7%) publications in 1953-1957. *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, in turn, published 139 (78.1%) works between 1944 and 1952. In *Revista de Educação Física do Exército*, he published a text in 1942 and returned to present papers in 1952, 1953 and 1954, in a total of four productions (2.2%), with one publication per year.

For comparison purposes, we present the periods when those publications circulated. *Revista Educação Física do Exército* was published from 1932 to the present day; *Educação Physica*, in 1935-1945; *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, in 1944-1952; and finally *Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos*, in 1945-1966.

The year 1947 represents the pinnacle of Marinho's production in *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física*, where he became director-general in 1946. As such, he prided himself on conceptualizing it as "[...] an educational journal of private and commercial nature. The journal had no political color or party affiliation and was independent in defending its ideas" (MARINHO, 1947, p. 5). We believe that the fact that the journal was not affiliated to any party or any political organization enabled Marinho to control it, thereby facilitating the circulation of his works, given his participation as director.

Chart 3 – Frequency distribution according to year and journal



Source: Authors

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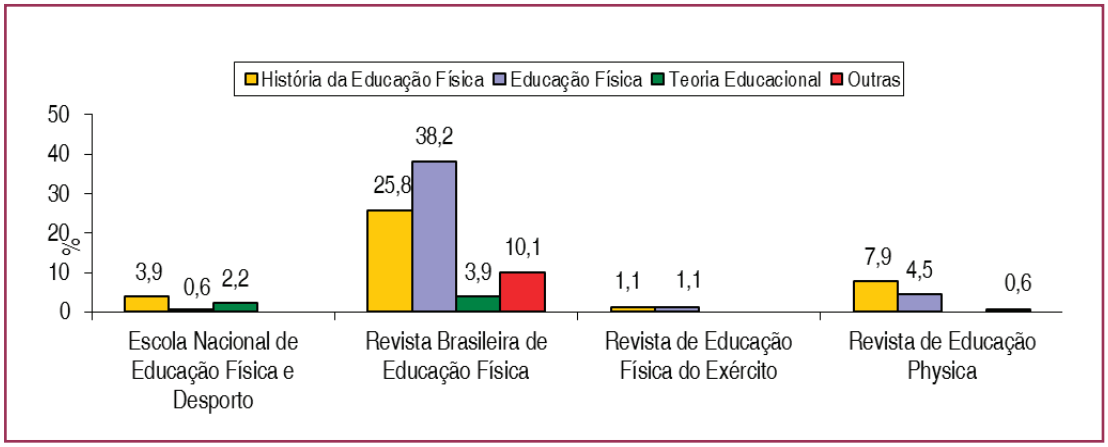
We have to take into account the number of journals available in 1942-1945. Such analysis helps us understand Marinho's actions in *Educação Physica*. In other words, he sought to circulate his articles in existing spaces and *Educação Physica* represented the place for dissemination and dialogue with his Physical Education peers as well as *Revista Educação Física* and *Arquivos da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos*.

By using those spaces, Marinho intended to produce records about himself through documents and testimonies of his education, so Physical Education scholars could study his work. He was able to conceive intentional action and provide enough elements for others to understand his role in Physical Education. His intention was that others transform his testimonies in a *monument*, thus perpetuating his entire production, his academic, political and intellectual role for the next generations of Physical Education.

Chart 4 presents the distribution of publications according to journal and category of analysis.

At the beginning of his career, Marinho focused on studies of Physical Education, especially issues related to History. He reached his apex when, in 1956, he took over the chair of History and Organization of Physical Education and Sport at the National School.

Chart 4 – Frequency of distribution according to journal and category



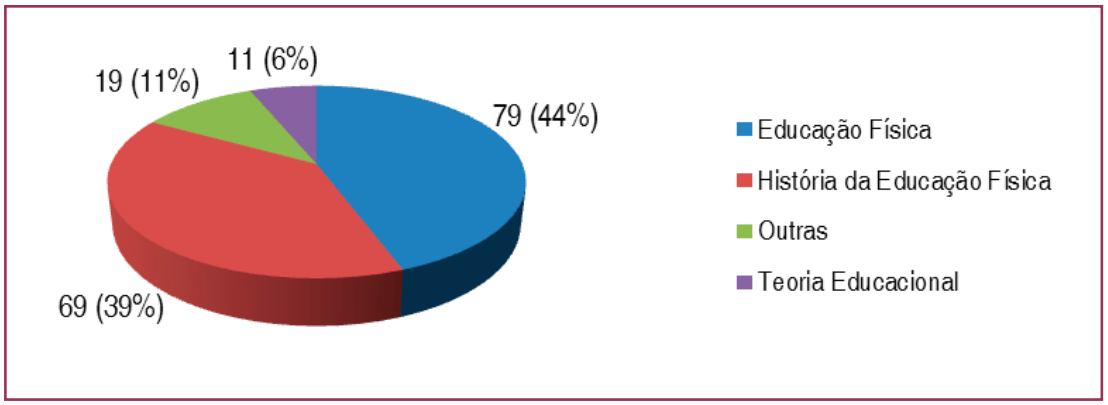
Source: Authors.

Chart 4 shows that even though his production is multidisciplinary, most works are grouped under *Physical Education*.

By bringing Physical Education closer to other knowledge areas, relating it to Biological and Social Sciences, Marinho circulated in several disciplines. The device (CHARTIER, 1988) he used to represent Physical Education demonstrates his attempt to interconnect knowledge from different fields, as can be seen in the following works: *The Classics and Physical Education, Bio-Psycho-Socio-Philosophical Bases of High School Physical Education Programs, Psychology Applied to Sports fans* and *Discussion of Sociological Bases of Physical Education* (respectively *Os clássicos e a educação física*, *Fundamentos bio-sócio-psico-filosóficos dos programas de educação física na escola secundária*, *Psicologia aplicada à torcida* and *Discusión de los fundamentos sociológicos de la Educación Física*), where Physical Education, History, Biology, Psychology, Philosophy, and Sociology intersect.

Chart 5 highlights the frequency of publications for the categories studied.

Chart 5 – Frequency of distribution according to category



Source: Authors.

By appropriating concepts from Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology and History, Marinho was paying attention to the need to interrelate Physical Education with Humanities and Social Sciences, abandoning the merely biologistic character. An example of that perspective can

be seen in *O conceito bio-sócio-psico-filosófico da educação física em oposição ao conceito anátomo-fisiológico* and *Fundamentos bio-sócio-psico-filosóficos dos programas de educação física na escola secundária*. According to Marinho:

> Man should aspire to a better world and therefore develop other qualities and capabilities that allow him to work to achieve that ideal. The bio-psycho-socio-philosophical concept perfectly translates every need we have just pointed out and stands the most severe criticism. Within that concept, Physical Education [...] is an individual and social process that is able not only to improve individuals' physical and mental condition and integrate them in society, perfectly adjusted, but also to develop their personalities, their potential qualities as leaders, and allow them to fully understand and discuss existing problems (MARINHO, 1948b, p. 37).

The category of Physical Education covered a thematic diversity that Marinho knew both how to link to his political-pedagogical thinking and how to use as a means to promote a discourse in favor of the area. Marinho not only presented his stance on the assumptions he defended but also criticized those who were against his purpose for the consolidation and development of Physical Education, as can be seen in *O eterno problema do grupamento homogêneo* (MARINHO, 1944a).

This result confirms Marinho's pedagogical view, which could not conceive of Physical Education without philosophical grounds (MARINHO, 1972).

In all those years, publications focused on History of Physical Education and Physical Education. The years with the largest number of publications were 1944 (15) and 1945 (13). In the category Physical Education, the years with the highest number of publications were 1944 and 1946; for Educational Theory, in turn, they were 1944 and 1948 respectively.

As we mapped Marinho's works published in journals, we noted that the themes of History of Physical Education, Physical Education, Education Theory and others allowed us to understand that the author sought, among sciences, a view of Physical Education that would provide regeneration, nationalization and education of Brazilian people.

Thus, the *places* he occupied and the *spaces* he practiced (CERTEAU, 2004) constituted representations in the community of the field, in Brazil and abroad, since he built *himself* as a Physical Education authority and became recognized as such by his peers.

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