

***Jornal do Brasil* was the best: journalism, memories and nostalgia¹**

O JB é que era jornal de verdade: jornalismo, memórias e nostalgia

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes testimonies about *Jornal do Brasil* and its cultural supplement, “Caderno B”, produced and reproduced in different circumstances, over the last decades. For this, we mobilize the concept of nostalgia, which is a specific type of memory, characterized by a certain manner of appropriating the past. This nostalgic memory of media professionals who remember tell us of the present, of the current context of remembrance, and of the current moment in Brazilian journalism. It also tells us about the place that *JB* occupied as an institution in press history, as a movement of appreciation and idealization of the past – which sustains a mythical aurea as well as the importance of the newspaper for the many professionals who worked for it. The analysis points out that what is valued from the past is a specific way of doing journalism, anchored in a series of precepts and values that are currently under scrutiny.

Keywords: Journalism, memory, nostalgia, professional identity, *Jornal do Brasil* newspaper

RESUMO

O artigo analisa depoimentos sobre o *Jornal do Brasil* e seu suplemento cultural, o “Caderno B”, produzidos e reproduzidos em diferentes circunstâncias ao longo de décadas. Para isso, mobilizamos o conceito de nostalgia. Trata-se de um tipo específico de memória, caracterizado por certa maneira de apropriação do passado. Esta memória nostálgica dos profissionais de imprensa que lembram nos diz do presente, do contexto atual da lembrança, do momento que vive o jornalismo brasileiro. E nos diz também do lugar ocupado pelo *JB* como instituição na história da imprensa, como movimento de valorização e idealização do passado, que sustenta a áurea mítica e a importância do diário para muitos profissionais que nele trabalharam. A análise aponta que o que se valoriza no passado é um modo de fazer jornalismo, ancorado numa série de preceitos e valores hoje postos em xeque.

Palavras-chave: Jornalismo, memória, nostalgia, identidade profissional, *Jornal do Brasil*

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INTRODUCTION

THIS ARTICLE AIMS to reflect on the role of memory in building a journalist's professional identity. For this, we analyzed testimonies produced in different circumstances about *Jornal do Brasil* (*JB*) over the last few decades, especially about "Caderno B" ["Section B"]. The testimonies are very diverse, are present in the chronicles of the vehicle and in much of the historiographical, institutional, academic and professional research about it. The memorialistic discourses analyzed here, however, have a nostalgic character and the fact of being self-referential in common; that is, their authors appropriate facts and aspects of the past to attribute meanings to their profession, to journalism, and to themselves as social actors of the industry's own history.

The choice of *JB* was not random. The daily newspaper, founded in 1891, and its supplement, created in 1960, possess a mystique that marks not only the history of Brazilian journalism, but also the collective memory of the country's press professionals. After an editorial and graphic reform undertaken by *JB* in the 1950s and 1960s, the newspaper became the reference periodical for the intelligentsia and the Southern Zone of Rio de Janeiro city. In this context, it established standards related to the professional practice of journalism (Ribeiro, 2007), as well as reinforcing specific modes of relationship with the city and the "carioca (a person from Rio de Janeiro) being" (Vieira, 2016).

The journalistic discourse observed here tells the story of *JB* and "Caderno B" being anchored in a memory strongly marked by nostalgia, especially in relation to the model of journalism that the newspaper helped to consolidate from the aforementioned reform. The selection of memories for this article took into account the circularity of this nostalgic discourse, identified in reports from the vehicle itself in commemorative issues, testimonies for journalistic memory projects, academic research, and journalists' books. It is worth mentioning that this characteristic is not restricted to the memories of the group that participated or witnessed the so-called *JB Golden Age* – it is also present in the reports of journalists who worked at the newspaper until the late 1990s.

MEMORY AND JOURNALISTIC IDENTITY

In the articulation of memories produced and transmitted by successive generations of press professionals, we see that *JB* was a beacon of journalistic practice in Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro. Talking about *JB* means for many journalists to talk about a paper that best defined the good exercise of their profession and therefore also the experiences that they as professionals are proud to have participated in.

In developed urban centers where work is central to social life, the daily lives of individuals and their memories are, in general, deeply connected to the profession they occupy. The sphere of work and technical production is the place of construction of what Gerard Namer (1987) calls *functional memory*, deposited from a work practice. Thus, collective organizations are observed around the functions performed by professional groups.

It can be said that the roles assumed by journalists through their activities provide essential elements for self-definition. Identities, however, are not just roles. The identity of a journalist can not be seen as strictly a result of their professional practices and routines. As a construction of meaning, identity considers actions, but it also encompasses values, beliefs, myths, knowledge, social representations, history, memory, power relations, as well as other elements of connection for individuals that make up a group (Lopes, 2013: 29-30). It is also important to consider the place that a group occupies in relation to other groups and to society as a whole.

In this sense, it is worth asking: what journalism do journalists talk about when they remember their experiences at *JB* and at “Caderno B”? In what way do they speak about themselves as professionals when they talk about the newspaper? Memory collects fragments from the past and preserves information that passes through a process of organization and reconstitution, says Le Goff (1990). The self-narration of a group, and consequently its identity, is supported by this information and by the group’s or individual’s use of it. By constructing their discourses and sharing them in the social sphere, journalists construct their memory, authorize speech and assemble a series of representations. With this, they negotiate power and authority by silencing some voices and amplifying others, promoting omission, highlighting memories; in short, producing identifications both for themselves and for those who surround and read them.

It is worth remembering that the concepts of memory and identity do not refer to notions such as homogeneity or continuity. Memory is always unstable and in permanent construction. It is made up of memories and forgetfulness, motivated by interests that are always anchored in the present. This causes social and professional groups – such as journalists – to constantly reconfigure what they feel is important to sustain as common memories and building elements of their self-image.

In the article that marked her return to *JB* as a columnist, in 2005 (one of the occasions of self-celebration for “Caderno B”, at that point turning 45 years old), journalist and writer Marina Colasanti sought to establish parallels between the first time she was working at *JB* in the early 1960s to that of her return. The newsroom, the journalist and the time had changed, but she



maintained that the enchantment and pride of being part of that experience would be the same:

As someone who goes back to an old house, I arrived and settled. But it is not an old house. It is a new old house, because it is in order to make something new that we were summoned. “Is there something new?”, I wonder. Is there something new that is detached from everything that preceded it, a new first, inaugural, that is born with you? When I joined *Caderno B* the first time, there were palm trees on the stairs, blasted glass isles separating the rooms, and green linoleum on the table tops, under the typewriters. I also had a quiver of palm trees in my soul, rustling with fear and insecurity. Everything was new for me [...] *The old house still guards the footprints of its old inhabitants*. Now our challenge is to make a newspaper section as new as the one we did together. (Colasanti, 2005, italic emphasis added)

The reference to the newspaper as a house and to journalists as its inhabitants, so recurrent in the speeches produced by journalists in regards to *JB*, refers to the very origin of the idea of nostalgia.

WHAT DO WE UNDERSTAND BY NOSTALGIA?

When it was first used in the seventeenth century, the term *nostalgia* literally meant *a desire to return home*. Until that point in time, spatial mobility was rare and the rhythm of time was broken only by extraordinary events, such as wars or natural disasters. Departure from one’s homeland was an anomaly and in many cases caused a disruptive state, considered pathological.

During the eighteenth century, the term – created in 1688 by physician Johannes Hofer – was used to diagnose soldiers and sailors far away from their homelands during several wars. The symptoms were fever, insomnia, rapid heartbeat, lack of appetite, and declining strength. By the early nineteenth century, nostalgia had already become widespread as an evil that could affect individuals of any profession, ethnic group or nationality. As time began to accelerate for many, creating deep discontinuities in life, nostalgia was no longer a problem for a few displaced people (Davis, 1979; Natali, 2006; Cross, 2015).

Consciousness of inexorable change – of the transience of existence, as Freud (1916) would say – led to many longing for lost places and times. Modernity, even if it meant the exaltation of the new and the disdain for tradition, also produced – as one of its apparently contradictory effects – the desire to contain history and the refusal of the irreversibility of time, and the will of memory.

Nostalgia can thus be understood as a problematic relationship that individuals, groups and societies establish with linear time, directed towards progress, as configured by Enlightenment philosophy. In these terms, nostalgia would be a particular kind of mnemonic practice, in which the links between past, present, and future become tense in a movement that overvalues the *field of experience* over the *horizon of expectation*, in Koselleck's (2006) terms.

In this sense, nostalgia was at the heart of the romantic movement and characterized various criticisms of the processes of capitalist modernization throughout the twentieth century. In the last decades, however, the uses and senses of nostalgia have changed significantly, pointing to new problems in relation to temporality (Niemeyer, 2014, Beail, Goren, 2015). In this context, nostalgia comes to be understood as a complex phenomenon, which sometimes triggers idealized and conservative feelings in relation to the past, but which can also found utopias and projections in relation to the future.

JORNAL DO BRASIL: A NOSTALGIC MEMORY?

Can we consider the discourses focused on the past of *JB* and “Caderno B” in an idealized way as constructors of a nostalgic memory? If so, which types of nostalgia are triggered? What do these nostalgia tell us about journalism as a social practice and about the specific contexts of memory construction? Furthermore, how do they help us to understand the identity of the press professional?

In this context, *innovation, pioneering, creativity, vanguard, originality, sagacity, freedom, relevance* and *prestige* are more than words. They are idealizations triggered by the memories of countless journalists in the representation of *JB* and “Caderno B” over the decades, recorded by the journal itself, as well as by other media outlets and by researchers, often supported by factual data, apparently tangible and unquestionable

Having been part of *JB*'s expedient at some point is, for many journalists, a reason for a pride that is often uncontested, which must be voiced and published, as evidenced by so many initiatives around *JB*'s history and memory, among which are the books of Alfredo Herkenhoff (2010) and Belisa Ribeiro (2015). The publications gather the memories not only of their authors, but also of dozens of professional colleagues, called upon to give their testimonials. We will highlight two quotations that appear significant to us.

Jöelle Rouchou entered the newspaper section team in 1978, achieving the dream of becoming a reporter for the *mythical* and *venerated* “Caderno B”, visiting socialites going after novelties of fashion and good manners, discovering a *lovely and hard new world*. She recounts her fascination:



²Frank Sinatra was visiting Rio de Janeiro for the first time in January 1980.

For a girl raised in a glass dome who studied in a French school, *it was amazing* to descend into the workshop to write a last-minute story about the Sinatra show at the Maracanã². [...] I was able to interview the Bishop of Rosário, talk to Edgar Morin, run after James Bond Roger Moore. *Better than Dulcora's mixed drops. It was a frisson all over the newsroom.* Many parties, much joy and sorrow too, such as the loss of friends, layoffs, injustices. It was too much to talk about. *Dream material* for the return home, to talk with friends. I entered as a teenager. I left as a woman. (Rouchou apud Herkenhoff, 2010: 169, italic emphasis added)

The testimony of Silvio Essinger – graduated from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) like Jöelle, but coming from another side of the city and with twenty years' difference – forms a striking duet with the former. Silvio arrived at *JB* in 1995 and at “B” in 1997. He uses the third person:

Nothing at University *left him as electrified* as the day he entered quietly into that hall on the 6th floor of the 500 Brazil Avenue building; *there were the brains, the signatures, his class. On the day when, finally, he had his graceless name accepted on those pages, it was like the first time he saw the last piece of lingerie fall - wow!* In four years of *JB*, he lived passions, discoveries, frissons, impatience, scoldings, disappointments, hangovers... and he became a man. Today, he misses the carpet of the newsroom, on top of which he sometimes slept during his *almost conjugal life with the newspaper*. Underneath the herds of mites was *a smell of freedom and adventure that he never felt again.* (Essinger apud Herkenhoff, 2010: 134, italic emphasis added)

In these two statements, the time and space of an awakening to adult life and the aforementioned overvaluation of the field of experience in relation to the horizon of expectation are present. The enthusiastic remarks of both journalists exemplify the already mentioned relationship between memory and professional identity.

Another interesting narrative is that of Ferreira Gullar. His identity is that of a poet, and because of this he affirms vehemently that he was not a journalist, although he had collaborated with newspapers since he was a boy in São Luís, Maranhão. The newspaper was a breadwinner, an activity that sustained his poetry. He worked effectively as a journalist in *Manchete* magazine, in Rio de Janeiro, starting in 1955. If in his statements he denies this professional identity, at the same time he retains deep pride in the reform he took part in at *JB* and which he points out as absolutely important: “A little after being reformed, the newspaper gained a very important weight and influenced the entire Brazilian press” (Gullar, 2007).

In his version of events, Gullar boasts that he was the one who appointed the reform staff – Janio de Freitas, Amílcar de Castro, José Ramos Tinhorão and other colleagues from *Manchete* – and he speaks of his protagonism in the process of renewing the newspaper. In opposition to Odylo Costa Filho, he disdains: “Odylo did not understand the subject. It was not that he did not want to; it wasn’t in his sphere of knowledge. He was a journalist with an earlier background, from the old kind of newspaper that was made in Brazil” (Gullar, 2007). He clearly exposes the split between the avant-garde group (the reforming youth) and the old journalists (representatives of the model to be overcome).

On the reform of the *JB*, Gullar states, in testimony to the Center for Culture and Memory of Journalism: “Before *Jornal do Brasil* there was no newsroom, no news story, only advertisements and classified ads. Half a dozen old journalists, her friends (of the Countess Pereira Carneiro), cut the news from the National Agency, pasted it, and the newspaper was printed” (Gullar, 2009). Here, once again, the deponent highlights the rupture action that the reform had produced in journalistic practices and an undeclared pride of having been part of the experience.

Alberto Dines, editor-in-chief of *JB* from 1962 to 1973, says that the new generation of journalists to which he belonged “was very respected” by all and that there was no resistance to reform by the older ones. He minimizes the conflicts in a very eloquent way: “They were not journalists; they arrived there, wrote a little something. They were not professional journalists” (Dines apud Ribeiro, 2002: 5).

The passage quoted is once again quite eloquent in relation to the question of pride of the past, in which the narrator acted as a protagonist, as a transforming agent. The professional issue is highlighted here. Dines affirms himself as a *professional* journalist. This what he highlights as a singular element of his generation, as what distinguished it from the previous one and legitimized its action in the journalistic field.

There are many who cite Dines as a great reference in *JB*’s history. “The really remarkable *JB* of my generation is Dines’ *JB*. The reform began earlier, but he completed a large part of it and consolidated it as a newspaper ahead of its time which others copied”, said Miriam Leitão (apud Salles, 2010). Carlos Lemos agrees, and includes himself among the avant-garde:

The golden period was led by Dines, who was editor-in-chief, followed by me and three others below, Luiz Orlando Carneiro – who was the man of the future – Sérgio Noronha, chief of the copy desk, and José Silveira, editor and designer.



This quintet was one of the most sensational things that could be put together in the Brazilian press. (Lemos apud Salles, 2010)

The author of the reform at *JB* is a rather controversial issue. It is an area of great dispute that mobilizes the memory and vanities of many journalists until the present day. There are many contradictory accounts. Some point out Odylo Costa Filho (editor-in-chief from 1956 to 1958) as the lead author of the reform. Others highlight the period in which Janio de Freitas headed the editorial staff (from 1958 to 1962). There are still those for whom neither Odylo nor Janio made the greatest contributions to changes at the newspaper. According to them, the reform only took shape under the leadership of Alberto Dines. Howsoever, the reform period is constantly triggered in memories – both individual and institutional – as the golden period of *JB*'s history and the mythical origin of so-called modern Brazilian journalism.

THE MYTH WITHIN THE MYTH: JORNAL DO BRASIL'S "CADERNO B"

Having worked at *JB* is, generally, a source of pride for journalists. Having belonged to the team of "Caderno B" seems to give even more prestige to the professional due to the bold, irreverent and innovative character attributed to the supplement. The documentary analysis of commemorative editions of "Caderno B" offers abundant self-referential material in this sense, which transposes both to historiographical research and to other journalistic-pedagogical research, as demonstrated in the following examples.

The journalist Wilson Figueiredo, who worked at *JB* for 50 years, watched the emergence, development and end of "Caderno B", and defines it as "pleasant and innovative":

It was pleasant for the informative and cultural sense that *Jornal do Brasil* adopted, *transforming everything*. The interview was not formal, it was an important interview that seized the subject at the right time, the reporters *sharpened* and had a very acute sense of the cultural moment... *The newspaper did everything creatively and at the ideal opportunity, at the right time*. (Figueiredo apud Salles, 2010, italic emphasis added)

For his part, Zuenir Ventura said:

B has always been and still is the space that convinces Rio, and proof that it is an integral part of Brazilian culture is its reproduction in countless offspring. In every

place you go in Brazil there is a second section trying to be and do what *B* does in Rio. (Ventura apud Rito, 1990: 1)

In 2005, Ziraldo Alves Pinto, then editor of the section, exacerbates the speech in a commemorative edition:

Jornal do Brasil's Caderno B is the most emblematic part of this newspaper, which is a Carioca entity, something that people refer to as if it were a living being. It reflects its own way of looking at life, a special attitude towards the facts, the perception of a new world that emerged when the section was created exactly 45 years ago. Letters are signs, signs, symbols, and, in our case, a milestone in the history of our press, an invention that has altered it formally and in content. Today, all the second sections of every Brazilian newspaper are heirs to its proposals. (Pinto, 2005: 1, italic emphasis added)

The aforementioned citations highlight the uniqueness of “*B*”, its innovative character, its avant-garde position, its role in building an ideal model for a cultural supplement as a reference and representation of a certain lifestyle. The pride of being part of the team of professionals who helped give life to this *entity*, this *living being*, is implicit. Similar feelings are present in the memories of Arthur Dapieve. As a journalist and as a researcher, he affirms that, thanks to “*Caderno B*”, the so-called second newspaper sections were, in the Brazilian press, “the habitat par excellence of experimentation and renovation, both in text and graphic presentation. In such a way that resources invented in cultural editorials are borrowed by other editorials, airing newspapers or magazines” (Dapieve, 2002: 94).

Dapieve was a reporter, editor and sub-editor of the “*Caderno Ideias*” and “*Caderno B*” from 1986 to 1991. He later became the editor of *O Globo's* “*Segundo Caderno*” and began working as a professor of cultural journalism at PUC-Rio. The relationship between his *JB* experience and his professional identity is very clear in his statement. For him, Brazil is a country where culture is a most important factor of national identity and pride – and this helps to explain the fascination and prestige that, according to him, cultural sections enjoy from not only professionals, but also Brazilian readers.

At a debate on cultural journalism at the Passo Fundo Literary Trip, Artur Xexéo, editor of “*Caderno B*” from 1988 to 1992, commented on the visual experimentation and consecrated texts of the supplement. He spared no adjectives:

At that time it was a bit of everything: cinema, Gil Brandão molds, recipes, social column, etc. There was *staggering* international news. Let's say a photo of Romy

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Jornal do Brasil was the best

Schneider arrived by radio photo. The copywriter (*they were very good*) wrote some nonsense and the picture was published, huge, with a legend of any kind “Romy Schneider appearing around”. Of course there was a *bold* graphic too. I remember a page that became a classic when De Gaulle visited Brazil. The news was framed in the shape of the Eiffel Tower. The text drew out the tower. (Xexéo apud Medeiros, 2005, italic emphasis added)

It was no coincidence that Xexéo quoted Austrian actress Romy Schneider, a film sensation of the time: her photo illustrated the cover of the first issue of “B”. The graphic page of the Eiffel Tower, highlighted for its daring, was republished on the 25th anniversary of the supplement in 1985 (Santos, 1985: 4). It is interesting to note that the memory of Xexéo was not *spontaneous*. The journalist himself claims to have researched the newspaper’s collection to prepare for the debate. This is, therefore, a knowledge of the past which had recently been acquired through archives. In this case, memory is a mixture of the recollections of experiences directly lived together with inherited recollections.

Ziraldo Alves Pinto, a collaborator in the initial phase of “Caderno B” and editor in 2005, defined “B” as the “magic letter of Brazilian cultural journalism”, reiterating the myth of the Carioca spirit of the supplement and appealing to a passionate analogy with football: “That capital B is a Carioca icon, etched into Rio’s soul like the red and black shirt of Flamengo, Vasco’s malta cross, Fluminense’s top hat or the solitary star of Botafogo” (Pinto, 2005: 1).

If this letter was capable of such a myth, having one’s own name associated with it meant prestige. As reporter Sandra Moreyra said, chosen in July of 1978 to cover the fire that destroyed almost the entire collection of Museum of Modern Art (MAM) in Rio de Janeiro: “The next day, I left home to buy the newspaper and look at that cover of *Caderno B* – having one’s name on the cover of *Caderno B* was something out of another world” (Sandra Moreyra, 2014).

In 1985, when “Caderno B” commemorated 25 years, journalist Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos wrote an emblematic text a page and a half long about the supplement. The testimony of several professionals that had worked on it, such as Ferreira Gullar (“the section’s first visual arts critic”), Marina Colasanti (“one of the first reporters contracted by ‘B’ in 1962”) and Claudio Mello e Souza (“for the more elaborate and sophisticated text quality”) (Santos, 1985: 4).

In these testimonies, it is clear how “B” contributed to the construction of myths such as the *Carioca*, with which he identified and through which he reinforced his own myth. To this carioca being are associated a set of representations centered in forms of behavior and specific visions of world, that also served to anchor his own professional identity.

The journalist places “Caderno B” in the reform initiated in 1956, “that tried to reflect the creativity that was around in the press: Bossa Nova, concretism, industrialization, Brasília, JK” (Ibid); and points out that it soon stood out for “reflecting a certain way of life in Rio” (ibid). This was done through articles that worshiped the good humor and relaxation of the South Zone of the city, anticipating satire, with reports and chronicles by Carlos Leonam, Yllen Kerr, Marina Colasanti and Léa Maria. “B” also publicized “behaviors that would convince the youth of the decade, such as Castelinho’s golden generation and the festive left of Luna Bar” (Ibid). Santos even highlights the “Summer Page”, which introduced “the *best* things to do to enjoy the season in terms of consumption, rides, behaviors, ideas, and people” (Ibid, italics emphasis added) and the page “Almost always Carioca”, in which Carlos Leonam published a dictionary of new slang and a beer guide (Ibid).

Remembering that “good text has always been one of B’s greatest prides”, Santos (Ibid.) also mentions some consecrated storytellers who worked there, such as Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Rubem Braga, Fernando Sabino, Carlinhos de Oliveira, Clarice Lispector, Carlos Eduardo Novaes, Flávio Rangel and Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna. He also appreciates the stance taken by “B” in the 1970s, when the supplement went “towards a line of criticism and denunciation of the absurdities of censorship, abandonment of cultural heritage and interviews that made a strong connection between artists and politics” (Ibid). “B” progressively “consolidated the style and unmistakable hallmark that today spreads throughout the Brazilian press and makes the second section *something essential to the reader*”, says Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos (Ibid: 5, italic emphasis added).

Zuenir Ventura (apud Rito, 1990: 1) recalls his passage through “B” (1985-89) “as one of the most stimulating of his career”, in which “he was able to dedicate himself amply and exclusively to culture”. His account was published in 1990, in the 30th anniversary commemorative edition of the newspaper section. At that time, the supplement was under the management of Xexéo, quoted previously. “Finally, a Balzanian section”, from Lucia Rito, once again reinforces the myth of the indispensable newspaper section, in a self-referential speech that incorporates statements hitherto enunciated by others – thus, the impressions and memories of others definitively become facts stated by the newspaper:

The drafting of Reynaldo Jardim consolidated the great reform, opening for *Caderno B* the possibility of catching, registering and *anticipating the cultural movements that flourished*. It was the era of Bossa Nova, New Cinema, political theater, tropicalism, visual arts movements, humor, literature, the discovery of



Rio fashion, and even political turbulence. *Everything important that happened in the country's cultural scene always found a generous space on the pages of B.* (Ibid: 8, italic emphasis added)

In this commemorative edition, reporter Lucia Rito – with the collaboration of Pedro Tinoco, José Rezende Jr. and Raimundo França – was tasked to listen to pioneers Reynaldo Jardim, Janio de Freitas, Nonato Masson, Marina Colasanti, Ziraldo, Carlos Leonam, and Zózimo Barrozo do Amaral, among others, and to condense three decades of history into two pages, under proud and uninhibited headlines, titled “The most complete translation of Rio turns thirty. To commemorate its birthday, *Caderno B* tells the stories that are mixed up with the culture and customs of Rio de Janeiro and gave people something to talk about” and “Three decades have passed anticipating and registering the facts and characters that stood out, revolutionized and left their mark on the culture of this country”.

He also states that in the following decades, the section “functioned as an antenna of culture and behavior, especially in Rio de Janeiro, which ceased to be the federal capital, but maintained the status of cultural capital” (Ibid). The edition also vainly stated that “if it didn't appear in *Caderno B*, it didn't happen”. Rito attributes this to the very turbulence of the 1960s, which was also mythical: “*Everything* happened in that decade in Brazilian culture and politics, and it was up to *B* to capture and anticipate what really mattered” (Ibid.).

In her 2005 column on returning to “*Caderno B*”, Marina Colasanti reproduced the same image of an idealized past:

[It was] as if the new only materialized after being issued by *Caderno B*. *We were all investigative reporters of what was new*, of that which was not yet said but existed just the same, and ended up being the talk of the town. Or rather, that they were trying to be talked about but would in fact only be talked about after being blessed by *B*. Spending the weekend without having read *Caderno B* was a risk the *hipsters* would not allow themselves. (Colasanti, 2005: 3, italic emphasis added)

The idea of the Carioca *hipster* is present in many of the statements that were analyzed. In them, nostalgia and professional identity seem to intertwine in a movement that simultaneously mythologizes *JB* and legitimizes a given model of journalism. Zózimo comments that, of the countless tasks entrusted to him in 22 years at *JB*, editing “*Caderno B*” “was the most complex, especially because of the wealth of experience represented by the relationship with what can perfectly be called one of the newspaper's *elite bodies*” (Ibid: 10, original italics):

It is extremely gratifying and stimulating, together with the partners that I have, to sign the *Zózimo* column. Just as *in biographical terms – because of the importance of Caderno B in the history of Brazilian journalism – it will always be equally important and disheartening to have one’s name included in the gallery of masters of the journalistic profession who were part of its leadership.* (Ibid, italic emphasis added)

The reporter also pointed out that “the agile, light text subverted the circumspect language, the long descriptions characteristic of the press of the time, imparting lightness on the pages of the newspaper” (Ibid: 8). Carlos Leonam, that wrote the columns “From man to man”, from 1963 to 1964, and “Carioca quase sempre” (with Ylen Kerr), from 1967 to 1968, states that “B” “*invented* the coverage of uses and customs in the press” (ibid: 10, original italics) and that the Carioca spirit was present from the beginning of the newspaper section: “B always had a carioca spirit - at the beginning there was a section called *Where Rio is most Rio* – and what I did was incorporate this spirit in my columns” (ibid).

Artur Xexéo talks about the various “B Sections”: that of the molds signed by the stylist Gil Brandão; that of the Drummond chronicles; that of the “Registro Social” column; and that of the *Zózimo Barrozo do Amaral* column... The “B” that put the interpretation of Fernanda Montenegro in *The Bitter Tears of Petra Von Kant* (1972) on the front page of the newspaper; the “B” of the muses of every summer; of the “Carioca quase sempre” column; of Jeremias, the Good; and of Ziraldo’s Super Mom... The “B” that praised New Cinema; that consecrated Gerald Thomas; that Gerald Thomas accused of taking a play from his playbill... The “B” of grand reports about Nazis in Itatiaia and the *black* movement in the suburbs; of the stars of theater, cinema and discs; the “B” of quick reviews; of the rockers; of the Municipal Opera; of the “Perfil do Consumidor”... Anyway, all the “Bs”.

Already Ziraldo highlights the role of “Caderno B” in the consolidation of the modern chronicle, highlighting names such as Carlinhos de Oliveira, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Fernando Sabino, Clarice Lispector and Marina Colasanti. For him, the supplement was avant-garde even on the gender issue. He talks about the *B girls*, a team that he declares to have contributed to the innovation of the newspaper section:

I believe that *it was in Caderno B, historically, that women consolidated themselves as a professional category in the Brazilian press.* Female participation now makes up possibly around half of the professionals in the entire press (with a huge presence in leadership positions), whereas – at the time – it didn’t reach five percent. In the



Jornal do Brasil was the best

1970s, *JB* became a woman's empire. *The newspaper of the Amazons.* (Pinto apud Rito, 1990: 1, italic emphasis added)

The mythical past of “Caderno B” is built from memorable landmarks. But also in a temporality that, although nostalgic, also points to a future of possible accomplishments. The edition commemorating the 30 years of the supplement was exemplary in this sense. It had the dual purpose of uplifting its glorious past and announcing changes and *renovations*:

B now arrives at its 30s by *applauding its history and initiating a new phase.* By incorporating, on Fridays, subjects that it has already shown to be relevant, making room for fashion, consumption, behavior, and extending its food section on Saturdays; and returning to being published on Sundays (divulging novelties that were previously exclusive to *House and Decoration*), *B, even though Balzanian, still bets on renovation.* And who gains from this is the reader. (Rito, 1990: 1, italic emphasis added)

In this editorial, the newspaper acknowledged that it was recycling old ideas, attributing value to this resource. In December of 1999, when it was reformulated and began to be printed in the printing room of *O Dia*, *JB* impressed the following headline on page three “Pioneering Tradition: *JB* inaugurates offset printing on its pages, a result of the partnership with *O Dia*, and rediscovers its innovative origin”, with Fritz Utzeri taking over the editorial board in place of Noenio Spinola, and Maurício Dias (former editor of “Informe *JB*” and “Cidade”) as editor-in-chief. The focus, this time, was graphic innovation, highlighting a *bold layout*. Recalling the great reform, he points out that “the changes implemented by Amilcar de Castro in the 1950s were the initial kick-off in a series of innovations that made *JB* a reference in Brazilian graphic design” (Tradição..., 1999: 3).

Brazil was witnessing a cultural renaissance. Bossa nova rehearsed its first beats, New Cinema launched its bases in films such *Rio 40 graus* and concrete poetry shook the literary marasmus of the country. Poets, essayists, and engaged intellectuals were easy figures in pieces. Edited by Reynaldo Jardim, the *Jornal do Brasil's Suplemento Dominical* is a space for experimentation and an open channel for all art manifestations. Including print shops. (Ibid.)

The editorial points out “*JB's* novelty and experimentation milestones” as: the *Sunday* magazine, created in 1975, “the first experience of a magazine in a daily newspaper” that “translates, for all these years, the soul of the carioca”;

the “City” section “which between 1986 and 1988 introduced subtitles in articles”; *Programme* magazine, anticipating “the highlights of the weekend” and recommended shows on Fridays; *Zine* magazine, aimed at a young audience, first published in 1992; the “Woman” section of 1996; and *SuperTV* in 1997.

In 2004, *JB* published the special edition “JB 113 years” (2004: 12). Once again, the mythical reform of 1950-60 is highlighted in the history of the periodical. It is noted that, in the post-war period, “the newspaper grows as a company and becomes an opinion-maker in the country”. It also stresses that,

On September 15, 1960, *Caderno B* was born, whose conception began to be developed in the *Suplemento Dominical do Jornal do Brasil*. It was the first section in Brazilian newspapers to gather together news related only to variety and *became a reference of the culture, behavior and lifestyle of Rio de Janeiro*. (Ibid, italic emphasis added)

In 2005, Nelson Tanure – owner of the newspaper – launched a new graphical and editorial reform in “Caderno B”. He redesigned the myths around the section in an editorial that exalted “the context of the revitalization of Rio de Janeiro, the vocation of this urban center as the spearhead for the formation of opinion, in politics and economy, in metropolis and culture” (Tanure, 2005: 3).

It is interesting to note that the memorialistic and self-referential discourse of “Caderno B”, as well as that of *JB* itself, establishes an ambiguous and contradictory relationship with temporality. At the time of the reforms of the 1950s, it reinforced the disruptions arising from the past and silenced many possible continuities. In 2005, in function of memory re-framing, there was a discursive effort to value continuities and to silence the many ruptures by which the newspaper and its cultural supplement were passing.

NOSTALGIA OF THE END

Since *JB* announced in mid-2010 that it would stop circulating on paper, there were many movements of production and circulation of memories around journalistic productions, university projects, blogs, books, and in communities on social networks. “Caderno B”, which influenced different generations of readers and journalists, as already demonstrated, was covered greatly.

A native of Caratinga, in the countryside of Minas Gerais, the journalist Miriam Leitão recalls that before the age of 18, at the turn of the 1960s to the 1970s, she used to ask anyone that went to Rio de Janeiro to come back with a copy of *JB* every day, even if it was old. “I read it with great pleasure, because the articles were much more complete, *Caderno B* was unparalleled and the



articles about behavior were modern and daring” (Leitão apud Salles, 2010). In the 1980s, she arrived at *JB* to cover Zózimo’s vacation. She was responsible for the space for six months, and became the economic reporter, columnist and editor in 1986 (Miriam..., 2013).

Silvio Essinger recalls that “as a suburban kid, more than eager to be part of the city’s cultural life, *JB* was the lighthouse, the bible, the passport”. And he includes himself in the stereotyped role of the journalist that’s bad at mathematics, a discipline that “I studied heavily for to pass the college entrance examination for only one reason: that I was on my way to *Caderno B*, where every day I saw the history of Brazilian music being written” (Essinger apud Herkenhoff, 2010: 134).

The general feeling was of a certain in-conformity with regard to the end of the printed version of *JB*. It was as if a small part of journalism was also extinguished at that moment. Like many of his professional colleagues, Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos – who was a reporter, sub-editor and columnist for “*Caderno B*” in two stages (1980 and 2000-2001) – lamented the situation in testimony for the project Memory of Brazilian Journalism:

Something that was so important died. It was crucial for me. People did not settle for it. It was a newspaper that I read back when I was getting interested in journalism. I cut out articles and photos. Caderno B was remarkable for my generation, for the learning and training of journalists of my generation. It was an incredible newspaper: I learned a lot. (Santos, s/d, italic emphasis added)

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Every organization, company or institution links its past to the image that it forges of itself. This framing task counts on the collaboration of professional actors (historians, journalists, researchers) and of representatives instituted by them or their peers, *official* guardians of this history. As Pollak (1992) observes, the preoccupation with the image that this organized group passes of itself and of its memory leads to the selection of reliable witnesses in the eyes of its leaders, in order to avoid that mitomanys take the floor. This attempt to control eventually produces certain *guardians* of the group’s memory, people publicly recognized as those who can speak for the collective.

In the case of *JB*, this is evident when we observe the repetitions present in memorialistic discourses, customarily comprising of certain key moments in Brazilian journalism – recurrent statements about the graphic and editorial reform of the 1950s and 70s and resistance to the military dictatorship –, as well as the repetition of certain journalists legitimized to speak about the newspaper’s

past (Alberto Dines, Marina Colasanti, Carlos Lemos, Ferreira Gullar, Janio de Freitas). No matter how relevant the reports and professionals in question, it is possible to imagine how many stories have been forgotten and silenced in this context, just as it is possible to think of how many other professionals have passed through the newsroom of the newspaper and could be heard, bringing into the public sphere (and to the collective memory) other points of view, experiences and observations.

JB went through different phases: it began as a monarchist newspaper (1891-1893), became an opposition republican newspaper (under the leadership of Rui Barbosa in 1893), assumed a popular profile (1894-1918), became an advertisement bulletin (1918-1953), modernized and consolidated as a newspaper of reference (1954-2001), experienced a severe crisis until the extinction of its paper version (2001-2010) and returned to circulation in 2018³.

Since the great reform of *JB*, newspapers have been materially organized into sections that group news about certain aspects of society, such as politics, cities, economy, and culture. This effort to separate and order reality in watertight borders met aesthetic and graphic requirements, but also industrial and market demands. Articles were also divided internally into groups, editorials, and independent teams to deal with certain subjects and in permanent dispute for space. Of course, this dispute overflows from page production for to memory production. And, historically, the great national themes are privileged both in periodicals and in books, in academic research, and in the self-referential and memorable speeches of the company and the journalists themselves.

The journalistic reforms that took place after the 1950s, elaborated in defense of technical rigor, ended up establishing the mythology of neutrality and objectivity in the representation of journalists to themselves. They shared common beliefs and values that, on the one hand, outlined the professional field, and on the other, created behavioral side effects that, despite the whole *post-truth* debate, endure to this day.

Over the years, *JB*'s memory guardians eventually built a stable version of the newspaper's past. Almost all are proud to affirm their conscious participation in the reform process of the periodical between 1950-60. Ferreira Gullar tells of how he defended the adoption of photos on the front page – "I said to Odylo [Costa Filho]: Let's change the newspaper, let's make a new newspaper, no other newspaper does this". Furthermore, he comments on the "Suplemento Dominical": "We were well aware of what we were doing. We were changing on purpose, there was no doubt. Creating a newspaper with those characteristics was deliberate, nothing was by chance" (Gullar, 2007).

³Nelson Tanure sublicense the brand for thirty years to the businessman Omar Peres, and *JB* returned to the stands in February 2018.



We can observe something similar in Carlos Lemos' statement: "There was an effervescence between we young people who had been summoned to do this project [...]. There was also great enthusiasm and self-assertion of being involved in the process of transformation" (Lemos apud Ribeiro, 2007: 159). Pompeu de Souza (apud Ribeiro, 2007: 331) affirmed: "We were imbued with a certain spirit of reason: the feeling that we were making a revolution in the press".

"The personal stories of this country were undoubtedly written a bit in the pages of *JB*. We were happy... and we knew it!", said Ziraldo (Pinto, 1990: 10). This declared involvement expresses something that Bourdieu (1996: 139) called *illusio*: to be involved in the game (*ludus*, in Latin), to realize that what is happening is important for those involved. Bourdieu himself makes, on purpose, a pertinent criticism of the confusion between trajectory and project. For him it is illusory to consider that a consecrated intellectual, for example, had in mind all the steps that he has taken since he began his career, calculated and controlled. As if it were possible to possess in the past the certainty of a future (Ibid.: 146).

And so memories are transfigured, impregnated with subjectivities and historical truths. Not that the memories and history built are false or not true, but it is a narrative of the present that *interprets* an already unreachable past (Heller, 1993). In the layers of this narrative new discourses are imbued, silenced and forgotten in a continuous process – at least as long as there are living subjects willing to feed it and feel responsible for it.

We observed that among the journalists who gave testimonies about *JB*, the most common feelings triggered by nostalgia were those of belonging and pride. There is also a spirit of bravery, which has remained, for different reasons, since the graphic and editorial reform promoted between 1950-60. It is attributed to pioneering, to innovation, to the idea of a rupture in relation to previous journalism.

The nostalgic tone of these memories intensified with the passage of time, increasing as the newspaper was entering a serious economic crisis that ended up leading to the suspension of its paper version in 2010. It is this nostalgia – as a movement of appreciation and idealization of the past – that sustains the mythical aura and importance of the daily newspaper for the many professionals who worked on it. In reality, it seems to us that what is valued in the past is a certain way of doing journalism, anchored in a series of precepts and values that are challenged today, not only by the technological and business environment, but also by the new political and ideological horizon, which reconfigures in a drastic way what it is to be a journalist.

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