

JOURNALISM'S B-SIDE: HOW CULTURE SECTIONS ARE SETTLED IN HISTORY

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Abstract

This paper seeks to challenge a certain historiographical consensus about the modernization of Brazilian journalism and a linear view of history on the national press that sometimes “forgets” its literary tradition. This diagnosis can be evidenced in the erasure of the daily culture sections as an important part of the history of printed newspapers. From a dialogue between Koselleck’s notion of temporal layers (2006) and Octavio Paz’s (1984) considerations on ruptures in modernity, we analyze the meaning of these absences and forgetfulness in historiographical bibliography about *Jornal do Brasil* and its pioneer and lasting *Caderno B* (1960-2010), seeking to point out a wider textual and contextual network.

Keywords

History of press; Cultural Journalism; *Jornal do Brasil*.

Introduction

In recent years, many authors have been highlighting the growth of researches in media and journalism history in Brazil. Barbosa and Ribeiro (2009), for example, point out how important was the creation of more spaces for this discussion, such as specific work groups in regular events like Intercom, Alaic and Anpuh. The constitution of the Brazilian Association of Media History (Alcar) in the same period has contributed to gather hundreds of researchers around this common interest in this specific historiographical discussion. At the same time, the creation of the work group Memories in Media by Compós in 2015, and our own network Historicidades dos Processos Comunicacionais (Historicities of Communicative Processes) can corroborate the argument provided by Barbosa and Ribeiro of a growth in the forums for debates about historiography.

However, in spite of diagnosing the important institutionalization of this research subfield, the authors emphasize that “the increasing number of works about journalism’s history are not corresponding to a maturation of the reflections on the subject matter” (Barbosa & Ribeiro, 2015, p. 3). Some causes that would help explaining this scenario are the scarcity of theoretical-methodological discussions, the limitation of empirical reviews without major contextual implications and the lack of a “historical imagination”. The scarcity of theoretical-methodological rigor, according to Albuquerque (2010), happens in part because of a contamination of issues coming from the professional and the union spheres of journalism.

In this way, the academic production in this specific stratum assumes sometimes a conservative bias, committing itself to the reproduction of established interpretations rather than to its systematic questioning (Albuquerque, 2010, p.2). In addition, we can observe a scenario in which there is a predominance of a memorialist perspective (memory and history tend to be easily interchangeable concepts), with many investigations who present arguments based on a pre-guided history, without much deepening and questioning of broader relations about of the past and its relation with the present (Jácome, 2017). This tends to originate studies that frequently favor rupture and a linear conception of time by preferring to tell the big, prominent feats of specific newspapers and characters.

The most visible consequence is this monumentalizing and pedagogical attitude that has contributed to the perpetuation of certain foundational myths of journalism. In the Brazilian case, a significant example is the narrative that identifies and maintains that in the 1950s and, more specifically, in the reform engendered by the *Diário Carioca*, we would find the ground zero of the modernization of the newspapers in our country.

This narrative proclaims that, from a journalism that was amateurish and unprepared, we would have abruptly passed to another one, a more professional and technical journalism. In this sense, it is very recurrent in our national historiographical imagery what seems to be the unquestionable idea that Brazilian journalism goes through its modernization in the 1950s, importing what is often labeled “the ‘American’ journalism model” (Lage et al., 2004; Abreu, 2002; Jobim, 1954; Costa, 2011). From an European journalism model (mainly French), which would have defined Brazilian press until then by its literary, pamphleteering and political standards, we would have passed to a new one, an industrial, impersonal, impartial and modern model. The outlines that involve the adoption of the so-called “American journalism model” in Brazil are almost always identified in the incorporation of a more straight-forward lead, the creation of the copy editor job and the adoption of manuals of style for the subsequent standardization and depersonalization of writing, and above all, the incorporation of the “objectivity” and “factuality” concepts as fundamental values in the press men’s “modern” ideology.

So, when there is a historiographical consensus in Brazil about the modernization of its journalism, there is also a history that favors a single possible temporal flow, as well as an explicit combat that originates winners (the moderns) and losers (those that are outdated, which do not exist anymore, or at least should no longer exist, since they are already surpassed). A modern idealization of this kind is problematic because the

never-questioned argument of an “American journalism model” freezes interrelations and dispels disputes, resistances and dialogues in an attempt to cut the edges that form the history of both the journalism that was being made in the United States and the journalism that was supposedly being made here in Brazil so far at the time. This view also corresponds to a specific way of organizing the experience of time.

Koselleck (2014) points out that historians have been perceiving time around two main mottoes, distinct at first: one that sees time as an irreversible arrow towards the future; and a second one that imagines time as something recurrent and circular. However, both models seem insufficient, since

(...) the entire historical sequence contains linear elements and recurrent elements. Circularity must also be considered in teleological terms, since the end of the movement is the fate predicted from the beginning: the circular route is a line that refers to itself (Koselleck, 2014, p. 19).

Koselleck affirms that our actions unfold in different singular and repeated structures that, stratified, cluster and collide in various temporal rhythms. The unique social and political processes in which we are immersed, although they happen chronologically at the same time, depart from multiple temporalities that are not necessarily dependent. In this sense, the proposition of different temporal layers allows us to deal with disparate speeds of change without us being forced to go for a false alternative between a linear or circular time: “Many things happen simultaneously, emerging, in diachronic or in synchronic ways, of completely heterogeneous contexts” (Koselleck, 2014, p.9).

In his thoughts about modernity, Bruno Latour endorses that “when the words ‘modern’, ‘modernization’ and ‘modernity’ appear, we define, by contrast, an archaic and stable past” (1994, p. 15). In the words of Octavio Paz, modernity dislodges the prevailing tradition, and immediately gives way to another. Neither the modern is the continuity of the past in the present, nor today is the child of yesterday: they are its rupture, its negation. “The modern is self-sufficient; each time it appears, it founds its own tradition” (Paz, 1984, p.18), which is the tradition of rupture.

As we can see in the predominant memorialistic euphoria concerning the modernization of the Brazilian press, rather than the celebration of the new, what is being valued is the fact that it is a rupture: the critique of the just gone past, the interruption of continuity. Taking on Paz’s reference to the history of poetry in the Occident, which we understand here that can have its considerations expanded,

The new is not exactly modern, unless it bears the double explosive charge: being a denial of the past and being an affirmation of something different. [...] The new seduces us not by novelty, but by being different; and the different is the denial, the knife that divides time into two: before and now (Paz, 1984, p.20).

Thinking about the case of Brazilian journalism, what did this “now” have that the “before” did not provide? As Barbosa (2007) reminds us, the reforms of the 1950s introduce, besides the lead and a discourse of neutrality and objectivity in the texts, a place of distinction for themselves in the journalists’ minds and, consequently, a circumscribed field. This explains, in part, the general adherence to a version of press history that privileges the new and erases the before. This linear narrative corroborates the silencing of voices with less power and status in newsrooms, among which we highlight here those related to cultural journalism.

The B-side

The emergence of culture sections from the 1960’s onwards reveals that this kind of publication was able to blend what the press modernization discourse seemed to deny. They approach journalism, literature, politics and art with great implications for the communication area and illuminate, considering the links between sedimentation and innovation, a history that is still briefly addressed. In these sections,

the lead did not expel the literary bias, nor did the so-called inverted pyramid imprison the freedom of style. And the author did not lose his identity. In addition, they did not retreat from talking politics on their pages. They are, then, “problematic” examples for the discourse of rupture between the “archaic” journalism and the “new” modern ways of news production.

Since the so-called modernization of the 1950’s, newspapers have materially organized themselves into sections that gather news on certain aspects of society, such as politics, business, arts, entertainment. This effort to separate and order reality in strict borders responded to aesthetic and graphical requirements, as well as industrial and marketing-related demands (Ribeiro, 2007). We became used to call sections the ones of daily periodicity that form the body of an edition. At first, newspapers generally had only one or at most two volumes (also called second section), and extra inserts were an exception, especially because of the high cost. It was only with the transformations in the industrial process, in the wake of the developmentalism of the JK years, that it became possible, and even advantageous, to print the newspaper in independent parts, giving greater flexibility to deadlines to optimize the use of rotating machines, increasing circulation and the size of the editions.

Also, internally, newsrooms started being divided into specific desks, with independent and specialized professionals, that were in permanent dispute for news holes. As one can presume, this dispute overflows from the making of the pages to the making of history. And, historically, the “great national themes” are privileged both in newspapers’ front pages and in book covers, in academic researches and in self-referential and memorialistic discourses made by companies and journalists themselves, leaving arts and entertainment in the background.

The erasure of journalism’s “B-side”

Numerous books, theses and dissertations written about the history of Brazilian press give prominence to the political role of the media in the last dictatorship, the support and the resistance, especially post-modernization. Journalists who played a leading role in the 1950’s and 1960’s, such as Alberto Dines, Janio de Freitas, Wilson Figueiredo, Carlos Lemos, and Ana Arruda Callado, to name a few, are among the most sought after, interviewed, quoted, being distinguished for the social and political nature – *stricto sensu* – of their work. Even professionals that were fundamentally involved in the creation of renowned literature and arts supplements in newspapers recall (or are urged to remember) only “noble” moments in the most important desks: it is always the same references to the front pages in the hayday of political repression in the 1960s and 1970’s, with *Jornal do Brasil*’s stifling weather forecast, the cooking recipes and Camões’ poems replacing political reporting in *Estado de S. Paulo*.

In the recurrent bibliography about this period, there are at least three emblematic examples of this memory selection. *Eles Mudaram a Imprensa – Depoimentos ao CPDOC*, organized by Alzira Alves de Abreu, Fernando Lattman-Weltman and Dora Rocha in 2003, anticipating the celebrations for the 200th anniversary of the press in Brazil, gathers the testimonies of six journalists: Evandro Carlos de Andrade, Alberto Dines, Mino Carta, Roberto Müller Filho, Augusto Nunes and Otavio Frias Filho. In the foreword, Ana Arruda Callado recalls that there were many reformers before them, such as Danton Jobim, Samuel Wainer, Janio de Freitas, Reynaldo Jardim - the creator of *Suplemento Dominical* (Sunday Supplement) and *Caderno B* (B Section) in *Jornal do Brasil*, among others. But she claims that the selection was due to the fact that these six journalists “inaugurated - with others not mentioned here, it is fact - a new type of journalism” (our emphasis). After all, what is this new kind of journalism that is elected to posterity? The text gives us clues: the six were selected for their “special proficiency” in management and direction. Alberto Dines receives 108 pages, with only two references to cultural journalism, on the second-to-last page, when he says that “all journalism is cultural”, and brings *JB*’s *Caderno B* when criticizing *O Globo*’s culture section of that time, which he calls “a market, where everything comes in” (Abreu et al, 2003, p 174).

Another example of this silencing of cultural journalism can be seen in a book published in 2010 by the Center for Culture and Memory of Journalism (CCMJ) of the Union of Journalists from Rio de Janeiro: *Memória de Repórter: lembranças, casos e outras histórias de jornalistas brasileiros (décadas de 1950 a 1980)*, containing approximately 60 testimonials. “Newspapers tell the daily events, the sum of every day events makes history. And who tells the daily events of the world? Who made the newspapers and magazines in their times of hardships and romanticism? Which lessons from that time deserve to be kept?” This is what the foreword text asks, assuring that “through these testimonies, we can trace not only the tracks of the press, but of the country itself” (Blass, 2010). There is a whole chapter about The new era commenced by *Jornal do Brasil*, which occupies 10 pages. Photos show us the *Suplemento Dominical do Jornal do Brasil (SDJB)* in 1958, under the influence of concretism, and the release of the *Manifesto Neoconcreto* in 1959. They also briefly mention *Suplemento Feminino (Women Supplement)*, which is prior to the remodeling and was replaced by *Caderno B*. However, there is no major considerations in this chapter – or any other – about *Caderno B* or cultural journalism.

At least, in *O mundo dos jornalistas*, Isabel Travancas aims to define a profile of the press professional from interviews with renowned names in Brazilian journalism of the 1990’s. Among them are Sérgio Augusto, former editor of *Segundo Caderno (Second Section)* of *Correio da Manhã* and of *Caderno B*, author of *Este mundo é um pandeiro* and *As penas do ofício: ensaios de jornalismo cultural*, and at the time of the interview, a contributor of *Estado de S. Paulo’s Caderno 2* and *Bravo* magazine; Janio de Freitas, the architect of the reform that gave arts and entertainment their own proper space; Zuenir Ventura, former editor of *Caderno B* and *Ideias*, former columnist of *Caderno B* and *Segundo Caderno*, now columnist of *O Globo*; Luiz Paulo Horta (1943-2013), who started at *JB* in 1964 and worked as music critic at *Caderno B* and *Segundo Caderno*; Cícero Sandroni, former culture desk editor of *Jornal do Comercio*, member and former president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters; and Moacyr Werneck de Castro and Newton Carlos. Therefore, there is a clear connection between the names elected by Travancas and the cultural journalism in Brazil. However, this “B-side” is obliterated, since only the “serious” side of journalism stands out, with an emphasis on the characteristics that would define the “ideal journalist”, the responsibility, ethics, romanticism and nostalgia.

As we can see, cultural journalism has been left out of the official history. One hypothesis about this silencing concerns the way in which the journalistic field and the reflections about it have been formed. In similar ways as expressed by Barbosa and Ribeiro (2009), Nerone (1987) also sees in press historiography a certain privilege of ruptures in comparison to continuities, which favors the appearance and dissemination of mythologies that soon become a common sense that is not questioned. According to him, journalism historians traditionally have been showing a leaning to refer to different processes (such as the relationships between journalism, business and politics) as successive stages of development. However, Nerone (2013, p. 448) argues that, on the contrary, such processes “should be seen as overlapping and simultaneous elements of the complex network of relationships that comprise news media.” Considering this, we believe it is necessary to expand how we view this network, to think about other layers and strata that compete, beacon, question or tangential linear and normative conceptions of journalism and time.

For a tradition of the culture sections

Isabel Mauad (1996) says that *Gazeta de Notícias* was the great precursor of Brazilian newspaper supplements, which would only get proper boost from the 1930s. The major newspapers of the early 20th century in Rio de Janeiro (then the national capital), including *Jornal do Comercio*, *O País*, *A Notícia*, *Jornal do Brasil*, *A Imprensa*, *A Tribuna*, *Correio da Manhã*, and *Gazeta*, published mostly feuilletons (or serials), dedicating a significant scope to literature. But it was in 1907, when *Gazeta* went through a graphical reformulation, which included colored pages that it launched on Sundays a kind of precursor of

the supplements that appeared in the following decades. The October 21, 1909 edition was accompanied by an eight-page tabloid supplement. Two of these pages held a short story by João do Rio, Paulo Barreto's pen name; another one had a poem by Xavier da Cunha Lisboa. There was also a page about fashion, one with puzzles and comic illustrations. Other newspapers of the time, like *Jornal do Commercio*, also had their own pages or literary sections, "which must also be considered precursors of the literary supplements that got boost in the 1930s and the 1940s" (Lima, 2006).

Werneck Sodré (1998) gives a wide overview of these pages from the beginning of the 20th century, highlighting the permanent sections of *Jornal do Commercio*, "Ver, ouvir e contar" ("See, hear and tell"), penned by the Baron of Sant'Ana Neri and later by the Portuguese writer Jaime Sérguier; the "Domicais" ("Dominical"), by João Luso; "Dia-a-Dia" ("Day by Day") by Constâncio Alves; the international collaboration of Italian writer Vincenzo Grossi and Portuguese philologist Cândido de Figueiredo. *Gazeta de Notícias* published some kind of Sunday literary supplement and Olavo Bilac's feuilleton, with Pedro Rabelo and Guimarães Passos as collaborators. Figueiredo Pimentel's column, "Binóculos" ("Binoculars"), made record of mundane life. *O País* published the column "Microcosmo" ("Microcosm"), by Carlos de Laet, in a corner of the front page, previously published by *Jornal do Commercio*. Olavo Bilac and Artur Azevedo collaborated with him.

In *A Notícia*, Werneck Sodré highlights the column "Crônica Literária" ("Literary Chronicle"), by Medeiros de Albuquerque under the pen name J. Santos; Paulo Barreto's chronicles under the pen name João do Rio; and "Antiquilhas e Memórias do Rio de Janeiro" ("Antiques and Memories of Rio de Janeiro") by José Vieira Fazenda. *Jornal do Brasil* published chronicles by Carlos de Laet and articles by Father Severiano de Resende and Afonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo Júnior. In *Correio da Manhã*, Melo Moraes Filho used to write about Old Rio, Artur Azevedo published his light short stories, Heráclito Graça gave grammatical advices, Cândido Lago as well. José Veríssimo was the person in charge of literary criticism. Newspapers from other states followed the trend, such as São Paulo's *A Gazeta*, Porto Alegre's *O Correio do Povo*, and Recife's *Diário de Pernambuco*. "When the new century enters, the main papers welcome the letters and the lettered" (Sodré 1998, p. 294).

For Mauad (1996), the outbreak of literary supplements in the 1930's and 1940's relates directly to the importance of literature as information, reflection, fruition and especially status. "Professionals from all areas devoted themselves to the letters, and literature permeated journalism. So much that, later on, it would have to be detached in a separate newspaper" (Mauad 1996, p. 62). In the 1920's, literary newspapers and magazines in the whole country intensified their circulation. In order to compete, the newspapers decided to launch their supplements. In the turn of the 1930's, *Correio da Manhã* had a Sunday supplement where it published Graça Aranha's articles, as well as music criticism, "women topics" and "theater abroad". It reproduced Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto of Pau-Brasil Poetry* in March 18, 1924. At *Jornal do Commercio*, Mensário gathered great literary and historical collaboration, including book reviews (Mauad 1996, p.63).

In the 1930's and 1940's, the most notable supplements were the ones in *Correio da Manhã* (2ª Seção), with the literary criticism by Álvaro Lins, and articles and poems by Otto Maria Carpeaux, Jorge de Lima, Mário de Andrade, Rachel de Queiroz, João Condé and Abar Renault; *Diário de Notícias* (Suplemento 1º - Letras, Artes, Variedades, which would be renamed Letras, Artes, Ideias Gerais in 1945); *A Manhã* (Autores e Livros e Letras e Artes); and *O Jornal's Revista*, with critic Agripino Grieco. *Diário de Notícias'* supplement was four pages long and had subsections for Theater and Cinema. It also published literary reviews by Mário de Andrade (its first editor), Guilherme Figueiredo (editor from 1940 to 1946), Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda and Prudente de Moraes Neto, as well as collaborations by Afrânio Coutinho, Paulo Rónai, Raul Lima, and Hermes Lima.

In the 1940's and 1950's, the literary supplements of *A Manhã - Autores e Livros*, edited by Múcio Leão, and *Letras e Artes*, edited by Jorge Lacerda – gained most prominence. *Autores e Livros* (Authors and

Books) circulated weekly between August 10th, 1941 and March 11th, 1945. In 1946, A Manhã released *Letras e Artes* (Letters and Arts), with broader scope and more “modern”, as defined by editor Josué Montello, who wrote for both supplements (Mauad, 1996, p.69). It was published on Tuesdays with recurrent subsections that extrapolated literature, covering theater, movies, music and visual arts as well. On Sundays, *Letras e Artes* had 12 to 16 pages, publishing articles, translated texts, interviews with writers, and opening its pages for debates like the 1950 Brazil elections. Jorge de Lima, Manuel Bandeira, Tasso da Silveira, Murilo Mendes, Otto Maria Carpeaux, Adonias Filho, Josué Montello and Tristão de Ataíde (Alceu Amoroso Lima’s pen name) were frequent collaborators. Other subsections appeared irregularly - philosophy, folklore, interviews – making *Letras e Artes* a precursor of the daily arts and entertainment section:

Letras e Artes already represented, in a comprehensive view, the transformation of literary supplements into culture sections, with culture being applied in its broadest sense, meaning not just the representation of artistic manifestations, as we now see in the so-called culture sections. The cultural aspect increasingly enlarged its spaces (Mauad, 1996, p. 76).

The section segmentation adopted by the periodicals of the 1950s led to the creation of several supplements, normally published once a week. The literary ones, released by many newspapers (*Diário de Notícias*, *Estado de Minas*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Diário Carioca*), “formed networks of sociability for many intellectuals in the 1950s, and along with cafes, salons, literary magazines and publishers, they allowed the establishment of the intellectual field” (Abreu, 1996, p. 23). However, along with the proliferation of supplements, we can perceive the emergence of the modernization discourse, which carried along a series of valuations and a normative discourse that tries to delimit journalism, defining it, for example, by its attachment to the fact and to the idea of an irreconcilable bipartite world, with well-defined oppositions between nature vs. society, fiction vs. reality, objectivity vs. subjectivity. This conception is associated with other values, which seek to differentiate journalism by creating their own standards in face of sensationalism, fiction, literature, etc., and operational procedures, rules for what was considered as being the proper functioning of this specific practice (Jácome, 2015).

An interesting characteristic of this era is that, even in specific texts about visual arts and literature, it was already possible to perceive the establishment of a normative ideal proper to journalism, which sought to keep it distant from literature. An example of this scenario is the text “O desemprego do poeta” (“The poet’s unemployment”), which Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna published in 1961 at *Suplemento Dominical* and in a book the following year. Here, Sant’Anna approaches what he called the crisis of contemporary poetry, understanding that, at that moment, the poet seemed to have lost his role in the industrial society. Tracing a narrative about the role of poets throughout many moments in history, Sant’Anna emphasized that during Romanticism and from the industrial revolution onwards, there was a change in the legitimacy of literature’s function:

“like that, poetry, which existed in the previous century thanks to the prestige of the poet, was replaced, as was the poet himself, in the descent of the pyramid, by the artist coming from the radio, the movies, soccer, and by the modern journalism (...) And the poet became a pejorative name...” (Sant’anna, 1962).

In other words, other activities in “modern” society become more valued and the man of letters, the poet, seems to lose his function in favor of the journalists, for example. Despite Sant’Anna’s melancholic tone in his diagnosis, this idealization positively marks the discourse of journalism’s modernization in our country, replacing what would be the literary practices of the “pre-modern” newspapers.

Caderno B as a template of culture sections

As we have seen, newspapers sections originate between the 1940s and the 1950s, in the context of post-World War II industrialization, with the diffusion of the rotating machines that allowed printing in independent parts. However, the expression “culture section” would only become popular during the 1960s, with the emergence and establishment of *Jornal do Brasil’s Caderno B* (Mauad, 1996, p.14), a newspaper section that would dedicate its pages to arts and entertainment content.

Soon after, *Correio da Manhã*, *Tribuna da Imprensa* and *Diário de Notícias* also created daily sections taking *Jornal do Brasil* as a model. At first, some newspapers continued to number the pages of the sections in sequence, hardly distinguishing them, including *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *Folha da Tarde*, *Jornal do Comercio*, and *O Globo*. But they would soon adopt the organization standard proposed by Janio de Freitas and Reynaldo Jardim. It was in the second half of the 20th century that Brazil witnessed the creation and following consolidation of a daily production of culture sections in the main Brazilian newspapers (Gadini, 2009, p.26).

It was *Folha Ilustrada*, released in 1958 in *Folha da Manhã*, *Folha da Tarde* e *Folha da Noite* – a group of newspapers that would later be united as *Folha de S. Paulo*, the first supplement of daily circulation. Therefore, its creation is prior to *Caderno B*. However, it was initially targeted to a female audience, with a varied content that *JB* already gathered in its *Suplemento Feminino* (Women Supplement), which circulated four days a week until it was extinct to give place to *Caderno B*. Therefore, *Ilustrada* was not what years later would be called a “culture section”. It became one in 1962, with an editorial change influenced by *Caderno B* (Gonçalves, 2008).

Arising in the trail of the most relevant graphical and editorial reform of the newspaper, which begun in 1956 and lasted until 1962, passing through several phases and involving different personnel, *Jornal do Brasil’s Caderno B* is classified as “the precursor of modern Brazilian cultural journalism” (Piza, 2003, p. 37), possessor “of an absolutely innovative and brilliant character” (Lima, 2006). It became a template among culture sections by bringing together in its daily pages a combination of art, literature, music, theater and entertainment produced by journalists, writers and intellectuals. Vieira (2016) investigates and collects pieces about the history of *Jornal do Brasil’s Caderno B*, which ran for 50 years (1960-2010), and identifies it as a model in which the Brazilian culture sections anchored themselves, an icon in the imaginary of journalists and a generation of readers.

If, on the one hand, *Caderno B* followed a Brazilian journalism tradition, on the other, it also represented the innovations and an institutionalization of this type of section. In fact, *Caderno B* initiated aspects of a genre in Brazil and in the world. In the press of no other country there is a tradition of a daily cultural section. In other countries, culture news are published every day, but not in distinct, special sections. The most common model is the weekly culture sections, or the specialized magazines, such as *Time Out London* and *Pariscope* in France (Dapieve, 2002). In England, *The Times* publishes three or four pages a day, and *The New York Times*, in the United States, only allocates Fridays and Sundays for coverage.

In Brazil, beginning in 1960 and following *JB’s* pioneering spirit, newspapers, even the ones in small cities, started to dedicate a daily fixed news hole to culture. Many of these were homonyms or variants of *Caderno B*, a model of daily culture section that served as a template to the whole national press, as Vieira (2016) points out: *O Estado de S. Paulo* (*Caderno 2*), *O Dia* (*Caderno D*); *O Globo* (*Segundo Caderno*); the now extinct *Tribuna da Imprensa* (*Tribuna Bis*); *Diário do Nordeste* (*Caderno 3*), *Porto Alegre’s Zero Hora* (*Segundo Caderno*); *Gazeta de Alagoas* (*Caderno B*); *Pantanal’s Correio do Estado* (*Caderno B*), *Diário de Marília* (*Caderno B*); *Dourados’s O Progresso* (*Caderno B*); *Ponta Grossa’s Diário dos Campos* (*Caderno B*); *Tribuna de Indaiá* (*Caderno B*); *Belém’s O Liberal* (*Caderno L*). Reynaldo Jardim, the creator of the section, was invited to reform newspapers in Manaus and Belém, where he was commissioned just like a dressmaker: “So here it is, I want it the same way as *JB*. Grab one and do the exact same thing” (Bastos, 2008).

O Globo was an exception because, even though since the earliest editions there were news and services related to culture, it was only in 1984 that Segundo Caderno (Second Section) became exclusively a culture section. O Globo published social columns, chronicles, reviews and an arts and shows guide (like RioShow since 1974), but what they called Segundo Caderno was, until then, a following volume, a mere continuation of the first section that contained the news that did not fit in the main part, among them topics like culture, economy, international coverage, sports, etc.

In short, in Brazil, the institutionalization of a separate daily section for culture news in the newspapers since the 1960's has influenced journalistic practices as well as social habits, since the daily supply of stories, chronicles, social columns, guides and arts and entertainment reviews.

Final thoughts

As we have been arguing so far, there is an evident selection and repetition of certain key moments of Brazilian journalism, as well as of "legitimized" journalists to talk about them (Alberto Dines, Ana Arruda, Carlos Lemos, Ferreira Gullar, Janio de Freitas, Reynaldo Jardim etc). But even though there is great relevance to this journalism and professionals, we imagine how many stories remained hidden under repeated authoritative versions (Certeau, 1998).

Although supplements as the culture sections we have analyzed here, especially *Jornal do Brasil's* Caderno B, offer "sui generis material to interpret an entire journalistic generation, with impacts seem until nowadays" (Lima, 2006), we can attest that they have been treated, even now, as appendices within the historiographical production on the Brazilian press. As we have seen, in books and memory projects, the preference for testimonies of certain characters related to politics journalism is latent, with only a few of them being related to the cultural area. And even journalists with a long history in this field, when they are consulted, they do not talk much about this period, or even mention. Urged to produce memorable accounts that will anchor researches of memory centers and books, editors and reporters mention stories that they consider "important" from the hegemonic point of view in their professional group. This happens even though, it should be pointed out, politics has been occupying the pages of culture: taking examples from Caderno B, we can mention Drummond denouncing the disappearance of journalist Vladimir Herzog, cursing fervidly the year of 1969; the report about a Nazi celebration for Hitler at a hotel in Itatiaia, in 1978; the political cartoons of Ziraldo, Henfil, Jaguar, Juarez Machado...

Isabel Mauad (1996) recalls that many publications owe their prestige to their cultural pages, a place in which major authors in national literature - Machado de Assis, José de Alencar, Olavo Bilac - practiced in columns or serials. Their prestige was thus mixed with that of the publications themselves. In *Jornal do Brasil's* Caderno B specifically, many names became popular such as Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Clarice Lispector, Rubem Braga, Fernando Sabino, Carlinhos de Oliveira, Carlos Eduardo Novaes, Flávio Rangel, Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna, and Paulo Mendes Campos.

And, even though it seems obvious, it must be said: cultural journalism is journalism. And journalism is also culture. Martín-Barbero (2004) observes that, although the classics have explicitly integrated a playful dimension in culture, we are heirs of an ascetic conception that condemned leisure as a time of addiction, and of an ideological critique that confuses fun with alienating evasion, especially when it considers the massification and commercialization made by cultural industries.

Hence the importance of considering other temporalities/temporal layers for the history of journalism, ones that are more democratic and less normative. And also consider them for the frontiers of specialized journalism, whose borders, created to order, also set apart. These analyzes of multiple temporalities could make our understanding of the past more complex and energize our own present, showing spaces of contiguity, sedimentation, and innovation. Thus, other "B-sides" could emerge, denoting disputes, fissures, contradictions and nuances.

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