

*Favela*¹ represented: disputes over nominations and meanings on the pages of Rio newspapers (1951-1954)

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Abstract: The aim of this dissertation is to analyse how the major Carioca Press (*Correio da Manhã*, *Jornal do Brasil* And *Last Minute*) portrayed the housing areas called *favelas* (favelas) during Getulio Vargas' second government (1951-1954). This work considers that, after 1945, Brazil went through an accelerated process of industrialization and urbanization. However, these processes did not occur spontaneously, but rather were conducted by a strong governmental interventionism. This interventionism brought intense changes into politic, social and economic fields, besides its consequences, not always good ones, which brought up serious questionings. When we consider that one of the most important phenomena of this time was the large increasement of the housing areas called *favelas* it becomes relevant to analyse how this space formation was portrayed in the press. Considering that the press has the power of legitimize (or not) ideas, it is possible to notice that the way the *favelas* are represented can interfere or legitimize political decisions making. This allows to glimpse that the society is trying to constitute itself, then, this theme is inserted in what Bourdieu calls *symbolic struggle*. Is this purpose, the chosen methodology is Content Analysis.

Keywords: Press. *Favela*, *favela*. Journalistic Field, New Year

Introduction

Brazil, in the 1950s, is in the midst of a process of great transformation, both at an economic, as well as a social and political level. In approximately forty years (1930-

¹ As this research is not intended to make the term *favela* a concept, but rather to analyze the various representations about this word, in the most distinct discourses, I chose to continue using the theme *favela* rather than incorporating the politically correct term of "community" into the text. For as we shall see, the very word *favela* it is complex, full of doubts, comings and goings. Thus, using the term "community" besides being anachronistic, still mischaracterizes and disregards the very concept of representation. In this sense I will keep the words *favela(s)* And *slum dweller(s)*, but always listed in italics when the words are mine, already, when they are citations, both from authors of the bibliography and newspapers and / or other documents analyzed, the term will be in quotation marks.

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1970), the country has gone from agro-exporter and rural to exporter of manufactured goods and relatively urbanized. As a result of its fast pace, this process of industrialization and urbanization was classified by Thomas Merrick (1986, p.31) as the fastest lived by a modern western society. Process that generated intense changes on the national scene. However, this phenomenon did not occur spontaneously, but started and consolidated with the strong state interventionism, which led to the accentuation of some elements specific to the industrialization process, but which are not always positive.

In this sense, considering the development logic of modern industry, the urban environment and, preferably, cities with a more complex structure are the places chosen for the industrial installation (SINGER, 1973, p. 32). But, after the process started, these cities tend to attract populations from other regions, thus, linked to industrialization is urbanization².

In this context, one of the most impactful factors of this unplanned increase in the urban population was the "explosion" of housing areas of precarious housing. Thus, the most common destination for this population ended up being the areas called *favelas*. Thus, the so-called *favela population* in Rio de Janeiro went from 169,305 in 1950 to 335,063 in 1960, which means a growth of 98%. This signals a proportionally higher increase in areas of precarious housing to the detriment of other housing areas of the Federal District (ABREU, 1987, p. 125-126).

For this reason, Valladares (2005, p.23) points out that the 1950s are traditionally classified by historiography as the period of "uncontrolled expansion of favelas". Although it should be remembered the argument of Mike Davis (2006, p.32), in the book "Planeta Favela", according to which this increase in areas classified as *favelas* in this period was a worldwide phenomenon and not only Brazilian. It is not by chance that this is an odd period to analyze the representations about these housing areas.

In the Brazilian case, Valladares explains that the first representations about the *favela* were linked to the image of the village of Canudos described by Euclides da Cunha in *Os Sertões*. Thus the *favela* would belong "to the ancient, barbarian world, from which it is necessary to distance ones to reach civilization" (VALLADARES, 2005,

² It is not by chance that the population increase in the urban environment was very impactful, especially in large cities, specifically in Rio de Janeiro. The following data, taken from IBGE, show the numbers of this increase: in 1940, the total population of Rio de Janeiro was 1,764,141 inhabitants and, ten years later, it was already at 2,377,451, reaching the mark of 3,307,163 residents in 1960. In other words, in 20 years, the increase was 87%, that is, higher than the national mark, which was 70%, in the same period. Data extracted from IBGE on the General Census of Brazil of 1940 and 1960.

p. 36). Later, between the period of the Pereira Passos Reforms until the end of the 1920s, there is the "transformation of the favela into a social and urban problem", with the predominance of the discourses of physicians, hygienists and engineers, who considered the favelas as "diseases, poorly contagious, social pathology to be fought" (VALLADARES, 2005, p. 40).

Since the 1920s-30s, Valladares (2005) demonstrates, there is a progressive complexification of reflections and representations about areas classified as *favela*. Costa says that there has been a progressive accumulation of perspectives that have come to address the *favela* while a *social problem*. At the moment when popular housing areas acquire this *Status*, they are recognized by the State, which implies a reorganization of the Union's measures towards these forms of housing, that is, the problem of popular housing becomes a problem of the State, because, by recognizing them as *social issue*, ends up placing them under his tutelage (COSTA, 2015, p. 23).

In turn, within the context of the Vargas *Era*, for the first time, there was the recognition of the *favela* as a type of urban space present in the territory of the Federal District, which enabled the elaboration of public policies aimed at "improving the living conditions of the favelas, contrary to the unique solution of their previously proposed destruction" (VALLADARES, 2005, p. 52).³

With Vargas' fall in 1945 and the return to democracy, a new finding became significant: the numerical increase in favelas would necessarily have to deal with the opening of political participation and party mobilization reinvigorated in the period. A new look can be seen about the *favelas*, as more and more popular groups would be integrated into the political-electoral system, starting with the Agamemnon Act of 1945.⁴ Thus, given the perspective that popular groups would form the base of the Brazilian electorate, there was a concern in the political and economic groups that the social tensions unleashed in the *favelas* could interfere in political life.

³ This recognition occurred in the 1937 Code that remained in force until 1971, where the chapter – XV "Extinction of Anti-Hygienic Dwellings" was introduced, with a part entitled "Favelas", of which I quote Article 349: "The formation of favelas, that is, conglomerates of two or more huts regularly arranged or in disarray, constructed with improvised materials and in disagreement with the provisions of this decree, will not be absolutely permitted." (OLIVEIRA, 2014, p. 49).

⁴ From the new Electoral Code, also known as the Agamemnon Law, voting became mandatory, adult and universal (men and women), secret and literate. Thus, even with the maintenance of the criterion of the need for literacy for the status of voter (SOUSA, 1976, p. 114), there was a considerable and increasing numerical expansion of the voting population. This expansion was gradual, with 15,543,332 voters in 1960. In gross terms, this equates to an increase by more than 10 times the number of voters.

Even more, with the political reopening of the post-45, the discussion about what measures should be adopted in relation to the housing areas called favelas, were reinvigorated, to the point that in 1948 Carlos Lacerda promoted a campaign called “Batalha do Rio”. In this campaign, Lacerda, using the pages of the newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, called for “society to combat the expansion of favelas”, defending remotionist policies and not their urbanization (COSTA, 2015, p.156).

In these terms, the 1950s became unique for the formation of representations about areas named *favelas*, since over that decade, the perception that so-called *favela areas* could not constitute only a transitory element was gaining ground in the State and in the thought of the economic and political elite. From this perspective, measures such as removal – even if they were still considered and put into practice – would not be able to solve this social issue of precarious housing, which led to the change of strategy by the State.

More specifically in the Second Vargas Government, the *favela* gains new assistance and the State begins to develop more concrete public policies, in the sense of aid and not extinction. These housing areas are still a “problem”, but began to be more effectively inserted in the state agenda (VALLADARES, 2005).⁵

As we can see, the theme is controversial, especially since, as we have seen, the *favela* can be represented, named, in several ways, and this representation implies the perception that one has of the phenomenon, especially in the formulation and / or legitimation of public policies - that can offer different and even opposite solutions, such as sanitation or extinction. Policies that are hardly conceived in isolation, without being associated with the defense of projects, mainly, distinct economic ones. In this logic, it can be said that, behind the expression *favela*, we have not only a phenomenon related to the precariousness of urban housing derived from socioeconomic factors, but a true symbolic struggle, in the terms of Pierre Bourdieu, that is: a struggle for definition more legitimate of a word or symbol that is, at the same time, a struggle for social meaning that these words and / or symbols can attribute to human groups, geographical spaces and forms of existence.

⁵ This can be perceived in the creation of the Favelas Commission by the mayor of Rio de Janeiro João Carlos Vital (1951-1952), in 1952. This Commission had the objective of centralizing the various departments, services and departments that dealt with the issue in the municipality and, to the doctor Guilherme Romano, first President of the Commission, was given the “function of carrying out the study and coordination of the various services at the municipal level that had operations in the favelas”, in order to promote “the solution of their problems related to sanitary engineering, medical and social assistance” (OLIVEIRA, 2014, p. 70).

Hence the importance of studying the press as an object and source of research on this topic. Especially, if we think of the big newspapers not only as diffusers of information or thoughts outside their universe of production, but actors of the political scene in the Second Vargas Government. As already mentioned, the transformations that Brazil underwent in a short time were very striking, as well as the favela phenomenon, to such an expressive degree, was new and impacting. But it is not likely to be observed immediately by individuals, and its apprehension / meaning goes through the ways in which this phenomenon was represented socially. And the mainstream press has a fundamental role in this process of representing spaces, especially those that present rapid changes and, for this reason, can generate “strangeness”. In this way, understanding how the newspapers from Rio de Janeiro represented this urban space is fundamental, because, when we work on the Chartinian perspective that representations are a way of hierarchizing and valuing the world - and, with that, builders of this world -, we perceive the (de)legitimizing potential that media discourse has on precarious housing areas such as favelas, which can justify the most diverse public policies, from removal to sanitation, in addition to also allowing to understand the social thinking that circulated in major newspapers.

In this sense, the choice of journals listed for this research - *Correio da Manhã*, *Jornal do Brasil* and *Última Hora* - did not occur at random, but by a series of criteria. First, the choice for Rio de Janeiro newspapers was due to the fact that the process of “favelization”, a term found in the newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, is more impactful in Rio de Janeiro than in the rest of the country, during the Second Vargas Government. Another important element in the choice of newspapers was the fact that they are treated in the bibliography as defenders of different economic and political doctrines, which could imply different perspectives in the positions taken in relation to the process studied here and all the elements linked to it, especially in the socioeconomic change of the country.

In addition, according to the specialized bibliography, these journals have different positions and forms of “doing journalism”. Wainer's newspaper was born along the lines of a so-called “modern” journalism that consolidated in the second half of the 1950s. He sought his insertion in the public debate from a discourse that placed him not only as the one “the newspaper of the people”, but as the newspaper that would

give "voice" to the "people"⁶. In turn, the *Jornal do Brasil*, whose owner, from 1953, already saw the need to implement reformulations in the journal, was built in the public debate as a liberal, Catholic and conservative newspaper (DHBB, 2001, 2869)⁷, this, at least until the start of the reforms in 1956.

Finally, the resistant *Correio da Manhã* did not adhere to this "transformation" movement, possibly due to the journalism model, progressively incorporated in the 1950s, to be guided by the ideals of journalistic neutrality and objectivity, a position criticized by the *Correio*, which self-built as an "opinion newspaper" that defended the "causes of the people", and therefore cannot be "neutral [...]"; it must be an opinion newspaper". All of these factors interfere with the forms of apprehension and representation of the world and influenced the choice of journals.

In this sense, from the representations about the favela, in addition to distinct society projects, there are also disputes among newspapers in search of maintaining, improving, or changing their positions within what could be considered the contours of a journalistic field in formation, to then acquire greater legitimacy in the public debate, thus expanding its capacity for intervention in society. That said, we will now move on to the empirical part of the work.

Favela in debate

Before entering properly into the analysis of journalistic texts, it is necessary a short description of the method used for the formation of the documentary corpus. The formation of the research *corpus*, which occurred from the qualitative criterion, through a tool made available by the Digital Library, of the National Library - allows the online handling of several journals - and that enables the search by word (s) and/or sets of words in the selected newspapers.

For this research, I inserted the following terms in the word search field: favela; *shanty towns*; *favela*; *slum dwellers*; *favela*; *favelas*. With this procedure, I was able to identify that they appear in the most varied sections of newspapers. Thus, I carried out the floating reading, which allowed me to select the material found, with that, I only retained editorial publications, columns (signed and unsigned), articles and reports,

⁶ "Reader's Stand", *Last Minute*, June 12, 1951, p.2. 1st section, section "Reader's Stand".

⁷ This abbreviation refers to the Brazilian Historical-Biographical Dictionary: Post 1930, coordinated by Alzira Abre and published by CPDOC/FGV in 2001.

which generated a documentary corpus of 160 texts. Of these, the *Correio da Manhã* has 64 occurrences, in the last minute we identified 44 texts, and *Jornal do Brasil* is in the middle, with 52 texts⁸.

The selection of the texts occurred from the proposal of the investigation that seeks to apprehend the representations about the *favela* that permeate the selected newspapers and not only what each journalistic company spread as its institutional opinion. In this sense, the incorporation of texts with different types of discursive production is extremely relevant.

When analyzing the selected texts, it is observed that a recurring element is what could be called the *characterization* of the *favelas*. Thus, starting from the perspective that the more elements dispersed in a given society the social representations manage to mobilize, the more legitimate they will tend to be (CHARTIER, 2002b, p.17), we ask: what elements were mobilized in the representations about *favela*? Are these representations convergent and/or divergent between newspapers?

One of the elements that was highlighted in the texts was the construction of the *favela* as *another*. Initially, we must define what we are conceiving as the *other*. In this case, we understand this concept as being the discursive construction employed by a subject (being individual or collective) to refer to another subject (and may also be individual or collective) as different from that that which speaks, from otherness.⁹ The *other* would then be one that is characterized by the speech enunciator as *different* based on deviations from the parameters that the enunciator himself establishes as *normality*.¹⁰ In this case, this deviation is constructed as *down* or *out* of what is *normal*, giving an idea that the *different* in the *other* is also inferior or, at the very least, strange.

In this sense, when we examine the *documentary corpus* of the newspapers studied, if the tendency to consider *City* and the *favela* as distinct objects, when not opposites. In many texts published by the *Morning Mail*, for example, this is clear. In

⁸ Regarding the specificities of the texts, we have: 58 editorials (of which: 9 main editorials, 49 smaller editorials – the main editorial has a larger centimeter and prominent position in relation to the other unsigned texts), 17 columns do not signed, 7 Signed Columns, 31 articles, 47 Reports.

⁹ We take the philosophical conception of otherness. Otherness comes from Latin *alteritas*, means "to be another, to place one another" (ABBAGNANO, 2007, p. 34-35).

¹⁰ The difference, from Latin *differentia*, is "the determination of otherness. Otherness does not in itself imply any determination; e.g. "a is something other than b". The difference implies a determination: a is different from b in color or shape, etc. This means: things can only differ if they have in common the thing in which they differ: e.g. color, configuration, shape, etc." (ABBAGNANO, 2007, p. 276). In this sense, the differentiation process "is responsible for (re)building/(re)producing otherness, defining who the "other" is, and making it identifiable, (in)visible, predictable. By dividing, separating, sorting, normalizing, differentiation results in hierarchization." (PACHECO, 2004, p. 3).

their reports, we read that the residents of the *favelas* feel "more than us"¹¹ that we live in the city" the effects of the acts of "rascals"¹², as well as "the residents of the city, notably those who reside near the points where they are install these human clusters"¹³ who are more exposed to the constraints caused by these housing areas.

Interesting, that, when using the expression "we who live in the city", in this text there is the construction of the newspaper - *Correio da Manhã* - and its readers as different from the residents of the *favelas* and everything they can represent. This question becomes more instigating when we realize that such construction occurs in the section considered as one of the most popular of the newspaper: the reports contained in the editorial area called *Gerico*¹⁴. Space through which *Correio da Manhã* said it provided a service to the public, with "complaint and collection of solutions by the public authorities of urban issues of interest to the population of Rio de Janeiro" (AMOROSO, 2009, p.8).

Thus, it can be said that, from this section, the *Mail* seeks to reinforce the image that it would be a newspaper aimed at *popular causes*. However, as is clear in the statement that puts the *favela* as opposed to "We that we live in the city", the *popular causes* that the newspaper claims to defend are not exactly the causes of the so-called *favelas*, but of social groups that feel uncomfortable with the presence of these housing areas in Rio de Janeiro. What can be understood as a way for this newspaper to build its position – and thus its distinction – within the *journalistic field*, offering a worldview that could please the groups social policies better positioned in terms of cultural and economic capital, the target audience of this publication, as research tends to inform us¹⁵.

¹¹ All the bold markings in the quoted texts of the newspapers were made by me, to highlight important points of my analysis.

¹² "Removed some favelas from the seafront", *Morning Mail*, June 15, 1952, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage *Gerico, New Year*.

¹³ "The favelas of the North Zone of the City are multiplying," *Morning Mail*, August 23, 1953, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage *Gerico, New Year*.

¹⁴ *Gerico, New Year* was the term with which the reporters of the team of the *Cm* they named the car of the report, alluding to the animal *jerico* (donkey), used inside as a means of transport on rough slopes or impassable paths. In view of the idea that the report car traveled similar paths, especially to cover the steep and most popular areas of Rio de Janeiro, the nickname ended up "picking up" and turned the "top hat", that is, the generic term to refer to the reports published on Sundays aimed at meeting the "popular call". The reports of the *Gerico, New Year* published from 15 November 1948.

¹⁵ According to RIBEIRO (2007, p. 65), in the 1950s, the *Morning Mail* it was a newspaper aimed at the elite of Rio de Janeiro, being the most "elitist" among the Carioca daily, concentrating its audience on the "upper bourgeoisie and upper middle class".

Furthermore, in the pages of *Correio da Manhã*, we can constantly read that the areas called favelas have their own¹⁶ characteristics, whose increase in recent times would have helped to form a "climate of the favelas", which is already spreading throughout the city:

You can feel the **atmosphere of the favelas everywhere**. It is the **filthy and chaotic city** is the **rudeness of the people**, the **madness** and the **fetish** that are glimpsed in the easy wrapped of the bus changer, the stranding that reigns in the trains of the Central and in any public transport, the **undoing with which workers walk seminus**, through the most **aristocratic streets of the city**.¹⁷

An effort of interpretation must be undertaken here to understand the constructed and widespread view of the *favela* in this newspaper: on the one hand, the characterization of the people who inhabit this urban space, whose elements, sustenance, can and even must be understood as opposed to the "common citizen", to *us*; and, on the other hand, its infiltration/diffusion by the other spaces of the city, entangling the *other* and the *knots*. Thus, this *other*, being "filthy", differs from the sanitized city, because it is "chaotic", it differs from the organized *city*, generated by urban remodeling, by having the "rudeness", the "madness", the "fetishes", the "rough faces of the popular layers", differs from the politeness and refinement of the more affluent classes, and, by the "undoing with which workers walk through the aristocratic neighborhoods", differs and, at the same time compromises, the organic and organic city where its residents know their positions. In short, it is perceived that this "favela climate" is built as *another*, different, opposite the "we", but that contaminates it, permeates it.

Soon after, in this same writing, we can read: "favelas are an image of Brazil. And Rio de Janeiro, becoming increasingly closer to the Brazilian reality, is now dominated by favelas". In short, regrets are identified for what Rio is becoming, leaving the areas called favelas to blame for the then federal capital being no longer the "Marvelous City", the postcard of a "civilized" Brazil, which inspired musicians and poets.

¹⁶ "The favela, the 'style of misery'", *Morning Mail*, July 1, 1951, p. 4, 4th notebook, unsigned column under the hat *Architecture*.

¹⁷ "The favelas", *Morning Mail*, January 30, 1952, p. 4, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

There are in the texts disseminated by *JB* convergence with this image identified in the writings published in the *Post*. In the weekly article by General Pedro Cavalcanti,¹⁸ a contributor to the newspaper since 1945, we can read that "the favelas are the Trojan *horse* within the city in the old and indeed wonderful"¹⁹ city. In another article, it is written that the exuberant nature and aristocratic neighborhoods of Rio are "having their beauty threatened by the favelas" and "the hills of the City, so picturesque once, turn into shelves of old tin"²⁰. There is, especially in the articles, an aura of regret and a tone of nostalgia for the past. Is this the past generated by the reforms of Pereira Passos (1902-1906)?

In the article by Brasília Machado Neto,²¹ also members of the editorial team of *Jornal do Brasil*, there is a strengthening of the idea that *favela* differs from "the city" and affirms itself

Rio consists of two distinct and contrasting cities. On the plain, skirting the beaches, occupying valleys and climbing hillsides, unfolds the multiple city, populated with skyscrapers, with its arteries of regurgitating circulation of automobiles, its quiet streets, the importance of its stately mansions. The other city hangs from the swarmed hills of favelas.²²

In this excerpt, we can identify an idea that will be quite recurrent on the *divided city*, according to which the *City* with C capital, as we found in the previous excerpt, would be the true symbol of a Rio de Janeiro characterized by organization, respect for nature, harmony with the modern²³, whose origin and perhaps even existence

¹⁸ General of the Brazilian Army, responsible for the implementation of the teaching system in Geography and History in military colleges (PEDRO CAVALCANTI in the Post-1930 Historical-Biographical Dictionary of the CPDOC of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation). Was for many years collaborator of the *Jornal do Brasil*, according to the mapping I made his articles began to be published in January 1945, the last found in February 1953. From 1951 to February 1953, his texts were published weekly, on the fifth page of the newspaper.

¹⁹ "The Problem of favelas", *Jornal do Brasil*, April 16, 1951, p. 5, 1st notebook, article by General Pedro Cavalcanti.

²⁰ "Problems of the Federal District", *Jornal do Brasil*, October 17, 1952, p.6, 1st notebook, article by L. S..

²¹ Brasília Machado Neto was a businessman and politician, having been deputy and president of the Legislative Assembly of the State of São Paulo by the PSD. He was also director of the Trade Association and the National Trade Confederation and founding member of Senac and Sesc, in São Paulo, having created of the conservative-tone magazine *Brazilian Problems*. In 1947, he was elected deputy by the legend of the Social Democratic Party, to the Constituent Assembly of São Paulo. Started publishing columns in the *Jornal do Brasil* in May 1953, as of October passed having his articles published on Thursdays, next to the editorial.

²² "Favelas", *Jornal do Brasil*, August 5, 1954, p. 5, 1st notebook, article by Brasília Machado Neto.

²³ Modern as that identified with the ideas of progress and renewal, "a broad process of rationalization that affects the spheres of economy, politics and culture" (SILVA, 2014, p. 298).

concerns the past of the Federal District. A Rio de Janeiro, however, incompatible with the areas called *favelas*, but whose presence transforms it when it does not destroy it.

The same we found in an editorial of *the Morning Mail*²⁴:

next to the buildings that still constitute a compensating aesthetic expression of the country's capital, in the face or almost boring with the skyscrapers themselves, they abound the *favelas*, with agglomerations that impress by promiscuity and total discomfort.

It should be noted, however, that, although nostalgic, this perception found in the pages of *JB* and *CM* newspapers is not at all incompatible with transformation and modernization.²⁵ It is clear in this discourse that Rio's "quiet streets", the "grandeur of mansions" and the "buildings that still constitute aesthetic expression of the capital" – even being a tributary of a positive past – is managing to adapt to the streets shaken by thousands of cars and the new aesthetic aspects of skyscrapers – expressions of the modern – without losing the character of "Marvelous City". However, the *so-called favela* - and the presence of the *so-called favelas* - goes against this process, because it "disturbs the aesthetic environment of new skyscrapers",²⁶ as opposed to the ideal of urban beautification.

This same perception appears in another *JB* writer, the engineer and urban planner Jerônimo Cavalcanti, an authority in the area and an advocate of "geographic determinism", when preaching the influence of topography on the formation of people's mentality. According to him, if, on the one hand, in Rio de Janeiro there is Copacabana that has

the beach, properly used, providing the opportunity of sport, sunbathing and sea, concentrated great demographic density, created the astronomical square subway and consequently the

²⁴ Reinforcing that we treat unsigned texts, especially in the opinion pages of the newspaper, as the opinion of the newspaper.

²⁵ Modernization is understood to be: "process of economic, social and political change by which a given society overcomes traditional (rural-based) structures, creating new forms of production, rational mechanisms of domination and new patterns of behavior. Industrialization, urbanization, development of transport systems and mass communication are characteristic phenomena of the modernization process" (SANDRONI, 1999, p. 403-404).

²⁶ "System that spoke," *Morning Mail*, July 12, 1953, p. 4, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

problem of living space. The skyscraper came up. A luxurious architecture defines the neighborhood²⁷.

On the other, there is Morro da Providência, where

the craggy genomic hill, an adverse geographic factor of painful and difficult access, piled up a disadvantaged and disbelieving population. A favela has sprung up. A mischievous²⁸ architecture defines the neighborhood.

It should be considered that we cannot equate the opinion present in a signed article, such as that of the urbanist Jerônimo Cavalcanti, with the official positioning of the newspaper in which it is published. However, the point of view presented by him is convergent with what we find in the other texts analyzed by *JB*, which are authored by the newspaper's own writing team. But it should not be lost in mind that the dissemination of the text of the urbanist, a prestigious agent and recognized among peers in his field of origin, is, according to our interpretation, extremely useful to legitimize the perspective that the *favela* differs from the *city* or, at least, differs from a city ideal projected in the texts published by this journal, linked to the French model and based, on what is possible to perceive, in sanitary²⁹urbanism, aimed at the improvement and beautification and little concerned with functionality.

In this sense, the hypothesis is raised that the texts published by *Correio da Manhã* and *Jornal do Brasil*, when building the favela like the other, end up constructing, ideally, by opposition or denial of this other, an ideal city close to the perspective of urbanism and the "Cidade Jardins" movement characteristic of the *Belle Époque*.

²⁷ "Urban Morphological March, in the face of adverse topography", *Jornal do Brasil*, July 1, 1951, p. 1, 2nd notebook, article by Jerônimo Cavalcanti.

²⁸ "Urban Morphological March, in the face of adverse topography", *Jornal do Brasil*, July 1, 1951, p. 1, 2nd notebook, article by Jerônimo Cavalcanti.

²⁹ Sanitary urbanism emerged in Europe in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, from studies carried out by sanitary doctors, which were later incorporated by engineers. The principles of sanitary urbanism are based on the "theory of means", which relates the characteristics of the physical environment (climate, geographical position, water quality) to the health conditions of cities. Thus, his speech was guided "in the axiom that a good medium forms a good citizen" (MÜLLER, 2002, p. 18). In this sense, "the idea that urban reforms – it is worth saying, the sanitation and beautification of cities – constitute the way in which it is possible to achieve social improvement, raising the moral standard of the popular classes, emerges as a common principle both the hygienists, as for sociologists or supporters of the "science of cities" (ANDRADE Apud MÜLLER, 2002, p. 18-19). Urbanism is responsible for "disciplining social behaviors in both public and private spaces". Thus, "European cities were being subjected, "under the civilizing mantle of science" to a series of urban and social reforms, aiming to teach people to live in a civilized way" (MÜLLER, 2002, p. 25-26).

Interpretation that is reinforced when one realizes that one of the major concerns of the writings disseminated by both newspapers is with the aesthetic consequences of the favelas for Rio de Janeiro, as we can see in the evaluation present in a report by Gerico, in *Correio da Manhã*, in which two favelas are compared, Jacarezinho and Rocinha: the second is the one that “causes the greatest damage to the city, due to its location”, while the first (Jacarezinho) “is hidden. The hill, now all built, of barracks, is seen up close only by those who pass by Rua Viúva Cláudio, almost without movement and stripped of any interest to attract visitors, even cariocas”.³⁰ Further on, in this same article, we find the concern that on “Avenida Niemayer another favela is appearing, exactly in front of Rocinha”,³¹ and that this is “capable of harming the beauty of the city”, generating in the printed the curious confidence that it will not progress due to the “interference of the authorities”³².

The perspective of disorganization resulting from the absence of³³urbanism, which would differ from the areas called *favela* of the *city* idealized by the texts published in *JB* and *CM*, reappears in the article by architect Benjamin Carvalho,³⁴ author of thesis and book on the subject, when we find the description of the streets and houses of these housing areas:

the tortuous ascents and the ephemeral stairs carved into the terrain are subject to sudden disappearances in the occasions of rain. By the very form of bumpy access, the construction of the shacks is carried out without street care or access, at random, which establishes a village genesis framed in the mold of a disordered clutter³⁵.

³⁰ “The city’s favelas grow frighteningly,” *Morning Mail*, November 8, 1953, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage Gerico, *New Year*.

³¹ To facilitate the location of these favelas see Annex R.

³² “The city’s favelas grow frighteningly,” *Morning Mail*, November 8, 1953, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage Gerico, *New Year*.

³³ Alfred Agache attributes to himself the creation of the word Urbanism, with the meaning of being “a science and an art and, above all, a social philosophy. Urbanism is understood as the set of rules applied to the improvement of buildings, streets, circulation and decongestion of public arteries. It is the remodeling, extension and beautification of a city carried out through a methodical study of human geography and urban topography without neglecting financial solutions” (AGACHE, 1930, p. 4).

³⁴ Author has worked previously, classified as coming from the academic field and, within this subfield of Architecture and Urbanism. Benjamin de A. Carvalho had two papers published in *Jornal do Brasil*, the first being, “The hygienic problem of the favelas”, the result of the thesis of Free Teaching in Housing Hygiene – Sanitation of Cities, National Faculty of Architecture, University of Brazil, RJ, and which was reproduced by the newspaper, just one month after being published in a book.

³⁵ “The favela, its topography and hygiene”, *Jornal do Brasil*, July 8, 1951, p. 1, 2nd notebook, article by Architect Benjamin de A. Carvalho.

In this article published by *JB*, which is a part of the thesis published in Benjamin Carvalho's book, it is observed the differentiation of the housing area called *favela* in relation to other types of housing, to the extent that the dwellings in the former are built at random, without major concerns about the climatic weather or even with the structural basis of the houses, without the care for the movement of both pedestrians and cars, something incompatible with the "city" of wide, paved streets, where buildings follow norms and laws in their building. Here, we again perceive the strategy of *Jornal do Brasil* to seek the speech of a prestigious agent in another field to legitimize the positions that the newspaper itself is building on the subject.

Finally, an important element in the construction of the *favela* like the *Other* is found in biological metaphors³⁶. It is recurrent to use these metaphors to refer to the city, its internal functioning and its position in relation to the rest of the country, usually the fruits of an organicist view of the world³⁷. With regard to areas called *favelas*, it can be seen in the newspapers cited that these housing areas are often represented as a disease, and this disease is in many cases compared to cancer. These images are very present in the opinion texts of the *JB*, whether by its titles - "Our social cancer"³⁸ -, whether by some expressions - "city cancer"³⁹ -, in other words, by more forceful phrases in which the newspaper argues that "favelas are cancers that should be excised and not proliferate"⁴⁰. In this same direction, in a writing of the *Morning Mail*, one has to finding that the housing area classified as *favela* it's a "city calamity"⁴¹, a "cancer that devours the Brazilian 'hinterland'"⁴².

³⁶ Biological metaphors are discursive strategies that seek to explain the various aspects of society from the establishment of relationships between organic and social life.

³⁷ Organicist theory makes an analogy of society with an organism, where the parties cooperate with each other, forming a system. It is a hierarchical conception of society, where differences are considered natural, so each party has a specific function that must be performed in favor of the proper functioning of the organism. According to Radcliffe-Brown, care must be taken, because, like society, "the organism is not in itself the structure; it is an accumulation of units (cells and molecules) arranged in a structure, that is, in a series of relationships; the organism has a structure." Therefore, the "structure must therefore be defined as a series of relationships between entities" (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1973, p. 221).

³⁸ "Our social cancer," *Jornal do Brasil*, October 13, 1951, p. 5, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

³⁹ "The 'favelas' of Rio," *Jornal do Brasil*, July 8, 1951, p. 5, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

⁴⁰ "The 'Agenda' of the City Council," *Jornal do Brasil*, June 4, 1952, p. 6, column "The 'Agenda' in the City Council", signed by S.L.

⁴¹ "The city of favelas", *Morning Mail*, October 21, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

⁴² "The favelas", *Morning Mail*, January 30, 1952, p. 4, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

The construction of these areas as a disease is still detected when newspapers refer to the *favela* as a *chagas*,⁴³ a leprosy.⁴⁴ The wound, an open wound, leprosy a contagious disease that causes deformities. In this sense, the representation of the *favela* as a disease ends up mobilizing several figures with a strong presence in the social imaginary (BACZKO, 1985) and great interstative power, to the extent that the symbolization linked to the disease refers to the idea of a change, of something harmful, that impairs the proper functioning of a body. Even worse, in the case of cancer, it is something that destroys, corrodes inside, so it is necessary to be "excised". In these representations, contrary to what we saw earlier, the region classified as a *favela* is conceived as part of the city, however, it is the rotten part, an anomaly, another within it, a foreign, incompatible and unviable body of the ideal City built by the texts disseminated by periodicals.

In summary, it appears that, when building the regions named *favelas* like the one that differs from the *city*, the writings published by both *Correio da Manhã* and *Jornal do Brasil*, took as a comparison parameter a more idealized Rio de Janeiro than real. This idealization, in turn, seems to refer to a vision of the city based on the ideals of sanitary urbanism that aims at remodeling, extension and beautification, that is, it is committed to normative elements that were implemented in Rio at the beginning of the century. But which has its roots in 19th century Paris.

Combining this perspective with the representation of *favela* as a "disease", one should not forget the hierarchical and valuable capacity of the representations, in this case, strongly negative. That is, in Bourdieu's terms, newspapers would be contributing strongly to the formation of a stigmatizing view of precarious housing areas classified with *favelas* which is the same as stigmatizing its residents as well. Thus, exercising what the French sociologist classifies as symbolic violence, that is, the violence of negative valuation practiced by those that control the means of creating and disseminating the dominant social representations, which is added to the physical violence resulting from the material disadvantages of the poor residents of the urban peripheries (BOURDIEU; PASSERON, 2014).

⁴³ "Human Solidarity", *Jornal do Brasil*, December 30, 1952, p. 5, 1st notebook, minor editorial; "Literary Record", *Jornal do Brasil*, March 11, 1953, p. 6, 1st notebook, article by Joaquim Thomaz; "Defend the favelas", *Last Minute*, July 5, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, Column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

⁴⁴ "Cocktail", *Jornal do Brasil*, May 17, 1952, p. 8, 1st notebook, column *Notas Sociais*, signed by Maria Eugenia Celso.

It is worth highlighting, in this characterization, the predominance in the *Correio da Manhã* of Gerico's editorial texts and reports and, in the case of *Jornal do Brasil*, the articles signed by writers who make up its fixed writing team and the use of external authors are highlighted. , recognized in other fields. This situation may be a symptom of the positions that these newspapers traditionally occupy within the journalistic field. *Correio* in a dominant position, recognized by the public and its peers as the most influential newspaper in Rio. Recognition built and reinforced by the self-representation of the periodical as an "opinion newspaper", but without partisan ties (RIBEIRO, 2007, p.66), becoming the producer par excellence of his speeches.

JB, in the 1950s, is on a downward trajectory and, thus, the call for the publication of prestigious writer's texts and even agents from other fields could be a strategy that aims to externally seek authority on a difficult subject that his own speech can no longer allow him, from a transfer of prestigious capital that the authors who sign the texts to the newspaper withdraw from their area of origin.

In turn, it is identified that there are no references to texts published by the newspaper *Última Hora*. This situation is due to the absence of the view, in this journal, that the *favela* would be the *other*, that is, there is no mobilization of elements that configure this perspective in this diary, silence that is interpreted as symptomatic of the position that it seeks to build and occupy within the *journalistic field* through a different view of social issues.

In this sense, it is permissible to bring some passages disseminated by this journal. In this regard, we can read in a report that more than 300,000 people "live like pigs, climbed like goats in the diapers of the mountains, where everything is missing"⁴⁵. In another report, now about the "Favela do Esqueleto", it reads that its inhabitants "live in slime and garbage"⁴⁶. Another report text emphasizes the situation of "very poor children, humble women, barefoot, working. Children and adults with cans of water on their heads, and it's not another panorama"⁴⁷. Therefore, we could conclude that the *Última Hora* share of a negative view of material degradation and, consequently, moral degradation of the inhabitants of these *favelas*?

In fact, even if it does not hide the material misery of the considered *favelas*, Samuel Wainer's sheet, in the reports of his team, sought to highlight other aspects of

⁴⁵"Money wept from the favelas," *Last Minute*, June 13, 1951, p. 6, 1st notebook, report by Edmar Morel.

⁴⁶"10 minutes from The Avenue 5,000 people vegetate in a pile of garbage," *Last Minute*, June 26, 1951, p. 12, 1st notebook, report by Edmar Morel.

⁴⁷"A favela grows on the slope of Ascurra", *Last Minute*, May 7, 1952, p. 2, 2nd section, reportage.

the residents of these regions of the city. In these texts it is identified that the so-called *favelas* are not only a place of misery, because "in them reside numerous elements with economic capacity to improve their standard of living",⁴⁸ and salaries are as varied as possible⁴⁹ and

the economic conditions of its inhabitants are not as precarious as statistics say. The gross monthly income of the residents of Praia do Pinto in 1950 was 450,000 cruises, which clearly demonstrates that families can pay a rent of 200⁵⁰ to 250 cruises for a hygienic wooden dwelling that does not degrade the human being.

Moreover, many poor people live in *the favelas*, but also some wealthy,

people who earn well: at Praia do Pinto, for example, living in those filthy huts, there is a huge number of policyholders from the various Institutes, with the exception of bank employees. Earn from here, earn from there, accumulating several humble jobs, whether in the Legion, in the city hall, in commerce or in industries, the father of a family has a salary of 3 thousand cruzeiros, which women and daughters receive as domestic workers, adding that they have a home and food which means a lot nowadays⁵¹.

Considering the specificity of the production of a report, it can be affirmed that there is an effort of *UH* in building the *favela* in a more dynamic way.

But how can we understand this highlight given by *UH* to the "positive" aspects of the *favela* as a "place of income" and not only of misery? In response, we consider it possible to think that exposing the positive economic aspects of the residents of the so-called *favelas* would have a sense of opposing the texts that build the *favela* as *another*. On the other hand, the point that many of the residents of the *favelas* are insured by several Institutes also does not seem meaningless, and may indicate a form of pressure

⁴⁸ "A definition of the Ministry of Labour on the pressing problem of popular homes is required", *Last Minute*, August 7, 1951, p. 2, 1st notebook, reportage.

⁴⁹ "The Ministries of Finance and Education received rentals of wretched 'Skeleton' huts," *Last Minute*, September 14, 1951, p. 3, 2nd notebook, report by Edmar Morel.

⁵⁰ "Money wept from the favelas," *Last Minute*, June 13, 1951, p. 6, 1st notebook, report by Edmar Morel. For geographical location of the "Favela da Praia do Pinto" see annex R. The "Favela da Praia do Pinto" was on the "removal agenda" of the military government, so in the early hours of May 11, 1969, while preparations were being made for the start of removals, a fire destroyed 1,000 more buildings, which accelerated the removal of the favela.

⁵¹ "Absolute lack of social assistance in favelas and proletarian parks", *Last Minute*, July 7, 1952, reporting by Carmem Nicias Lemoine.

from this journal in relation to the Institutes, so that they take steps in favor of the housing issue of their insured. This would ultimately reinforce the social role that the newspaper itself attributes.

In any case, it draws attention to the fact that *UH's* speech about the way of life of the so-called *favelas* aims not so much to combat them, but, above all, to defend them before the public power and negative opinion in general, as indicated by the title of one of the newspaper's texts: "Defend the dwellers".⁵² It is in this sense that we believe it is appropriate to interpret the position of the *UH*: even when reporting the precarious living conditions in the so-called favela, it is not to condemn the dwellers and build them as another, but to denounce the precariousness of their living conditions and, subsequently, demand that measures be taken to remedy the problems identified.

In doing so, the newspaper discursively constructs itself, through the exercise of its own role in the *journalistic* field, that is, of "an efficient and punctual **prosecutor** who both defends national and collective interests, as well as meets his **relations** with the administration, to solve seemingly simple but in reality, suffocating issues".⁵³

By putting the nickname of attorney "the head of the family, the housewife, the student, the employee, the workers", Wainer's newspaper is representing itself as a mediator between society and the state, bringing the needs of the former to the knowledge of the second, to resolve them in the best possible way. Proposal identified both in the agendas of the reports, as in the topics addressed in the column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*, because, as already discussed, in this section the complaints of the popular layers were published, making it believe that gave "voice" to these social groups, that is, the newspaper would not be just speaking for and the so-called *favelas* but also made room for them to speak for themselves.

In this way, it can be interpreted that the *Última Hora* - a newcomer, in Bourdieu's terms - would be seeking a position in the *journalistic field* from a gap existing in both spaces. Gap that would be located between journalism aimed at the popular strata, but with a sensationalist editorial bias - whose future representative would be in the future the printed *Luta Democrática*, by Tenório Cavalcanti - and journalism more concerned with the quality of both the texts and the reading public, such as the *Correio da Manhã*. In this sense, *Última Hora* could be understood as a

⁵² "Defend the favelas", *Last Minute*, July 5, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

⁵³ "Reader's Stand", *Last Minute*, June 12, 1951, p. 2. 1st section, section "Reader's Banking".

newspaper that places itself as a "spokesman" not only for the popular strata, but also for the "excluded" - defending them, but also giving them a new meaning. With this, you can acquire prestige due to its high sales, but also due to the quality of the product it offers, which allowed symbolic and material gains both outside and within the *journalistic field*.

However, based on these distinct positions on the areas called *favelas*, does it become pertinent to ask whether these distinctions are maintained when the periodicals build the possible their resident?

In this context, as the term *favela* is in dispute, there is also a conflict to establish which would be the best denomination of its residents. In the material collected, it can be seen in the three newspapers the conception that both *favelas* workers and *rascals* live in the *favelas*, however, differences between the conceptions of the analyzed journals can be identified.

In reports from the *Gerico, New Year*, we read in the *Mail* that, "alongside the rascals who inhabit the favelas, there is no denying, there are families of modest workers, but good people, whose children are subject to pernicious contagions"⁵⁴. Therefore, in another matter, there is the statement that it is difficult to understand "how modest and working families living on the site can tolerate the environment"⁵⁵. However, appealing to the data of the 1950 Census, in an editorial, the Bittencourt's form states that "the population of the favelas is simply part of the operated (and even the small bourgeoisie) that does not find other means of housing"⁵⁶. Element reinforced in an article that highlights that the favelas "are largely home to the construction workforce and mostly the domestic workforce"⁵⁷.

However, despite the recognition that there are workers living in the *favelas*, what stands out in the reports of the *Post* is the perspective that, "alongside the modest but decent families who live there, live in large numbers the rascals", "miscreants", "robbers [...] that infest hills and favelas."⁵⁸ Thus, if "rascals and women of airy life have

⁵⁴ "Let's save the favela children," *Morning Mail*, February 14, 1954, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage *Gerico, New Year*.

⁵⁵ "The favela of Praia do Pinto grows", *Morning Mail*, May 30, 1954, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage *Gerico, New Year*.

⁵⁶ "The favelas", *Morning Mail*, March 14, 1953, p. 4, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

⁵⁷ "The two Brasís", *Morning Mail*, December 20, 1953, p. 2, 1st notebook, article signed by A.C.

⁵⁸ "Even in the favelas there is a housing crisis," *Morning Mail*, September 24, 1953, p. 3, 1st notebook, reportage *Geriquinho, New Year*.

their stronghold there, providing depressing spectacles that attack morals", ⁵⁹ the new residents of the *favelas* "learn the habits and livelihoods of the rascals who inhabit these residential centers – if they deserve this name"⁶⁰. That is, there is recognition of the existence of workers living in the *favelas*, but due to the negative quality of the environment and the population of "rascals and women of airy life", the former tend to be supplanted or corrupted by the latter, nullifying themselves in this "permissive environment".

With very close representations, in the editorials of the *Jornal do Brasil* it is stated that in the " favelas' existing in some main streets of the city and in which they live, in an unhygienic and antisocial promiscuity, numerous families of workers" ⁶¹, "workers who earn discreet wages"⁶². In an article signed by D. do Rego Monteiro⁶³, it is stressed that "where the misery is, there are not only rascals, that is, of patients of various diseases, by the common rule, as small workers, women who are mothers and boys", many of them "must be our workers, small workers in the category of servants, apprentices or catechists, and our employees and maids, cooks and washerwomen, etc.". However, following the text there is a question: "But what will become of them socially, so afflicted and mistreated like this? And what will be the result of those who claim their services?" Because

Poor creatures are created – so often so well-gifted by nature – in a climate of pain and torment; their preparation and what can be called preparation for despair, for the snowstorms, for hatred, for revolt – even if countless are peaceful and resigned – and then what is expected?... May they give the best examples and the healthiest fruits of kindness and education!⁶⁴

In these excerpts, a position is perceived very similar to that found in the texts disseminated by the *Mail*, that is, a recognition of the existence of workers living in the *favelas*, but who are subject to the negative effects of "own characteristics" to this place. As

⁵⁹ "Another favela emerges in the heart of the city", *Morning Mail*, August 24, 1954, p. 3, 1st notebook, reportage *Gerico, New Year*.

⁶⁰ "The favelas of the North Zone of the City are multiplying," *Morning Mail*, August 23, 1953, p. 1, 4th notebook, reportage *Gerico, New Year*.

⁶¹ "The tenements," *Jornal do Brasil*, July 7, 1951, p. 5, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

⁶² "The real solution," *Jornal do Brasil*, July 12, 1951, p. 5, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

⁶³ D. do Rego Monteiro cleric linked to the Catholic Church, unfortunately I did not get more information about the author.

⁶⁴ "Evils Over Evils", *Jornal do Brasil*, October 30, 1952, p. 6, 1st notebook, article by D. do Rego Monteiro.

we can read in a text on JB's opinion page: "it is believed that most of the favelas are turbulent elements, strays, criminals", but

one does not seek to know if they were the ones who took the vices, the trickery, the facinor tendencies to the 'favelas', or were the 'favelas' to scrutinize the spirits of their discomfort, if their physical and moral misery, of the consideration of fear and of the disgust that they feel surrounded, everything they had in their souls⁶⁵.

Once again, the idea is reinforced that, even if there are "decent people" living in the *favelas*, they will be affected by the "miseries" found there, "distorting" their conduct. In this sense, the association between poverty and misconduct is evidenced, as if "naturally" the first one led to the second. Reinforcing the existence of a relationship between "material progress" and "moral progress", in the sense of the first leading to the second.

Already, in the texts of *Last Minute*, it is noteworthy that "the favela is inhabited by a majority of manual workers"⁶⁶. In the column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*, it can be read that the so-called *favelas* "are generally workers like, police soldiers, mason servants"⁶⁷. Furthermore, in a report, we have to "it should be emphasized that almost all professions are represented in the 'Skeleton', including twenty-six municipal employees⁶⁸. In another report, it is stated that those classified as *favelas* Pinto Beach accumulate several humble jobs, whether in the City Hall, in commerce or in the⁶⁹. Therefore, a reporter from *Uh* considers that in the calls *favelas* there is a "varied and dense population, small helpers of trade, 'Barnabas' of public service, people of humble profession, 'choumeurs'⁷⁰. Men, women and boys who sometimes live off odd jobs and the indiscriminate trade in trinkets⁷¹.

Thus, in another report, it is highlighted that "strays, rascals, rioters and women's explorers" are "in a small percentage" in relation to workers. Finally, it should

⁶⁵ "Our social cancer," *Jornal do Brasil*, October 13, 1951, p. 5, 1st notebook, minor editorial.

⁶⁶ "Families swarmed without destination", *Last Minute*, September 26, 1951, p. 3 and 7, 2nd notebook, report *Last Minute Patrol*.

⁶⁷ "You can no longer buy genres in the favela of Esqueleto", *Last Minute*, July 4, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

⁶⁸ "The Ministries of Finance and Education received rentals of wretched 'Skeleton' huts," *Last Minute*, September 14, 1951, p. 3, 2nd notebook, report by Edmar Morel.

⁶⁹ "Absolute lack of social assistance in favelas and proletarian parks", *Last Minute*, July 7, 1952, reporting by Carmem Nicias Lemoine.

⁷⁰ French word for unemployed.

⁷¹ "A colonial slice cutting the modern metropolis in half," *Last Minute*, July 8, 1953, p. 7, 2nd section, reportage.

be noted that those "who practice profession are still protected by labor legislation, such⁷²as domestic ones, those who have their disposal social assistance".

In this sense, even recognizing that there are "bad elements", which live "on the margins of 'social control agencies'",⁷³there is a commitment, especially in the *uh* report texts to make it clear that residents in the *favelas* are mostly workers, or rather "the bulk of our labor". This element is noticeable in the reports, where the profession of each interviewee is exposed, with references to: waiter; baker; municipal official; polish; worker; washerwomen; lookout; army soldier; worker of the Jockey Club, in addition to all the occupations mentioned above.

In this context, it is not surprising that in our research the *Uh* is the only newspaper that publishes reports of violence against *favelas*. These complaints are mainly in the column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*, where, in one of the cases exposed,

the residents of the Esqueleto favela sought ULTIMA HORA to report that they are being victims of persecution: their small deposits have been closed, their existence coerced, their parties - because there are also parties in the Favela - censored by the police. According to what we are told, the authorities try to create a climate in the Favela capable of causing most of the current residents to be compelled to look for another roof.

In the above case, the action of "persecution" was interpreted as a way to "coerce the favela because it is poor", this being "an unfair and antisocial policy".⁷⁴ A few days later, in this same column, there is the description that "another favela cries out for the public authorities", and, as a watchword, it is asked in the text: "It remains to be seen how long the favelas will be attacked as if they were enemies, instead of supported, because they deserve protection?"⁷⁵ Another text of this same column considers it "absurd to surrender to a police office the solution of the social problem. It always goes wrong."⁷⁶ It is also noted, in a report, that "the population of the favela is frightened",

⁷² "Proletarian neighborhoods in the vicinity of residential and commercial areas", *Last Minute*, March 15, 1952, p. 2, 1st notebook, Fagundes de Menezes report.

⁷³ "The Ministries of Finance and Education received rentals of wretched 'Skeleton' huts," *Last Minute*, September 14, 1951, p. 3, 2nd notebook, report by Edmar Morel.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ "They're attacking another favela," *Last Minute*, July 11, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

⁷⁶ "Helplessness," *Last Minute*, July 13, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

because "no one is trying to fight the favelas. They are fighting, yes, the favelas, as if they were fighters of an enemy nation..."⁷⁷.

We again interpret this position of the *Uh* for the sake of said *favelas* as a way for the newspaper to seek to build its legitimate insertion in public debate and establish its position within the *journalistic field* as opposed to the other leaves studied here. Interpretation corroborated by the self-referential discourses of the journal that characterize it, not only as an informative newspaper, but as an agent that actively intervenes in the social world, as a "people's newspaper", which "will be an echo of its aspiration, condemning the abuse, overseeing assistance followed by the public authorities, pressuring the authority for the adoption of immediate solutions and the implementation of longer-range plans"⁷⁸. In short, the *Uh* would be, in its own words, "a movement of popular claim – with the program of forwarding the needs of each one and reflecting the interests of the country", which results in "the initiative last hour to establish a daily and constant correspondence with the people"⁷⁹.

Together, there is an important difference between the *UH* and the *Correio*, because while Wainer's newspaper exposes in its reports and in the column *Fala o Povo na Última Hora* that the so-called favelas dwellers are victims of violence and says that they will defend them,⁸⁰ the *CM*, in *Gerico's* reports, points out that it is those classified as dwellers dwellers who threaten the city and its "orderly" and "civilized" residents and highlights that it will free the city from the ills that the so-called favelas would represent⁸¹. From the dynamics of the journalistic field, we can understand that both newspapers looked for different ways of self-building their institutional role, as well as looking for specific audiences to put themselves as a representative in the public discussion.

Correio da Manhã, as a newspaper of high prestige and recognition among peers, occupying a dominant position in the *field*, wishes to maintain and reinforce its position based on *orthodox strategies*, that is, with the diffusion of more elaborate texts

⁷⁷ "The favelas are not in a match where to go," *Last Minute*, July 24, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, reportage *Last Minute Patrol*.

⁷⁸ "Reader's Stall," *Last Minute*, June 12, 1951, p. 2, 1st section. Explanatory text on the polls scattered throughout the city, where the letters should be deposited with the claims of readers that would be published in the section *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

⁷⁹ "Reader's Stall," *Last Minute*, June 12, 1951, p. 2, 1st section.

⁸⁰ "Defend the favelas", *Last Minute*, July 5, 1951, p. 4, 1st notebook, column *Speak the People at the Last Minute*.

⁸¹ "Freeing the city from illness," *Morning Mail*, September 5, 1953, p. 3, 1st notebook, reportage *Geriquinho, New Year*.

and with greater depth. analytical, elements that indicate that its target audience were groups with higher cultural, social and economic capital. *Última Hora*, newcomer to the *journalistic field* and looking for ways to insert itself in the public debate, calls for a line of action that can be considered *heterodox*,⁸² with a more accessible language and the use of many images, showing that it seeks to reach the popular strata, the workers, but also, intending to build itself as a place of speech for these groups.

In summary, it is perceived in the texts written and / or disseminated by the three periodicals the perception that in the so-called *favelas*, both workers and “bad elements”, “rascals” live. But, while the *UH* gives vent to texts that seek to demonstrate that the *favelas dwellers* are mostly working people, people of the most varied professions, and the *rascals* are more victims than causes of their “evil”, constructions that could legitimize public policies of greater importance. integration of favela residents into society, such as, for example, the creation of the Favela Commission that was part of the National Social Welfare Commission (CNBS) project. CNBS was created in the Second Government of Getúlio Vargas and was linked to the Ministry of Labor, aiming to rationalize public policies aimed at national workers⁸³.

In this case, it could be argued that the *UH* effort to construct discursively the areas classified as a *favela* not as the *other*, but as a constituent part of Rio de Janeiro, and its residents not as predominantly harmful, but also as workers and subjects of rights such as part of a “mission” in favor of a political project by Getúlio Vargas. However, it would be to simplify the issue too much, because even though this newspaper was created to give support and visibility to Getúlio's actions, it was not, a publication conceived in the format of a party newspaper, but as a commercial sheet, even if it had a political function . In this way, even to fulfill this “political mission”, Wainer's press should build its own space in the *journalistic field* as a defender of popular causes, a factor that, in fact, could generate - as, in fact, it did - symbolic strength for act in favor of the causes he advocated. In this way, *Última Hora's* positions

⁸² It is worth remembering that "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" are terms employed by Bourdieu to define the different strategies adopted by the dominant and dominated in a *social field*, the first interested in maintaining the power structure and supply of goods (orthodoxy) and the second involved in the subversion of this "order" (heterodoxy).

⁸³ The National Commission for Social Welfare brought together representatives of various government institutions in the areas of health, colonization, housing, social security and social services, favoring a more "technical" character. "Linked to the commission, the government created the subcommittees of Social Security, Social Work, Housing and Favela, Health, Domestic Industries and Handicrafts, Colonization and Rural Welfare, Recreation and Culture, and Technical Assistance" (OLIVEIRA, 2014, p. 149).

must be understood by what Bourdieu calls "double determination". In other words, on the one hand, its external commitments to its *field of production*, notably economic dependence and political ties. And, on the other hand, the internal struggle to find space and rise in the *journalistic field*, which, as we pointed out earlier, led Wainer's sheet to produce quality journalism, but aimed especially at the popular classes, taking advantage of a vacuum in the elite press of the 1950s.

Already the *JB* and the *CM*, disseminate the texts that build the favela as the *other* and, its residents as predominantly formed by rascals, representing these with dangerous to the city, and even the "good people" are affected by living with these *Rascals*. As a result, it cannot be expected from *favelas dwellers* "that give the best examples and the most goodness and education." It is not by chance that such representations could legitimize public policies of remotion, of "extinction" or dismantling and not of integration, as occurred in the 1950s with Morro do Castelo, which was destroyed to make way for what is now known as the Flamengo Park, or a little later with Governor Carlos Lacerda who removed 41,958 residents (1962–1965) from 27 areas.

Conclusion

Throughout this text, we saw that the term favela is full of meanings, thus having several possibilities for its appropriation in a discourse. As a dynamic and even surprising reality for the men and women who accompanied the emergence, growth and demographic transformation of these housing areas throughout the 20th century, the favela is also the result of diverse and constant discursive reconfigurations. Reconfigurations that are far from being just disputes by scholars to compose a dictionary of the Portuguese language, but involve a whole perception of the world and consequent ways of acting on it.

In this sense, in the 1950s, a unique period was identified for the study of social representations about these housing areas, a condition probably associated with the impacting transformations that the areas classified as *favelas* were undergoing. But not only for this reason, inasmuch as the richness of this semantic work cannot be understood if we do not take into account the dynamics that the spaces that produce discourses and knowledge about the social (*fields of symbolic production*) also present. From their specific area of production of symbolic goods, the *journalistic field*, the

newspapers disseminated, but they also produced visions and knowledge about the topic under discussion.

There were divergences and similarities between the printed ones. In *Jornal do Brasil* and *Correio da Manhã*, for example, we find the representation of areas called favelas as “other”, taking as a comparison parameter a Rio de Janeiro more idealized than “real”, constructing an ideal city very close to the conceived by sanitary urbanism, which emphasizes beautification over functionality.

Thus, in opposition to the other in the favela, *Jornal dos Bittencourt* and its readers are constructed discursively as civilized, western, in short, the “city”. However, the divergence lies in the way of outlining these opinions, and in the *Correio* there is a predominance of editorial texts and reports by *Gerico*, while in *JB*, most of the writings are written by composers of the fixed team of the periodical and authors. external, which is interpreted as a symptom of the positions that these journals traditionally occupy in the *journalistic field*. The *Correio*, which built its prestigious capital as an “opinion newspaper”, but without party ties, and which occupies a dominant position among its peers, places itself as a producer par excellence of its speeches, topically appealing for data and reports officials who submitted to their own interpretation. To this end, it even has a specific editorial space focused on urban themes - *Architecture* - whose approach to the favelas generates a rhetorical effect of treatment that is more “technical” than opinionated on the subject made by the newspaper itself. *JB*, on the other hand, historically seeking to highlight its “neutrality” and on a downward trajectory in the period, calls more for the accountability of its journalists and for the support of authorized speech from other fields, especially the urban planner, with which it seems to have more affinities.

When we investigated the newspaper *Ultima Hora*, however, we identified less the construction of the favela as another and more as a us, defined from the identity of the so-called favelado with the other residents of the cities by the condition of worker and income producer. What, according to our interpretation, derives from the position that this print seeks to build within the journalistic field, that is, as a “people's newspaper”, at the service of the “people”, especially of the popular strata, thus offering different views, sometimes even opposed, on social issues, than those broadcast by the other newspapers of the Brazilian “big press”. Consequently, on the pages of the *UH* there is a predominance of “workers” over “rascals” in the composition of the so-called

dweller's population, while in JB and CM the prevalence of the latter and their construction as dangerous more for "the city" than than for the "slum dwellers".

Finally, we must emphasize that, by representing the so-called *favelas* as a place of need, as the other printed works did, Samuel Wainer's newspaper seeks to highlight this situation, not in a condemning tone, but in a denunciation tone. That is, it makes a public complaint about the precarious living conditions of the so-called slum dwellers, to then demand corrective and healing measures. In doing this, the *UH* reinforces the role it intends to build discursively for itself, that is, as an "efficient and punctual prosecutor" for the "needy", thus, a mediator between society and the State. To this end, it seeks to "sell itself" as the newspaper that gives "voice" to the people, not only speaking for and the so-called slum dwellers, but also making room for them to speak for themselves. This would allow Wainer's newspaper to have its own way of inserting itself in the journalistic field, through "quality journalism", but "spokesperson" not only from the popular strata, but also from the "excluded", obtaining, with this, symbolic and materials both outside and inside the *journalistic field*.

On the other hand, by placing itself as a "spokesman" for the people in public discussion, *Última Hora* also places itself in opposition to another agent in the journalistic field, the *Courier*. However, from the texts in the section *Fala o Povo na Última Hora* and from *Gerico*, from *CM*, it can be seen that the periodicals do not refer to the same "people", because, for Wainer's newspaper, this "people" would be identified with the popular classes, notably the most deprived, such as the slum dwellers, while, in the *Correio da Manhã*, the "people" would be exactly the citizens of the middle and upper classes annoyed by the favela supposedly defended by the Wainer newspaper. Differences that, again, would express the different strategies of insertion in the public debate of each newspaper from its destination to different audiences.

All these distances and approximations, however, would be meaningless if they were only evidenced in isolation, without more general, more structural elements, which aligned them. In contrast to this, I argue that they offer evidence of the worldviews that prevailed in journals. As well as exposing distinct projects of society, which, in turn, legitimize even divergent public policies. In addition to highlighting intra-field conflicts between the newspapers studied, in order to build a more

legitimate form of public debate, and with this, expand its capacity for intervention in society.

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