

For a photographic history of contemporary events, Rio de Janeiro, June 30, 1987

Abstract

This article analyzes the historical event – a “riot” in Downtown Rio, in June 1987 – by means of photographs published in 5 newspapers from Rio de Janeiro and 1 from Niterói, the day after the event, July 1, 1987. We preliminarily observe the origin of the historiographical concern, where the events were rehabilitated for a historical analysis, above all due to the way how photography was called upon to study them. The reconstruction of the photographic history of the 1987 event is based on the notions of public photography and visual public space, in order to analyze the meanings of the event produced by the newspapers from Rio de Janeiro and evaluate the role played by photojournalism in the making of a historical fact.

Keywords: Photography in historiography; Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - History – 1987; Public Spaces - Rio de Janeiro.

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Por uma história fotográfica dos acontecimentos contemporâneos, Rio de Janeiro, 30 de junho de 1987

Resumo

Este artigo analisa o acontecimento histórico – “quebra-quebra” no Centro do Rio, em junho de 1987 – por meio das fotografias veiculadas em 5 jornais do Rio de Janeiro e 1 de Niterói, no dia seguinte ao acontecimento, 10 de julho de 1987. Observa-se, preliminarmente, a origem da preocupação historiográfica, em que os acontecimentos foram reabilitados para a análise histórica, sobretudo pela forma como a fotografia foi convocada para seu estudo. A reconstrução da história fotográfica do evento de 1987 apoia-se nas noções de fotografia pública e espaço público visual, para analisar os sentidos do acontecimento produzidos pelos jornais da cidade do Rio de Janeiro e avaliar o papel desempenhado pelo fotojornalismo na produção do fato histórico.

Palavras-chave: Fotografia na Historiografia; Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - História – 1987; Espaços Públicos - Rio de Janeiro.

On June 30, 1987, bus fares in Rio de Janeiro city had increased 50%, from Cz\$ 4.80 to Cz\$ 7.20. The increase authorized through a preliminary injunction issued by a Rio de Janeiro state judge, on Monday, 06/29, was passed on to the population the next day. Without any advance notice, bus ticket prices were raised by the bus companies' owners. Midweek, thousands of workers who commuted to and from various zones in the metropolitan areas in Grande Rio, by trains and barges, were taken by surprise when they arrived Downtown Rio, due to an unexpected price rise. The initial surprise, turned into indignation at the abusive price setting, grew and reached the proportions of an uprising, which lasted throughout June 30, 1987, and it converted Downtown Rio de Janeiro in a battlefield.

Urban Insurrection, accompanied by riot and burning of several buses, followed the script of confrontational situations between population and authorities: massive movement of people through the streets aimlessly, indignation spots that unfold in despair, with subsequent repression by the Rio state police forces and uncontrolled mass evacuation. In the Rio de Janeiro state's history, parallel situations stand out, such as the barges' riot in Niteroi, in 1959. The fact also refers us to the June 2013 protests and the recent clashes that started on January 8, 2016, in Rio de Janeiro city, but especially in São Paulo. In all these situations, the photographic record provided major clues to grasp the complexity of historical experience characterizing such events.

In different situations, photographic practice plays a key role in preparing accounts of the events, which compete with other narratives, having a verbal or oral nature, in order to understand the present day. A feature recognized by Walter Benjamin when advocating for photography as a synthesis of the historical event, by reading Lissovsky (2014, p. 7), "the figural representation of the dialectical image capable of shrinking past, present, and future down to a single moment."

A reading that takes the author to claim that photography is history, the photographic history of past events that may turn into the future ones. Lissovsky is inspired by Benjamin's idea, according to which the photographs might be able to nestle the future in unique minutes (BENJAMIN, 1931, 1987), in order to ponder that:

[...] the future inhabits the images of the past as an "egg" in its nest. It is covered by a shell and its contents, therefore, it can only be guessed (by photographers and historians, among other successors of diviners). But until that happens, the future is being shocked. It is there, asleep, waiting for the moment of its awakening, when the shell is broken and it is finally recognized. This time is always a now. The now of reciprocity between past and future that has no date set to happen. It is the now of match, the now of recognition. It is from a now-future that the photo containing our image of the past is waiting. (LISSOVSKY, 2011, p. 9)

The inspiration Lissovsky has taken from Benjamin guide us to propose an approach where photography and history become inseparable. Perspective that breaks with both traditional illustrative uses of photographic images and with their perception as a historical source, getting closer to the perspective of a visual history, in which images,

object and source, serve as observation decks of society (MENESES, 2003, 2005) that produce and consume them, or also as bodies to which the historical experience is attached (BELTING, 2012).

In this article, we propose an analysis of the historical event – the riot in Downtown Rio, in June 1987 – by means of photographs published in 5 newspapers from Rio de Janeiro and 1 from Niteroi, the day after the event, July 1, 1987. First, we observe the origin of the historiographical concern, in which the events were rehabilitated by the bias of historiographical renewal, but above all by the way how photography was called upon to study them. In this regard, considerations on public photography and conceptual possibilities of the notion of visual public space stand out.

The reconstruction of the photographic history of the 1987 event is based on these two principles to analyze the visual narrative of events conveyed in the newspapers from Rio de Janeiro city and evaluate the role played by photojournalism in the making of a historical fact.

The event, a historiographical concern

Originally presented as a communication in the XIV National Symposium of the Brazilian National Association of History (ANPUH), held in July 1987, in Brasília (DF), the study of the buses' riot in Rio de Janeiro received the extensive title: “Possibilidades de uma análise histórico-semiótica: o uso da fotografia como fonte histórica” [Possibilities of a historical-semiotic analysis: the use of photography as a historical source]. Its reception by an audience of graduate students, history professors, and historians was not that good, given that the whole analysis started from the photographic message produced on a current event, which had not even rested in the archives, with documents whose value as a historical source were very controversial. It was, therefore, a research on communication, not history, that was the bottom-line of the presentation.

After virtually 30 years of the Symposium in Brasília, the panorama of historiography changed significantly with regard to this approach, above all in two aspects concerning the study of an event in History: in-depth discussions about

contemporary history, by considering the recent past and the immediate future as temporal dimensions related to historiography, and recognition of the photographic practice as a part of the historical experience.

In the domain of renewal of contemporary history studies, the 1974 edition of “Faire l’histoire,” a three-volume collection, organized by Pierre Nora and Jacques Le Goff, had, in the volume “New issues,” the classic text by Pierre Nora, “The return of the fact.” In this text, the author has developed a new design for the notion of event:

However, no time has seen itself, like ours, living the present as something that already has a “historical” meaning. And this alone might be enough to provide it with an identity, to make contemporary history free from its imperfection. Total wars and revolutionary changes, the speed of communications, and the penetration of modern economies in traditional societies, in short, everything that is usually understood as globalization has ensured a general mobilization of the masses that, behind the front of events, once represented those civilized in history; while the movements of colonization and afterwards decolonization brought into the Western-like historicity entire societies that, until yesterday, slept among the peoples “without history” or living in the silence of colonial oppression. This huge democratization of history, which provides the present with its specificity, it has a rationale and laws of its own: one of them – the only one we intend to isolate herein – in fact, at the present day, such a generalized circulation of the historical perception, culminates in a new phenomenon: the event. (NORA, 1979 p. 180)

Supported by the perception that the media culture might change the idea of time and space in a world increasingly dominated by the media, Nora thought that the press, the radio, the images and, currently, the Internet, would become the very condition of existence of events. Through the communication media, the events might gain public recognition, and the author completes:

“with much more force to the extent that the media immediately imposes what is experienced as history, and that the present day imposes what is experienced to a greater extent. A huge promotion of what is immediate to historical and what is experienced to legendary is put into action at the very moment in which the historian is confused in his habits, threatened in his power, faced with what was applied, elsewhere, in order to reduce” (NORA, 1979, p. 183).

In Nora's scathing criticism of the modern event, "with no historian and consisting in the affective participation of the masses" (NORA, 1979, p. 185), the author claims it is the only way for the masses, in democratic societies, to participate in public life. A type of participation that is "critical and alienated, voracious and frustrated, multiple and detached, powerless and, therefore, sovereign, autonomous, and self-guided, as this impalpable reality of contemporary life that is called opinion" (NORA, 1979, p. 186).

The exponential multiplication of events in the global media culture might lead to what Nora defined as follows: "a state of perpetual superinformation and chronic underinformation characterizes our contemporary societies" (NORA, 1979, p. 187). However, it might lie in the paradox of event, something which happens without actually happening, the way to be taken by history:

Taking the narrative message out of its imaginary, spectacular, parasitic virtualities, has the effect of signaling, in the event, the non-factual part. Or rather, of turning the event into the temporal and neutral site of brutal emergency, capable of being isolated from a set of social phenomena arising from the depths and, without it, such phenomena would remain buried in the wrinkles of the collective mind. The event witnesses less by reflecting than by revealing, less through what it is than through what it causes. Its significance is absorbed by its resonance; it is but an echo, a mirror of society, a loophole. (NORA, 1979, p. 188)

Therefore, the present-day historian's chance might be diving into the paradox of event and stressing the relationship between real and imaginary in contemporary societies. Taking on the challenge to think of the event as a bundle of temporalities, or, as intended by Benjamin, a dialectic image, which promotes reading as going against the grain of history (BENJAMIN, 1987).

Nora's text came to trigger a significant time of renewal in the study of contemporary history, at the international level, but it would be assimilated in Brazil only in the 1990s, through the appreciation of oral history and memory as a theme when studying dictatorial regimes. The discussion on the uses of the past started, from then on, to guide the debate about the history of the present day, in Brazil, incorporating to the renewal of political history the study of the history of cultural representations and political cultures (PÔRTO, 2007; VARELLA, 2012).

The study of images in the field of historical studies, and above all that of photography and film, also played a key role in understanding the centrality of cultural representations to grasp the contemporary world (KNAUSS, 2006, 2008; MAUAD, 2016). From the viewpoint of the relationship between the photographic practice and historical experience, photojournalism stands out as a key part in the making of a modern event.

Studies on photojournalism, conducted in the context of historical studies, have bet on its relationship with the modern event (STIMSON, 2007; HARIMAN, LUCAITES, 2007; MAUAD, 2008a). As pointed out by Nora, the event occupies a central place in the liberal culture of Western democracies, ensuring representativeness to those who participate in it as subjects of the public scene. However, the scene just becomes public when it is registered by means of a technical device, a camera. The camera, especially the photographic one, has the ability to halt the flow of time, recording life in scenes.

Scenes that multiply and replicate scenes previously seen, in a continued process of producing images that resemble images that have been seen before, something which the modern historiography on photography named as photo-icon (HARIMAN, LUCAITES, 2007; MAUAD, 2008a). An image is worth a thousand words, an image that summarizes the event, an image which has a story behind it, these are commonplace notions to be faced when operating with the concept of photo-icon. In the wake of Nora's thoughts, the photo-icon might potentiate the paradox of event, something which happens without actually happening, the event-image is produced by itself. In this interpretive record, there is no story behind the images, but a story set in the images. The story of images is what the modern historian must face on a critical basis (MENESES, 2003 and 2005; KNAUSS, 2006 and 2008).

Migrant mothers, presidents, soldiers, underprivileged children have in the visual public space an existence alienated from their own bodies and their historical condition. The social contract of photography, resorting to the expression by Ariella Azoulay, should ensure the photographed individual the possession of his own image (AZOULAY, 2008, 2012), however, the multiplication of replicating images in photo-icons guides each of them to meet its double.

The analysis of events produced by modern photojournalism requires the recognition that the social circuits defining this photographic practice have produced a public photography that constituted a visual public sphere throughout the 20th century.

Public photography and visual public space in the press, preliminary remarks

The historical production of public photography, throughout the 20th century, was associated, on the one hand, with the constitution of the bourgeois, liberal, and democratic society, and on the other hand with support to the propaganda of dictatorial and fascist regimes. Its practice is constituted within the social circuit, derived from the culture media and the mediations, consisting of agencies that produce government images (organizations linked to the State whose function is registering and archiving its action on the public space; as well as the press and publicity offices that play the role of publicizing the State's action as the main organizer of social relations in the public space), by agencies of the mainstream press and the independent agencies that operate along with social movements.

In line with the configuration of a plural and diversified visual culture, throughout the 20th century, the social issue emerged in the public scene, in different ways and in various locations, fueled by social and political movements that also have varied origins and trends: from workers' movement to claims for sexual freedom, going through the struggles for civil rights, post-colonial movements, etc., everything captured by professionals aware of the heat of the events. Such images make up a catalog, where a history redefined by the technical statute inherent to the representation device: the photographic camera. In this other type of written history, the place of its production (the image-producing agencies: family, State, and the press) and the narrative's subject (the photographers) share with the historical institutes and the literary academies the task of imagining the nation and establishing the places of its memory. Thus, the photographic experience of the 1900s redefined the ways of access to historical events and their insertion in the public memory, to the point where we can tell the history of the 20th century by means of its images. At the same time, the production of photographic

images aimed at registering processes, situations, and historical subjects has significantly contributed to the configuration of meanings assigned to the public space in the contemporary world.

Public photography, over the last century, may be understood in two directions: that of the artistic practice and that of the documentary practice. In the first way, as an artistic practice, photography, among several trends, was designed, on the one hand, as an authorial expression linked to pictorialism and classical artistic representation standards, and, on the other hand, it was associated with contemporary avant-garde movements, putting into question the very realistic principle. Thus, public photography in its dimension of artistic practice has been committed both to the pedagogy of the subject and the cultivation of looking and to the commitment of audiences to the critical perception of the visible world.

In the second way, as documentary record, public photography was associated with government agencies, the illustrated press, and the production of news, acting as windows that opened to the world, providing the latter with the most realistic picture. Still in the second direction or trend, photographic production in the 1900s was associated with the social registration practices, serving to document the living conditions of various social sectors, such as human displacement, conflict, and extreme situations.

By observing the environment of illustrated publications, we notice the formation of a visual public space that, since the end of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century, is associated with the internationalization process of the bourgeois culture. In this movement, illustrated magazines and daily newspapers are presented as platforms providing images that spread in time and space within the historical experience. More than evidence of the experience, photographs in the press are characterized by representing multiple versions of events and shaping historical memories.

Considerations about the development of a visual public space are associated with the existence of a visual culture where the means to produce images, fixed and moving, not only create representations of the visible world, in a movement that brings the world represented in images to light and makes it known, but these images establish,

themselves, a visible world through images. However, there is a need to evaluate the historical dimensions of visual cultures and the symbolic exchange economies they establish between the various social groups, so that we can understand the shapes this visual public space takes.

In a collection of essays entitled “O ornamento da massa” (KRACAUER, 2009), the German theorist Siegfried Kracauer assembled a set of articles published over the 1920-30s, when he still lived in Germany and shared the same intellectual environment with Walter Benjamin, Theodore Adorno, and the other members of the well-known Frankfurt School. The compilation of essays from the 1920s and 1930s, published in 1963, originally in German and translated the same year into English, had an essay entitled *Fotografia*, which, however, differs from another text, with the same title, written in 1927 and published by the prestigious German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

In both reflections on photography, Kracauer (2009) discusses the issue of photographic realism and establishes the principles for recognizing the relationship between the photographic image and the capitalist reification forms, but in the essay included in the book “O ornamento da massa,” the author devotes special interest to the photographs published in illustrated magazines.

In this reflection, Kracauer (2009) displays the photograph as one of the “internal and external objects” of the capitalist mass culture. He relates the principle that guides the uses and functions of photography with the same ones guiding the perception of history in the 1800s, based on the mechanical historicism of showing “life just as it has happened:”

In short, its representatives [historicism's] think they can clearly explain on a pure basis any phenomenon through its genesis and they also believe in grasping the historical reality by reconstructing with no gaps the series of events according to its temporal sequence. Photography provides spatial continuity, historicism intends to encompass the temporal continuity. According to historicism, a full mirroring of an intratemporal sequence simultaneously contains the meaning of content that occurred within the same period [...] For historicism, it is time to produce a photography of the moment. Such a photography of the moment might corresponds to a giant movie universally representing the related events. (KRACAUER, 2009, p. 66)

The concern to establish parallels between the photographic media and the historical reality, as it is recognized by Kracauer (2009) himself, in a note in his book, would accompany him until his writings from the 1960s, when he wrote the work *História: as últimas coisas depois da última*, published after his death, in 1971 (GINZBURG, 2008). This concern criticizes the perspective of mechanistic realism, which subtracts the critical mediation of the knowledge act and the social determinations leading to the very production of social life.

When addressing photography, Kracauer (2009) looks at History and the ways how experiences become subjective over time – duration, extension, difference, and rupture. By characterizing photography as a spatial continuum, he recognizes its ability to encapsulate time. The encapsulated time is also the memory time, distinguished by the author in two dimensions. One of them is lacunar, fragmentary, and subjective: “Memory does not worry about dates, it leaps over the years or dilates the temporal distance. [...] The selection was made this way and not otherwise, because provisions and intents require repression, falsification, and alteration of object values [...]. It does not matter which scenes an individual recalls: they mean something related to him, and he does not need to know what they mean. They are preserved just in relation to what they try to tell him” (KRACAUER, 2009, p. 67).

The other dimension is crucial, compact, and revealing. Its recognition by a free consciousness puts the subject before his own history:

The meaning of memory images is coupled to their truth content. [...] Finding the truth is possible only to a free consciousness pondering the demonic aspect of drives. The traces that are recalled refer to what is recognized as truth, likely to be manifested in them or excluded from them. The image, which contains these traces, is different from all other memory images; indeed, the latter do not preserve as the others an abundance of covert recollections, but the contents concerning what is recognized as truth. To such an image, which we may properly name as the last, all memory images must be reduced, because it is the only one where unforgettable things remain. The last image of an individual is his own story. It leaves out all signs and determinations that are not significantly related to the truth known by the free consciousness. The way how an individual represents it does not depend purely on its nature, or the apparent cohesion of his individuality; therefore, there are only parts of its elements getting into his history (KRACAUER, 2009, p.68).

The search for truth by the critical consciousness acts by reducing superfluous images up to the crucial image, in which the individual's experience is condensed to history. The synthesis image that reveals the historical dimension of individual experiences has photography as a possible means of expression. This is so because photography, at the same time that captures the reality experienced in the photographic act, deprives it from its subjective content references. What photography captures does not encompass the meaning that experiences enter memory as image, memory images look at the photographs as remains of an experience emptied due to lack of memorable content, "the sum that annihilates while reproducing: the human being would not exist if coinciding with the photograph [...] The traces of a human being are kept only in his 'history.'" (Kracauer, 2009, p. 73)

According to Kracauer's thoughts on memory and photography, in the 1920-30s, there is underlying search for a conception of history that goes beyond the individualistic perspective of traditional philosophies from the 1800s. Displacing memory images from the bourgeois studio picture that circulated in family albums, as memory encapsulated by the individual subject – "Under a person's picture, his history is buried under a blanket of snow" (KRACAUER, 2009, p.68) –, towards the variety of contemporary images, above all in illustrated magazines, imposes a critical challenge to the author: "The contemporary world believes to see in photography the very film diva. [...] This means that the current photography plays the role of mediator, it is an optical sign of the diva that is recognized. If its decisive feature is being supernatural, one must doubt in the end." (KRACAUER, 2009, p. 71)

At first, the variety of images that populates the illustrated weekly magazines circulating in the 1920s causes the author a response of rejection and conflict, which leads him to strongly denounce the mass production of images with a blunt statement:

The purpose of illustrated magazines is completely reproducing the world accessible to the photographic device [...] There has never been a time so well-informed about itself, if well-informed means having an image of things as they are in the photographic sense. [...] In illustrated magazines, the audience sees the world that magazines prevent it from really noticing. The spatial continuum from the photographic camera perspective covers the spatial phenomenon of the recognized object,

and its similarity disfigures the contours of its 'story.' [...] In the hands of the dominant society, the invention of illustrated magazines is one of the most powerful instruments for a strike against knowledge. [...] The idea-image cancels the idea, the blizzard of photographs betrays indifference to what things mean. [...]. Because the world itself has gained a 'photographic face,' it can be photographed, as it merges into the spatial continuum that is formed through the snapshots. This may rely just on a split second, which is enough for displaying the object, so that a sportsman becomes famous, according to photographers under the command of illustrated magazines [...] In illustrated magazines, the world makes the present photographable and the photographed present becomes entirely eternalized. It seems to have extirpated death, but in reality photography has abandoned it. (KRACAUER, 2009, p. 76)

In such a denunciation, we see aspects of the argument that will provide a basis for the critical conversion of modern photography: photography as a universal archive of synthesis images. The profusion of photographs subordinated to the capitalist production process that banned, definitely, the image-memory and its subjective dimension, and it started engendering experience simulacra, loss of the value of knowledge and appreciation of the ephemeral nature of celebrities. The perpetuation of a present continuous in modern photographs, no longer threatened by the imminence of death, has turned image-memory into image-archive.

Even the contours of this society are eternalized as spoils of a past civilization, by photographs in illustrated magazines, providing the emancipated consciousness with a chance to produce a critique on its own terms, and exerting its own power on them: "The shift in relation to photography represents history's gamble" (KRACAUER, 2009, p.78). So, while criticizing the massification that modern photography suffers, above all through its publication in illustrated magazines, and later in daily newspapers, Kracauer (2009) thinks the archive role of photography, the ability to expose the natural foundation of the world – beyond the subjective memory –, a world that becomes world by means of the photographic image.

Kracauer's argument unfolds in dialogue with the critical fortune that is constituted in Western Marxism in the 1920-30s. Among the main interlocutors of this dialogue there is Walter Benjamin. In the classic "Little history of photography,"

published in 1931, Benjamin asks about the future of photographic images in the visual system that appears at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. The key highlight is associated with the crisis of perception, enhanced by the emergence of creativity and artistic ingenuity related to the advent of technical rationality as a priority in order to operate on the world, and technology as a civilizing principle.

The central point of this reflection lies on the relationship that the modern subject establishes with the visible world through aesthetic mediation based on the principles of a technological world. What happens with this relationship when the photograph is no longer the object of appreciation and begins to create a pattern of representation shared by all subjects and, therefore, naturalized as the representation par excellence of the imagined reality? Against the art that presents itself as sublime, there is an opposed technical representation with a resting look and a sublimating visual awareness. That is how people inquire about the society that is revealed in this new kind of visual configuration of the social – or also in this new regime of visibility.

In a compilation of notes from the archives of Walter Benjamin (2008), the thinker's attention to inventory and systematize positions around the theme of modernity is revealed. What appears in the selection of these small notable passages is precisely the centrality of photography in the visual economy that is organized since the second half of the 19th century. This visual economy is at a civilizing level, where capitalism emerges as a historical condition. Thus, the experiences that unfold within this visual economy are supported on its radical capitalist historicity. Hence, losing the aura is a problem for aesthetic perception, which is threatened by naturalization of the massified technical image, already identified by Kracauer in the 1927 text. Losing the space-time plot – displacement and detachment related to the aura experience – ultimately encloses within the time/space of social status some class positions that are historical and, therefore, capable of being transformed.

The historical condition that presents itself in the age of technical reproducibility has progress as its key concept, from which unfold founding notions of the modern individual: technique, speed, comfort, movement, beauty, individuality – both for the image producer and viewer. The same universe of visual signs that guide the

development of languages and their understanding is defined. What can be grasped about these short excerpts concerning the society that produced it and at the same time assimilated these ideas and concepts? A project by Benjamin to understand history grounded in the perception of the emergence of a new visual regime, derived from the crisis of classic visual representation.

In the visual culture inherent to modernity with an intermedial nature, technical images migrate from photography to film, from illustrated pages to government ads, from daily newspapers to press offices, from scientific reports to photographic reports, from documentary records to fiction. The social circuits of production, circulation, consumption, and agency of technical images – photographic, cinematographic, and videographic –, the visual culture in 1900s, guided possible conformations for the visual public space.

The features of this space are markedly political and they establish the connections between visual culture and political culture in Western societies. In the political configurations that the visual public space took, over the 20th century, it moved away from the classic opposition between public and private spheres, in order to get closer to a dimension of the public sphere as what is common to a group, a class, a genre, etc. Disputes over the occupation of visual public spaces, as well as the attempt to impose a common sense mediated by only one group, play a role in the war of images that the contemporary world still faces.

June 30, 1987, in daily newspapers

In that year, Brazil was going through a situation of tension. Three years after the demonstrations named as ‘Direct Elections Now,’ the movement on the streets was replaced by a transition based on the agreements of the “Democratic Alliance,” and José Sarney, vice-president to the deceased Tancredo Neves, took office. The crisis of expectations triggered by the president’s death, indirectly elected, but relying on the popularity of a democratic election, became worse due to a of mistakes made by the newly-installed government.

Just in 1987, after the failure of plans Cruzado I and II, with a 28% monthly inflation rate, the Finance Minister Dilson Funaro was replaced by Bresser-Pereira. The newly-appointed minister appeared before the House of Representatives, in Brasília, at the same time that Downtown Rio “ignited.” In Brasília, the minister stated that the “PMDB Program is not the Bible” and “I am a thinking animal and I can review my position. I think the PMDB should rethink this (the trigger) and remove this item from its program.” Themes such as salary forfeiture, another program instead of that advocated by the PMDB, moratorium, were themes addressed in the debate at the House of Representatives. When analyzing the crisis, Bresser-Pereira, who regarded it as unprecedented in the Brazilian History, criticized the plans Cruzado I and II, due to the uneven price-freezing policy and the recurring wage adjustments to keep up with inflation (Jornal **Estado de S.Paulo**, 1º de julho de 1987, p. 20).

The 1980s were not a lost era (QUADRAT, 2014). The recovery of public space as a political space was the mark of the Direct Elections Now Campaign and the social movements associated with the resumption of the rule of law. However, we observe in the press providing reports on the event in Rio de Janeiro that it was a dispute over positions with regard to the legitimacy of who and the way how the public space was occupied in the cities during the agreed democracy. Therefore, this means facing the “paradox of event,” observed in the media culture, as pointed out by Nora (1979), and putting into practice the dialectics between the real and the imaginary, the making of a historical fact and its transcription by daily press in the form of news.

The newspapers from Rio with a wide circulation, **Jornal do Brasil**, **O Globo**, **Última Hora**, **O Dia**, **Tribuna da Imprensa**, and **O Fluminense**, provided a markedly visual coverage of the event. The newspapers from São Paulo **Estado de S.Paulo** and **Folha de S.Paulo** reported, on the front page, the event in Rio and provided an in-depth approach in the national news section, with information and data sent by the reporters from the office in Rio. Thus, the proposal of a photographic history of the event does not leave out the understanding of meanings assigned to the same event through the texts accompanying the images.

Out of the set of newspapers mentioned above, all belong to entrepreneurs with tradition in the business of daily newspapers. **Jornal do Brasil**, in the 1980s, an almost centennial newspaper, was a reference in the national press with a liberal profile. It had already undergone its graphic makeover and occupied, since 1973, the new headquarters at Av. Brazil 500, which belonged to the Pereira Carneiro family. At that time, it was already in favor of parliamentarism and against the five-year term of President José Sarney. The senior editors were the journalists Fernando Pedreira, Marcos Sá Correa, and Flávio Pinheiro. **O Globo**, founded in July 1925, by Irineu Marinho, remained as a family-owned medium-sized company, until the 1960s, when by means of an agreement with Time-Life, the Marinho family company took a communication system profile. It was politically aligned in supporting the military regime and, in 1987, it supports the Sarney administration, with a markedly conservative editorial profile when commenting the June 30 events (ASSIS, 2010).

The newspapers **Última Hora** and **O Dia** belonged, in 1987, to the same owner, the journalist and businessman Ary Carvalho. A personal friend to Samuel Weiner, Ary Carvalho acquired the newspaper **Última Hora** in the 1970s, and became its director. In turn, **O Dia**, belonging to the former governor of the State of Guanabara (1971-1975), Chagas Freitas, and identified as a Chagas' platform in the Rio de Janeiro state, was acquired by the businessman in 1983, remaining as one of the most popular newspapers in the Rio de Janeiro state, with a circulation of 80,000 copies on weekdays and 300,000 on Sundays. These newspapers, although not affiliated with Brizola's group on a partisan basis, advocated theses in favor of the population that got close to Brizola's perspective. The newspaper **Tribuna da Imprensa** was founded by Congressman Carlos Lacerda in 1949, in order to act as a publishing platform of the positions and opinions of its founder. In 1962, it passed into the hands of Hélio Fernandes, a combative journalist in the lead years, who directed it in 1987. Founded on May 8, 1878, the newspaper **O Fluminense** is one of the oldest Brazilian newspapers in circulation and it followed, at the time, the conservative tradition of Rio's elites.

The newspapers **Estado de S.Paulo** and **Folha de S.Paulo** are aligned with the large daily press model that in the 1980s would consolidate its profile of communication

companies and conglomerates. From the viewpoint of political positioning, both supported the transition in the way it was agreed, with greater emphasis on supporting the Sarney administration, in the case of “Folha,” and a rather critical and plural look in the case of “Estadão.”

From an ideological viewpoint, there were no significant disagreements between the perspectives of newspapers. Differences were much more related to the target audience and the enunciation mode adopted when preparing the news. The headlines show nuances in the approach: “Alta tarifa convulsiona o Rio” [High bus fares shake Rio] (FSP); “Rio sofre o seu pior quebra-quebra” [Rio suffers its worst riot] (Jornal do Brasil); “Baderna no Centro do Rio” [Riot in Downtown Rio] (O Globo); “As nove horas de batalha no Rio” [The nine-hour battle in Rio] (Estado de S.Paulo); “45 feridos e 100 prisões no Centro do Rio – Quebra-quebra contra o aumento dos ônibus” [45 wounded and 100 arrested in Downtown Rio – Riot against bus fare increase] (Última Hora).¹

The term “riot,” used by two newspapers from Rio, refers to an event that marked the popular response in the Rio de Janeiro state, in 1959, when there was also increase in the fare for the barges that transport passengers and, at that time, also vehicles (about the event see: <http://www.labhoi.uff.br/node/1490>). Convulsion and battle provide the situation with a name, so that the reader can have a viewpoint of his own, different from riot, which already evaluates the event on a previous basis.

The newspaper **Jornal do Brasil** was the one that managed to synthesize the set of issues surrounding the event, in the opening of the report on the front page:

Four shops were looted, more than 100 buses were vandalized – 19 burned and 43 completely destroyed – 90 people were arrested, 58 wounded, there were shots, tear gas, glass splinters in several Downtown streets, and thousands of people in long lines, waiting for transport. These were the first results that the city reaped from the preliminary injunction issued by Judge Ivaldo Corrêa de Souza, which authorized a 50% increase in bus fares. The uproar began shortly after noon, in the form of a demonstration with hundreds of militants, stopping traffic to protest against the increase. In mid-afternoon began the depredation and fire of buses lined up on Avenida Rio Branco and

¹ It was not possible to retrieve the headlines from the newspapers **Tribuna da Imprensa**, **O Dia**, and **O Fluminense**. Out of the archived material from these three newspapers since 1987 only the images that have been cut and pasted as a series still remain.

from there they spread to Avenida Presidente Antônio Carlos. The shops closed their doors, the Military Police was joined by shock platoons and armored cars, and the Army occupied the Central do Brasil area.

On the radio, in messages interspersed with profanity, political players gave orders to try isolating Downtown Rio. Civil police secretary himself, Marcos Heusi, entered the broadcast asking police officers to reestablish proper language usage. He was rejected by a curse and the police officer suggested him to resign and go home. Meanwhile, fueled by the wind and aided by the proximity of buses, the fire spread through Avenida Rio Branco. All resources from Quartel Central dos Bombeiros, poured into the isolated Downtown area, were not enough to prevent the total destruction of several buses and a VW Brasília. Only around 6 p.m., when the Military Police managed to completely remove the protesters from the avenue, the riot was over.

At that time, the Mayor Saturnino Braga had already obtained from Judge Correa de Souza the suspension of the preliminary injunction that authorized the increase. The Sindicato das Empresas de Transporte de Passageiros promised that it will not return to seek justice for increase. Saturnino was waiting since Friday the judge's decision, but he did not foresee the consequences.

In an official statement, the governor Moreira Franco credited the riot to organized groups that have acted openly and "triggered actions at strategic sites of the city, in order to bring chaos and prevent police action." Today, 4 p.m., a parade is scheduled at the same site of the yesterday's riots, which brings together groups from the CUT, FAMERJ, teachers, civil servants, and the Direct Elections Now. (*Jornal do Brasil*, 1º de julho de 1987, p.1)

The *Jornal do Brasil* front page already provided an script of the event that was repeated in other newspapers: the preliminary injunction issued by the judge, the popular response in demonstrations, the riot, the unprepared police action, the occupation of the Central do Brasil area by the Army, the different positions taken by the local, state, and federal authorities. The newspapers analyzed in full issues also had in common the step by step how events unfolded, interpolating the timing of facts, with accounts of individual experiences of those who participated and/or witnessed the incident.

The newspaper *Última Hora* emphasized the presence of civil society and political authorities on behalf of prisoners who were indiscriminately and transferred to the police station of the Federal Police, due to the arbitrary actions taken by the civil and military police officers of the Rio de Janeiro state throughout June 30. The report entitled "Rio

Branco foi por três horas campo de batalha” [Rio Branco became a battlefield for three hours] the newspaper emphasizes police action and the presence of representatives of the Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil:

The doubly terrified population, as the Military Police action was a clear demonstration of unpreparedness and truculence. [...] Within several buildings, panicked people, they did not know what direction to take, because the disordered Military Police action discouraged them to leave any shelter [...] a bus was set on fire in front of the building Avenida Central. Every action resulted in more panic, with Military Police officers spraying tear gas and pepper gas, the latter device was named as ‘Pimentinha.’ [...] Booed and cursed by the people, who in chorus sang “marcha soldado cabeça de papel,” the Military Police officers chafed moving together against small groups that formed to escape the batons. Dozens of arrests were made with no criteria, media professionals were ostensibly provoked and assaulted, three journalists were arrested and a Military Police officer with no identification embroidered on his chest battered whoever was around [...] Lawyer Felipe Amoedo was sent by Nilo Batista to know of events and check the situation of prisoners. As he left the police station to go to the Federal Police, as some individuals had already been taken, Felipe said: “So far, I have only seen rioting by the police, I did not see any legal procedure, underage people have been arrested. I do not see why the Federal Police needs to get involved in this case. Unless the Criminal Code has been torn into pieces. And if that happened, from now on no one will be allowed to spit on the street, everyone will be liable under the Brazilian National Security Law. (Última Hora, 1º de julho de 1987, p. 3)

The redundancy of information and accumulation of scattered accounts of the event served to create its “monstrosity,” in Nora’s words, due to the feeling of fear it has brought. However, the positions at stake presented in editorials serve both to strengthen the monstrous nature of the event and to point out ways to achieve a rather consistent press. Out of the positions at stake, the polarization between the editorials by **Folha de S.Paulo** and **Jornal do Brasil**, both located at the central portion of the first section, besides a cartoon:



Folha de S.Paulo, 1º de julho de 1987, p. A2.

The following excerpts may be highlighted in the editorial by **Folha de S.Paulo** :

Rio de Janeiro explodes again in indignation and lack of control [...] the increase in bus fares causes a riot [...]. It is not the time to discuss the merits or the price increase opportunity [...] all this pales [...] nothing justifies barbarity. It is worth mentioning, anyway, the price- and wage-freezing decreed by the federal government; if this exists, it has to be effective. [...] It is interesting, first, that order is observed [...] and it is not required here to use any authoritarian or anachronistic mechanism, such as exemplified in the country by the Brazilian National Security Law. What is expected is only a government action that does not compromise

citizenship, which is not based on the exception, but on the power of legitimacy. [...] So the lack of sensitivity of a judge arises as a determining factor of the riot. The unrest context seen in the country – enhanced by the economic crisis – cannot suffer this kind of free and uncompromised interference. In turn, turmoil – whether spontaneous or politically motivated – it is not a legitimate instrument of claim or protest. It does not serve Brazil; it does not serve the process of developing democratic institutions. (Folha de S.Paulo , 1º de julho de 1987, p. A2)

It is revealed in the editorial's opinion that the “guilt” by the June 30 events is the sole responsibility of the judge. Therefore, the response of the masses to the voluntarism of this magistrate might be barbarism. Voluntarism by the authority and barbarism by the population do not fit the rule of law and the democratic order, therefore they require the action of a strong State with enough consciousness to assign the social actors their proper roles. Democratic institutions, in Brazil, according to the newspaper's editorial, are not conquered through struggles in the urban space, but by means of the power of action. Fighting the “monster” with the necessary weapons: it is not by chance that the cartoon published here combines the excesses of the police in Rio and the occupation of the streets at carnival.



Jornal do Brasil, 1º de julho de 1987, p. 10.

On the other side of the argument, there lies the editorial by **Jornal do Brasil**. The account begins by recalling the June 25 demonstration, which resulted in the stoning of a bus which was transporting President Sarney, at Paço Imperial, in Downtown Rio. The newspaper names the action as a protest and it also addresses the event from a temporal perspective, looking for consistent explanations to what had happened:

Now, the demonstration took the size of Brazilian problems. [...] The former capital of the Republic remains as a social and political laboratory for the rest of the country. But it is a living laboratory, and not a collection of beakers handled in Brasília. It is also a major urban center, with the problems of a major urban center that internal migration in the country constantly makes worse [...] On this dense social fabric, the increase in bus fares collapsed like a real punishment. What amazes is that such a serious matter has been addressed so casually that it almost seems as provocative – and that was how people got the message.

Bus fares had gone up 50% in April, 44% in May – an explosion related to the artificiality which the first freezing reached. A further increase had been discussed with the concessionaires when the second freezing came. Rio's Mayor asked the Finance Minister about the possibility of transferring to the user costs such as those caused by the increase in fuel. The minister said no – and the mayor kept the prices within his jurisdiction. Concessionaires sought the justice; and by means of a preliminary injunction, the established, from day to night, another 50% increase.

Had no one thought of the consequences this could have? The judge granting the preliminary injunction repented quickly – something which shows the lightness with which the theme was addressed. [...] How could someone explain to the poorest population, during a freeze, that the price of transport it uses to commute to and from work has an increase that, for those with a low income level, seems simply astronomical? For a long time, the public transport issue was, in Rio de Janeiro, a very urgent matter. What is strangling the city, and destroying the vegetation on the hills, is not it the traffic jams caused by the absence of a transport system that enables the creation of new occupation areas? The poorer a citizen is, theoretically further away from downtown he may live. But if it takes three buses to get to work, and if such a transport system does not benefit from a 'social' approach, which alternative remains but the slum or the viaduct?

In addition to this, the particular crisis that Brazil is going through, and yesterday's episodes take a disturbing feature. [...] we experience, theoretically, the moment that the Brazilian people, through its representatives, might show a better ability to legislate for itself, to establish a new rule of the game, aimed at the future, but above all at the present. The myriad of projects that fall upon the constituent, however, produce an awkward sense of detail myopia. Thousands of private affairs

are addressed; but they do not concern the highest law that Brazil is waiting for. So far, what we have seen is street-driven socialism.

The cacophony of different voices creates a disorientation atmosphere; and this loss of direction certainly helped fuel the riot that shook Rio. Through its futile violence, it conveys the idea of a huge lack of perspective. Also, this is not the way out of the crisis – because if there is a way out for this, it is a way down.

[...] Activists always lurking may have served as a trigger for yesterday's riot. But a trigger is not enough for such a huge mess. The country, mirrored on Rio de Janeiro, had a real visceral convulsion, it had churned within and did not move at all. It might be simplistic to attribute what happened to Bresser's Plan. [...] The way it was addressed, in Rio de Janeiro, a major problem such as the cost of mass transport, makes clear the amount of amateurs who cross the tracks of the Brazilian reality. The situation is too serious for such amateurishness. Strength-based solutions are useless; but the plot of dilettantes can provide strength fans with the excuse they need to act. (*Jornal do Brasil*, 1^o de julho de 1987, p. 10)

In the approach by **Jornal do Brasil** there were no voluntarism or barbarism, but class interests. Arm wrestling between the municipal authorities and representatives of bus transportation concessionaires, mediated by a judge without little significance, eventually outlined the portrait of Brazil. The cartoonist's work is in line with the editorial's rationale, as it throws to Planalto Central the responsibility for the events in Rio.

The portrait of Brazil that is outlined through media coverage texts consists in an alternate dimension, not always complementary, in the photographic record of the event. It has been noticed above that the newspapers from Rio de Janeiro provided a markedly visual coverage, either due to proximity of newsrooms to Downtown Rio, where everything happened, or to the affirmation of photographic practice, above all photojournalism as a form of expression in the 1980s (MAUAD, 2011).

At that time, the photographic reporter, already recognized as a photojournalist, had consolidated through independent agencies a political role in the democratic transition. At the same time, by means of the union struggle, he achieved an appreciation of his work in the newsrooms of major newspapers. Therefore, the photographs that registered June 30, 1987, more than illustrate the reports, designed the event within the visual public space.

The event in scenes

Among the testimonies of victims who were provided with care at Hospital Souza Aguiar, there is Carlos Carvalho's, then a photographer at the Angular agency, and the only one who shot a photograph of Sarney in the bus with a broken glass in the episode on June 25, 1987. In his account, the photographer, at the time aged 30 years, commented the situation he was following up since the photos of Sarney were shot: "From then on tempers are hotter. People in Planalto do not know what is going on in the street... What we have seen now, despite lobbying by half a dozen, has come from the common people" (**Estado de S.Paulo**, 1^o de julho de 1987, p. 9).

The photographer's situation, and his perception of how the situation unfolds, reveals the improvement of a participatory and engaged photographic practice, which might characterize his generation (MAUAD, 2011). By the time he was shot, Carlos Carvalho was along with Marcelo Tarso, a photographer in **Jornal do Brasil**, something which points out the presence of other photojournalists in the scenario of events, looking for exceptional images that could ensure a highlight in the professional field.

It is noteworthy that the whole process of producing meaning through photography, as well as its original value, involves two movements by the subject-photographer: entry and allocation (LUGON, 2006). Through the entry size, we recognize the investment made by the subject-photographer to produce an image that causes resonance in the social field where his photographic experience unfolds. Such an investment is the result of a social work towards the production of meaning defined by the relationship between the subject and the visible world, supported by resources, techniques, and concepts derived from their field of origin (KRACAUER, 1980). From the viewpoint of allocation, we identify the social relations supporting the effectiveness of the photographic image and they are directly related to the visual system they came from. Thus, a photograph acquires historical value, both due to its ability to respond to the visual demands of the social circuit (production, circulation, consumption, and agency) organized by various bodies in the public scene (press, market, State, social movement, etc.) and the technical and aesthetic resources used for this work.

Given these features of the contemporary photographic practice, the possible meanings of the event were outlined by the profusion of images in the newspapers the next day. Therefore, we must face the “paradox of event” which is revealed in scenes, with regard to a photographic history.

Out of a total of 146 photographs of the 5 newspapers published in Rio de Janeiro and 1 in Niteroi, we evaluated the aspects related to clarity in the photographic expression – framing, size, sequence – and the items highlighted in the photographic content – fire, smoke, police, people, firefighters, politicians, and situations outside the space visually delineated by the event (e.g. photo of the judge who authorized the increase in his household, or the wedding that took place in Downtown Rio later at a church).

The analysis provided the following figures:

Size	Jornal do Brasil	O Dia	O Globo	Tribuna da Imprensa	Última Hora	O Fluminense
Small-sized photos – between 1/8 and 1/16 of a page	1	8	16	13	1	5
Mid-sized photos – ¼ of a page	9	14	15	8	12	5
Large-sized photos – ½ or a whole page	14	4	5	5	2	13
Total	26	24	36	26	15	13

Photo theme	Jornal do Brasil	O Dia	O Globo	Tribuna da Imprensa	Última Hora	O Fluminense
Police action Repression	8	8	9	6	7	4
Police action Rescue	2	3	2	3	2	-
Police action Property protection	1	1	3	2	1	-
Popular action	7	-	10	8	6	1

Attack on property						
Popular action Response to repression	2	3	4	1	4	1
Class action Parade and demonstration	1	3	2	1	-	3
Property destroyed	3	5	3	5	3	3

Central object in the photo	Jornal do Brasil	O Dia	O Globo	Tribuna da Imprensa	Última Hora	O Fluminense
People	6	11	16	11	8	5
Police	7	7	9	5	7	5
Bus	7	5	8	1	5	2
Smoke	1	3	4	3	2	2
Fire	1	1	2	3	3	2
Firefighters	-	-	2	-	1	1

Photographic expression	Jornal do Brasil	O Dia	O Globo	Tribuna da Imprensa	Última Hora	O Fluminense
Clear photos – central framing, well-defined contrasts, field depth, central object in focus, and balanced distribution of elements in the photo	23	15	32	22	20	9
Poorly shot photos	1	11	4	4	-	4
Sequences	1	1	3	1	2	1
Photos out of context	1	-	1	-	-	-

When considering the relationship between text (legends) and image in the composition of the visual space, associated with the results displayed in the tables – “Photo theme” and “Central object” –, we observe opposing poles that support the production of meaning by the photographic record of newspapers: police/people; order/disorder (rioting, turmoil, “troublemaking”); safeguard of property/destruction of property; unity/division; gas/fire.

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The series named as type 1 is characterized by the relationship between legend and image and it begins with the only color photo in each newspaper's coverage. In this series, the comment or scene description strength guides the narrative according to two principles: tension, when the comment overlaps the image (photos 1.2,1.3,1.5,1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 1.11, 1.13, 1.15, 1.16, 1.17); illustration, when the images magnify the meaning of the legend (photos 1.1, 1.4,1.9, 1.10, 1.12,1.14).

Photo 1 (consisting of the first set of type 1 images)



1.1 - "Cena nunca vista na Rio Branco: os ônibus queimam e ameaçam prédios de um dos lados da avenida. Bombeiros tentam apagar o fogo. O congestionamento das ruas próximas retardou a chegada do socorro"(Foto de Aníbal Philot, *O Globo*, p. 1 única foto colorida de todas as reportagens)



1.2 - "Quebrados e incendiados, os ônibus compõem um cenário assustador", foto de Jorge Marinho, *O Globo*, 1/07/1987



1.3 - "Multidão incontrolável tentou durante o protesto virar os ônibus no Centro", s/i, *Última Hora*, 1/07/1987



1.4 - "Saqueadores fogem carregando livros após apedrejar a Livraria Ediouro, enquanto outro grupo arromva e saquia lojas vizinhas no Largo da Carioca, Foto de Paulo Moreira, *O Globo*, 1/07/1987

Photo 2 (consisting of the second set of type 1 images)



Ponto final: ao lado das carcaças dos ônibus, soldados da PM chegam para dominar a baderna

1.5 - “Ponto final: ao lado das carcaças dos ônibus, soldados da PM chegam para dominar a baderna”, s/i, O Globo, 1/07/1987



O policial não aparenta calma, mesmo tendo a força

1.6 - “O policial não aparenta calma, mesmo tendo a força, s/i, O Fluminense, 1/07/1987



Nem a barreira da PM intimidou

1.7 - “Nem a barreira da PM intimidou”, s/i, Tribuna da Imprensa, 1/07/1987



Com a pedra na mão, o manifestante cai

1.8 - “Com a pedra na mão, o manifestante cai”, s/i, O Fluminense, 1/07/1987

Photo 3 (consisting of the third set of type 1 images)



1.9 – “Correndo, um dos participantes do protesto escapa do PM que tenta em vão segurá-lo, foto de Cesar Lima, O Globo, 1/07/1987



1.10 – “A polícia foi implacável na repressão aos manifestantes resultando em mais de 100 prisões”, s/i, Última Hora, 1/07/1987



1.11 – “Enquanto jovem casal brinca, a senhora aplaude, olhando para os PMs”, s/i, O Globo, 1/07/1987



1.12 – “Feliz Carlo caiu quando fugia da PM e fraturou a perna direita na explosão de uma bomba”, s/i, Jornal do Brasil, 1/07/1987

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Photo 4 (consisting of the fourth set of type 1 images)



1.13 – “Esse não escapa. Sem camisa, segurando pelas calças”, *s/i*, *Tribuna da Imprensa*, 1/07/1987



1.14 – “Com pistolas de gás na mão, soldados do Batalhão de Choque arrastavam presos para os camburões, foto de Chiquito Chaves, *Jornal do Brasil*, 1/07/1987



1.15 – “O manifestante grita e o PM fica impassível”, *s/i*, *O Fluminense*, 1/07/1987



1.16 – “A manifestante presa é conduzida no colo pela PM”, foto Marcelo Carnaval, *Jornal do Brasil*, 1/07/1987



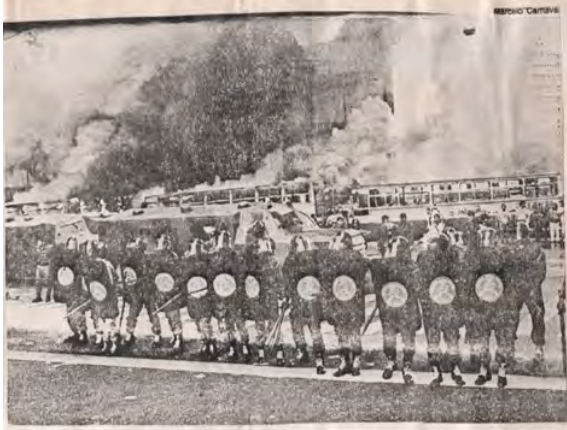
1.17 – “O escudo não foi empecilho para o PM deixar de prender o agitador”, foto de Hipólito Pereira, *O Globo*, 1/07/1987

From the numerical viewpoint, the thematic distribution of newspapers follows up the polarization shown above, as they are evenly distributed between police repression and popular action. Regarding the leading role played by the scene, the visual space was divided between people and police officers, as evidenced in the analysis of figures from

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the tables – “Photo theme” and “Central object.” Type 2 series makes up the mosaic that sets the war of images.

Photo 5 and 6 - The photographs that make up the type 2 series were published by the newspapers on 07/01/1987.



2.1 – Foto de Marcelo Carnaval, JB



2.2 - O Dia



2.3 - O Dia



2.4 - O Dia



2.5 – Foto de Marcos Venício, *Tribuna da Imprensa*



2.6 – Foto de Tarso Marcelo, JB

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2.7 - Última Hora



2.8 - Tribuna da Imprensa



2.9 - O Dia



2.10 - O Dia



2.11 - JB

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In terms of photographic expression, the predominance of clear images, which allow a clear observation of the information conveyed, associated with mid- and large-sized ones, characterize a visual space which prioritizes the identification of the situation, agents, and their fully contextualized action. Type 3 series was divided into categories of agents who were part of the event performance: photographers (photos 3.1 and 3.2), victims (photos 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8), action (photo 3.9), response – firefighters (3.10) and further response – police officers (3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, and 3.15), in order to show the weight of repression images on the visual arrangement of the event.

Photo 7, Photo 8 and Photo 9- All photographs that make up the type 3 series were published by the newspapers on 07/01/1987.

Os Fotógrafos



3.1 – Foto de Paulo Moreira, *O Globo*



3.2 - *O Dia*

As vítimas



3.3 - *Tribuna da Imprensa*



3.4 – *Jornal do Brasil*

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As vítimas



Apavorada com a agressão, passageira escapa como pode pela janela

3.5 - O Globo



Mais um ferido a caminho do Souza Aguiar

3.6 - O Dia



3.7 - Última Hora



3.8 - Última Hora

Ação



Badeneros em ação no Centro do Rio: locha preparada, pedra na mão, destruição em marcha

3.9 - O Globo

Reação



Na Rio Branco, enquanto colegas tentam apagar o fogo no ônibus, um bombeiro pede calma aos manifestantes

3.10 - Foto de Ricardo Leoni, O Globo

Mais reação



Policiais militares cercam contra a parede participantes da agitação

3.11 - O Globo



Protegidos com escudos, dois policiais perseguem um dos manifestantes

3.12 - O Globo



De capacetes, escudos e cassetetes, um grupo de PMs avança na esquina da Avenida Rio Branco tentando chegar aos apedrejadores

3.13 - O Globo



As escopetas estiveram sempre apontadas para o alto

3.14 - Foto de Tasso Marcelo, **Jornal do Brasil**



3.15 - Foto de Marcelo Carnaval, **Jornal do Brasil**

Some unquantified features are noteworthy, including the editorial arrangement of pages. An arrangement mode gathered photos from various shots in a sequence that makes up a graphical page, which is different from that produced by the same viewpoint. In the first case, the narrative is constituted afterwards, in order to assign a meaning to the photographic records according to the design adopted by the photographic editor. In turn, in the second case, the photographer's participatory observation animates scenes in perspectives-sequence, creating a film version of the event.

The two pages in the section named as Caderno Cidade, in **Jornal do Brasil**, published on 07/01/1987, characterize the two arrangement types. On the left page, on the lower portion, the sequence produced by the same shot accompanies the act of a protester against the bus; while on the next page, the arrangement of photos shot in different situations transcribes police action on the stage of events. These two arrangement types have also been found in the other newspapers.

Photo 10 - "Caderno Cidade," *Jornal do Brasil*, 07/01/1987, <http://www.jb.com.br/paginas/news-archive/>, accessed on January 22, 2016.



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Photo 11 - Photographic arrangement accompanying the full report of the event, with accounts by people and authorities, Última Hora, 07/01/1987, p. 6.



Photo 12 - Sequência fotográfica Alcyr Cavalcanti,” Tribuna da Imprensa, 07/01/1987, p. 6 (published in the order from left to right, from top to bottom, numbered in sequence, commented legends).



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Another unquantifiable element is associated with the possible readings of the occupation of the visual public space by the population during the conflict. A first reading suggests the carnivalization of popular occupation in Downtown Rio, an area historically identified with Rio's street carnival (photos 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3). A second reading concerns the allocation of political value to the visual public space for popular occupation, away from the streets by the agreed transition that decreed the end of the Direct Elections Now (photos 5.4 and 5.5). Similarly to the other photographs, all belonging to the type 5 series were published by the newspapers on 07/01/1987.

Foto 13 - Tribuna da Imprensa



Foto 14 - O Globo



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Foto 15 - Jornal do Brasil



Foto 16 - O Fluminense

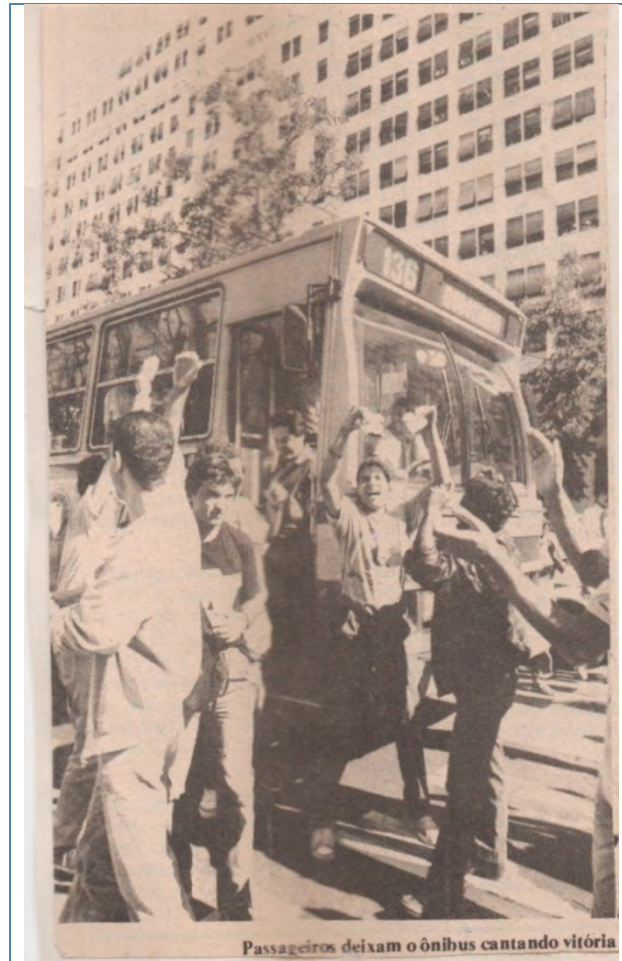


Foto 17 - O Dia



The clashes in Downtown Rio, started on June 30, 1987, due to the increase in bus fares, were recorded through the participatory lenses of photographers who worked mainly in the daily newspapers. In fact, the photographers themselves were within the event, in a documentary photographic practice pathway, which was outlined over the 20th century, both in independent agencies, above all the French agency Magnum, and in newsrooms of daily newspapers and weekly magazines (MAUAD, 2008b, SOUSA, 2000).

The analysis of the image series shows visual repertoires driven to translate the event into scenes. They are scenes of action, response, repression, rescue, destruction, opposition, demonstration, and occupation, the event on June 30, 1987, shaped the visual public space of the event. This phenomenon defined both the persistence of its memory and the critical conversion of photographic images in the daily newspapers by means of the historical analysis.

Possible pathways

The history of photography, or rather the photographic history addressed by Benjamin and Kracauer (2009), in their considerations included in this text, enables a historical analysis to see the photographs as a support for social practices (MENESES, 2005). In this way, the photographs produced on June 30, 1987, point out two possible and complementary pathways to the epistemology of the current time.

A first level concerns the very historical condition of the photographic practice that promoted the coverage of the event in order to set up a visual public space in the daily press. It is worth noticing that in the 1980s photography affirmed itself in Brazil, both from a professional viewpoint, with the recognition of a number of labor rights for the category of photojournalists, and from the political viewpoint, due to the presence of photography by independent agencies in the public scene at the resumption of political rights, and also through the recognition of the photographic practice as a part of the art worlds, with the implementation, in 1982, at FUNARTE, of a Brazilian national proposal for the photographic activity (MAUAD; LOUZADA; SOUZA JUNIOR, 2014).

The other pathway positions the photographic experience, which results from the event, as a possible route to face what Nora has identified as the “paradox of event” in the contemporary world. When translating the event into scenes, the photographic experience encapsulates the continuous flow of the present and it turns the instant into the meeting point between multiple times. The historical events observed through the images and their routes, the same way how the dates proposed by Bosi (1992), would become tips of icebergs.

On the sea of History, we must navigate carefully.

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