How photography constructs an imaginary of Rio de Janeiro in the 1940's in the magazine *O Cruzeiro*

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ABSTRACT

Influenced by international magazines, as *Match* and *Life*, the illustrated magazine *O Cruzeiro* (1928-75) changed Brazilian's photojournalism when adopted the model of photographic reportage in 1940's. With large variety of themes ("taming" Brazil's interior to, cinema's stars or cities' lives) and a massive presence of images, their reportages "documented" how were the landscapes and lives of people in various places of the world.

Photography is rich for depicture things, therefore it's helpful in research about some culture or society, although, we shouldn't take it as "transparent", a reflection of the reality. Photograph also refracts the reality, because the photographers' choices aren't marked only by technical possibilities, but also by a "way of seeing", an interpretation about the world, which is crossed by social, historical and cultural factors that will be materialized in images during the photographic act. At the same time, the photographic production over a theme also contributes to construct a common imaginary inside a culture and, in that way, influences the way how people perceive/understand determined subject.

Through the lens of cultural studies, we analyzed a series of reportages from 1949 about the neighborhood of Copacabana, in Rio de Janeiro. We discussed how, through Rio's staged or instantaneous photographs, the magazine *O Cruzeiro* appropriated the concept of photography as document and contributed to an imaginary about Rio de Janeiro in the 1940's (and beyond that) – which may have influenced the construction of cariocas' own identities and how other people conceive them.

Keywords: Photography, Photojournalism, Representation, Way of seeing, Imaginary.

Photography is a key element in mass media during twentieth century, especially after the modern illustrated magazines in which photography had the main role in journalistic narratives. These magazines first appeared in Europe in the 1920's, specifically in German, during the cultural effervescence between wars. After, their model has spread through the continent, North America and it came to Brazil. As Gisèle Freund points out, the use of photography in press[3] changes the world perception of the common citizen:

> The introduction of photography in press is a phenomenon of capital importance. It changes the vision of masses. Until then, the common man could only see events that occurred at his side, at his own street, at his own village. With photography, it was open a window to the world. The faces of public characters, the events that occurred in the same country or beyond borders become familiar. (Freund, 2001, p.96)

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[3] Actually, the use of photography in press began after 1880, when the halftone technic was invented. At the time, the use was yet too shy. The use of photography increases in the first half of the twentieth century. To more detailed description of photography uses in press, see Freund (2001).

With illustrated magazines like *Life* in USA, *Match* in France or *O Cruzeiro* in Brazil, there was a large production of reportages that raised the volume of images of distant places and also photographs depicting the proper places where the readers lived. So, increasingly, readers began to relate themselves with the world mediated by photography, which contributed to the construction of an imaginary about various subjects.

This imagery is the result of small sets of images, which are selections operated by photographers and media. In this article we will analyze a series of three reportages from 1949 about the neighborhood of Copacabana, in Rio de Janeiro, to understand how Brazilian illustrated magazine *O Cruzeiro* used photography as document and contributed to the construction of an imaginary about what is to be carioca[4] in the late 1940s and how this imaginary may have influenced the construction of identities of cariocas themselves and how other people think about them and the city at that time and beyond.

O Cruzeiro and photography

The magazine *O Cruzeiro* was founded in 1928 by Francisco Assis Chateaubriand, owner of the journalistic conglomerate *Diários Associados*, and was intended to be a modern magazine, contemporary of a modern country, which was in the process of urbanization of cities, had an increase in number of mass media (newspapers, magazines and radio) and was entering the capitalism once for all. The *Cruzeiro*'s first editorial:

> [...] The magazine is the intermediate state between the newspaper and the book. [...] A newspaper can be an organ of a party, faction or doctrine. A magazine is a tool for education and culture: where to show virtue, animate it, where it bears the beauty, admire it, which proves the talent, applaud it, which endeavor the progress, help it. [...] A magazine should be like a loyal mirror which reflects life in their edifying, and attractive aspects. A magazine should be, above all, a school of good taste. (Cruzeiro, 11.10.1928)[5]

This text made some aspects clear, like the producers understood the magazine as "a tool for education and culture" and that it should function as a "loyal mirror" of life. In this sense, the image has a leading role.

O Cruzeiro was the leading weekly publication of Brazil in the twentieth century: the first with nationwide distribution and increasing circulation every year[6]. It appeared inspired by the French *Vu*, and despite having the intention of being modern, *O Cruzeiro* was still attached to a more literary journalism than of reportage, that is, within a logic of media attached to the nineteenth and early twentieth's model of the firsts Brazilian's illustrated magazines of varieties, which dealt

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[4] "Carioca" is the adjective for the inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

[5] At first, the magazine was called *Cruzeiro,* but soon its name was changed to *O Cruzeiro.*

[6] It started with a circulation of 50,000 copies (Cruzeiro, 11.10.1928). Its peak was 720,000 copies in 1954 for the edition about Getúlio Vargas' suicide, the Brazil's President at the time (Peregrino, 1991, p.24). These numbers are impressive, given the fact that illiteracy was high in Brazil at this time.

with themes relating to bourgeois society and photography served only as an illustration to the text, subordinated to it. (Costa, 2012, pp.9-10)

O Cruzeiro is classified as part of the second generation of Brazilian illustrated magazines because it emerged in the context of modernization of the press, which became more professional with specialization of its functions, became more commercial with the increased income arising from the sale of advertising space and suited to the models of the international press (Costa, 2012, p.18).

In the 1940s, *O Cruzeiro* becomes a truly modern magazine when applied the model of photojournalism, based first in the French magazine *Match* and after in American *Life*. Like other magazines, the reportages were about various themes such as urban life, politics, sports, arts, leisure, fashion, personalities, etc. However, *"O Cruzeiro* generally presents a vision of dual world based on dichotomies such as good and evil, beauty and ugliness, black and white, normal and abnormal, the healthy and the sick, the civilized and the savage." (Costa, 1992, p.71)

The magazine was published until the mid-1970s, but the 1940s and 1950s were its peak, precisely because of the modernization process operated by the photographers who joined the team and introduced a more dynamic photojournalism. The first of these professionals was the French photographer Jean Manzon, who worked for several European magazines such as *Match*, *Vu* and *Voilà* and, from 1943, he began to apply a model of photojournalistic reportage with which he was familiar in Europe: valorization of photography in pages massively illustrated by images, which followed a structured narrative and there was little presence of text. According to Burgi (2012, p.33), the model introduced by Manzon gave privilege for sensationalistic and staged photographs, even when the intention was that the images appear to be spontaneous. From 1947, with the arrival of new photographers such as José Medeiros, Luciano Carneiro and Flávio Damm, there was a new change in the photographic language at magazine (Costa, 2012, p.19). Also inspired by international models such as the one of *Life* magazine and the one of *Magnum* agency, these photographers began to produce images within the paradigm of humanist photography, whose main theme is human relationships, common citizens or, as pointed out Sergio Burgi (2012, p. 37): "Humanist photography is the celebration of life and its diversity through the lens of the photographer who is committed to documenting from everyday facts to the great tragedies and social issues that challenge the humanity." What differ the two models is that the practices of the new generation (headed by José Medeiros) seek photographs that were or appeared to be spontaneous. According to Costa (2012, p.31), "it was a paradigm shift, the causes of which are not in the photography and much less in the media, but in the collective investment of Brazilian society in recognizing itself, or not, in certain types of representation." In other words, these changes did not happen without a

reason, as merely a result of the introduction of new technologies, such as small-format cameras, or simply by import of international models.

Photography as representational system

For André Rouillé (2009, p.19) that photography isn't a document, even though it has a value of document, which can vary depending on the circumstances. Hamilton (1997, p.81) states that there are several ways to think "document" in the photography. The two most important meanings are: documentary as an objective representation and documentary as an subjective interpretation. Both meanings are closely linked to the history of photography. In the nineteenth century, photography was interpreted as an objective evidence of something, a proof, that's because of its similarity to the referent and to the fact that their characteristics of technical image (produced by a mechanical device, developed from physics and chemistry laws) allowed to produce an image that "emanates from the real", apparently, without the interference of people. "The first photographers spoke as if the camera were a copier machine; as if, although people operate cameras, was the camera that was seeing." (Sontag, 2007, p.104). In other words, the photography was considered as "mirror of reality".

Along the technological and aesthetic evolution, photography developed its practices, with different conceptions of photographic representation. So, that way emerged one second documentary sense: photography as personal interpretation of reality, the author's point-of-view. For Roy Striker[7] (quoted in Hamilton, 1997, p.83) a "[…] good documentary should tell not only what a place or a thing or person *looks* like, but it must also tell the audience what it would *feel* like to be an actual witness to the scene." [author's emphasis] According to Hamilton (1997, p.84), the authenticity of the photographic image in this model is not about the mimetic appearance of the photo, but the sense of the author "being there" conveys a value of truth to the image.

So, through their social uses photography acquired a value of truth and this contributes to the way how viewers perceive and understand certain subject represented by a photograph. When Joan Fontcuberta (2010, pp.37-48) writes about the relationship between photography and memory, he points out that photography has often a function of clairvoyance, since we live in a world where images precede realities and when in face these realities we seek for those features that we'd seen in the photos: "Actually we do not seek the vision, but the déjà-vu" (Fontcuberta, 2010, p.48). Similarly, Vilém Flusser (1998, pp.28-29) argues that the images are codes that translate the events into scenes and, because it is not possible for us to have immediate contact with reality, the images serve as mediations between us and the world. They represent it and they should work as maps of it.

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[7] Roy Stryker was the director of USA's Farm Security Administration and leaded a project that documented the lives of peasants in the 1930's.

However, to represent the world, the images stand between us and reality, because they replace the world by scenes. As a result, the images become folding screens and the world is lived in function of images. Thus, we come to live reality as a set of scenes, which aren't perceived anymore as representations but as reality.

In this sense, we'll try to understand how, through the process of representation, the photography contributes to the construction of imaginaries, which allows us to share meanings with each other within the same culture, and how photography mediates our perceptions of the world to the point of contributes to the formation of identities.

Representation is a complex process that occurs in everyday practices and connects the production of meaning and language to culture. Stuart Hall (1997, p.16) says that "humans are interpretative beings, creators of meaning" and theirs actions occur through signifying systems, which are used "to define what things mean and codify, organize and regulate the conducts of people in the relationship between them." Taken together, signifying systems constitute the cultures. So, the languages are essential, because is through them that we are able to construct meaning and exchange them with other members of our culture.

The production of meaning cannot be understood from a unidirectional flow: emitter that produces meaning and transmits it to a receiver. Stuart Hall (1997b) proposes to think the production of meanings based on the idea of "circuit of culture", which includes the processes of production, consumption, representation, identity and regulation. These processes occur in a continuous stream and the production of meanings is part of all interactions that we participate.

According to Hall (1997b, pp.17-18), there are two representational systems that operate together. First, each individual has a system of representation where each object or concept (real or fictitious) has a set of mental representations, which enable this individual to interpret the world. The second system is the one in which the individual shares his mental concepts about something through language, whose meanings will be interpreted by the receiver of the message through his mental representations. The meanings are encoded in signs. But the codes are not fixed, in a given context "Codes fix the relationships between concepts and signs. They stabilize meaning within different languages and cultures." (Hall, 1997b, p.21) From this perspective, the meaning is not simply found in things but a process of constant construction, where the codes are created, developed and negotiated. When representing things of world, the participants attribute meaning to them. Therefore, the systems of representation, as photography, not only reflect the world but they also help to construct the meanings about of what they represent.

When we look at a photograph, may seem "natural" the way information is transmitted through the image or how the referent "adheres" to the image. We perceive information as if there were no codes, like the medium was "transparent" and didn't occurred any processes of encoding or

decoding – that reinforces the false conception of photography as mirror. But we only naturally understand languages because we are constantly taught to decipher them without even realizing it. Is important to notice that not everyone will read a sign in the same way. That depends on our personal mental representations. The vision, for example, is not just the result of a physiological phenomenon of light being captured by our retinas. According to John Berger (1977, p.8), our knowledge about something interferes with the way we see this thing – like Fontcuberta's argument that we quoted above. Similarly, our experiences in relation to something affect what we think about it. So, the way that a photographer understands a particular subject will be decisive for the materialization of its representation about it: choice of subject, framing, type of film or camera, image selection, processing and retouching where publishing, everything. Therefore, the process of materialization is never neutral or "objective", even if the producer does not account that he is embedded within a worldview, a way of seeing that is constituted by their mental representations:

> An image is a sight which has been recreated or reproduced. It is an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved – for a few moments or a few centuries. Every image embodies a way of seeing. Even a photograph. For photographs are not, as is often assumed, a mechanical record. Every time we look at a photograph, we are aware, however slightly, of the photographer selecting that sight from an infinity of other possible sights. This is true even in the most casual family snapshot. The photographer's way of seeing is reflected in his choice of subject. The painter's way of seeing is reconstituted by the marks he makes on the canvas or paper. Yet, although every image embodies a way of seeing, our perception or appreciation of an image depends also upon our own way of seeing. (Berger, 1977, pp.09-10)

The choices made by photographers are not merely marked by the technical possibilities present in photographic device, but also by a broader universe that is crossed by cultural issues, of power, of class, that is, by a universe that is constituted within social and historical relationships of its elements. The particular way of seeing of a photographer is in constant relation with a broader way of seeing, collective, of society in general in which this artist produces. Both ways of seeing are historically constructed in the relations of production of meaning, that is, in the circuit of culture.

To materialize their ideas in works, photographers must own the means of production of images. Raymond Williams (2011, p.69) suggests that it is necessary to think the media as means of production, therefore, embedded in a system of social organization. For the author, the media are constituted in a social and historical context, they produce and reproduce society in which they find themselves: at the same time that the mass media are constituted by dominant social forces (which has a monopoly of cultural production) they also constitute this society with values of these dominant forces. For Williams (2011, pp. 81-82), within a "class division based society [...] only a few voices are amplified": the access and restrictions to the media are related to the interests of dominant classes. Therefore, it is important that these issues are taken into account when we are studying the image production generally or within a specific context, such as photojournalism, which is mostly produced by large companies.

Arlindo Machado, argues that ideology plays a fundamental role in systems of representation, because "In society of classes, the systems of representation that should explain the phenomena are themselves already contaminated by class struggle and, consequently, become systems necessarily 'deformers', that is, endowed with intentionality" (Machado, 1984, pp.12-13). To the author (Machado, 1984, pp.19-21) the materialization of ideology occurs precisely in the production of signs, because these signs reflect (mirroring) and refract (modifying) the represented reality. In other words, they transmit information about a given reality but not neutrally, because they interfere in the information once the signs are made possible by instruments[8] and operated by people or, as Flusser says, the images stand between us and reality.

In the case of the magazine *O Cruzeiro* we can clearly see these influences in the journalistic production, in fact, the fate of all papers and magazines of *Diários Associados* depended on the political interests of its owner, Assis Chateaubriand, who had close relations with the government or political groups. Chateaubriand used to use all their media to criticize or support political parties or ideologies. Including the founding of *O Cruzeiro* and his journalistic conglomerate growth was due to his connections[9]. The relationship with advertisers is also clear: many articles were clearly paid to praise products, companies, politicians or businessmen, even if they pass through "objective" (Costa, 1998, p.115 and Costa 2012, p.30). Chateaubriand was openly advocate of Americanism because he was in favor of liberalism, the entry of foreign capital into the country and preached the Brazil's economic and urban development at any cost. These positions will be reflected in journalistic production in media of the group, including the *O Cruzeiro*, in which, for example, usually there was a cult of Hollywood celebrities or stories highlighting the American lifestyle: "It was not to impose values by force of arms or the power of capital, but naturalize them by seductive and attractive images capable of influencing behavior, turn the everyday lives of ordinary people and change mindsets." (Costa, 2012, p.30)

The daily life of Copacabana in the late 1940s

Wonderful girls with the latest swimsuits, dancing and playing on the sands of "the most beautiful beach in the world", young boys and theirs convertible cars flirting with girls, skyscrapers surrounded by hills and the sea, "a paradise" for the tourist, a "hot night" with a lot of *samba* and women of beautiful legs. Here's Copacabana neighborhood of the late 1940s, or rather, a vision of it. All these scenes were documented by the photographer José Medeiros and described by the reporter José Amádio in a series of three reportages on the neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro, entitled "The city of Copacabana" and published for three consecutive weeks in January of 1949. The first

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[8] We assume that the tools and technologies are not neutral, free of the political aspect. But, their developments and uses are marked by various interests.
[9] For a more detailed discussion on the relationships of Chateaubriand see Morais (2011).

story, "The sea princess", was just about the beach, their characteristics and their regulars. The second story, "The Rio's capital", was about the rest of the neighborhood, with its bars and ice cream shops, the habits of the regulars and the profile of the residents. At the last reportage, "Love, women and samba", the magazine comes to the Carioca nightlife, with their cinemas, restaurants and nightclubs.

As occurred in most of *O Cruzeiro*'s reportages of this period the photography is predominantly over verbal text, occupying more space on pages and being diagrammed to be the main element of the narrative. The stories intercalate images that are clearly staged and others that are, or pass through, instantaneous – in some of them, the caption warns that the photo is a flagrant. At one point, José Amádio characterizes Copacabana beach as a "complete spectacle [...] that only the photographic lens may explain, approximately" (O Cruzeiro, 01.15.1949, p.20). This statement shows that the publication treats photography as an objective document, which is more capable of show the reality that other languages and maybe even better than the experience of being there.

The verbal text is presented as captions that appear on all images and serves to explain the content of the images, thus it delimits the possibilities of interpretation. There is also an article, which brings complementary information to the photographs, and explains in more detail the scenes of the images or reports facts that were not possible be represented with photographs. In this analysis we address mainly the images, however, occasionally, the support of verbal content is necessary, since the reportage is the combination of two languages.

Copacabana as neighborhood of the highest class and of youth

Over the articles and captions of the three reportages, the neighborhood is often characterized as being a place frequented by the elite as by young people. The same happens with images[10]. In "The Rio's capital" we see several young men, one accompanied by two girls poses with his convertible car on sidewalks Copacabana in a sequence (figure 1), other two in white T-shirts having ice cream (figure 2), or a girl being courted (figure 3).

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[10] All photographs herein will be accompanied by the original captions present in the reportages. These images were obtained by photographing the originals *O Cruzeiro* magazines at Public Library of Paraná's collection.
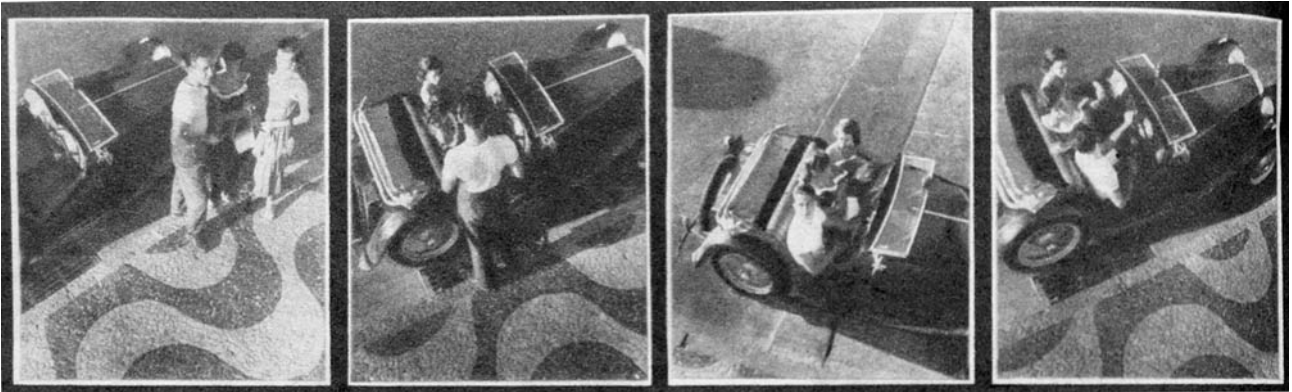
Figure 1: "The convertible car (from Cadillac or Buick until the tiny MG) will have its chapter apart when they write the true story of Copacabana." (O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.16)

Figure 2: "The 'playboys' Copacabana are tanned, muscled, healthy, vague and find life a charm."
(O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.16)

Figure 3: "Copacabana belongs to the youth. And if the young heartthrob possess a convertible, he owns the world." (O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.20).

These playboys, as the magazine itself calls them, seem to have come from a James Dean movie and are representing a lifestyle model that becomes characteristic of Rio's life in *O Cruzeiro*: the life of a financially successful elite of southern zone of Rio de Janeiro, who can spend the day by the beach or in the bars and ice cream shops of the most upscale neighborhood of the city. By using these images, portraying this class, the magazine is contributing to build a reality, in the sense that it is proposing a model that can be adopted by their readers or pursued as an ideal of life. For example, in the second reportage, "The Rio's capital", the opening picture shows two black children, from a hill (probably from a shantytown), looking for the cluster of buildings (figure 4).
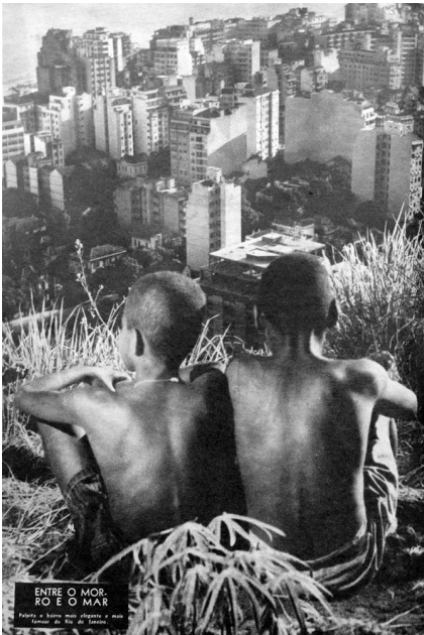
Figure 4: "Between the hill and the sea throbs the most elegant and most famous neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro." (O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.12).

Figure 5: "Is wrong who thinks Copacabana is a paradise of upper-classes." (O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.13).

The image conveys a sense that children look at the city with the desire of live there someday. On the other hand, the magazine deals with the idea that the elitism of the neighborhood is of appearance. That's because we see, in another picture (figure 5), a person sleeping on a small couch and we learn that despite being an upscale neighborhood most of its 300,000 inhabitants are middle class. To live in a neighborhood with this status, they need to rent small apartments. In other words, according to the magazine itself, to have the privilege of "living the dream" of inhabit Copacabana has a high price.

The Sea Princess

Another highly valued theme in the reportages is the Copacabana beach or "the sea princess", as the magazine calls it. The magazine ensures much importance to the beach and dedicates an entire reportage just for this theme. Wide shots of beach highlights the city's natural beauties and the harmony of nature and other urban elements such as cars or skyscrapers (figure 6). The beach also serves as the backdrop for portraits of their regulars.

Figure 6: "The most beautiful beach in the world." (O Cruzeiro, 01.15.1949, pp.18-19).

The waterfront is treated as a paradise, the destination of countless people seeking recreation: a strip of sand crowded (even on a Tuesday) and the seats on the sidewalks are full of people on weekends. According to the magazine, all Brazilians have the "secret desire to swim into their waters" (O Cruzeiro 01.15.1949, p.16). It's interesting to notice how the reporter saw the contradictions of that space, democratic in theory. He reports that "the worker from suburb of Rio may know the beach, because he went out there with his family in a Sunday or holiday, but he never swam into those waters." There would be a kind of veiled censorship, a social segregation? Amádio goes on: "Rio is a large town, spread, and the path leading to the beaches is not the easiest of all." (O Cruzeiro 01.15.1949, p.20) The article does not say whether or not there something that prevents some people from going to the beach, but we see just a few social types represented in all photographs. On the few occasions that appear black or poor people they are described as being of the working class, as maids, street vendors or construction workers (Figures 7 to 9).

Figure 7: "The sunbath dries the throat and the ice cream sellers take advantage of it [...]" (O Cruzeiro, 01.15.1949, pp.14-15)

Figure 8: "[...] In this flagrant two colored [sic] maids strolling in [avenue] Atlântica." (O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.14)

Figure 9: "[...] The half-naked worker next to the Belgian tourist" (O Cruzeiro, 01.22.1949, p.15)

The representation of Women

What is most striking in this set of images is a massive presence of representations of women. Over the three reportages of the series "City of Copacabana" there are many photographs that portray women, especially emphasizing theirs bodies and beauty, and over the text there are several mentions addressing women as the main attraction of the neighborhood.

In the first reportage, "The Sea Princess", the female figure is majority: of all 29 photographs, 20 depict only women or them as the main subject. Women are represented as the attraction of the beach. They pose for the camera with their swimsuits and two piece bikini in a kind of fashion show, an exhibition of what is or will become a trend in women's wear (figure 10). In some sequences, girls are playing shuttlecock, eating an ice cream, sunbathing or swimming at sea, and even performing ballet steps (figures 11 and 12).

Figure 10: "But despite the wonders of nature, the highest attraction of Copacabana are, still, girls [...]" (O Cruzeiro, 01.15.1949, pp.14-15)

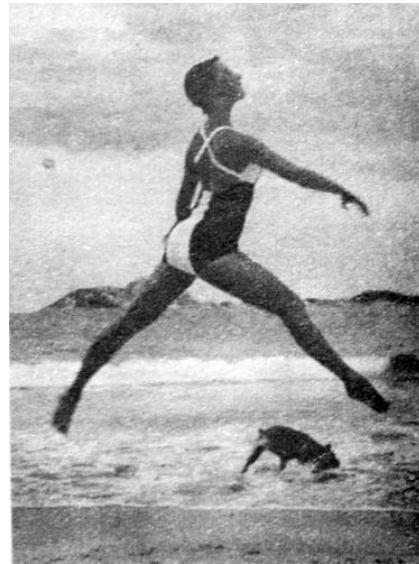Figure 11: "Shuttlecock is the most common game on Copacabana […]" (O Cruzeiro, 01.15.1949, p.16)

Figure 12: "Here, grace and beauty harmonize with the sea to offer us a delicate spectacle […]" (O Cruzeiro, 01.15.1949, p.16)

In the two other reportages, the proportion of images of women isn't the same, because there are other elements highlighted, such as buildings, landscapes, environments, etc. However, the female figure yet is one of the main contents of the reportages, especially in the third reportage whose theme is the Copacabana's nightlife.

In "Love, women and samba", the nightclubs are shown as bohemian environments, places to eat well and watch the shows of national and international artists. Besides these activities, women are shown again as one of the main attractions of Copacabana's nightlife because they are choristers of major clubs and restaurants in town. In a double page (figure 13), that is fully dedicated to backstage images, showgirls are portrayed while dressing or getting makeup. The photos highlight their beauty, with great emphasis on the body such as legs, considered the main feature of a showgirl – as the very caption of first image confirms: "The legs are for the showgirl just as the brain is to the intellectual ... without them, or with ugly legs, there is no deal. The profession of a showgirl in Brazil is ungrateful, arduous and nothing rewarding [...]" (O Cruzeiro 1.29.1949, p.14)

Figure 13: "The legs are for the showgirl just as the brain is to the intellectual [...]" (O Cruzeiro, 01.29.1949, pp.14-15)

Conclusion

The Copacabana representation in these reportages is one of many possible, it's a selection operated by its producers that neither exhausts the neighborhood representations made by the magazine over almost five decades. However, in general, the images analyzed here fit in a way of seeing about Rio de Janeiro that is recurrent in the publication. Life in this town and its landscapes were common themes in *O Cruzeiro* primarily because it was the capital of Brazil at the time and where was the magazine's headquarters. But mainly because the Rio de Janeiro was considered by *O Cruzeiro* as an example of a new model of life: the capital of pleasure, a symbol of modernity, where there was a harmonious coexistence between nature and urbanity (Costa, 1992, p. 72 and Costa, 1998, p.190). Also, its landscapes constantly were used as backdrop for "photographic tours" in which personalities such as politicians, famous foreigners, celebrities and misses posed for photos on the beaches or next to major sights of the city (Romanello, 2006, p.198).

The Rio de Janeiro was already a large city, with many disparities and *O Cruzeiro* chose the southern region as the main area of town (Costa, 1998, p.190). In this region are the most important (and rich) neighborhoods like Ipanema, Leblon, Copacabana, and major sights such as Pão de Açúcar, Cristo Redentor, among others. This geographic and social cropping is crucial in representations about the town because it eliminates much of the reality of the city and provides

readers with only a small selection of images and descriptions that, when repeated, will build most of the common imaginary of Rio de Janeiro.

In this series, Copacabana is represented as a very urbanized area, with its various buildings and busiest avenues. In the text, the neighborhood is described as cosmopolitan and with the presence of tourists from different parts of the world, but it emphasizes that the area is frequented mostly by the elite and young people. In the pictures these characteristics are exacerbated further: almost only young people and their habits are depicted; through their belongings such as cars and clothes, we can infer that the characters have a relatively high purchasing power; there is a massive presence of portraits of girls, reinforcing the idea that the greatest attraction of the area is the beauty of women.

In many images we see that there staging, but this is not the major issue. What matters is that the Copacabana representation is the result of choices made by reporters and the magazine. These choices depend on what they understand to be the neighborhood and its regulars, in other words, the professionals went out to street with a pre-structured narrative in their heads and even though they are open to the unexpected, theirs ways of seeing influence the production, selection and publication of photographs. Over the reportages there are a construction of a narrative that deals with what is to be carioca or what is Copacabana in 1949, a narrative that seeks an essence and uses photography as proof of that essence. If the neighborhood already had a reputation that their regulars were members of elite, the magazine reinforces it because the producers use images that show only that part of reality. This kind images, repeating over time, end up being appropriated by readers who construct their own imaginary about Rio de Janeiro, and maybe even feed the "secret desire" of one day visit this city.

The groups of images are always partial, contains gaps, do not represent the totality of a city or its people. The inhabitant himself when have contact with these narratives about what is to be carioca may or may not immediately identify with these representations. However, if the images precede reality and stand between us and the world, the scenes produced by pictures can have a great power in the construction of identities: if the reader has not identified himself, he may choose to adopt (wholly or partly) that lifestyle presented in the magazine.

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