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VOICELESS IMMIGRANTS: The lack of press coverage on anti-immigration demonstrations

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Abstract

This article presents some initial ideas from the fieldwork of an ongoing study on the mainstream media's coverage of issues related to immigrants and refugees in Brazil. It starts from the understanding that journalism disputes meanings when interpreting reality and does not represent the dissident voices of discursive consensus. By silencing conflicting discourses, journalism transforms non-hegemonic conditions into "murmurs" or "whispers". The methodology looks at elements of social space and places of speech in discursive production using a comparative analysis of articles published in the May 2017 editions of the *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo* newspapers about demonstrations against immigration which took place in the city of São Paulo.

Keywords

Journalism; Immigration; Voices; Geographies of Communication.

Introduction

Why is the pain of every day translated so constantly into our dreams, in the ever-repeated scene of the unlistened-to story? (Primo Levi, 1988)

In his presentation during the 2005 World Social Forum in Buenos Aires, Portuguese scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos drew attention to the need for a new mode of knowledge production when dealing with social emancipation: “We do not need alternatives, what we need is an alternative thinking to the alternatives” (Sousa Santos, 2007, p. 20).

A decade later, in May 2017, a demonstration against the migration policy included in the new Migration Law showed the existing xenophobia in Brazilian society, especially in politics and the media. Contrary to European countries and the United States, where recent legal texts repudiate immigration, Brazil approved Law 13,455 in May 2017 which provides integration for immigrants and defines the rights and duties of foreigners who enter and stay in the country.

Although the 2017 Law has passed without much resistance by the National Congress, many citizens took to Paulista Avenue, in the city of São Paulo, that same month to protest against the immigration policy and the new law. Between May 3 and 16, the newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* produced seven stories (three from *Folha* and four from *O Globo*) on the protest and its consequences, such as the arrest of two Palestinian immigrants by the São Paulo Military Police.

There were many stories that could have been reported on during this event, although coverage was brief, the event was not seen as being very newsworthy, and disappeared after a few days¹. These situations were important towards understanding the framework of the statements that show how strategic they are, and can be, towards their organization and legitimacy, from the perspective that, ideally, journalism implies “listening to both sides of the story” in an impartial manner. Building direct and indirect discourses as the basis for discursive rearrangements helped to outline some parameters for understanding how journalism is able to silence what is visible.

The clipping chosen for this article focuses on the discursive relations between the space and the place of speech for the one described as 'the other'. The methodology used to observe this silencing borrows from Orlandi's discourse analysis (1997). The empirical research was not bound to quantitative data, but to defining procedures for examining journalistic discourse and highlighting the process of producing meaning and its effects on print journalism. To compensate for the small number of suites, we decided to merge the analysis of meanings with the sources and perspectives from the interviews. The basis of information was separated from the sources for each report. This made it possible to analyze the sources individually, look at what each individual said and, from this, how their information/opinions were expressed in the text. We examine how their discourse was represented in the text, and through this representation, look at the discourse/aspects that received more emphasis and legitimacy.

Another methodological decision was to analyze how statements expressing opposite views were engaged or not. Here the focus was also on texts of direct, indirect and free indirect speech. And in that regard, how much and in what way the speech from both *sides* and opinions about the protests were worked on using journalism resources. Thus, the framing of the journalistic format was associated with the meaning and the legitimacy of the sources, the number of interviewees for each article, the exposure space each article received, the relevance of the individual positions, and the forms in which the speech

¹ However, since 2017, in several regions of Brazil, it is possible to observe recurring actions of hostility towards immigrants. This is the case in Rio de Janeiro, where a Syrian salesman was beaten to death in Copacabana by men who swore at him, telling him to “get out of my country”. The attack was recorded and posted on social media, making the news on August 3rd. In 2018, a series of clashes between Brazilians and Venezuelans took place on the border of Brazil and Venezuela, in the municipality of Pacaraima, in the state of Roraima.

was presented. From these specifications, we relate, through the logic of discourse analysis, the moment of discursive memory to draw a methodology that guided the understanding of the emerging games and breaks that guide the discourse on immigrants, about immigration, and about differences (when recognized) between refugees and immigrants.

Examples of silencing can be found in the *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* newspaper articles about the anti-immigration demonstration that took place when the law was approved. The journalistic texts which were analyzed are constructed differently and their form defines their meanings. Analysis and interpretation of this material expose the process of producing meaning about the refugees and immigrants. To accomplish this, it was essential to define (and differentiate) between the terms developed by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Since the inception of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951, the UNHCR has drawn attention to the confusion between the two terms which generate partial understandings that affect refugees, "people who have escaped armed conflict or persecution. Often their situation is so dangerous and intolerable that they must cross international borders to seek security in neighboring countries" (UNHCR, 2016). An immigrant (or migrant) either leaves his or her country voluntarily or for reasons "that do not fit the legal definition of refugee". Yet it is common for international organizations and in global statistics to use "migrant" as a general term for immigrants and refugees. "Blurring the terms 'refugees' and 'migrants' takes attention away from the specific legal protection that refugees need, such as protection against deportation and being penalized for crossing borders illegally in the search for safety" (ACNUR, 2016).

The unrest and disappointment provoked by contemporary human migration is at a new high. Symbolic and geographical boundaries demarcate identities and, from them, a series of social and economic extremities that threaten the fundamental rights of human beings and citizens. In Brazil, the understanding of the binomial refugee/immigrant, despite the difference in meaning, has been centered for decades in international situations. We watched discussions on the topic from afar, a situation that changed in 2010 after the earthquake that devastated Haiti. Brazil then became the "Eldorado" for thousands of Haitians and, shortly after, for Venezuelans seeking residence in a country that in previous decades highlighted in the press the number of people immigrating to the United States in search of better living conditions.

In *Refugees: Realities and Perspectives* Milesi (2003) defines refugees according to political contexts. After World War II², refugees were considered to be those who sought other countries to live in for fear of being persecuted for their race, religion, nationality or belonging to a certain group. During the Cold War (1945-1991) this concept was broadened to include other forms of persecution: external aggression, occupation, foreign rule and public disorder caused by some event.

According to Milesi (2003, p. 16), the change of criteria, from subjective to objective, expedited refugee processes in former Yugoslavia and African countries: the refugee status was reverted after the attacks of September 11, 2001, and "The new contemporary geopolitical situation, far from promoting the expansion of the concept and protection, has significantly reduced the acceptance of asylum applications". Traditionally welcoming countries have come to see refugee status as an open door for terrorists to enter Western countries.

In this context, refugee and asylum conditions have been damaged by human rights policies against terrorism, in which people from certain geographical regions, including practitioners of some religions, are mistrusted. Thus, more restrictive policies and legislation were passed regarding foreigners. The threat to security put aside the terror of the *other* (the one who is outside the borders, whose participation is not understood as an element of the historical process, and who is not associated with actions that rationally defined projects and practices of exclusion and segregation), which renews itself over time.

² The United Nations Status of Refugees came into force on April 22, 1954.

This situation leads us to understand citizenship by valuing identity. From that, it is possible to indicate other ways of perceiving a gift from cities and countries that goes beyond symbolic and geographical borders, redefining the meaning and treatment given to men, women and children who, for various reasons, find themselves as refugees. Silencing the present and past experiences of refugees legitimizes the exclusion of key issues on the territory, identity, borders and construction of the other from the debate.

Journalism and Immigration

The article published on the eve of May 2, 2017, on the *Folha de S. Paulo* website under the title *Palestinians arrested after confrontation with anti-immigration group in SP* has some points worth highlighting: the prisoners mentioned in the title are identified as one Syrian man and one Palestinian man, despite the title's generic reference. The report also states that six people were arrested; four of them indicted and two released, but did not mention what the other nationalities were. "A statement given by the Secretariat of Public Security revealed that four men were arrested for 'explosion, personal injury, criminal association and resistance during demonstration confrontation', and two other men were taken to the 78th precinct and released". This discursive slip (Orlandi, 2007) shows the key to understanding the critical point of discursivity: the nationality of one of the people involved. It is clearly stated in the title of the report, and says a lot about the quality of reporting that, even at the speed of online coverage, is essential to journalism.

The subjects of *confrontation* provide an emphatic meaning, completed by the symbolic arsenal of the word *Palestinian*, and the relationship with identity also present in other articles covering this issue, such as: *Palestinians arrested after confrontation with anti-immigration group in SP (Palestinians, May 2, 2017)*; *Palestinians released the day after confrontation with anti-immigration group (Palestinians, May 3, 2017)*; *Right-wing groups protest once again against immigration (Right-wing, May 12, 2017)*; *One Palestinian man and one Syrian man arrested after confusion in anti-immigration demonstration in SP (One, May 3, 2017)*; *Those imprisoned for conflicts in anti-immigration demonstration in SP are released (Imprisoned, May 3, 2017)*; *Anti-immigration protest on Paulista Avenue was against the law, say experts (Protest, May 5, 2017)*; *Anti-immigration group protests on Paulista Avenue (Group, May 16, 2017)*.

For Massey (2008), interaction extends from global vastness to the intimately small and is fundamental towards understanding space. He argues that the spatial issue has specific implications on politics because it can change the way certain positions are formulated. Thus, the discussion of space enters into the realm of politics. In Brazil, building relations and understanding the discourse of practices and subjects (Massey, 2008) may be a way of recognizing multiplicity, but it invariably depends on verifying the spatialities, trajectories and histories of the subjects.

Just as space has multiple subjects and multiple meanings, cities also have multiple temporalities. The gesture of domination over space, and generally the gesture of domination of the other, causes space to be restricted rather than being open to multiple trajectories; it limits itself to a single temporality due to a smaller size analysis. Understanding refugees, migration and inherent human rights without a tendency to openness prevents the complex perception of the divisions and crystallized places that subjects also occupy in journalism.

The role of the subject in relation to space, as Massey (2008) proposes, understands relationships as being inserted and not incorporated and closed practices, hence, building relations is understood as a process where identities/entities are not cast in stone or immutable. It is being in the world and in a relation which builds relationships. So space, as a result of interrelationship, reflects identities and not the other way around. The meaning of space is therefore negotiated. Similarly, it is impossible to ignore that identities reproduce in spaces.

Bourdieu (1989), when presenting his theories of regional divisions in *The Symbolic Power*, uses the border to explain the process of division. He argues that there is no way to sustain the criteria for classification as natural. He goes on to say that borders are more or less grounded in reality according to the elements they bring together. The question then arises: what sets the boundary of immigrants' nationalities? What determines their limits to the access of rights?

This reality is based on the delimitation of arbitrary forces which appear to be legitimate. This leads to questioning how the spatial divisions of immigrants are handled. What makes them different? What legitimizes their place of speech? The division of a city is not meaningless; even less so is the division that privileges spaces with physical and symbolic differences according to previous divisions.

In his text from 1988 entitled *A symbolic cartography of social representations: prolegomena to a postmodern conception*, Boaventura de Sousa Santos suggests understanding cartography from three perspectives: scale, projections and symbolizations. The purpose here is to use this configuration to think of journalism as a representational map, starting from understanding the space in which the anti-immigration demonstrations occurred. The notion of reality and the distortion of scale show how the social construction of a reality is also structured in journalism, and how places are constructed and maintain their representations. What is important is controlling the mechanisms of the scale.

Power tends to represent social and physical reality on a scale chosen for its virtuality to create the events that maximize the conditions of reproducing power. The representation/distortion of reality is a premise of exercising power (Sousa Santos, 1988, p. 146).

The sense of space is related to the perception that places have different trajectories and should not necessarily entail synchrony and simultaneous occurrence, which Massey (2008) calls contemporaneity. So how does one go about thinking of the attempt to order the production of meaning? In culinary, trajectory, music, leisure activities, and in life, ordering facilitates a second process: materializing what order means in countries, in cities, on the outskirts. The reordering of space articulates with the reconfiguration of the concept of immigrant and refugee, while identity acts as the engine that runs this reconfiguration and new meaning. And here lies the central question of this article: How do refugees speak as subjects of the stories they tell?

In the short story *The City Coat of Arms*, Kafka (1987) identifies the construction of the Tower of Babel as a metaphor for understanding space as a process and relationship. He tells of the various generations that try to build a tower that reaches the sky. The biggest obstacle lies in the equipment each succeeding generation uses. Building the tower meant building a working village for those who were working on the tower, which presents a number of obstacles concerning the role each nation is to have in the construction, which leads to conflicts. According to Renato Cordeiro Gomes,

Everything in the city seems to come together to give birth to the idea of an absurd distance between men apparently linked by the same interests and the same kind of life. The allegory of the text that evokes Babel hides and reveals, through its language, the proximity that aggravates the distance, the irreversible separation, pointing to the "unhappiness of a perpetual beginning" (as Kafka wrote in his Diary) of a construction project that establishes hierarchies and conflicts and, therefore, covers it with the sign of impossibility (Gomes, 1994, p. 92).

The impossibility of simultaneous generations and the possible convergence of networks between nations, as Kafka says, using the metaphor of the Tower of Babel, remove the recipient nature of constituted identities and the possible result of holism from space. Space, like the future of the tower, is open.

In contemporary Babel, constitutive disorder seeks ways to discipline the senses and homogenize the different voices, conduct, and meanings that make up a city and, ultimately, a country. The elements

of the myth of Babel signal the chaos of cities: large numbers of people sharing the same space, using different languages, idealizing particular projects with the aim of preserving communities and identities, and producing individual wealth. Ordinance is an attempt to seek perfection in the city, to rebuild it, hence the repetition and currentness of using the Babel myth towards understanding the contemporary city. To consider the values of other world experiences outside the urban-capitalist-Christian logic to be irrelevant, inappropriate, or disposable, exposes the marginalization and exclusion of different experiences. Discourse, the history of migrations, of escape, of displacement and of transit across borders is the only parameter with which to verify the importance of diverse memories.

In this context, it is imperative to research the speech that reshapes immigrant participation the Western world, silenced by the dominant discursive framework that suppresses the plurality of voices and the culture of refuge, of displacement, of immigration; a process that Sodré believes (2009) "speaks as history". It is about investigating how notions of human rights and citizens in emergency situations present themselves in the spaces of western cities and what the strategies are that place them (or not) on the sidelines.

The theme also includes movement and how the intrinsic relationship between mobility and power shapes places in the world. On one hand, the notions of tourists and vagrants (Bauman, 1998) set the tone for displacements and symbolic powers that create movement; on the other, the notion of modern diasporas (Hall, 2006) is in contrast to the ideals of economic globalization.

Journalism and voices in the Folha de S. Paulo

How then does journalism guarantee immigrants and refugees the subject conditions of the stories they portray? Are their voices representational or just noise? What is noticeable in the stories covered by two newspapers is that not one of them includes any representative body that speaks on behalf of the arrested immigrants, Hasan Jarif and Nour Alsayyd. The *Folha de SP* articles talked to defense lawyer Hugo Albuquerque; the head of the Department of International Relations at PUC-SP, Reginaldo Nasser; the Secretariat of Public Security; the São Paulo Right-Wing group coordinator, André Petros; and a few protesters, including a descendant from the royal family, Louis Philippe of Orléans-Braganza.

There are no statements given by human rights entities or immigrant entities to draw attention to immigration issues. This situation encourages discussion around two important aspects of journalistic activity for the understanding of producing meaning: the sources and the selection of speeches. The following excerpt is of the defense lawyer, the only source of opposition to the demonstration, who is speaking in defense of his client. The excerpt that follows that one comes from the Public Security Secretariat for the State of São Paulo, the official voice. The idea here is to balance out the information, to listen to both sides, and value this distinctive quality of journalism.

São Paulo Military Police detained at least two Palestinians on Paulista Avenue on Tuesday night (the 2nd) who were involved in a confrontation with a right-wing group protesting against the new Migration Law. Their names are Hasan Zarif, leader of the Palestinian Movement for All and the owner of a bar in Bixiga (central São Paulo) run by refugees and Palestinian militants. According to Hugo Albuquerque, Zarif's lawyer, his client and at least one Palestinian friend, identified as Nur, were beaten by protesters from the Protest against the Migration Law. "Severely injured," Nur was taken to emergency, "with a possible broken nose and many abrasions," says the defender. Zarif was sent to the 78th Police District, in Jardins. The PSS also states that "the group allegedly assaulted protesters who were protesting against the Immigration Law, this included throwing explosive devices." According to Albuquerque, police officers are "buying the [anti-immigration activists'] version, as if the Palestinians had attacked the group." The lawyer says that the homemade bomb which exploded on Paulista Avenue came from the protesters. "The situation is serious, this confrontation with far-right groups. There were definitely crimes committed, but the police only addressed one side". Reginaldo Nasser, head of the international relations department at PUC-SP and

a friend of Zarif was also at the police station (Palestinians, May 2, 2017).

The client/lawyer relationship removes what could be used as a counterargument to the protester statements, selected below. *Folha* acknowledges that the head of the International Relations department at PUC-SP was at the Police Station, as a friend of the accused, but did not talk to him. In the three editions published on *Folha's* website, only the defense lawyer for one of the accused was spoken to. The report also interviewed protesters but offered no counterpoints, and therefore no references of xenophobia were presented. They are excerpts without any additional information to the credited information.

André Petros Angelides, coordinator of the São Paulo Right Wing, the group that organized the demonstration, gives a different version of the events. He says the group protested "peacefully" and, practically in front of the Consolação subway station, "a homemade bomb was thrown at us". "I saw the bomb rolling off the sidewalk and into the crowd. It injured the leg of one of our protesters". The organization posted a video in which both sides were punching and kicking each other. When the police intervened (sometimes to stop the fighting, sometimes to curb the aggressors), the chants began: "Long live the MP! Long live the MP!" Someone also yelled out, "Communists should die." A representative of the right-wing, with a bleeding nose, said he was "assaulted in a peaceful demonstration". A man by the name of Antonio, wearing a bloodstained shirt, said, "What a shame, what a shame. Lousy Communists! (Palestinians, May 2, 2017).

The article also features a video where protesters were interviewed. The following is a complete excerpt, which ends with the journalist who wrote the article connecting Aloysio Nunes, the man who authored the law, with the leftist movement during the military dictatorship. This confirms the allegations that the Law is leftist, even if the author is affiliated with the centrist political party (PSDB).

The Sao Paulo Right-Wing Page posted a video on Facebook, stating that "Arab terrorists" attacked the group. A descendant of the royal family, and leader of the Acorda Brasil movement, Luiz Philippe of Orléans-Braganza went to the right-wing demonstration and also classified what happened as a "terrorist attack". At 1 am, he posted a video on his Facebook profile of the police station where he met with "the demonstration people". In a video posted on Facebook, the president of the São Paulo Right-Wing, Edson Salomão, says that "one of these aggressors is foreign, a Muslim, and of Palestinian nationality". "Look at the kind of behavior he wants to bring to our nation. We know he's totally against Israel. We have firmly supported Israel, as in the pro-Trump demonstration [U.S. President Donald Trump] we held last September," he states (Palestinians, May 2, 2017).

(...)

They protested on Tuesday against the new migration law, proposed in 2015 by then-senator Aloysio Nunes (PSDB-SP), who is now Foreign Minister. "Everyone knows his past, as a terrorist, as a driver for Carlos Marighela. Now he's a terrorist in a suit, with the power of his pen in his hand," says Angelides. In his youth, Nunes supported the National Liberation Action, a guerrilla group led by Marighela against the military dictatorship (Palestinians, May 2, 2017).

The article above was published on May 2 in the daily newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*. On May 12, a column written by Patrícia Campos Mello registered the speeches of the protesters, yet did not contain any representation of human rights movements and no representative statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the minister of which was the one who had authored the law. The columnist contrasts the speeches of protesters with data on refugees and the economy.

The leader of the São Paulo Right-Wing cites the "400 Indians in Manaus, which became a public catastrophe in the city". "When a large contingent of people comes in, it damages social structure, employment and housing". Large contingent?

According to data obtained from the National Refugee Committee (Conare) in February, there are 8,950 refugees in Brazil — 2,480 are Syrian, 1,501 Angolan and 1,150 from the Democratic Republic of Congo. In Brazil, there are only 0.04 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants (2015 UNHCR data). In Lebanon, there are 200 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants — and it is right next door to Syria, where a civil war has already caused an exodus of 4.8 million people to other countries. But you don't have to go that far - Argentina takes in twice as many refugees as Brazil, and Costa Rica, a tiny country, takes in 18 times more refugees per 1,000 inhabitants than we do. In addition to the refugees, we have the Haitians, about 70 thousand of them who came in on humanitarian visas, and about 20 thousand Venezuelans who also obtained the right to humanitarian visas. So, for a population of around 209 million in 2017, it's not exactly a public catastrophe (Palestinians, May 2, 2017).

Although it presents information that challenges the interviewees, it is important to point out that the *Folha de S. Paulo* does not legitimize statements in opposition to the demonstrations. Although the interests and understanding of reality as compared to the interests of immigrants and refugees are contemplated in the text, which explains the need for data relevant to the issue, there is a lack of discourse from individual sources, their perceptions and views which are so essential to journalism.

Journalism and voices in *O Globo*

The four articles published in the *O Globo* newspaper take different paths to the issue, using experts to problematize the immigration and differences. However, an essential element of this research remains: immigrant voices appear only from the reading of another immigrant.

In a report published on May 3, 2017, entitled *Those arrested over confrontation with anti-immigration demonstration in SP are released - Right-wing movements claim they were attacked; Palestinians say they sustained injuries*, the prisoners' nationalities were misrepresented, which raises the issue of the logic of the event. For Sodré (2009), in media information, the event is a clear and visible form of treating the fact. It is a construction or production of reality crossed by representations of the developments of social life, through the fragmentation of occurrences and the conflicts around the hegemony of representations.

Narration defines the news from a fact using criteria, conceived as adequate values to the event: news values. These are constituted by uniquely determining categories of organization or control of movements (economic, social, and political) that act in the urban space through representations, norms, behaviors and affections (...). It is not, therefore, any shock or rupture that can generate news value, but one previously codified by the productive routine of the information system as a potential inscription with the reader (Sodré, 2009, p. 75).

Two positions are present in this *O Globo* report: the speech of the defense lawyer for one of the detainees (the same source used by *Folha*) and the description of the videos posted by the demonstration organizer. It adds a detail that was not mentioned in *Folha*: a representative of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) had to go to the police station to investigate irregularities with how the indictment was conducted.

PSOL Councilwoman Sâmia Bonfim said police officers did not allow lawyers to be present at the police station. A member of the OAB-SP had to go down to the station to authorize the entry of jurists.

- There are no charges pressed in regards to the demonstration. There is only outrage against the detainees, said the councilwoman.

Julio Fernandes, an ombudsman for the São Paulo state police, came to the police station saying he should investigate into complaints made about how the police handled the case, especially regarding lawyers not being able to see the prisoners in

the early morning.

- The complaints we receive are about arbitrariness and irregularities. The ombudsman is aware of it and will forward it onto the correcting agencies and, if necessary, to the Public Prosecutor (ONE, May 3, 2017).

Similar to *Folha de SP*, the first two *O Globo* articles did not provide enough information to understand the complexity of the immigration issue. The misrepresentation of the nationality of those involved (one Syrian and one Palestinian and not "two Palestinians") is not mentioned as a misprint - information is shared without any criteria to show the geographical and cultural differences, even though the two countries are in a state of conflict.

On May 5, *O Globo* published an article questioning the legality of the demonstration under the title *Anti-immigration act on Paulista Avenue was against the law, say experts - Discourse against Muslims surprised the experts. "It's worrying," said the Assistant Secretary to the Secretary of Human Rights*. Representatives of human rights are some of the voices offered space in the newspaper, including Silvio Albuquerque, deputy secretary to the Secretary of Human Rights, in connection with the Ministry of Justice, and Martim Sampaio, coordinator of the Human Rights Commission for the Brazil Bar Association in São Paulo (OAB-SP). The only sources the newspaper used since the beginning of its coverage were: Pamella Angelides and Douglas Garcia, members of the São Paulo Right-Wing; and Leandro Mohallem, supporter of the Together for Brazil movement. Three speeches were given from each side as a way of balancing the discourses, but ignoring that the production of meaning is not just a numerical precision. Without the use of adjectives and first person verb references, the text appears to take a side, which helps understand the particular selection of sources.

Shouts "against Islamization" and discourse of religious intolerance in the demonstration against the new Migration Status on Paulista Avenue on Tuesday (the 2nd) could be considered crimes, say experts at the G1. (...) Free expression is a right guaranteed under the constitution. The protest against the law itself is legal and has even been accompanied by the Military Police. But, for the assistant secretary to the Secretary of Human Rights, in connection with the Ministry of Justice, Silvio Albuquerque, "the limit of freedom of expression is human dignity". It cannot be hurt, explains Albuquerque (ACT, May 5, 2017).

On the 16th, there is another report on a new demonstration on Paulista Avenue, without any incidents. With the possible presidential sanction of the Migration Law approaching, *O Globo* publishes a short article informing about the event, including the most important points of the new legal text, which until that time had not been presented by the two newspapers.

Final Considerations

In this article we deal with the meanings expressed in journalism. Discourses relate to others in the construction of meaning, and it is distinctive that strength-power interferes with the different places from which the discourses originate - "The place from which the subject speaks is constitutive of what he says" (Orlandi, 2007, p. 39). The question is to understand how the shared spaces are shaped that demarcate these *places* in regards to the power of speech, or the places that occupy the *others* and the *us* in the sense of cultural, religious and geographical symbolic identities.

In *If This Is a Man*, Levi (1988) describes the frequent dreams of concentration camp inmates during World War II. Their dreams all had something in common; the desperation that they would not find anyone who would listen to their terrifying stories. Listening to narratives should be the function of listeners, who leave without wanting to know or allow a difficult story threatened by its own impossibility to reach and threaten the tranquility of everyday life.

Gagnebin (2006) is concerned precisely with expanding the concept of the witness. For her, the witness is not just the one who saw the event with his or her own eyes, but the one who does not go away, who listens to the unbearable narration of the other and accepts that his words convey the story of the other, and not out of guilt or compassion,

but because only symbolic transmission, acknowledged despite and because of unspeakable suffering, only this reflexive revival of the past can help us from repeating it infinitely, but to dare to sketch another story, to invent the present (Gagnebin, 2006, p. 57).

It is from the inability to hear reports and to assert the condition of plurality in which the divergent points are inserted into a text, and thus journalism can circumvent its condition of witness. By structuring itself in practices that remove the transformative potential of journalism, it reinforces its observer status and stage of hegemonic political resources. Reporting the real in texts is the essence of journalism, and this condition cannot be used to justify apathy to hear voices that reveal distinct conditions of everyday life. One of them is that of immigrants who live in the two largest cities in the country and who are often ignored when it comes to editing the interviewees' speeches and selecting sources, as can be verified in the articles from *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* we analyzed here.

The pseudo-condition of the witness in journalism carries with it a fundamental question about the role of journalism and also the role of the voiceless, as Sousa Santos (2007, p. 55) questions: "How to make silence speak in a way that produces autonomy and not the reproduction of silence?" The author himself provides an answer:

Silence is the result of silencing: Western culture and modernity have a vast historical experience of contact with other cultures, but it was a colonial contact, a contemptuous contact, and so they silenced many of these cultures, some of which they destroyed. So when we want to try a new discourse or intercultural theory, we face a problem: there are oppressed aspirations in us that are not utterable, because they were considered unworthy after centuries of oppression (SOUSA SANTOS, 2007, p.55).

This is the theoretical problem highlighted in this article: the silence (the deletion of voices) ascribed by journalism, whose most complicated feature is to make it appear to exist. As Orlandi (1997) says, silence is the way to empty the senses, to silence and to produce nonsense when it represents a threat. By addressing the silencing of immigrants in the media, this article hopes to address the silence that exists in words - those reproduced in journalism that are crossed not only by silence but also by directions.

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